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Americanization in British popular music 1953-2009
A sociolinguistic approach

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Abstract

There has long been linguistic and sociological interest in Americanization in British popular music. Previous studies (e.g., Trudgill 1983; Cooper and Cooper 1993) have attempted to investigate how Americanization is manifested in singing as well as possible motivations to adopt American styles. However, their focus is heavily skewed towards perceptually salient phonological variables. Thus, in this thesis, I seek to examine Americanization through examining less perceptually salient variables, i.e., grammatical variables.

For analysis, I first established an analytical model for the textual measurement of "Americanness." Following exemplar theory, grammatical forms that are more frequent in American English speech than in British English speech were used as evidence of "Americanness." Through keyword analysis, spoken variables including *ain't,* multiple negation, third person *don't,* and the intensifier *so* were chosen as research objects.

The frequency of the grammatical variables in British popular music was then calculated in the variable framework. The main material was drawn from a 1,400,000 word-corpus which was specifically made for this project. The effects of musical genres, the period of the appearance on music charts (1953-2009), and the singer's and the songwriter's home region were also examined. The patterns were then contrasted with predictions of five possible referees, i.e., American popular music, popularity of American acts, speech of American consumers, the size of the American music market, and singability of linguistic (grammatical) items.

This thesis demonstrates that, in a similar fashion to phonological and non-linguistic variation, referees of grammatical variation are most likely American popular music and popularity of American acts as well as singability of linguistic items. However, I also found that the same variation is affected by the home region of British singers and songwriters. This means that American styles co-exist with British styles in British popular music.

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Chapter One

Introduction

This thesis examines British popular music to deepen understanding of the way in which the language of British songs is produced. Since the 1980s, this area has caught much attention of linguistic scholars (e.g., Trudgill 1983; Simpson 1999; Carlsson 2001; Morrissey 2008; Beal 2009b; Konert-Panek 2016, 2017b, 2017a, 2018; Krause and Smith 2017; Flanagan 2019), but their approach is skewed towards perceptually more salient phonological variables. In this thesis, like many academic precursors, I take a sociolinguistic approach and address underlying motivations for the choice of styles, but mainly focus on perceptually less salient variables, i.e., grammatical variables. The analysis applied in the present study is largely quantitative, and the dataset is based on approximately 5,500 songs that were released between 1953 and 2009.

This thesis consists of eight chapters. In Chapter 2, I define the term *Americanization* and its related terminology such as *localization* and *glocalization* by drawing on sociological and linguistic studies, before introducing literature related to stylistic variation in British popular music. The chapter also mentions research gaps and limitations in those previous studies and presents research questions that I address in this thesis.

Chapter 3 explains popular music more generally. In this chapter, as background knowledge, I first explain the definition of popular music and common practices of classifying music genres, with explications of characteristics of popular music. Then, I present both negative and positive views on song lyrics as research materials and introduce some research areas on popular music.

In Chapter 4, I present theoretical perspectives that have informed the research. An ability to identify a particular style as American means that certain elements of the style have social (in this case, American) associations. Since it is such associations that are the basis of the measurement of "Americanness" in the present research, this chapter introduces the concept of indexicality along with quantitative methods that allow researchers to identify indexical items. The chapter also covers literature on linguistic style-shifts or stylization, in which people harness indexical items for various communicative purposes. Based on the explanations described in this literature, I offer some possible motivations for the use of American styles in British popular music, i.e., American popular music, popularity of American acts, speech of American consumers, the size of the American music market, and singability of linguistic items.

Chapter 5 focuses on the description of the methodology. The chapter first introduces research materials on which the present study is based: the British Popular Music Corpus of English (PMCE-UK) and the American Popular Music Corpus of English (PMCE-US).

Then, three analytical methods used to identify “American” items are described in detail: keyword analysis, speech and fiction analysis, and questionnaire survey. Finally, I explain how to measure the degree of “Americanness” in British popular music. A description of statistical methods employed in this thesis is also given in this chapter.

Chapter 6 uses the three methods described in Chapter 5 to identify grammatical variables and reports the outcomes. In addition, I mention the discrepancy of the results in the three methods and methodological implications for the analysis in Chapter 7.

In Chapter 7, I measure the degree of “Americanness” in British popular music. Grammatical items associated with “American” English were extracted from the PMCE-UK and analyzed in the variable framework. The effects of linguistic items, musical genres, the period of the appearance on music charts, the singer’s home region, and the songwriter’s nationality are also considered in this chapter. The relative effect of each factor is presented by using a logistic regression analysis. Using the results, I evaluate the validity of the explanatory models that were described in Chapter 4. .

In the last chapter (Chapter 8), I bring together all the results presented in the thesis and discuss Americanization in a broader perspective. I contextualize the results in Chapter 7 and compare the results with those in previous phonological and sociological studies. Similarities and differences in the outcomes are discussed in detail. The chapter also revisits previous approaches to Americanization in British popular music. Finally, based on the outcomes, I mention a few interesting areas for future research before concluding this thesis.

Chapter Two

Americanization in British popular music

2.1 Overview

This thesis explores Americanization in British popular music by looking at linguistic variation. Therefore, this chapter first attempts to make a definition of *Americanization* and related matters by mainly reviewing linguistic works. Then, I introduce previous findings in linguistic literature on British popular music. However, given that there are useful insights from sociological studies, this chapter also introduces sociological literature. Reflecting on findings and insights from these previous studies, research questions are presented in this chapter.

This chapter begins with the definition of *Americanization* and relevant terminology (§2.2). This is followed by a summary of previous linguistic and sociological research on or related to Americanization in British popular music (§2.3). In §2.4, I identify some methodological problems in their approaches to issues on Americanization and present research questions that I address in this thesis. In §2.5, I summarize the points made in the chapter.

2.2 Defining *Americanization* and related terminology

Starting with an elaboration of the term *Americanization* in its academic sense, one should first recognize that in America the term *Americanization* is different from what it means outside the country. In the US, it often refers to an educational process of assimilating immigrants into American citizens in the use of language, habits, and outlook (Waters 2007:452). By contrast, in the other countries, the term often refers to a series of influences that emanate from America. It is a process in which "economic, technological, political, social, and/or socio-psychological influences emanating from America or Americans impinge on values, norms, belief systems, mentalities, habits, rules, technologies, practices, institutions, and behaviors of non-Americans" (van Elteren 2006:345). Given that the US possesses "relatively large amount of population, territory, natural resources, economic strength, military force, political assets, [and] cultural forms" (van Elteren 2006:359) and that most global changes in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century "had (and to significant degree still has) an American imprint" (van Elteren 2006:352), the term *globalization* is often used as an alternative of Americanization.

Americanization, especially in the second sense, is an interdisciplinary topic of great debate. Linguistics is one of the academic fields in which Americanization or globalization is much discussed. In this field, when looking for evidence of Americanization, scholars measure "Americanness" by looking at features or linguistic patterns that are associated with America in non-American contexts. As seen in many dictionary entries (e.g., *Oxford Dictionaries, Cambridge Dictionary*), spellings and vocabulary (e.g., *Americanization* vs. *Americanisation*, *eggplant* vs. *aubergine*) are well established indicators of "Americanness" (e.g., Fuchs 2017b; Gonçalves et al. 2018; Morgner 2021). Evidence of Americanization can also be found in other linguistic areas such as phonology (e.g., Trudgill 1983; Meyerhoff and Niedzielski 2003; Korhonen 2020) and grammar (e.g., Leech and Smith 2006; Yao and Collins 2012; Fuchs 2016), although categorical differences between American forms and non-American forms are not always available due to the fact that many phonological and grammatical features are used not only in America, but also in other countries, especially the UK, the country that provided English to America during the colonial period. In such cases, American English takes the lead in linguistic features or patterns, e.g., by reviving features that had decreased (e.g., mandative subjunctive) or increasing or developing existing features (e.g., *do*-support in *I don't have a chance*) (see Leech et al. 2009:253). This means that in linguistic discussions on Americanization, regardless of the actual origin of influence, American features include almost any features that are quantitatively associated with the US.

It would seem that such quantitative evidence of Americanization is convincing, especially when the distributional relation between American and non-American forms is widely noticed by people. Among them, American English pronunciations included in the "USA-model" (Simpson 1999:345) (e.g., rhoticity) are oft-cited examples of Americanism (see below). While these phonological features are attested not only in the US, but also in other countries (e.g., the UK) (Trudgill 1983:142), they are nonetheless widely perceived as American English features.[1]

However, in other cases, it may be difficult to accept quantitative evidence because the distributional relation between "American" and "non-American" forms is not widely recognized. This is clear with grammatical variables. For example, grammatical evidence of Americanization in a non-American English variety is not easily noticed because quantitative differences between American and non-American English varieties are not very large. In such cases, "American" English forms may not be associated in terms of identity of place or even considered otherwise at a perceptual level (e.g., Leech and Smith 2006; Leech et al. 2009; Yao and Collins 2012; Fuchs 2016).[2] For example, the forms may be simply considered as colloquial (see Leech et al. 2009).

[1] For other perceptually salient American English features, see Korhonen (2020:20).

[2] Throughout this thesis, I use double quotations to refer to forms that are not perceptually salient. For example, "American" English forms refer to forms that are not perceptually recognized by many people but quantitatively more frequent in American English than in other English varieties (e.g., British English).

However, it is still possible to claim Americanization even when linguistic forms are not perceptually salient (see Chapter 4). A feature that may support the evidence of Americanization is similarities between American and non-American languages (English). Theories such as (Communication) Accommodation Theory (CAT) (see Dragojevic and Giles 2014; Dragojevic, Gasiorek, and Giles 2016) and referee design (see Bell 1984, 2001) explain that the reason why people use linguistic features similar to a particular social group is that people recognize value of the group and imitate their speech. Based on these theories, if there is evidence that shows similarities of linguistic items between American English and non-American languages (e.g., the frequency pattern), it is possible to claim that the latter is influenced ("Americanized") by the former, even if people do not notice the quantitative relation of linguistic forms at a perceptual level (see Trudgill 1983; Yao and Collins 2012; Fuchs 2017a).

Regarding reasons for adopting American English features, linguists often describe evidence of Americanization as a consequence of globalizing sway of American culture. They claim that ubiquitousness of American English makes people feel that the language is prestigious, marketable, or standard (Jansen 2022:100-1). For example, Gonçalves et al. (2018:2) describes:

> The transfer of political, economical [sic], and cultural power from Great Britain to the United States has progressed gradually over the course of more than half a century, with World War II being the final stepping stone in the establishment of American supremacy. The cultural rise of the United States also implied the exportation of their specific form of English resulting in a change of how English is written and spoken around the world.

Other scholars (e.g., Fuchs 2017b) also claim that Americanization is resulted from the global prestige that America enjoys. In addition, they also link its global prestige to social attractiveness of American society and culture: "[s]peakers and writers that adopt features of AmE might be trying, consciously or unconsciously, to present themselves as modern, cosmopolitan, and educated" (Fuchs 2017b:65). This means that the use of American English features may be a result of soft power, i.e., an influence based on attractiveness of a given country (Nye 2004:5). This is an opposite power to hard power, an influence coerced or induced by the more powerful country (Nye 2004:5). In addition to prestige and soft power influence, in her research on perceptions of Americanization, Korhonen (2017:85) also presents her participants' views on utility of American English, e.g., American English variants are easier to pronounce and phonetically more correct (i.e., absence of disagreements between spelling and pronunciation in some lexical items).

However, in addition to such positive views on American English, there are also negative views on American English usage. Participants in Korhonen's (2020:197) research show that some participants expressed feelings such as "the American influence peeves me off," and "terrible, deplorable, shocking." Jansen's (2022:111-12) participants criticized

and described American English in various terms (e.g., “lazy,” “harsh,” “manufactured,” “inauthentic”). Similar feelings were also recorded in New Zealand (see Meyerhoff and Niedzielski 2003:535). It would seem that some of these feelings are relevant to hostility against linguistic homogenization and fears of the disappearance of local varieties (Korhonen 2020:195). Fears of the disappearance of local varieties also lead to insecurity of people’s social identity because a language often serves as social capital. In sociology, the term *cultural imperialism* is often used to highlight such negative aspects of Americanization (see van Elteren 2006), and it would seem that this term also applies to some situations in linguistic Americanization.

However, people are not always passive to the invading force of Americanization because insecurity of a local identity can lead to *localization*. Linguistic localization is realized by maintaining features in a local language by means of lexical, orthographical, phonological, and grammatical features that are associated with “localness.” Linguistic localization can also be realized by forms with a clear index of nationality or place (see Gonçalves et al. 2018), but like Americanization, there are some cases where an association with “localness” is not clearly determined (e.g., grammatical patterns) at a perceptual level (see Leech et al. 2009). Also, localization can be realized by means of local innovation, i.e., innovating existing US features in a unique way. For example, Englishes in the “Outer Circle” (e.g., Philippine English) (see Kachru 1985) show unique linguistic features that are not found in American English by changing original features of American English. Not all processes may not be undergone consciously, and some local features may simply appear due to a lack of competence of American English. However, some instances of localization may be considered as a result of the speaker’s motivations to maintain or create community bonds (Yano 2001:125-26; Oanh 2012:122).

Compared to Americanization, reactions towards the use of local forms are usually positive (see Gibson and Bell 2012; Jansen 2022). For example, interviewees in Jansen's (2022:102) survey on American English in British popular music explained that local English features are “unique, individual, (more interesting), cool, and exotic.” However, there are also some opposite views that point out that local forms may not be useful in practical situations (e.g., business) because they may be not comprehensible to cultural outsiders (see Oanh 2012:122-23; Jansen 2022:100-1).

However, it should be noted that, when localization takes place, the force of Americanization is not often completely eliminated by a local force. What can be seen from those cases is co-existence of local and American features. When American forms are adapted in non-American contexts, the term *glocalization* is specifically used (see Robertson 1995; Ritzer 2003; Roudometof 2016). The term was first coined by sociologist Robertson (1995) to refer to phenomenon in business settings, but later, also applied to describe various linguistic phenomena. Such attempts are often found in areas such as World Englishes studies (e.g., Hsu 2008; Shi 2013; Manan et al. 2017), but also in studies on pop culture (e.g., Omoniyi 2006; Alim 2009; Schulze 2014). In typical

examples of glocalization, co-existence of global (American) and local features is usually processed based on a division of labor between global (or American) and local features. Typically, American features are used in order to frame scenes into a more authoritative planning or a basic format, whereas local features are selected or maintained for various practical reasons (e.g., English pidgins and creoles, Englishes in the "Outer Circle") (see Oanh 2012). However, it would seem that linguistic studies extend the original sense of glocalization and use the term to refer to cases where adaptation of global features does not necessarily happen. Such cases are often found in studies on popular music, especially, rock and hip hop. As will be seen below, in popular music, people use existing local linguistic features alongside with American English features.[3]

Since local strategies in global settings are often adopted for practical reasons, attitudes towards glocalization or coexistence of American and local features are often positive. Researchers such as Oanh (2012) evaluate effectivity, creativity, and diversification in glocalization or co-existence of American and local features. However, there are also negative reactions towards the phenomenon. Given that localization often coexists with Americanization, such local forms can be considered as inauthentic because such forms are not entirely independent from American forms. For example, the term "conflict" that is used to describe co-existence of American and British linguistic features in British popular music (Trudgill 1983:158-59) may reflect the speaker's or the writer's difficulty of removing all aspects of American features in contexts where the use of local forms is not firmly established. They may believe that American features are still so prevalent or culturally respectable that the complete eradication of these forms may lead to insecurity of their artistic products (see below).

2.3 Americanization in British popular music

This thesis will deal with Americanization in British popular music. Ninkovich (2014:230) claims that popular music is a "triumphant" area of Americanization as well as Hollywood movies and TV programing. On the other hand, it has also been demonstrated that localization can be observed in some acts (see below). In what follows, I will provide detailed accounts of Americanization or localization in British popular music by reviewing linguistic works. In addition to the discussion from linguistic works, I also provide works from sociology because this field also provides detailed accounts of Americanization and gives useful insights that are not proposed in linguistic studies (i.e., genre variation).

[3] However, as will be seen below, the use of American English features has been "default" in popular music (Gibson and Bell 2012). Thus, the use of local features in areas where there is a predominant use of American English may be considered as a case of adaption.

2.3.1 Sociolinguistic studies of Americanization in British popular music

In linguistic studies on British popular music, Americanization is defined as a process in which the language used in British popular music scenes is characterized by accents, words, and grammatical forms that are quantitatively more frequent in American English. Note, however, that whether American forms are realized in self-conscious ways does not really matter in linguistic analyses (Gibson and Bell 2012; Gibson 2019), although many previous studies tend to choose self-conscious variables (see Trudgill 1983; Simpson 1999). While linguistic approaches are narrow in scope in that their focus is only the language, they are at the same time more consistent than sociological studies, where different items are simultaneously and often nonequally discussed (see below). Due to this nature, it is possible to approach Americanization quantitatively by observing a number of artists, an approach which is largely absent in sociological studies.

2.3.1.1 Evidence

Trudgill (1983) is the earliest research which systematically attempted to investigate American English pronunciations. Observing a range of British artists who often appeared in music charts, he examined the use of five phonological features amongst British-born musicians. This collection of features was later dubbed the "USA-5 model" by Simpson (1999:345) and can be seen in Table 2.1.[4]

Table 2.1 "USA-5 model" (Trudgill 1983:141-43)

		AmE	BrE
1	Intervocalic /t/ (e.g., *better*)	[ɾ] or [d]	[t] or [ʔ]
2	BATH vowels (e.g., *dance, last)*	[æ]	[ɑː]
3	postvocalic /r/ (e.g., *girl, more)*	[r] (rhotic)	ø
4	PRICE vowels (e.g., *life* and *my)*	[a·]	[aɪ]
5	LOT vowels (e.g., *body* and *top)*	[ɑ]	[ɒ]

The model includes five phonological variables that appear in both American and British English (Trudgill 1983:142-43). However, some variants (shown in the left column in Table 2.1) more frequently occur in American English than in British English and are also marked self-consciously as American in non-American English-speaking countries, including the UK (Gibson and Bell 2012:144). Trudgill (1983:141) found that the accent modification towards the American styles has been current from around the 1920s until the early 1960s. A few years earlier than Trudgill (1983), Sackett (1979) also reported

[4] Trudgill (1983:142) also mentions variation in words like *love* and *done* between American [ə·] and British [ʌ] (South England) and [ʊ] (North England).

that some accent features of Southern American English were frequently adopted by earlier British rock singers.

Trudgill (1983) also noted that there is diachronic variation in the extent to which the American English accents were adopted by British singers. Trudgill (1983:151-52) made a chronological comparison of American English pronunciations by using the "USA-5 model" in selected British songs that were released between 1963 and 1973. The observation revealed that the American English variants saw a dramatic decline and that the non-American English variants saw a corresponding increase during the short period, although the American English forms were not totally eliminated. Following sociological theories as summarized above, this is a case of glocalization because the two forms are co-existent side by side. Acknowledging that his analysis is a small-scale comparison and that there are individual differences, e.g., the Rolling Stones are more resistant to change than the Beatles in terms of the avoidance of the American English pronunciations, the research suggests that something happened to singing styles among British singers during 1963-1973 (Trudgill 1983:150).

Inspired by Trudgill (1983), a number of linguists examined singing styles of various popular music performers from the UK. Simpson (1999) and Morrissey (2008), for example, sketched a qualitative picture of the way that singing styles shifted over time (1960s-1990s). What emerged from these studies is that singing in American English accents has not been one single option since the early 1960s. A number of non-American English accent variants started to be employed by UK singers although American English variants were still observed. This tendency was quantitatively supported by Carlsson (2001), who observed singing styles in selected (24) English song performers in the 1990s. By analyzing the rate of rhoticity in the same way as Trudgill (1983), Carlsson (2001:166) showed a dramatic decrease of the American English variant from 36% in the 1950s-early 1960s (Trudgill 1983: 150) to only 2% in the 1990s.[5] Recent studies (Konert-Panek 2016, 2017b; Flanagan 2019), however, reported a (dramatic) upturn in the US variants (e.g., [æ] in *dance*, rhoticity) in the "USA-5 model" in some UK songs.[6]

[5] However, according to Bennet (2010:71), a sociologist of British popular music, in 1970-1980, "many British artists pursued a transatlantic sound [American English accents]" although there were also some exceptions who used local accents in singing (e.g., Slade). Laing (1985:58), another sociologist, also states that "in the context of popular music, the mundane and everyday was actually the mainstream or 'non-accented' (sometimes called 'mid-Atlantic') accent in 1976 with singers like Abba and Queen's Freddie Mercury."

[6] Though in Australian contexts, O'Hanlon (2006) also explained the importance of different musical genres in the realization of "Americanness" at a phonological level. Drawing on linguistic data of Australian singers, she quantitatively showed that a modified version of the "USA-5 model" was less frequently employed by singers in hip hop than artists in pop, with rock singers placed somewhere in between (see O'Hanlon 2006:199-200). A similar genre variation was found in New Zealand popular music (see Gibson 2023:13-16) (see Chapter 3).

It is also important to note that there is some evidence of Americanization at a lexical level, although lexical studies are heavily skewed towards synchronic evidence. A recent study on lexicon attested some records of (African) American terms (e.g., *niggas*) in British hip hop lyrics (Hidayat and Moehkardi 2018:89). Werner (2012) also provided evidence of American English features in the morphological domain. Based on a corpus of 170,234 words (British Chart Corpus: BCCuk), he compared a number of verbal forms which alternate between American English and British English forms (e.g., *awake*/*awoke*, *sprung*/*sprang*), finding that in BCCuk, American English variants were preferred with the exception of the variation between *gotten* and *got*, where the British English form *got* was overwhelmingly used (see Werner 2012:36).

The most understudied area is lexico-grammar, probably because differences between American and British English are not very salient or perceivable at this linguistic level. There are only a few researchers who have conducted a syntactic analysis. For example, Werner (2012) took a qualitative approach to lexico-grammar and only briefly commented on variants that are more frequent in American English than in British English (e.g., *ain't*, multiple negation, third person *don't*, see Chapter 6) (see also Simpson 1999:347). Flanagan (2019) also looked at the same set of grammatical variables. Observing Arctic Monkey's albums (2006-2018), he found that these forms showed an overall decrease. However, it is important to notice that in analysis, Flanagan (2019) used these forms as (nonstandard) British English forms. Trudgill (1983) analysis also included a small amount of qualitative analysis on grammatical variables. Unlike the above researchers, his treatment to grammatical variables was contextually dependent. When he described grammatical features (e.g., third person *don't*, multiple negation) in the 1950s, he associated them with African American English forms (see Trudgill 1983:147), but the same forms were described as features of (British) working class youth when he discussed punk music in the 1970s (see Trudgill 1983:155).

2.3.1.2 Explanations

Trudgill (1983) and subsequent scholars not only offer quantitative and qualitative descriptions of the tendencies regarding the oral performance of British singers in relation to Americanization, but also attempt to explain why such style-shifts occurred. These sociolinguistic studies mainly reflect on four possibilities for the style-shift: referee design, audience design, singability, and the lyrical content.

(a) Referee design

The "acts of identity" (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985), which is now developed as Bell's (1984) referee design (see Chapter 4), holds that speech adjustments are motivated by the speaker's desire to approximate to the group or individuals with whom they wish to identify (referees).

Referee design theory explains that motivations to imitate US speech may be caused by preexisting social or cultural hierarchies or the speaker's belief that the linguistic style of American singers is the default (Beal 2009b; Gibson and Bell 2012; Jansen 2018, 2022). This theory is quite similar to accommodation theory (see below) in many respects, but the main difference is that referee design does not necessarily start with the assumption that the reference group is the interlocutor or the intended audience.

According to Trudgill (1983), who first applied this theory to the linguistic context in British popular music, the decrease of the use of American English accents in 1963-1973 can be interpreted as a demographic change in the referee group. Until the early 1960s, American songs worked as a model of British acts and rendered British scenes American with American English accents, because they were the origins of most popular songs and dominated many popular music scenes (see Trudgill 1983:144). However, after the success of the Beatles in the early 1960s, with increasing confidence, the target referee group for British popular music became their own speech and British popular music singers became less motivated to sing in American English accents.

The "going (g)local" trend was also documented with British acts between the 1970s and the 1990s (see Trudgill 1983; Simpson 1999; Carlsson 2001; Morrissey 2008). In those acts, the hybrid of American and British English forms was more common (e.g., Trudgill 1983), but one extreme case can also be found in Beal (2009b), who conducted a qualitative analysis of *Mardy Bum* by Arctic Monkeys and found a total absence of American English features ("USA-5 model"). Applying referee design theory, she claims that this was motivated by the lead vocal singer's (Alex Turner) wish to follow the norms of his own social group (i.e., speakers of Sheffield English dialect).

(b) Audience design

Accommodation theory (see Giles and Smith 1979), which is now developed as Bell's (1984) audience design (see Chapter 4), provides an explanation for speech adjustments in terms of the relationship between the speaker and a person who is present in conversation (the interlocutor). It claims that the speaker attempts to resemble or distance their speech from that of the interlocutor depending on whether they wish to show familiarity with or keep a distance from the interlocutor. The original model of accommodation theory only applies to natural conversation and explains similarities with the speech behavior of the interlocutor. Thus, the theory is different from referee design (see above) because in referee design people imitate social groups who are not necessarily physically present in conversation.

However, Trudgill (1983:143) claims that audience design can partly account for British singers' motivation to use US accents in singing if the audience can take the position of the interlocutor. In other words, one can explain this style-shifting as an attempt by British artists to win approval from Americans, whose economic potentials are greater, compared to British market, given the size of the country.

This model seems most applicable, especially when the use of American English forms increased. For example, case studies of two British female singers, i.e., Adele and Amy Winehouse, by Konert-Panek (2017a, 2017b) seem to follow this prediction. According to her studies, these two female singers increased American English vowel variants ([æ], [r] in Table 2.1) in their later albums. When their later albums were published, these female singers were active in "increasing popularity and global production context" (Konert-Panek 2017b:382). Therefore, it seems possible to link the rise in the American English variant with the shift in the consumer demographics, although we may need more data to support this.

Flanagan's (2019) phonological (e.g., variables including British *h*-dropping) and grammatical (e.g., variable including "British" *ain't* and multiple negation) analysis of Arctic Monkeys follows a similar pattern. His study involves a quantitative comparison of American English features between their earlier and later albums. On their recent albums, Flanagan (2019) observed a dramatic increase of the American English model in both accent and lexico-grammatical areas. The time when the recent albums were released corresponds to the period when the band moved to New York (Flanagan 2019:95). If the band's move to US, which happened after a global success of the band in the late 2000s, also includes a demographic change in their audience, it seems that audience design works here (cf. Heuer 2017).

However, while this model may be applicable in the decades when both the number of American English forms and the number of international (American) audience increased, this model may not be sufficient in the periods when the use of American English accents decreased but international audience increased. For instance, the 1960s may be a case in point. Although the evidence is scarce (see above), Trudgill's (1983) research revealed that the decrease of American English accents was observed in the mid-1960s. However, sociological studies such as Simonelli (2012) state that during the same period, the popularity of British popular music increased globally.

(c) Singability

Although Gibson (2010:29) claims that "singing and speech are not two distinct categories, but positions along a continuum of vocal styles," Morrissey (2008) considers the possibility that features specific to singing are related to the use of American English features. Morrissey (2008) links the physical medium of song lyrics to the phonological variability in UK songs by bringing in Burquest's (2006:148-49) sonority scale. According to this measurement, the sounds with a freedom of passage of air through vocal tract (e.g., open vowels) are realized as more sonorous than those without air passage (e.g., closed vowels) (Morrissey 2008:210-12). By charting the "USA-5 model" against the sonority scale, he found that in all variables except the vowel quality in words like *dance* and *last* (see Table 2.1 above), American English sounds have a higher sonority than British English counterparts (see Morrissey 2008:212).

However, this explanation would seem insufficient to discuss the diachronic variation of British acts (see Trudgill 1983). Also, caution must be exercised about overgeneralization on the relation between American English forms and sonorous features. In fact, more evidence was found that music singing is self-directed, rather than receptive. An example of this is illustrated by Wilson (2017), who found that in choral singing (in Trinidad and Tobago), it is Standard British English accents, not American English accents, that are quite consistently used.

(d) Lyrical content

According to Simpson (1999:351-52), the lyrical content can influence the choice of American English variants in singing. His example comes from the observation on Dire Strait's *Money for Nothing*, where Mark Knopfler (vocal) sings about a New York scene in American English accents (Simpson 1999:352). If this rule explains the stylistic shifts in British poplar music, it is expected to find evidence of diachronic shifts of the lyrical context. As will be seen in sociological studies below, it seems that singers after the 1960s indeed tend to choose British motifs for the lyrical context.

However, caution must be exercised because the relation between the lyrical content and the accent choice is not supported by other scholars such as Morrissey (2008) and Schulze (2014). Morrissey (2008:202) found that songs with many British references are still sung in American English accents. Schulze (2014) conducted a more detailed study on the effect of this factor by comparing the phonological variation and the lyrical content in works of three British rock bands: Biffy Clyro, Arctic Monkeys, and Maximo Park. The quantitative analyses revealed that while with songs by Arctic Monkeys and Maximo Park, the references found in the song lyrics and the linguistic features mostly gave the same impression, with songs by Biffy Clyro, the lyrical content did not necessarily coincide to the accent patterns. Such results suggest that the lyrical content is not a strong predictor variable on the use of American English forms.

As will be seen below, in sociological studies, the lyrical content is treated as an indicator, rather than a factor, of "Americanness." While it may be possible that different indicators affect each other when Americanization takes place, seeing the lyrical content as a factor on "Americanization" may not be a legitimate way of looking at the linguistic variation.[7]

[7] As Biber (1988) and many others show, different situations and textual genres require different linguistic uses. Trudgill (1983:143) thus proposes that singing in an American accent is a linguistic convention. However, Trudgill (1983:143-44) seems to dismiss this model, because "it is not on its own enough to provide an explanation for why it is this type of singing which is regulated in this way." Moreover, even if a speech style in singing is conventionalized in this way, this model does not at all explain why the diachronic variation of speech modification occurred since the 1960s and why it is even possible to see the total absence of American English features in some songs (see Beal 2009b). Therefore, the validity of this model is not much discussed in other previous studies.

2.3.2 Sociological studies of Americanization in British popular music

While there are a number of linguistic attempts to describe American styles in British popular music, there are also some sociological works dealing with the same topic. In sociological studies on British popular music, Americanization indicates a state or process in which the use of forms that first appeared in American popular music is conventionalized in British popular music. In relevant analyses, items that have quite different characters are observed simultaneously. Although it is not often clear which features in popular music are observed in these analyses, it seems that in addition to accents, visual looks (e.g., hair styles, fashion), musical structures (e.g., guitar chords), lyrical content, and onstage and offstage performances are mainly targeted and observed chiefly in a qualitative way.

Like linguistic studies, sociological studies also found evidence of Americanization and localization in British popular music. These previous studies also identified the same period in which the level of "Americanness" was higher (i.e., the (pre-)1950s) (cf. Cooper and Cooper 1993). However, unlike linguistic studies, it would seem that many sociologists agree that musical genres play an important role as a conditioning factor on Americanization. In these studies, much attention has been paid to hip hop, electronic, and rock, which differ in terms of the realization of "Americanness." In the following subsections, then, I will describe styles in each of these genres in UK popular music (for a detailed definition of each genre, see Chapter 3).

2.3.2.1 Evidence

Hip hop is a collective act that consists of many stylistic elements such as DJ-ing (rapping), MC-ing, breakdancing, and graffiti writing.[8] In sociological accounts, it is often described as a genre that has closer ties with American culture than the other two. Stylistic imitation of US styles by British hip hoppers includes American slang expressions and idioms (e.g., *nigga*), American English accents, lyrical content that has American cultural nuances (e.g., braggadocio, ghetto tales, misogyny, guns), American street fashion (e.g., baseball caps, hood tops, low slug jeans, gold chains, jewelry), etc. (see Wills 1990; Bennett 1999; Webb 2007; Wood 2009; Drissel 2011). Webb (2007:177) describes hip hop scenes in Bristol as follows:

> DJ sets by the Wild Bunch [a hip hop group in the 1980s in Bristol] are heavily focused on U.S. hip hop and accompanied by body popping and break dancing among the audience. The style, fashion, and party scenes look as though they could have been shot in New York. As well as consuming hip hop in its musical form, a Bristolian club-going audience were consuming New York style trainers,

[8] Note that in sociological works, genres refer not only to the singer's music performance, but also to offstage practices among participants (both singers and audience). Therefore, the term *hip hop* (rather than rap) is used in this literature review.

sports clothing, and hip hop jewelry.

Bennett (1999:12) describes a similar situation in the 1990s, in which he saw on the way to a hip hop night in a bar in Newcastle a group dressed in "typical African American hip hop style clothes." Borthwick and Moy (2004:172) also introduces recent American-centric hip hop styles (e.g., Mark Morrison).

However, this does not mean that American imitation is warmly welcomed with hip hop acts in the UK. Wood (2009:183) introduces an ambiguous set of feelings by British hip hoppers towards American hip hop influences:

> [A] sense of appreciation for and respect towards the impact of influence in articulating a sense of cultural identification along with a sense of disappointment that what had felt like an inclusive, malleable form of black culture that could translate globally had rapidly become a hegemonic form of black American culture which looked down upon other Hip Hop scenes as being both artistically and culturally inferior, lacking a sense of authenticity.

In the mid-1980s, such hip hop singers gradually became the target of negative commentary, by which their acts were harshly criticized as inauthentic or, if their ethnicity was white, as "wiggers," a pejorative term to refer to white people who imitate black people (Bennett 1999:13). In response to such calls for local acts, since the 1990s, some British hip hop bands have started to localize and innovate British hip hop styles by using local English accents and lyrical content associated with their social group (e.g., race, class), by incorporating into US styles musical elements or instruments which are more locally associated (e.g., reggae, funk), and by filming music promotion videos in British cities (Willis 1990; Bennett 1999; Hesmondhalgh and Melville 2002; Borthwick and Moy 2004; Webb 2007; Wood 2009; Drissel 2011). However, in the UK, according to Hesmondhalgh and Melville (2002:92),"many succeeded only in adopting a slurred hybrid that located the rap somewhere in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean," and those local acts failed to appear in music charts and were successful only in underground scenes.[9]

Electronic music is music which is characterized by technology like synthesizer. Contrary to hip hop, in many sociological accounts, electronic music is often described as having a higher degree of "Britishness." In electronic music, the association with "Britishness" is commonly realized in the use of local accents and lyrical content associated with local culture (see Borthwick and Moy 2004), but electronic bands in Manchester, which are collectively called Madchester (e.g., Happy Mondays, Inspiral Carpets, 808 State) also emphasize "Britishness" by committing to various social activities, e.g., disclosing youth delinquency in their hometown, wearing fashion designed by a Manchester designer,

[9] There are some (sub)genres which are derived from hip hop and later developed as localized styles (e.g., grime) (Pichler and Williams 2016; Drummond 2018). However, my database (see Chapter 5) includes such cases (e.g., So Solid Crew) as electronic music.

performing concerts at a local football stadium (see Wiseman-Trowse 2008; Milestone 2018). Other electronic bands in British urban cities (e.g., Bristol) use locally associated musical elements to make their songs British. For example, local sounds that existed prior to the introduction of synthesizer (e.g., punk, reggae, funk) are mixed with new electronic sounds by Portishead (Webb 2007:178). Rambarran (2020:153) also notes that the Pet Shop Boys employ British old-fashioned gestures (e.g., stiff upper lip) on stage in a TV show in order to make a song performance look British. British motifs represented in this genre range from regional or working-class identity to British urban life, to British history, to anti-Americanism (see Borthwick and Moy 2004).

Finally, rock music refers to music which is characterized by upbeat tempos produced by musical instruments such as electronic guitars and keyboards. Compared to hip hop and electronic music, the situation of rock music is a little more complicated, because the realization of "Americanness" is different between earlier and latter rock acts. The borderline seems to exist between the early 1960s and the late 1960s. British rock music before 1964 (the first year of "the British Invasion," when British acts first dominated American music charts), whose acts are commonly called rock n' roll, is often described as highly "Americanized." In terms of music structure, those songs are similar to American songs in the 1950s and the 1960s and characterized by elements from a wide variety of musical genres (e.g., jazz, blues, skiffle, rock) that were imported to the UK through interaction with US servicemen as well as radio broadcasting and movies (Lebovic 2017:48-49, 57). In singing, it was common for British singers to use American English accents as well as to use lyrics that have American cultural references (e.g., cowboy, Mississippi) (see Price 1997). They also stylized their stage names, hairstyles (e.g., long, greased hair), and clothing (e.g., black motorbike jackets, jeans) in a way that they resemble then American popular music singers (e.g., Elvis Presley) or movie stars (e.g., Marlon Brando) (see Cooper and Cooper 1993; Lebovic 2017). According to Cooper and Cooper (1993:64), those British acts (e.g., Tommy Steele, Billy Fury) all looked like Elvis Presley, whose "Latin good looks" and "cowboy speech and manner" attracted British youth in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

By contrast, British rock music scenes from the late 1960s were radically different from those in the early 1960s, in that British artists more frequently used British localized styles. One of the earliest attempts was made by the Beatles, who used regional accents (i.e., Liverpool English) in singing (see Bennet 1997:22). In song lyrics, British motifs which are related to British working-class culture were often found (see Simonelli 2012).

Their British styles, especially aspects characterized by regional accents and performance in music hall forms (another element of British styles) (cf. Laing 2003), influenced other British rock bands in subsequent years, although the way that those singers performed "Britishness" varied considerably from band to band. In the late 1960s, for example, rock acts called rhythm and blues (or more commonly called R&B) (e.g., the Rolling Stones) displayed their "Britishness" by showing their "vulgar, aggressive, and arrogant" (Simonelli 2012:52) working class characters. According to

Simonelli (2012:54), such British styles were created by emphasizing visual images (e.g., unclean, messy hairstyle), offstage behaviors (e.g., disclosing traffic violations), and song lyrics full of sexual contents. These acts can also be seen as a rebellion against middle class norms, which value politeness and indirectness. Punk rock from the late 1970s and indie music from the 1980s also highlighted "Britishness" of a more politically rebellious nature, as is evidenced by the lyrical content that was highly colored with political stances (see Cloonan 1997). In TV shows and promotion videos, the Union Jack was sometimes visualized for such political rock bands (e.g., the Sex Pistols, Morrisey, Suede, Blur) (see Whiteley 2010:269-70).

On the other hand, other rock acts (e.g., folk rock, progressive rock, heavy metal, hard rock, glam rock) appealed mostly to members of the elite, i.e., middle class (Wiseman-Trowse 2008:108), by taking a much less rebellious and more receptive approach to "Britishness." Like the more rebellious rock artists mentioned above, in their song lyrics and music compositions, they tended to use local accents, but they were more likely to feature themes related to positive or nostalgic references to British pastoral or pre-industrial or working-class life, rather than various sufferings of the working class (Wiseman-Trowse 2008; Simonelli 2012). For example, the Small Faces and the Hollies promoted themselves by being photoshot at a UK farm as a part of their promotion of such "Britishness" (Fugh 2021:221, 229). Slade stated in a TV show that they valued their regional identity by revealing that they were based in their hometown even after they met a commercial success and had gigs in London (Bennet 2010:75).

In more recent rock, British styles were manifested based on imitations of earlier British acts. Such styles are found in many members of indie rock, a group which is collectively called Britpop (e.g., Oasis, Blur) and Britpop 2 (e.g., Arctic Monkeys, Kaiser Chiefs). Many members of Britpop have musical roots on the 1960s rock bands, such as the Beatles, the Small Faces, and the Kinks (Bennet 1997). Earlier rock styles that embodied a social group called mods were visually and lyrically imitated in music videos by Britpop acts such as Blur, Oasis, and Pulp (Bennet 1997; Borthwick and Moy 2004). On the other hand, members of Britpop 2 have a historical linkage with 1970s British rock (Collinson 2010:166). For example, Kaiser Chief's songs are characterized by "references in lyrics, interviews, and promotional materials to Leeds United Football Club, and its glory days of the 1970s" (Collinson 2010:169). Both British acts are anti-commercialists, which is another way of being British because commercialism is associated with Americanism (see Borthwick and Moy 2004:188-89). However, it is not often clear whether they really resist commercialism, because after all, their songs are commercial products.

While those sociological narratives often stress "Britishness" in British rock acts, it is also important to note that they also frequently mention American influences on their style (see Morra 2014). For many British rock musicians, American rock styles were important sources for their music production even after they made a commercial success (Fuhg 2021:213). It is very well-known that the Rolling Stones "worshipped" rhythm and blues idols in the United States (Simonelli 2012:56). Styles of 1970s rock bands have

similarities with rhythm and blues and early punk rock in the US (e.g., Alice Cooper) (Bennet 2010:75) in terms of not only musical elements, but also outrage performance (Laing 1985:23). For example, the Clash's smash on their bass resembles Elvis's Presley's lifted guitar (see Feldner 2017:22). Some British bands (e.g., the Beatles, the Kinks) were also influenced by other American genres (e.g., skiffle, jazz, blues) (see Baxter-Moore 2006; Morra 2014).

2.3.2.2 Explanations

Like linguistic explanations, sociological explanations of Americanization in British popular music also assume that there are reference models for the choice of the style. They put a focus on background narratives on why a particular stylistic model has often been chosen by British singers. Here, I summarize the background discourse on the genres mentioned above.

In the case of hip hop, which, as stated earlier, is often explained as having a high degree of "Americanness," the reference model is most likely African Americans. Since the origin of hip hop is African American street life in New York City in the early 1970s (Borthwick and Moy 2004), this means that hip hop styles in the UK follow the original form of American culture and do not much develop British localized acts. This is because hip hop tends to adhere to "cultural authenticity" (Barker and Taylor 2007:x), i.e., the cultural practitioners strongly believe that authentic hip hop acts can be achieved by adhering to historically or culturally originated acts.

The claim that hip hop in the UK follows cultural authenticity may be somewhat surprising because research on hip hop in non-American countries often emphasizes local orientation of music performance, that is, "personal authenticity" (Barker and Taylor 2007:x), as aesthetic value. In hip hop in the US, personal authenticity is highly valued because the genre has a norm called "keepin' it real" (see Speers 2017), a cultural practice derived from African culture (Smitherman 1997:4). The norm requires that singers create their artistic performance in a way in which the content or performance of their song is personally connected. In American popular music, attitudes towards personal authenticity are often found in the lyrical content and local accents (Alim 2004:394, 400). This is often the case with some non-American countries (see O'Hanlon 2006; Pennycook 2007; Alim 2009; Moody 2012; Morgan 2016; Gibson 2023), but in the UK, it would seem that such "keepin' it real" attempts are not much documented in previous literature, especially of singers who regularly appear in music charts.

As a background for the establishment of cultural authenticity in hip hop in the UK, sociologists often introduce the role of commercial movies that featured hip hop culture. In the 1980s and the 1990s, when hip hop culture was still new to many Britons and the popularity was limited to some cities (e.g., Bristol, Birmingham, London), there were many movies released by American companies (e.g., *Wild Style* (1982), *Style Wars* (1983), *Beat Street* (1984), *She's Gotta Have It* (1986), *Boyz n the Hood* (1991), *Menace II Society*

(1993)). These movies helped to shape public visual and audio ideas about hip hop culture—the violence of inner-city life, conflict with police, drug use, and African American lexis, etc. (see Borthwick and Moy 2004; Webb 2007; Wood 2009). Since most of those movies were shot in New York and African American actors (singers) dominated those movies, the relation of hip hop with American culture has been firmly established among Britons (Borthwick and Moy 2004:168-69).

In addition to such commercial strategies by American companies, a lack of influential talents in British hip hop is also frequently mentioned as a possible cause that inhibits a development of localized British hip hop. Although as noted earlier, hip hop was imported in the UK in the 1980s and a number of UK hip hop musicians (e.g., Monie Love, Mark Morrison) have emerged on the music scene, their popularity has been largely limited to underground scenes or remained short-lived on mainstream scenes (Hesmondhalgh 2001:281-82). This may be because British rappers fail to gain much commercial support from independent or major labels due to general agreement among supporters that localized acts do not much appeal to a global audience. As will be seen below, such commercial concerns can also be related to other localized music, but in the case of hip hop, song lyrics tend to be more strongly personally or locally oriented due to its "keepin' it real" norm and include many hip hop terms, which may make it harder for songs to receive success from people without deep shared local knowledge about rappers. Another reason why British hip hop fails to commercially succeed is that there has been a racial discrimination against black musicians in the UK, in which record companies and radio stations approach black and white artists differently (Hesmondhalgh 2001:281-82; Wood 2009:181-82). According to Wood (2009:181-82), white musicians can often sign a long-term contract with record companies, while many black musicians can only make a short-term contract.[10]

By contrast, given that there were many British localized acts, the stylistic model of electronic music is most likely "British," i.e., the singer's social or local community, although electronic music also originated in the US (Collins, Schedel, and Wilson 2013:106-07). In Barker and Taylor's (2007:x) terms, with electronic music, the direction of music authenticity is personal authenticity, i.e., people believe that authentic music acts can be achieved by displaying associations with the musician's personal experience, hometown, or nationality.

The reason why electronic music tends to choose personal authenticity may be that despite the US origin, the style developed mostly in the UK. Electronic music includes almost any music songs which use an electronic machine (synthesizer) for music making. This means that singers who commonly belong to other genres can also draw on this technology and that electronic music thus tends to reflect many features of other genres in its music style. In British contexts, it has often been said that rock had the most

[10] Another possible reason for "Americanness" in hip hop is that by the time hip hop emerged on music scenes, another music style (e.g., blues, jazz) may have created an indexical connection of "black music" with America. At present, however, this is merely a conjecture.

powerful influence on electronic music, especially during 1979-1984 (Borthwick and Moy 2004:120). Among others, the influence of punk rock and its derivative genre called New Wave had been strong in the late 1970s in the UK (Borthwick and Moy 2004:120-24). Since punk and New Wave have a genre norm that values personal authenticity and thus are strongly associated with British working-class culture, electronic music often inherits its "Britishness" (e.g., the lyrical content, accent) in its style (see Borthwick and Moy 2004:126). Even after 1985, when new American electronic styles came from the underground of some US cities, most notably in Chicago and Detroit (Collins, Schedel, and Wilson 2013:106-7), the main development of electronic music has taken place in Britain, not in the US. This is because US entrepreneurs were not interested in developing American talent (van Venrooij 2015:106) or promoting American musicians in MTV, a medium that played the most important role in spreading popular music in the 1980s (see Fowler 2017). In addition, Hesmondhalgh (2001:279) also notes danceability of electronic music as a factor of the establishment of the genre in the UK, in which there has been a longstanding centrality of the dance club in the lives of British youth since prior to the emergence of the music. Although since the 1990s, American music has regained popularity (Borthwick and Moy 2004), the British association with electronic music seems to be maintained.[11]

In the case of rock music, the choice of the referee model is historically conditioned, as the preferable style in British rock is different according to periods. Given that rock until the early 1960s is largely American and that rock music was imported from the US, earlier rock follows an American cultural model because of adherence to cultural authenticity (Barker and Taylor 2007:x). This is not a surprising fact, given that the earliest cultural transfer often happens in the form of adoption, rather than adaptation. Besides, from the late 1950s to the early 1960s, only a few British acts had a commercial success in American and British music charts, which made British acts assume that American styles are more legitimate than British localized acts (see Inglis 2009:379-80; Gourvish and Tennent 2010:199). Cloonan (1997:47-48) explains:

> After the arrival of rock and roll in the mid-1950s, English popular musicians appeared little concerned with assuming the mantle of national representatives or tackling issues of national identity. Trying to recreate American sounds, rather than trying to formulate a particularly English alternative, was the object of early English pioneers of rock and roll. At this point popular music was not held to have a role in defining the nation.

[11] Due to lack of previous literature, situations on electronic music are not much documented. However, North et al.'s (2020:855-57) examination of genre preferences in the US and UK shows that in the 2010s, the popularity of electronic music was still higher in the UK than in the US. Since popularity often leads to genre developments (see Hesmondhalgh 2001), this would mean that British associations with electronic music may have been strongly persistent even in the 2010s (see Chapter 4).

However, as seen above, rock from the late 1960s onwards became more British stylistically. This means that they began to consider a British model as an aesthetically legitimate form. Sociologists (e.g., Cooper and Cooper 1993; Cloonan 1997; Inglis 2009; Simonelli 2012; Fugh 2021) seem to agree that this is an outcome of the Beatles' commercial success in popular music scenes (see Gourvish and Tennent 2010:199) and of their adoption of British styles after the success. The success of the rock band and the development of localized rock music increased confidence of other rock bands, leading singers to follow personal authenticity. It is also important to note that like hip hop acts, the original (i.e., American) rock acts also have a genre norm that values the singer's self-image (see Chapter 3). While the influence from the genre norm was not evident from rock acts in the early 1960s, the fact that acts from the late 1960s started to show local styles would mean that the increase of the popularity of British acts not only encouraged music producers to create local styles, but also to adhere to the genre norm of rock.

However, where rock music differs from other British acts (i.e., electronic music) is that, even after the 1960s, American rock acts were equally active and that American styles never ceased to export their songs to the UK. It is also important to note that American rock songs often dominated many high positions in music charts even after the 1960s (see Gourvish and Tennent 2010:119). This would mean that American music songs still worked as an important inspiration for British acts after the early 1960s. According to Fugh (2021:213), this was most evident when popularity of British acts started to wane. Therefore, cultural authenticity was still highly valued with rock music, in addition to personal authenticity, resulting in the coexistence of the double national standards with rock acts.

Note that one complexity regarding rock music is that musical styles of Britpop and Britpop 2 are similar to those in British rock acts in the 1960s and 1970s, which led some researchers (e.g., Bennet 1997, 2010; Borthwick and Moy 2004; Collinson 2010; Feldner 2017) to claim that their music model is the earlier British rock styles. If such views are accepted, then, this would mean that in Barker and Taylor's (2007:x) terms, rock musicians in the 1990s and 2000s followed cultural authenticity of British models. While we can see some acts (e.g., Arctic Monkeys) who used local accents or lyrical content associated with their hometown (Borthwick and Moy 2004; Beal 2009b), the fact that many Britpop and Britpop 2 are often compared with earlier rock acts seems to be an important aspect in considering styles in terms of identity of place.

2.4 Research questions

Although linguistic research on Americanization tends to have a narrower scope compared to sociological and musicological research, it has methodological merits in that the analysis is consistent and can be quantitative if there are many texts available. Given the analytical strengths, this study takes a linguistic analysis when discussing the issue of Americanization.

As summarized in the previous section, many linguistic studies have undertaken the issue of Americanization in British popular music since Trudgill's (1983) ground-breaking research, which used the variable framework based on the "USA-5 model." As useful as these studies have been, there are, however, limitations in the previous literature. I have identified at least six problems.

First, previous linguistic research on Americanization in British popular music is heavily skewed towards phonology. Noticeable exceptions are Werner (2012), Hidayat and Moehkardi (2018), and Flanagan (2019). Among others, the most extensive work is Werner (2012), who observed a number of grammatical items such as *ain't*, third person *don't*, and multiple negation. While his study yielded new insights on Americanization in British popular music, his work is largely qualitative and not as systematic as phonological research, in that he does not conduct a variable analysis to those linguistic items. Perhaps, researchers avoid grammatical variables as research objects because compared to variants in phonological variables, usually, variants in grammatical variables do not have clear associations with a particular social identity. However, by showing empirical evidence, recent sociological studies (e.g., Moore 2021) propose that even grammatical variables can be used as an identity marker. Therefore, there are no sensible reasons to avoid grammatical variables for sociolinguistic research.

Second, there has been a lack of quantitative research based on a large dataset. Inspired by Trudgill (1983), some researchers also took a quantitative approach to the issue of Americanization (Carlsson 2001; Schulze 2014; Konert-Panek 2016, 2017b, 2017a, 2018; Krause and Smith 2017b; Flanagan 2019). However, their datasets tend to consist of a smaller number of songs from a limited set of singers. Carlsson (2001) observed 24 British musicians in the 1990s. Schulze (2014) examined 3 bands. Krause and Smith (2017) dealt with two Scottish singers. Konert-Panek (2016, 2017a, 2017b, 2018) and Flanagan (2019) focused on one singer or band. Therefore, it is not very clear whether the "going local" or "going American" trend as proposed in these studies is a general tendency in British acts or applicable only to the singers who they investigated.

Third, genre research has not been conducted in British popular music contexts.[12] While sociological researchers as well as linguistic researchers of Australian and New Zealand popular music (O'Hanlon 2006; Gibson 2019, 2023) put emphasis on musical factors in the realization of American styles, previous research on British popular music tends to ignore differences in musical genres and focus on rock music only. Given that in British popular music, there are genre categories other than rock (see Chapter 3), genre research is called for in the context of British popular music in order to fully understand the mechanism underlying Americanization.

[12] There are, however, brief comments on subgenres of rock music in British popular music (Simpson 1999; Morrisey 2008).

Fourth, many researchers tend to take a synchronic rather than diachronic approach. There are some exceptions such as Trudgill (1983) (1960s-1980s), Simpson (1999) (1960s-1990s), Morrissey (2008) (1960s-1990s), Konert-Panek (2016, 2017a) (2003-2006), and Flanagan (2019) (2000s-2010s), but many recent studies tend to focus on synchronic variation based on selective singers (see Carlsson 2001; Beal 2009b; Krause and Smith 2017). As seen in sociological studies, one of the important characteristics of Americanization in British popular music is a diachronic change of styles, which is effectively observable within the same framework based on large diachronic corpora. Thus, this area is also worth exploring.

Fifth, there would be more discussion on possible candidates for linguistic models of Americanization (or localization). While previous studies provide many explanations on why American styles occur in British popular music, none of them support their claim by using empirical evidence. For example, in previous studies, American singers are often suggested as models for British popular music, but comparison between American popular music and British popular music has not been conducted. Also, the discussion on musical factors, which is largely absent in previous literature except for Morrissey (2008), is required to understand Americanization more fully.

Finally, previous studies take few interdisciplinary approaches. As seen above, we have many previous studies that describe Americanization from a sociological perspective. However, the valuable knowledge that has been gained from those sociological studies has hardly been compared with linguistic studies except for Schulze (2014), who compared the tendency of Americanization at both phonological and sociological (i.e., lyrical and visual) domains. Even within linguistic studies, no studies intersect disciplinary boundaries, with the exception of Flanagan (2019), who combined a grammatical analysis with a phonological one. Given that making songs in an American way is related to issues such as styles, style-shifts, and stylization (see Chapter 4) and that styles often occur in many different domains (see Eckert 2000; Bucholtz 2011), such a view is problematic. Thus, a holistic view is necessary in order to fully understand the phenomenon, even though the practical method in research is confined to one of the disciplinary levels (in this case, linguistics).

In this study, I will pay a special attention to “American” English forms in British popular music by investigating grammatical variables. Like other sociolinguistic studies, the definition of *Americanization* in this thesis is as follows:

> Americanization is a phenomenon in which physical or non-physical items which are perceptually or quantitatively associated with US frequently occur in non-American contexts.

The present study will overcome the limitation of a scale of previous studies by examining approximately 5,500 songs which appeared in British music charts between 1953 and 2009 (see Chapter 5). In this thesis, the following question will be addressed:

RQ1: Is there any quantitative evidence of Americanization at a lexico-grammatical level?

To investigate the effects of genre and diachronic factors on the grammatical realization of the forms, the research question further asks the following questions if there is evidence of Americanization in British popular music:

RQ1a: Do music genres affect the degree of "Americanness"?

RQ1b: Is the degree of "Americanness" different between the 1950s and the 2000s?

RQ1c: Who or what are possible US model(s) for the language style of British popular music?

Results obtained from the grammatical analysis will also be compared with those from the phonological and sociological works that have been reviewed above, in order to address the issue of Americanization more generally. Therefore, this thesis will address the following question in addition to RQ1.

RQ2: Do the observed lexico-grammatical patterns display a different or similar picture from patterns at other linguistic (e.g., phonological) or behavioral (e.g., musical, visual, lyrical) levels?

2.5 Conclusion

Having established the definition of *Americanization*, this chapter discussed findings of previous studies. While the focus is narrow and there are areas which need to be improved, linguistic research tends to provide a consistent analysis. Based on a dataset, the variable framework also serves as a vehicle to understand Americanization on scale. Therefore, I will also take a linguistic approach to this issue. However, my research is different from previous studies in some respects. My research will improve previous approaches to this issue in terms of research objects, quantitative scale, the number of decades, and methods to identify referee design targets. Following sociological studies and inspired by O'Hanlon (2006) and Gibson (2019, 2023), I will also investigate genre variation in popular music. Finally, I will also take an interdisciplinary approach by drawing on sociological and phonological studies, in order to fully understand Americanization.

Chapter Three

Why popular music?

3.1 Overview

In Chapter 2, I have reviewed previous literature related to popular music. However, one aspect that has not been discussed yet is the definition of *popular music.* Therefore, in Chapter 3, I address the definition of the term, as well as other important aspects of popular music such as musical genres and linguistic features found in the text variety. Also, this chapter provides the rationale behind using popular music as a research object.

This chapter begins with the definition of popular music (§3.2), which is followed by genre categories in popular music (§3.3) and descriptions of basic situational and linguistic characteristics of popular music (§3.4). The discussion is further elaborated in the next section by giving justifications for studying popular music (§3.5). In §3.6, I summarize the discussion in the previous sections.

3.2 Defining *popular music*

This chapter begins with the most fundamental issue of popular music: what is popular music? Although this question may be too obvious to some people, it is very important, especially when analyzing popular music in a systematic way, because it can be a reference point in methodological decisions on which songs to include or exclude in the analysis. In this thesis, as will be seen below, such a consideration was crucial, when I created two song lyrics databases (corpora) for the present research (see Chapter 5). In this section, therefore, I review and draw on definitions of popular music given by researchers in cultural studies, especially sociologists and musicologists.

Perhaps, the difficulty about defining *popular music* lies in different usages of the adjective *popular* in previous literature. The situation thus led many scholars (e.g., Jones and Rahn 1977; Williams 1985; Middleton 1990; Adorno 1998; Shuker 2001; Strinati 2004; Wall 2013; Storey 2018; Weinstock 2022) to make attempts in defining the term or *popular culture* (*music*), while most attempts seem to be more or less similar. According to those scholars, there are at least five different uses of *popular*, although it would seem that some of the five senses are overlapped to some extent.

The first definition of *popular* is to be liked or admired by many people. In this usage, commercial products (e.g., songs) that are well liked and commercial products that are not well liked are explicitly or implicitly compared. Quantitative economic scales such as sales figures and the number of downloads may be used to differentiate what is liked by many people from what is not liked. Given that many linguistic researchers use music

charts for the selection of songs, this is the main definition that linguists seem to employ (e.g., Kreyer and Mukherjee 2007; Werner 2012, 2021a; Kreyer 2015, 2016; Motschenbacher 2016; Watanabe 2017; Gibson 2019, 2023, to name a few). While such economic indexes are methodologically useful for analysis, this definition is "virtually useless as a conceptual definition" (Storey 2018:5), because there are no meaningful cut-off points between what is *popular* and what is not. (For example, can we say that a number-twenty single is more important than a number nineteen?).

The second use of the adjective *popular* is related to its aesthetic value: low quality. In some cases, the shortened term *pop* is used to refer to the derogatory sense of *popular* (e.g., Williams 1985; Rojek 2011). In this definition, popular products are considered as inferior to products that belong to high culture, since they are standardized due to mass-production (Adorno 1998:198) and usually made for entertainment (Wall 2013:iv). In addition to this aspect, the fact that those products are generated by ordinary people—another sense of *popular* (see below)—invites criticism, since it has been considered that their production and performance do not require specialist knowledge (e.g., aesthetic theory), education, long-term training, or expensive musical instruments, etc. However, the definition based on such negative perceptions is subjective. It also has a methodological problem in that many cultural products (intentionally) cross boundaries between "high" and "low" cultural components (cf. Storey 2018:7). For example, music for entertainment is becoming more and more professional, in that like classic music, popular music develops aesthetic value like cultural authenticity and personal authenticity (see Chapter 2) and that many singers receive professional training (see Laing 1985; Frith and Horne 1987). Attempts by musicians from progressive rock (i.e., rock in the 1970s) are well known examples. These musicians intentionally cross boundaries between high culture and low culture by using an expensive orchestra technology and embodying an idea of Romanticism (see Simonelli 2012). Due to such ambiguity, this definition of *popular* is not generally applied in empirical (i.e., data-based) academic research, although such a derogatory sense may still be prevalent.

The third use of *popular* is mass. In this usage, the term is defined in relation to the intended audience (mass audience) and methods of distribution (mass distribution). The definition of *popular music* based on this usage of the adjective *popular* is explained by musicologist Tagg (2015:5), who attempts to describe popular music by comparing other types of music (folk music and classic (art) music). According to his definition, there are six characteristics that are crucial for the distinction: whether music is produced and transmitted by professional or amateurs, mass distribution, the main mode of storage and distribution, the type of society in which the category of music mostly occurs, written theory and aesthetics, and the composer or author (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 Characteristics of folk, classic, and popular music (Tagg 2015:5)[13]

Characteristic		Folk	Classic (Art)	Popular Music
Produced and transmitted by	primarily by professionals		✓	✓
	primarily by amateurs	✓		
Mass distribution	usual			✓
	unusual	✓	✓	
Main mode of storage and distribution	oral transmission	✓		
	musical notation		✓	
	recorded sound			✓
Type of society in which the category of music mostly occurs	nomadic and agrarian	✓		
	agrarian and industrial		✓	
	industrial			✓
Written theory and aethetics	common	✓	✓	
	uncommon	✓		✓
Composer/Author	anonymous	✓		
	non-anonymous		✓	✓

Among the six features in Table 3.1, three characteristics are the most important in order to describe popular music, i.e., mass distribution, the main mode of storage and distribution, and the type of society in which the category of music mostly occurs. In Tagg's (2015) classification, popular music is described as recorded music that is operated by music industry and distributed under the "one to many" system of mass distribution (see also Powers 2022:462). One problem about this definition is, however, that nowadays, it is hard to find cultural products that are not under the influence of commercialism (Middleton 1990:4; Shuker 2001:4). For example, folk and classic music can also be recorded with the same recording device as popular music. Therefore, it is questionable whether the classification such as Table 3.1 is useful in practice. In fact, these days, there are even some attempts to consider folk and classic music as genres of popular music, rather than different music types from it. Such attempts have already been seen in many online music catalogues (e.g., *Myspace*, *Discogs*).

The fourth usage of the term *popular* is ordinary people (folks) (see Storey 2018:9). In this definition, unlike the three definitions mentioned above, the term *popular* excludes all senses of commercialism and instead includes an opposite sense to it. Cultural products outside commercialism are considered as authentic because they represent a real voice of a specific social group (e.g., working class people, African American people). Those products are also considered as creative because they are not affected by standardization. By contrast, cultural products under commercialism are imposed from "above" (i.e., industry). They lack uniqueness due to mass production. Storey (2018:9) states that the problem with *popular* in this usage is who qualifies for inclusion ordinary

[13] The original work is Tagg (1982). Due to substantial sociocultural changes that would affect individual categorization decisions, Tagg (2015) revised the original work, but basic claims regarding classifications of folk music, classic music, and popular music have not radically been changed.

people and which features are considered as ordinary in the era where commercial products are everywhere. Therefore, this definition also lacks practicality in empirical analysis on cultural studies.

The fifth usage of the term *popular* is very inclusive. As seen earlier, many of the above definitions have problems about the conceptualization. Therefore, the fifth usage takes a very inclusive approach to the term *popular* by rejecting proposed differentiation between being well liked and not being well liked, between low culture and high culture, between mass culture and non-mass culture, and between being ordinary and not being ordinary. Therefore, in this usage, any music can be classified as popular music (cf. Middleton 1990:7).

On a related note, the term *popular music* is sometimes shortened (*pop*) and used as a derogatory meaning in relation to high or folk culture. However, there is one more meaning of *pop* which is employed in previous studies: a genre of popular music. In sociology, as seen in a lack of studies which deal with the genre (see Chapter 2), the genre tends not to be treated as an independent genre. This may be because it is widely considered that the genre lacks aesthetic theory like "keepin' it real" (hip hop) and (personal) authenticity (rock). Therefore, it is often treated as a residual category (Frith 2001:95). However, in other areas (not exclusively academics), there is a general agreement that pop is an independent genre in popular music. Such views can clearly be seen in genre entries in many online music catalogues (e.g., *Myspace*, *Discogs)*. The independent status may also be empirically supported by the fact that pop and other genres (e.g., rock, hip hop) show different linguistic features, e.g., romantic themes, the frequent use of American English pronunciations (at least in Australian popular and New Zealand music), and the low type-token ratio (see O'Hanlon 2006; Sophiadi 2014; Brett and Pinna 2019; Gibson 2023, 2019).

In this study, I follow the first definition of *popular* (i.e., to be liked by many people) and define *popular music* as commercial music, especially successful songs as appear on music charts. I must admit that this decision was motivated by the fact that it is relatively easy to obtain data such as music charts (see Chapter 5). While I acknowledge that like other definitions, this definition has a problem, one benefit of using this definition is consistency with the definition used by previous studies. As stated in Chapter 2, in the present study, I will compare the realization of "Americanness" in grammatical variables with that in phonological and sociological variables as reported in previous studies, in order to see if there is a different level of "Americanness" between variables at different semiotic levels. Therefore, an approach similar to that of previous studies is required. In previous studies, many scholars tend to discuss successful singers (i.e., singers who often appear on music charts), although they do not explicitly mention how they chose their target singers. Note also that this does not mean that this thesis will take a whole different approach from researchers who applied different definitions of popular music. Defining popular music as commercially successful songs would mean that the definition is much overlapped with the third definition (mass) (Middleton 1990:5). However, in this

thesis, unlike the third definition, the comparison with folk music and classic music is not presupposed.

A final note is the use of the shortened *pop* in the present research. In this thesis, like previous linguistic studies on popular music (e.g., O'Hanlon 2006; Brett and Pinna 2019; Gibson 2019, 2023), the term *pop* is not used as a delegatory sense of popular music but reserved for an independent genre of popular music (see below).

3.3 Genres in popular music

Although in practice, there are sometimes disagreements among music companies in the choice of genre labels (see Summers 2008) and there are rather fuzzy definitions of each genre (see Holt 2009), genre classification is a common way of differentiating popular music songs (there are at least some well-known genre categories, e.g., hip hop, rock, electronic, and pop). A possible reason why genre categories exist is that genre categories are important in terms of marketing strategies. Generally, songs that do not clearly fit within existing categories have a greater chance to fail to gain commercial success than songs that have clear genre features (see van Venrooij and Schmutz 2018). Therefore, many music companies make marketing decisions on strategies regarding "record sessions, promotional photos, record jackets, press interviews, video styles, and so on" (Frith 1996:78) based on genres.

Genre differences can also be found in linguistic variation (see phonological variation for O'Hanlon 2006 and Gibson 2019, 2023, see lexico-grammatical variation for Brett and Pinna 2019, and see pragmatical and thematic variation for Sophiadi 2014). For example, previous studies (O'Hanlon 2006; Gibson 2019, 2023) show that genre categories are important in the phonological realization of "Americanness" in non-American popular music. The phonological analysis on Australian (see O'Hanlon 2006) and New Zealand (see Gibson 2019, 2023) popular music revealed that the level of "Americanness" of many phonological variables is higher in pop than in hip hop. Gibson (2023:20) explains that the difference in the realization may be related to genre norms. In hip hop, due to local orientation ("keepin' it real"), the level of "Americanness" is low. In pop, due to lack of local orientation and adherence to commercialism, the level of "Americanness" is high.

The fact that genre practices such as genre norms play an important role in the realization of "Americanness" indicates that it is necessary to understand rules underlying each genre for research on Americanization. Thus, in this thesis, I attempt to describe musical genres. In both academic and non-academic fields, there are many attempts to describe musical genres, but among others, an attempt by Fabbri (1982) is useful in that rather than using a single indicator, he highlighted multimodality of music genres and proposed five, but partly overlapping, aspects that condition music practices of a genre, allowing for a comprehensive view on music genres (see also Frith 1996). An attempt by Fabbri (1982) is rather old, but the genre classification based on multiple

features is a common method to describe genre categories in popular music (see Borthwick and Moy 2004).

- Formal and technical rules include sonic characteristics such as singing styles, melodies, rhythms, musical instruments, and linguistic features such as syntactical and lexical choice.

- Semiotic rules refer to themes of songs.

- Behavioral rules include participants, practices during performance, and the singer's musical skills, fashion, and on- and off-stage performance as well as the audience's knowledge about genres.

- Social and ideological rules highlight genre norms.

- Economical and judicial rules refer to conventions regarding production and distribution.

Note also that Fabbri (1982) uses "rules" to describe the five aspects of each genre but it may be more appropriate to take proposed genre characteristics as tendencies, rather than as rules, given that in practice, music producers often create songs by crossing genre boundaries (see Holt 2009:4). Therefore, even if some features are not described as features of a particular genre, it does not mean that the features do not appear with this genre.

While all features that exemplify the five rules of each genre are important elements, the social and ideological rules play a more important role than the other rules, in that the rules can decide the realization of other rules such as semiotic rules (lyrics) and economical and judicial rules (methods of music production and distribution), because they are related to norms (e.g., personal authenticity). Genre norms are important in popular music because how much a song follows the direction of genre norms can greatly affect evaluation of music. They may decide popularity of songs and even the future of the singer's career (Morgan 2001:191; Moody 2012:209-10). By drawing on previous literature, features of some popular genres are briefly explained within this framework. Here, I focus on four genres that are analyzed in Chapter 7: hip hop, electronic, rock, and pop (see also Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 Genre features of hip hop, electronic, rock, and pop

	Hip Hop	Electronic	Rock	Pop
1. Formal and technical rules	Rap Turntables, audio mixer, drum machine, sampler Richer vocabulary Taboo words	Synthesizer, sequencers Elements from punk music	Guitars, drums, and keyboards Highly amplified, strong beats Higher frequency of the first person pronouns	No disticntive musical features Poorer vocabulary and repetition
2. Semiotic rules	Braggadocio Social and political commentary related to race, especially black underclass Misogyny Life of gangstars	Oriented towards subcultures Sci-fi and futuristic themes	Feelings of freedom, social and political rebellion, marginality, oppositionality, uniquness, and authenticity	Love, loss, jealousy, etc.
3. Behavioral rules	MD DJ Graffiti Art Breakdancing Dozens Flamboyant fashion Skills and knowledge required	Dance	Practices originating in marginalised minorities Technical knowledge needed	Pop singer is treated as idol No technical skills or knowledge needed
4. Social and ideological rules	Resistance against authority Keepin' it real	Peronal authenticity	Anti-commercialism "Seriousness" Personal authenticity	Commercially oriented
5. Economical and juridical rules	Do-it-yourself style	Do-it-yourself style	Do-it-yourself style	Division of labor between the songwriter, singer, and record producer

(a) Hip hop[14]

Hip hop is a genre that is characterized by an act called MC-ing (see Miyakawa 2012). MC-ing is that a person called an MC sings in rhymes over musical beats, a practice also called rapping. In parties, park jams, and club events, in addition to MC(s), a person called a DJ also participates in music production. The role of a DJ is to play breakbeats by turntables to enable participants to breakdance (street dance). As well as DJ-ing, MC-ing, and breakdancing, the genre is also characterized by many practices such as African American English features, semantic inversion, taboo words, call and response, the dozens (verbal insult), signifying (dissing), street fashion, and graffiti writing in public spaces (see Remes 1991; Smitherman 1997; Morgan 2001; Alim 2004; Werner 2019). Themes related to the singer's ethnicity, political and moral messages that express oppositions, and descriptions of the singer's street community (see Morgan 2001; Kreyer 2016; Brett and Pinna 2019) frequently appear in the lyrical content. In hip hop, composing and songwriting is often conducted by singers. Lyrical characteristics and the way in which music is produced reflect "keepin' it real" norms, a mantra of hip hop by which singers follow personal authenticity when producing and performing a song (see Speers 2017).

(b) Electronic

Compared to hip hop, electronic music is much simpler in terms of genre features. The music generally refers to all music that draws on technology and musical instruments such as synthesizers and sequencers (Borthwick and Moy 2004; Simonot 2013). One important aspect of this genre is that it resembles rock music, especially punk rock, because it emerged from this genre (see Borthwick and Moy 2004). In electronic music, like punk rock, personal authenticity is a genre norm. As a result, subcultural orientation in the lyrics and songwriting by singers are common. However, it is also important to note that there are differences between electronic music and rock in that in the former, themes related to sci-fi and future are also preferred (see Borthwick and Moy 2004). Also, this genre is associated with dance culture (see Hesmondhalgh 1998).

(c) Rock

Rock is characteristic of a variety of musical instruments such as electronic guitars, drums, keyboards, and synthesizers (cf. Simonelli 2012). As seen in Chapter 2, the genre has many different styles (e.g., rock n' roll, hard rock, punk rock, heavy metal), but most rock subgenres follow personal authenticity. Due to this norm, the lyrical content and on- and off-stage performance tend to highlight self-image and the singer's opinions about politics and society. The tendencies towards personal orientation perhaps lead to the higher frequency of the first person pronouns (see Sophiadi 2014:129) and local accents (Trudgill 1983:155). The social and ideological aspect is also seen in their

[14] As stated in Chapter 2, hip hop refers to collective art forms, rather than musical components only. Therefore, for analyzing linguistic features in song texts, the term *rap* may be more appropriate. However, by using the more inclusive term, it becomes possible to compare the linguistic variables with non-linguistic variables (e.g., fashion) which are discussed in sociological studies. Thus, I use *hip hop* (as appears in *Discog*s) in this thesis.

songwriting practice. Rock musicians often write their songs by themselves (see Keightley 2001:131).

(d) Pop

As seen in Chapter 2, pop is not much discussed in sociological literature. This is probably due to the fact that pop does not have distinctive musical characteristics (see Warwick 2013). However, it does not mean that this genre has no characteristics at all. For example, topics are often related to "non-serious" topics like romantic relationships (Brett and Pinna 2019:315). Also, in terms of linguistic characteristics, the genre is characterized by a conventionalized speech features (see Brett and Pinna 2019; Gibson 2023) (e.g., the use of American English accents, fixed phrases, poor vocabulary). Perhaps, such features are motivated by commercialism, by which formal features are standardized (Adorno 1998:198, see above). Such commercial aspects also appear in music production and distribution. Unlike the three genres mentioned above, songwriting in pop is conducted based on a division of labor between singers and songwriters (Frith 2001:96). The singer's image is created by music companies under the star system.

Most of these features described in Table 3.1 are mainly developed in the US because the country is the origin of these genres (see Chapter 2). However, as seen in British popular music, there are cases where singers do not follow genre rules (e.g., hip hop). This may be because in addition to genre rules established in the US, additional concerns are raised for music producers of non-American popular music. It would seem that there are at least four possible concerns for music producers.

One concern is cultural authenticity, i.e., aesthetic value that highlights the importance of the musical origin (Barker and Taylor 2007:x). When a genre is imported, many people tend to evaluate performance of local singers based on how well those performers can successfully retrieve original sounds in the US, because the original acts are considered as more authentic than local acts (Barker and Taylor 2007:x). If performances by local singers look or sound similar to that by American singers, the songs may be highly evaluated by audience. Even for musical genres where personal authenticity is a norm (e.g., hip hop, rock), there may still be motivations to follow American acts, especially when local singers do not gain much popularity (see Fugh 2021:213).

The second concern is popularity of local acts. While cultural authenticity may be a great concern in non-American popular music, it does not mean that local performance does not appear in non-American popular music. In some situations, personal authenticity (Barker and Taylor 2007:x), i.e., aesthetic value that highlights local orientation, is still highly valued in non-American popular music, since imitation does not often receive positive responses from local audience. As seen in Chapter 2, shifts from cultural authenticity to personal authenticity are often caused by the change of popularity of local acts. Increasing popularity of local acts can lead to the confidence of local singers and local performance as well as expectations of local acts from audience. It seems that

when music genres have genre norms regarding personal authenticity (e.g., hip hop, rock), this tendency is clear.

The third and fourth concern is intended audience and the size of the American music market. Since popular music is a commercial product (see above), music producers are often concerned with effective strategies to sell their products. One possible scenario would be that, given that the size of American market is much bigger than that of local market (Ferreira and Waldfogel 2013:647), music producers attempt to make songs that American people tend to like. In such cases, the importance of genre norms (e.g., personal authenticity) may be ignored or decreased in non-American popular music because attempts to localize products do not have potentials to increase sales. The second possible scenario would be that music producers may change styles of music performance depending on the size of the American popular music market. As will be seen in Chapter 4, the size of American popular music market is not stable (Ferreira and Waldfogel 2013:647). Thus, it is possible that songwriters in non-American popular music observe the market tendencies and change styles of music performance in order to sell songs effectively.

All the above concerns are possible in non-American popular music. However, from the observation on non-linguistic variables, it would seem that some concerns are greater than others in British popular music (the 1950s-2000s). As seen in Chapter 2, given that in hip hop, due to lack of local acts and mass advertisements of music videos from the US, many singers imitate American popular music, cultural authenticity was a great concern. In the case of electronic music, local styles appeared after this genre met popularity in the UK, meaning that popularity of American or local acts was a concern. Also recall that in the case of rock, both cultural authenticity and the popularity of American acts were concerns, because singers in this genre localized their music, but still respected American styles even after it achieved popularity. Thus, it would seem that at least in the UK, concerns with cultural authenticity and popularity of local acts are greater than concerns with potential audience and the size of music market.

Inspired by works from sociological works and linguistic works by O'Hanlon (2006) and Gibson (2019, 2023), this thesis will also investigate effects of genres on the realization of "Americanization." For analysis, this thesis will use genre categories found in *Discogs.*[15] This is because the website uses traditional genre categories like Table 3.2, rather than complex categories (e.g., grime, pop rock, synthpop, alternative rock, glam rock). This is in line with some linguistic studies (O'Hanlon 2006; Sophiadi 2014; Gibson 2019, 2023) where, by using simple genre categories, clear linguistic patterns emerged in their data. Although it was possible to do genre analysis by using different music catalogues, I use the simple categories because it would seem that at least at a lexico-grammatical level, subgenres (alternative rock, heavy metal) within a traditional genre (rock) share similarities (see Brett and Pinna 2019:316). Also, in the case of complex genre categories or subgenres of a large category, due to lack of previous literature, it is

[15] See: https://www.discogs.com/ (Accessed on 10 May 2023).

not often clear what a genre label (e.g., surf rock) represents (see Bértoli-Dutra 2014). Therefore, I use simple categories as seen in Table 3.2.

Therefore, by using simple categories, this thesis will investigate "Americanness" in different genres. By using sociological studies, some predictions are possible. If songwriters in British popular music have the same concerns when using grammatical variables, the same tendencies as sociological variables would be found. That is, it is possible to predict that both cultural authenticity and the popularity of acts may work on grammatical variation in British popular music and that the degree of imitation to American styles would be higher in the order of hip hop, rock, and electronic music.

We can also formulate a prediction regarding "Americanization," by using evidence from Gibson (2019, 2023), although in sociological studies, pop is much less discussed in relation to identity of place in the UK. According to Gibson (2023), the most likely scenario of pop would be that pop in the UK shows the same degree of "Americanness" as the same genre in American popular music. This is because although there are some successful singers in the UK (see Chapter 5), the genre is less likely to develop British styles due to lack of genre norms related to personal authenticity (see Gibson 2023:20). Also, due to its genre norm (i.e., commercialism), it is expected that pop follows styles that have already been established (or standardized) in American popular music. Thus, it is likely that singers follow cultural authenticity and thus show styles that are similar to American styles.[16]

I will come back to the discussion of musical genres in Chapter 4, where I describe in detail how to measure "Americanness" and "localness" in British popular music and how to explain genre variation in British popular music.

3.4 Characteristics of popular music

In this section, I discuss basic characteristics of popular music with a linguistic perspective. Linguistic items that work together with physical and nonphysical characteristics are discussed. Physical and non-physical characteristics consist of multiple indicators, such as participants, time, place, content (i.e., what the participants do), and technology (media format). Whether it is speech, writing, or singing, these situational characteristics work together with a selection of linguistic features, producing a common linguistic picture in texts that share the same situation. These features are "register features" (Biber and Conrad 2019:57): "features that are pervasive and frequent in a register."

[16] Given that popular music is a commercial product (i.e., a product that appeals to many people), it might also be possible to predict that pop in the UK shows a high level of "Americanness" regardless of the degree in American popular music (see O'Hanlon 2006:202-3). However, Gibson's (2023) analysis on New Zealand English shows that this is not the case. His analysis revealed that the level of "Americanness" in non-American popular music did not surpass that in American popular music.

For the purpose of the present study, I use Biber and Conrad's (2019) model that explains situations using seven different indicators: (i) participants, (ii) relation among participants, (iii) channel, (iv) production circumstances, (v) setting, (vi) communicative purpose, and (vii) topic. A similar attempt was already made by Werner (2021a:245-48) by using the same model, but this study develops his descriptions even further, by cyclic observations on the pre-determined situational characteristics and the actual use of linguistic features in the text variety (see Chapter 6), which is highly recommended by Biber and Conrad (2019). I also added some useful insights from musicology and sociology to his explanations. However, Biber and Conrad's (2019) model is not satisfactory in that some linguistic features of particular genres cannot be described by using these indicators. Therefore, I add one more dimension: (viii) "the type of language." The type of language is a useful indicator, especially when dealing with language whose production circumstances and the features of the language variety do not coincide.

3.4.1 Situational characteristics: framework

(i) Participants

There are three important roles in the production and reception of popular music singing: the songwriter(s), the singer(s), and the audience. The distinction between the songwriter(s) and the singer(s) may not be necessary, because in some cases, singers are writing songs for themselves. While there are exceptions, generally speaking, rock musicians tend to write their songs, but this is not common for pop singers. Due to the star system advertised by the popular music industry, the singer(s) are identifiable, but the songwriter(s) may be less apparent, although such information is relatively easily obtainable on booklets or webpages (e.g., *Wikipedia*, *Discogs*). During music performance, singers do not necessarily behave as a real person, but as a performer. In other words, their (linguistic) behaviors may be voiced or performed through the persona of an actor (Werner 2021b:547). The intended audience in popular music are unspecified because popular music songs are made for profit and distributed massively (see Tagg 2015:4-5). It is also important to note that because of technological advancements, the context of reception has significantly increased in the last few decades.

(ii) Relations among participants

It is also important to note that unlike conversation, where the audience have an opportunity for backchanneling, there is a total independence of the songwriter(s) and singer(s) from the audience, in that music production takes place before a song is officially released and, therefore, that the audience cannot provide direct feedback (Bell and Gibson 2011:557). This means that the effect of immediate audience on the language of song lyrics is not expected (see audience design in Chapter 4), although the audience can still play a part in communication as referees, i.e., people who are not physically present but affect the writer's or the speaker's linguistic choice (see referee design in Chapter 4).

Importantly, though, they are not entirely unresponsive. They can, for example, evaluate a song through e.g., purchasing albums and writing blogs. There are exceptional cases for this, e.g., live performances, but note that the main way of listening to a popular music song is through a recorded form (Tagg 2015:4-5). Therefore, the language of song lyrics is characterized as monologic (Werner 2021a:246). When evaluating a song, the audience may draw on a particular knowledge about singing (e.g., cultural authenticity, personal authenticity) (Bell and Gibson 2011; Jansen 2022), which has been established through the listener's individual learning. The production team also tend to have similar knowledge. Some genres (e.g., blues, hip hop, rock) in popular music may prefer "acculturated audience" (Bell and Gibson 2011:563) with a deep understanding of specific genre-related knowledge (e.g., jargon) for evaluation, whereas others (e.g., pop) do not.

(iii) Channel

Biber and Conrad's (2019) third situational character, *channel*, tries to describe genres on the rather simple "spoken-written" dichotomy, on the basis of physical features. For this situational characteristic, I added new insights to Werner's (2021a:246) attempt by drawing on musicological works (e.g., Tough 2013) and comparing popular music with other textual varieties.

Under the classification, song (lyrics) can be categorized as a written medium in that the production is not spontaneous. However, song lyrics involve a special medium which differs from both traditional text varieties (e.g., academic writing, fiction) and other performed language textual varieties in which the language of performers (actors) is voiced through the persona of an actor (e.g., movies, TV, theaters). First, it is written to be spoken, or more precisely, written to be sung. Second, a song is stored in various record forms (e.g., records, CDs) which allow people to store sounds in a very limited time range, i.e., 3-4 minutes in length on the average (Tough 2013:106). Third, although there are visual recording formats (e.g., music video), singing is not always visible on the part of the listener.

(iv) Production circumstances

Like typical written genres, song lyrics as well as music are well planned before they are officially released to the public (Bell and Gibson 2011:557), meaning that the effect of immediate audience (see audience design in Chapter 4) is less likely to be found with this text variety.

It also needs to be stressed that song lyrics are carefully made to fit a musical structure. This means that there are a few important concerns when dealing with the text variety: (a) repetition (chorus), (b) "syllabic structure," i.e., words with one or two syllables (Watanabe 2017:20) are allocated to one music note because of singability (Clark et al. 2015:308), and rhythmic and stress patterns in song lyrics (Tait 2013; Tabain, Tait, and Sykes 2014), (c) being framed in start and finish times (the average song length is 3.51

minutes (Tough 2013:106), and (d) sonority of linguistic items (the level of easiness for articulation) (Morrissey 2008:210-12).

(v) Setting

The fifth situational character, *setting*, refers to whether the time and place of the production is shared between the participants (Biber and Conrad 2019:44). As stated earlier, song lyrics are not improvisational, which means that except for special cases like live performance, there is both spatial and temporal distance between the production team and the audience (Bell and Gibson 2011:557). The fifth situational characteristic also considers whether the communication is public or private. The answer is straightforward, i.e., public, given that producing popular music is an economic activity to gain a massive profit from the audience (Tagg 2015:4-5).

(vi) Communicative purpose

As mentioned earlier, the general purpose of popular music is commercially driven (Tagg 2015:4-5). In order to achieve the goal, however, song lyrics take a number of different communicative forms, which may or may not be based on a factual information: "narration, expressing attitudes, self-revelation, persuasion etc." (Werner 2021a:247). There are some reports showing that the lyrical content of some genres (e.g., rock) is conveyed in a more egocentric and assertive manner (see Sophiadi 2014), but this needs further exploration for generalization.

(vii) Topic

As regards the topic, "love" is often identified as a key concept in song lyrics (Kreyer and Mukherjee 2007; Kreyer 2012; Climent and Coll-Florit 2021; Werner 2021a). This may apply to most of pop songs (as a genre of popular music) (Sophiadi 2014; Brett and Pinna 2019). In other genres, lyrics are not restricted to romantic topics. For example, in blues, Schneider and Miethaner (2006:238) note that "[b]lues songs touch upon very specific domains and topics, such as love and sex, work, hardship, drinking, gambling, and so on," the list of which is later extended by Bridle (2018:28-32), who claims that religious and supernatural topics and lyrics about a desire to move are also common, especially in the pre-World War Two period (1920-1941). In heavy metal (rock), lyrics are characterized by insecurity, injustice, and death (Brett and Pinna 2019; Cheung and Feng 2021). In rap, themes which mirror various aspects of street life tend to appear frequently (e.g., body parts, cigarettes, comrades, crimes, drugs, misogynistic terms, money, warfare) (Edwards 1998; Kreyer 2016; Brett and Pinna 2019). Country music is also different from the other popular music genres, in that the lyrical content often deals with specific places as well as religion (Brett and Pinna 2019:319-20). It is also important to note that the lyrical context is often narrated with the singer's present perspective (Biber and Egbert 2016:108).

(v) The type of language

Biber and Conrad's (2019) explanatory model provides us with a useful analytical method that allows us to identify some of the situational characteristics of popular music singing and linguistic features that work with each situational characteristic (see below). However, it does not mean that all textual features are satisfactorily explainable within Biber and Conrad's (2019) framework. For example, how does the framework explain differences between traditional poetry that is to be performed and song lyrics? Given that they share many situational characteristics, the two can be treated as the same text variety in Biber and Conrad's (2019) model but they are commonly treated differently. The fundamental difference between song lyrics and poetry to be performed is the type of language that is expected to be used in the text variety. Whether a text variety uses more informal, speech-like forms or more formal, written-like forms is not automatically conditioned by channel and production circumstances of each text variety (e.g., time for edition) but is subject to the writer's deliberate stylistic strategies. Therefore, I propose one more social characteristic to Biber and Conrad's (2019) explanatory model: the type of language.

A relevant concept is orality (Ong 2002:133; Soffer 2010:396), which is defined as frequent use of informal speech forms in writing and print media. In Present-day English (PDE), such writing is commonly seen in genres involving the voice of actors or performers (e.g., movies, radios, dramas). Using speech features in those written texts may be strategic (Ong 2002:133; Soffer 2010:396), rather than simply conventionally (historically) motivated, in that in PDE, the use of written language is considered as a norm in typical written genres (e.g., academic journals, newspaper) and that most genres characterized by orality intend large audience, and that their products are distributed via technology that makes a wide distribution possible (e.g., TVs, radios, theaters) (cf. Soffer 2010:396). There are some motivations to use spoken features in those text varieties:

- Informal spoken features are attractive and have economic potentials because such strategies make the voice in texts familiar to the ears of the listener (Cutler, Ahmar, and Bahri 2022:7) and even increase pseudo-intimacy between performers and listeners by stimulating the listener's imagination (Werner 2021b:562).

- Since people are generally more familiar to speech forms than written forms, the use of speech features may also increase the listener's comprehension of the discourse (Soffer 2010:398).

- Although speech features may lack details in terms of information and information structure, speech features as exemplified by particular forms or distributional frequency may still be more informative than written features in terms of social indexes that each form may have. Speech features are more readily associated with a particular social identity (e.g., ethnicity, class, gender, nationality), meaning that with the help of speech features, the voice represented in those written genres is

colored with the representation of a particular social identity. This enables the textual discourse to be lively and rich in aspects regarding, for example, relations between characters or the direction of aesthetic authenticity. In other words, speech features are useful for styling (see Chapter 4) particular performance in a certain way.

Note, however, that the speech features found in performed language varieties are not necessarily precise to the speech model intended (cf. Werner 2021a:257). Due to the effect of production circumstances, they may be reductive in that it lacks interactive linguistic features (cf. Werner 2021b:562). Also, the language of performed language may be characterized by selectivity, mis-realization, overaccommodation, and underaccomodation (Trudgill 1983:145-50; Bell and Gibson 2011:568). The language in those texts is not intended to reproduce the exact copy of the model speech, but to create social characters. The use of speech features does not have to be accurate if the audience can recognize the speech model (cf. Mair 1992:106).

Like other performed language, the expected language type of song lyrics is an informal speech (see Squires 2019). Such styles can increase the audience's comprehensibility (see Murphey 1992:770-71). Audience can also feel familiarity to the language heard and imagine that the audience are in a very close relationship with the singer, even though the singer is not physically close. Also, such features are useful for identity work. By using speech features associated with a social identity, audience can identify identities of the performer and the direction of authenticity (cultural authenticity or personal authenticity) (see Chapter 2). By contrast, in the case of poetry to be performed, the language is typically characterized by formal written language. Unlike song lyrics, such styles lack familiarity or associations with a particular social identity, but instead the audience may feel a refined quality from the language use, as well as distance from the speaker who is on the stage. Thus, differences in the choice of language became clear between the two text varieties by adding the new situational characteristic.

3.4.2 Situational characteristics: linguistic features

Situational features and linguistic features work together to form a text variety (Biber and Conrad 2019). Thus, in this section, linguistic features associated with each situational feature are discussed. It is important to emphasize that there is no "one-to-one correspondence between one linguistic feature and one situational characteristic" (Biber and Conrad 2019:74). As will be seen below, the findings from the previous literature reveal that several different situational aspects would be associated with a single linguistic feature.

I begin with personal pronouns. Many corpus-based studies (e.g., Murphey 1989, 1992; Kreyer and Mukherjee 2007; Eiter 2017; Watanabe 2017; Goyak et al. 2021) reveal that the first and second personal pronouns (e.g., *I*, *my*, *you, your*) are very frequent in the text variety, although precise references are not usually identifiable from the

surrounding context (Murphey 1992:771-72). The frequency is much higher than that in spoken and, needless to say, written texts (Kreyer and Mukherjee 2007:44-46), which is confirmed in multi-dimensional analyses (Biber and Egbert 2016; Bértoli 2018; Werner 2021a). Several situational characteristics would seem to be associated with this feature, especially communicative purposes of the text variety and relation between participants. It may be conceivable that given that the first and second person pronouns are linguistic items that are contextually dependent, song lyrics might be recognized as texts where the setting is shared, but as stated earlier, the setting is *not* shared. Instead, the fact that the frequency is higher than it is in conversation can be interpreted in other ways. One possibility is that their use is commercially driven. Unspecified first and second pronouns are ambiguous but useful, in that they can be anyone with whom the audience want to associate *you* and *I* (e.g., the listener, the lover, friend etc.). In other words, they can help to establish "the listener's world" (Murphey 1992:773). Such a strategy can create a high level of familiarity, leading to the popularity of songs. The first and second person pronouns also meet a requirement of song lyrics in another communicative purpose: self-expression and directness in the text (Sophiadi 2014). It should also be emphasized that the manifestation of self-assertiveness and directness is also a feature of monologue.

The low frequency of discourse markers, such as *you know*, which was first identified in Kreyer and Mukherjee (2007:45-46), would probably show the following situational characteristics: relations between participants, i.e., the songwriter and the audience, channel, and production circumstances of song lyrics. Two aspects should be highlighted in order to understand the communicative functions of the features. First, discourse markers are common backchanneling items found in interactive speech. Second, they are not always necessary in understanding the content. The low frequency of discourse markers would indicate the noninteractive (i.e., monologic) aspect of the text variety, while at the same time, it may represent the textual elaboration as is typical of the written medium.

The situational interpretation of the low type-token ratio (TTR) (see Murphey 1992; Werner 2012; Eiter 2017; Watanabe 2017; Brett and Pinna 2019), a measurement of word diversity or repetition, is straightforward. As stated earlier, the music structure in popular music often consists of chorus parts, which were repeated many times in the same song text.

The low figure of average word length (AWL), which was, again, first documented by Kreyer and Mukherjee (2007:44) and later confirmed by Watanabe (2017:20), may also be reflective of aspects of the production circumstances of popular music, especially an aspect of syllabic music structure and an aspect of rhythmic and stress pattern in popular music. Watanabe's (2017:20) corpus-based research revealed that the number of letters per word in song lyrics is 3.79, which means that song lyrics are characterized by one- or two-syllable words. This is probably not only because of time-constrained syllabic structure, but also because of flexibility of one-syllable words in terms of rhythmic and

stress pattern in music. Tait (2013) and Tabain et al. (2014) found positional differences in meters between words with multiple syllables and monosyllabic words. In the case of words with multiple syllables, stress patterns in words show a robust correlation with stress patterns in meters, meaning that the position of words are relatively fixed in metric alignments. By contrast, monosyllabic words tend to occur relatively freely in metrical positions. This may indicate that monosyllabic words are easier to use in songwriting, which increases the chance of being used in the text variety. The average word length has not been well documented in other previous studies, but the implication of the word length is found in some reports about the high frequency of contractions (e.g., Werner 2012; Eiter 2017; Goyak et al. 2021).

The high incidence of phonesthetic words, i.e., linguistic items with no semantic meanings such as *la* and *oh*, would also indicate the same aspect of the production circumstances as they are used to fill "empty" syllabic slots on musical notes. These are "register markers" (Biber and Conrad 2019:54) because they are distinctive features that do not often occur in other registers (Werner 2021a:252).

The use of some phonological features (e.g., open vowels) may also reflect the production circumstances of popular music (Morrissey 2008:210-12). As stated in Chapter 2, there are some phonological features that have a high level of sonority (e.g., open vowels), but note that this is still an area that needs exploration, as there is a counterevidence that shows that in some situations, features that may not be very sonorous are frequently used in singing (see Wilson 2017).

In Murphey's (1989, 1992) small-scale study, the word *love* was identified as a highly frequent item in addition to the first and second person pronouns as discussed above. Kreyer and Mukherjee (2007), Kreyer (2012), and Climent and Coll-Florit (2021) also consider "love" as an important key item in the text variety, finding many love-related metaphors throughout the years 1946-2016. Watanabe (2017:22) also revealed that some linguistic items tend to appear in fixed phrases: "I love you" or "you love me," which is also supported by Goyak et al. (2021:230). These features would reflect the common topics of the text variety. However, note that as stated earlier, the picture varies considerably among musical genres.

Aside from the high frequency of the first and second person pronouns and the low figures of TTR and AWL, song lyrics use a number of features that are typically found in the spoken language. Werner (2012) provided an extensive list of lexico-grammatical spoken items found in song lyrics. According to Werner (2012), as well as many others (Edwards 1998; Olivo 2001; Edwards and Ash 2004; Eiter 2017; Flanagan 2019; Waldhans 2019; Werner 2019), most of these are associated with nonstandard varieties of English: *ain't*, multiple negation, copula deletion, absence of third person *-s*, third person *don't*, and *get*-passive. While those studies mainly dealt with nonstandard English grammatical items that are negatively perceived in society, Watanabe (2017) also mentioned a nonstandard English feature that is not necessarily stigmatized. By

analyzing her song lyrics corpus, she found that song lyrics commonly use intensifiers such as *so* and *real*.

However, as stated earlier, while popular music songs may imitate speech, it is not necessarily the same as naturally occurring dialogue. For example, not all spoken features are equally frequent in song lyrics. As mentioned earlier, discourse markers are much less frequent in the text variety (Kreyer and Mukherjee 2007:45-46) despite the spoken nature in other aspects. When examining rap song lyrics, Edwards (1998:143) also noted that "the lyrics are interestingly devoid of examples of such central BEV [Black English Vernacular] features such as perfect/completive *done*, future completive *be done*, distributive or invariant *be*, and aspectual *steady*."[17] It is also important to note that some speech features as found in popular music are more frequently used in the text variety than they are in actual spoken language. For example, Eiter (2017) found that *ain't*, multiple negation, and third person *don't* are more frequent in song lyrics than in general (spoken) English. Watanabe (2017) also mentioned that song lyrics more commonly use intensifiers such as *so* and *real* than spoken English.

3.5 Why linguistic research on popular music?

It is important to recognize that song lyrics, as well as other textual genres that belong to low culture (e.g., movies, TV dramas, cartoons, comics, video games) (see §3.2) have a long tradition of being attacked and have been considered as inferior in academic studies (see Pennycook 2007). The reason why popular music has long been an object of criticism is mentioned by Pennycook (2007:13): "from a culturally conservative point of view, popular music and entertainment are the shallow interests of a populace devoid of an interest in higher culture; from a more leftist point of view, popular culture is mass culture, soporific entertainment to passify [sic] the people." The underlying assumption is that something that was made to entertain a number of unspecified people is academically worthless, a view that strongly holds among elitist cultural gatekeepers who view high culture as valuable artifacts (Strinati 1992:48).

However, the situation is changing rapidly in areas other than linguistics. Situations have changed to such an extent that it is not difficult to find research works related to song lyrics. For example, in musicological and sociological fields, it is possible to see many attempts since the 1980s. Some early attempts can be seen in research that is included in *Popular Music*, an academic journal specialized in works related to popular music (e.g., Tagg 1982). Later, many academic journals of popular music have been published (e.g., *Popular Music and Society*, *Journal of Popular Music Studies*, *Grove Music Online*, *Journal of Popular Music Education*), as well as many handbooks and book-length studies.

[17] With regards the frequency of *done* and invariant *be*, Werner (2019:681) observed a categorical use of these features in the text variety. The discrepancy between Werner (2019) and Edwards (1998:143) may be due to the fact that the latter used a small sample size (41 songs).

However, in the field of linguistics, it is not until the 2010s that we can see a surge in research on popular music (e.g., Werner 2012; Bértoli-Dutra 2014; Kreyer 2015; Nishina 2017; Brett and Pinna 2019; Goyak et al. 2021). There are at least two major reasons for the long-standing criticism on linguistic research on popular music. One is the "artificial" nature of song lyrics. Androutsopoulos (2014:3) notes that one fundamental feature that distinguishes the language for performance from conversational speech is an "artificial" setting of the former, which is absent from the latter. What he means by being "artificial" is the speaker's attention to speech, which has long been considered as a distorting factor on linguistic variation when one aims to observe the most casual speech, a variety that has been sought after since earlier decades (see Labov 1966). The reason why casual speech is crucial in sociolinguistic research may be related to the fact that it is considered as an area where most linguistic variation and change originate (see above).

Another reason is the devaluation of language in (popular) music, a point suggested by Werner (2012:19). He relates the neglect of song lyrics in linguistic fields with the (Western) tradition in which "the words that went along with the music were always regarded as inferior to the music itself." This would probably mean that people generally believe that playing and composing a piece of song may require more specialized skills than writing songs, that song lyrics do not play a very important role in conveying a message or stimulating one's emotion, or that linguistic expressions of song lyrics in popular music lack originality or innovation due to a number of fixed phrases (see Frith 1989). Sometimes, the fact that popular music can exist without words (such songs are called instrumental songs) may also leave people the impression that the language in music only supplements music.

Given that those views are persistent with the text variety, the analysis of popular music and its song lyrics may thus need justifications. Some key points will be made below as to why we should study popular music.

First, the situational characteristic of popular music, i.e., mass distribution, entails a huge influence on our daily lives. As Kreyer and Mukherjee (2007) and Trotta (2010) have pointed out, we are constantly exposed to popular music songs both consciously (e.g., by listening to popular music on smartphone or computer) and unconsciously (e.g., by being exposed to background music when shopping). Besides, the popularity and engagement with popular music is beyond consumption and exposure. People often talk about various topics in popular music in conversation and even use the (dis)preference of a particular music or singer to create and negotiate social identities (see Cutler 1997; Coupland 2011; Pichler and Williams 2016; Drummond 2018). This means that the dialogue featured in popular music can have a significant influence on people's social behaviors including their speech patterns and their beliefs on a particular speech variety and its users. In other words, popular music may be "shaping current realities" (Werner 2018:12) by providing "resources for the expression of our own personal experiences"(Coupland 2011:577).

Second, even though aesthetically it may be degraded, the fact does not degrade the academic value of studying popular music or its song lyrics because like other registers (e.g., conversation, academic journals) it constitutes an important language register in that given that its "cultural reach and penetration" (Coupland 2011:576), it is hard to ignore the text variety. Besides, understanding linguistic features of the text variety is becoming important these days, given that many schoolteachers started to use song lyrics as teaching materials. Especially, describing similarities and differences between song lyrics and more canonical varieties (e.g., conversation, academic journals) (Kreyer and Mukherjee 2007; Werner 2021a) and identifying advantages and disadvantages of using songs for second language acquisition (see Werner 2020) are required for effective teaching on the basis of song lyrics.

Third, the language of popular music is connected with social issues such as stereotypes and discrimination. Since popular music lyrics target a mass audience, the language may be created in a way that reflects socially expected views on particular social groups. Therefore, it is possible that by investigating how a particular social group is depicted in the text variety or characterized in a particular language variety, we can identify how people tend to view the group in society. Research on gender roles is one of the areas where people can make use of song lyrics. Kreyer (2015) investigated gender portrayals by examining semantic description followed by the first person pronoun (e.g., *I'm*), finding that traditional gender roles are present even today. Given that song lyrics are distributed under the system of mass distribution, this may mean that traditional gender roles may affect people and influence the choice of their social identity. By contrast, when Murphey (1989) investigated gender references of the first and second person pronouns, he found that the distinction between males and females is not clear-cut in popular music from a content analysis on the language use. These studies help us to understand to what extent traditional social roles questioned by contemporary society have been maintained in mass media, changed in the period under investigation, and affected our social knowledge or the choice of identity.

Finally, the language of popular music also helps to understand social phenomena such as globalization and Americanization. As seen in Chapter 2, Americanization and globalization in British popular music have long been discussed since at least the 1980s in linguistics (see Sackett 1979; Trudgill 1983), and ever since then, linguists have contributed to understanding of the phenomenon in British popular music. For example, previous studies on Americanization in British popular music revealed that in songs since the 1960s, American styles and local styles have co-existed in British popular music. Importantly, such findings also contributed to understanding on Americanization more generally. For example, in sociological studies, for a long time, Americanization was considered as a simple and unidirectional phenomenon and often described with the negatively loaded terms like cultural imperialism, a view that American culture invades local cultures and forces them to disappear (van Elteren 2006). However, the evidence that American and local styles co-exist provides new insights on the realization of

American styles in non-American culture, pointing out the possibility that there should be some interactions between America and other countries. While contemporary theorists like Robertson (1995) have already noticed such features, sociological attempts are largely qualitative and often lack empirical evidence. By contrast, evidence of linguistic studies can add empirical support to such previous claims (e.g., by quantitative analysis).

3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I first presented different definitions and genre categories of popular music. I also mentioned basic situational features of popular music and linguistic features related to them. There, I gave special attention to the choice of language and discussed functions of speech features in song lyrics. Finally, I explained the rationale behind the use of popular music and its song lyrics in linguistics and academic studies in general.

Chapter Four

Theoretical background

4.1 Overview

As seen in Chapter 2, Americanization is defined here and in previous studies on non-American popular music (e.g., Trudgill 1983; Gibson and Bell 2012) as a phenomenon in which linguistic features that occur more frequently in American English also appear where they are typically not expected to be found (in this case, in British popular music). This indicates three presuppositions (see Coupland 2001, 2007; Bucholtz 2015). First, there are two different ways of speaking, i.e., the way that American English is used and the way that non-American (British) English is used. In other words, linguistic features are associated with certain social categories (i.e., "American" and "non-American"). Second, one can use a language variety that is not one's own. Third, certain linguistic features are "not only openly put on display but is, *ipso facto*, meant to be heard" (Jansen 2022:5). These three presuppositions mean that Americanization in non-American popular music is related to linguistic styles, style-shifts, and stylization. Since there are useful theories that provide linguistic predictions and explain motivations for linguistic style-shifts and stylization, in this chapter, I will first review the previous literature and look for practical possibilities of such theories for investigating Americanization in British popular music.

This chapter consists of five sections. After the overview, I will explain indexicality, a cognitive relation between semiotic forms and social meanings (§4.2). Then, I will review works on some theories of linguistic style-shifts and stylization, i.e., audience and referee design and communication accommodation theory, and show the predictions and motivations that these theories propose, as well as possible changes in its indexicality of linguistic variants (§4.3). This section also considers practicality of the theories in relation to Americanization. In §4.4, based on the linguistic theories, for explaining motivations for American styles in British popular music, I propose some predictions of Americanization. In §4.5, I summarize the main discussion in the previous sections.

4.2 Indexicality

Indexicality is a biologically or socially determined linking of semiotic forms, including linguistic forms, to social meanings (Foulkes 2010; Bucholtz 2015).[18] It is one of the most

[18] "Biological sources are involuntary, reflecting aspects of a speaker's anatomy and physiology, including effects of health. Socially-determined features are learned, and thus to some extent voluntary and controllable" (Foulkes 2010:7).

basic meanings in human language, with denotational meanings and pragmatic meanings (Silverstein 1976; Ochs 1992). Indexical meanings are not necessarily above the level of consciousness, although there are some linguistic items that are widely noticed by a community (such forms are called stereotypes (Labov 1972c:180)).

In sociolinguistic studies, researchers investigate linguistic forms to investigate indexical information of the forms. While there are a number of ways in which researchers can investigate linguistic indexicality,[19] quantitative method to identify the social meaning is relevant to the present analysis because it seems that the method is used in Trudgill's (1983) phonological research. In this analysis, linguistic items are analyzed within a variationist framework. In the variationist framework (see Chapter 5), the frequency of features that share the same referential meanings (called variants) is all examined and then tabulated according to social categories of interest. The rate of linguistic items is then calculated. The social category that shows the highest or higher frequency of a linguistic item is interpreted by the researcher as the social index of the linguistic form.

The frequency relation between linguistic forms and social categories is theoretically grounded in exemplar theory (see Foulkes and Docherty 2006; Foulkes 2010; Drager and Kirtley 2016; Coles-Harris 2017). This cognitive (psychological) theory, which developed in the 1970s (Drager and Kirtley 2016:2, see Brooks 1978 and Schacter, Eich, and Tulving 1978), predicts such quantitative directions, although few researchers who investigate indexicality within the variationist framework explicitly mention the theory. According to this theory, the discourse information of linguistic items at any levels is stored in one's episodic memory every time one encounters an item. The information not only includes which linguistic form was used, but also the contextual information where it occurred, including the speaker's social category (e.g., social class, gender, nationality). In exemplar theory, the frequency of linguistic items is a key to the establishment of indexical links (see Drager and Kirtley 2016:3). Therefore, if a linguistic form occurs with a particular social category with a high frequency, the association becomes stronger and leaves a stronger impression on one's episodic memory. In Agha's (2003) terms, this is called enregisterment. Thus, the rate of linguistic form out of all linguistic variants across different social contexts is interpreted as an indicator of the social category. Again, one does not always notice the process or the relation between a particular linguistic form and a social category, as this is a cognitive process (see Drager and Kirtley 2016; Coles-Harris 2017). Information thus stored is called an exemplar, and exemplars then play an important role in the establishment of indexicality in society, although it is also important to acknowledge that individuals may experience differently (see Chapter 6).

[19] Some examples are text analyses of government policy statements, direct interviews (see Campbell-Kibler 2010:378; Meyerhoff, Schleef, and MacKenzie 2015:83),"drawing a map" task (see Preston 1989), analyses of dialect dictionaries (see Beal 2009a), verbal guise tests (see Campbell-Kibler 2010), matched guise tests (see Campbell-Kibler 2009), and examinations of fictional characters (see Reichelt and Durham 2017).

More importantly, exemplars can also affect one's language production (see Drager and Kirtley 2016:5). The association between a particular linguistic form and a social category may motivate the use of the form on the part of the speaker, especially if the social category is their own group (ingroup). When the social structure where the speaker lives or the social situation where the speaker is present imposes ideological behaviors on them, they may follow their episodic memories, thus producing a similar frequency pattern to people in exemplars which the speaker stored in their past memory. Therefore, although the quantitative method is an indirect way compared to more direct methods for indexicality (e.g., interviews, "drawing a map" tasks), it is possible to identify underlying social indexes in a quantitative way.

4.3 Linguistic style-shifts and stylization

In the previous section, I have introduced exemplar theory that claims that the indexical knowledge of linguistic forms is derived from one's episodic memories and that the knowledge may affect the speaker's linguistic production (see Drager and Kirtley 2016:5). While this theory is useful in understanding the mechanism of linguistic production and also provides the rationale behind the use of speech production data for indexical analyses, this also raises the following question: is linguistic variation a reflection of an ideological structure which imposes people to follow, is it "a reflection of social identities and categories to the linguistic practice in which speakers place themselves in the social landscape through stylistic practice" (Eckert 2012:94), or both?

The problem of human agency in linguistic variation has been discussed for a number of years. The above two views are discussed in Coles-Harris (2017). If one follows the "automatist" view, one would expect that people mostly use linguistic features in the same way. If one takes the "interventionist" view, one can expect that people can change their linguistic behaviors for different communicative purposes. In fact, recent studies (e.g., Eckert 2012:93-97; Bucholtz 2015:46-47) seem to support the "interventionist" view. One piece of evidence comes from the fact that people show intraspeaker variation in response to audience (note, however, that this may still be "automatist" if one considers language convergence (see below) as an automatic behavior). Another piece of evidence is imitation of a non-native speech variety. As will be seen from the cases of style-shifting and stylization, we can see a number of "interventionist" cases where people can change their linguistic patterns for a specific purpose, even though style-shifts or stylization lasts only for a short period of time.

Given the importance of human agency in linguistic variation, it is expected that intraspeaker variation is not stable. Besides, by recognizing agency of speech behavior, it is possible to consider the speaker's motivations of linguistic variation. In this section, I will review linguistic style-shifts or stylization in order to see how people change linguistic styles for different communicative purposes. I also discuss the possibility of indexical change of linguistic forms that may take place during style-shifts or stylization

and how I use the existing theoretical framework for research on Americanization in British popular music.

4.3.1 Predictions and motivations of linguistic style-shifts and stylization

In sociolinguistics, there are several linguistic theories that provide important predictions and motivations of style-shifts or stylization. One is psychological (Communication) Accommodation Theory (CAT) (Dragojevic and Giles 2014; Dragojevic et al. 2016), which claims that our behaviors change according to audience or the speaker's social identity. Starting from Giles (1973) and his colleagues, CAT sees a number of refinements and theoretical elaborations, becoming one of the most important theories in human communication. The theory is very insightful, especially in terms of the participant's motivations for behavioral change during communication (including linguistic behaviors). However, one of the weaknesses of CAT is that previous studies often lack sophistication. While from the presented data in those studies, it is easy to see that people change in the presence of audience, it is not often clear which features and to what extent those features shifted due to the audience factor. Drawing on CAT and focusing on language, Bell (1984, 2001) provides further evidence of the CAT and fine-grained predictions of human behaviors, especially linguistic behaviors.

According to Bell (1984, 2001), there are two different types of linguistic style-shifts. The first type is that people change their linguistic behaviors in the presence of a physical audience. The direction of change includes either *convergence* (Dragojevic, Gasiorek, and Giles 2016:36-37), by which people change their linguistic styles in a way that sounds similar to the interlocutor's speech, *maintenance* (Dragojevic, Gasiorek, and Giles 2016:37), by which the speaker sustains their own speech style in the presence of the audience, or *divergence* (Dragojevic and Giles 2014:37), by which the speaker changes their linguistic styles to be dissimilar to the listener's styles. Convergence is further divided into two types, depending on the social category of the interlocutor. *Ingroup convergence* refers to adjustments of the speaker's linguistic behaviors to be more similar to the interlocutor who belongs to the same social group. This means that the speaker emphasizes their own speech features when they interact with their own community members. The other convergence is *outgroup convergence*, by which the speaker uses linguistic features that are not their own. Divergence also has two types, depending on the audience type: *ingroup divergence* and *outgroup divergence*. The former is adjusting the speaker's linguistic behaviors to be dissimilar to that of their own group. By contrast, the latter is not assimilating their linguistic behaviors to the interlocutor who does not belong to the speaker's social group. All these changes are collectively called *audience design* (Bell 1984, 2001). Audience design occurs at many linguistic levels, ranging from pragmatic markers (e.g., Bell 2001), to grammatical items (e.g., Rickford and McNair-Knox 1994), pronunciation (e.g., Bourhis and Giles 1977), speech rate (e.g., Giles and Smith 1979), shifts of languages (e.g., Bourhis 1984), etc.

Examples of convergence, divergence, and maintenance are shown below. In Bell's (2001) study, the effect of ethnicity and gender on audience design was investigated. The frequency of the pragmatic marker *eh* during the interviews was examined and tabulated according to the interviewer type, which differs according to ethnicity and gender. The pragmatic marker indexes a New Zealand "Māori man" identity. One of the interviewees in the experiment was a Māori male. In this experiment, he was interviewed by an interviewer three times: by a Māori male, by a Māori female, and by a non-Māori man. In each interview, the interviewee showed a different frequency of *the* pragmatic marker. To the Māori male interviewer, the Māori male interviewee used *eh* 46 times, which was the highest incident. To the Māori female interviewer, the Māori male interviewee used the pragmatic marker 26 times. Finally, the Māori male interviewee used *eh* least frequently, 19 times, to the non-Māori man. The average of the pragmatic marker produced by the Māori man was 30. Therefore, from the frequency pattern, we can recognize that the Māori man converges to both Māori man (ingroup) and non-Māori man (outgroup). To the Māori female interviewer, the interviewee maintains his linguistic behavior.

Examples of divergence are found in Bourhis and Giles (1977). In this experiment, Welsh English speakers were interviewed with an English English speaker. The language shifts of Welsh speakers were observed after the interviewer left comments that encouraged negative feelings among the Welsh speakers ("Welsh is a dying language with a dismal future"). Bourhis and Giles (1977) found that Welsh speakers used Welsh pronunciations more broadly to the English English speaker, compared to the prior session. This is a clear case of outgroup divergence. The other type of divergence (ingroup divergence) is found in Cutler (1997). In this study, the language of a teenage white boy (Mike) was examined. During the interview with a white researcher, Mike used African American English (AAE) in both pronunciation and grammar. In other words, he did not converge to his own social group.

The motivational reasons for convergence, divergence, and maintenance varies depending on situations. However, some generalizations are possible. Most cases of convergence are positively motivated (Dragojevic and Giles 2014:38). As the convergence patterns in Bell (2001) have shown, the Māori male interviewee used the identity marker for maintaining solidarity (to the ingroup interviewer) or for avoiding conflict (to the outgroup interviewer). The avoidance of *eh* to the non-Māori man may also be motivated because the speaker may believe that the pragmatic item may not be comprehensible to the outgroup member. In some cases, however, convergence may be negatively motivated. For example, when the speaker imitates dialect features of the interlocutor to ridicule them, this is a case of negative convergence. By contrast, divergence and maintenance are often negative, which is clear from Bourhis and Giles (1977). Divergence or maintenance were most extreme when the speaker speaks a language that the interlocutor never understands. However, divergence or maintenance are not necessarily negative in some cases. Cutler's (1997) teenage white boy shows his hip hop identity by using AAE rather than taking defiant attitudes towards the

interlocutor. Another case of divergence is probably seen in the interviewer's language. Since the interviewer's task during the interview is to encourage the interviewee to talk rather than exchange information, very often, the interviewer talks less than the interviewee (see Dragojevic, Gasiorek, and Giles 2016:43).

The second type of linguistic style-shifts is that people change their linguistic behaviors by referencing to a model (*referee*). This is most evident especially in the absence of a physical audience and during performance (in this case, the term *stylization* may be used, see Coupland 2001). This is called *referee design* (Bell 1984, 2001). Since in referee design, a physical audience is not the target or is absent, the terms *convergence*, *divergence*, and *maintenance* do not apply here. But like audience design, referee design can be divided into two subcategories: ingroup design and outgroup design. Ingroup referee design is that one designs their linguistic behaviors to be similar to someone in their own group. By contrast, outgroup referee design is that one makes their linguistic style similar to someone who does not belong to their own group. While the distinction is possible, whether referee design is an ingroup or outgroup type is not always clear, especially in analyzing mass communication. In such cases (e.g., Bell 1990; O'Sullivan 2017), the speaker's information may not be publicly available and thus it remains unclear into which direction the speaker style-shifts, even though the contextual information (e.g., broadcast, advertisement) can clarify that it is a case of referee design.

Ingroup referee design is found at any discourse levels. As we have seen in Bell (2001), the use of the pragmatic marker *eh* by the Māori male interviewee is also ingroup referee design, as well as audience design, as the pragmatic marker indexes a "Māori man." Schilling-Estes (1998) also provides a self-conscious ingroup referee design that happens in daily talk. In fact, audience design involves referee design (see Bell 2001), because designing talk in relation between the speaker and the audience involves referencing to speech models. In mass media communication, there are also some ingroup design cases. As we have seen in Chapter 2, the use of British English by UK popular music singers is ingroup referee design. In radio broadcasts, ingroup referee design is found when a locally born radio presenter speaks local accents and uses local vocabulary (see Coupland 1985).

Outgroup referee design is also common. One of the most oft-cited examples of outgroup referee design is popular music. As seen in Chapter 2, British singers use non-native English accents (i.e., American English accents) when they are singing (see §4.4). Other examples of outgroup referee design are the use of AAE by non-African American (white) people who follow an African American (hip hop) culture ("wiggers," see Chapter 2) (Cutler 1997; Bucholtz 1999; Sweetland 2002) and the use of a prestige language variety by sales people, etc. (Labov 1966; Coupland 1980, 1984).

Motivations of the speaker's referee design are related to the speaker's social identity. People adapt their speech style from time to time in order to identify themselves with someone with whom they want to be associated (see Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985).

In the case of ingroup referee design, the motivations may be caused by the speaker's wish to show an ingroup identity in order to strengthen group solidarity or community bonds (Coupland 1985; Bell 2001) or to show personal authenticity (Trudgill 1983). By contrast, in the case of outgroup referee design, it may be caused by the speaker's sensitivity to cultural prestige. Speakers align themselves with a social group who are culturally or socially valued (Trudgill 1983; Cutler 1997; Bucholtz 1999; Sweetland 2002) to borrow prestige.

However, motivations for style-shifts may be more complex. So far, I have mentioned linguistic influences from ingroup and outgroup people. However, it is important to note that the speaker's linguistic variation can be influenced by other factors. One factor is physical or situational restrictions (see Chapter 3). In mass communication, for example, there are always some physical restrictions that would not apply to daily conversation. Typically, time restriction requires the speaker to choose linguistic features in a certain way (e.g., avoidance of longer lexical items). In the case of popular music, music structure also influences the linguistic choice. Sometimes, features that belong to one speech variety (e.g., American English) appear in contexts where it is not typically found (e.g., British popular music), because the linguistic forms (e.g., American English variants) meet physical conditions (e.g., rhythm and stress patterns) better than the other forms (e.g., British English variants) (see Chapters 2 and 3). It may also be the case that a language variety (e.g., American English) is used because after the recurrent use in society, the variety is considered as a norm. Strictly speaking, such cases may not be an instance of referee design because the linguistic features may simply be a result of physical conditions, not a result of the speaker's identity work, but it is still possible to assume that such features are used because the use of a particular language variety or linguistic features is efficient in that it can meet both situational/conventional and social identity needs. These cases are called *responsive referee design* (Gibson and Bell 2012), as opposed to *initiative referee design*, which is clearly motivated by the speaker's free will.

Another factor is influence from the speaker's extralinguistic motivations. It is important to recognize that the speaker does not always use a language variety or linguistic features of the referee group at the same level. Very often, the speaker changes the level of imitation to a referee group. As seen in Chapter 2, such a case is commonly found in popular music. The use of American English pronunciations among British singers has been in evidence since the interwar period, but due to the increasing popularity of British popular music, the use of American English accents has decreased in more recent periods (after the early 1960s) (see Trudgill 1983; Simpson 1999; Morrissey 2008). The example from popular music indicates the possibility that events such as increasing popularity of British popular music may influence the linguistic choice. While, as seen earlier, the original model of referee design (Bell 1984, 2001) presupposes that referee groups have linguistic abilities (i.e., referees are human), the relations between linguistic variation and extralinguistic motivations indicate that even non-human entities can be reference models for linguistic stylization. While due to lack of theoretical grounds, one

should be cautious about using non-linguistic data to explain linguistic patterns, it would seem important to consider possibilities of influence from non-human referees (§4.4).

4.3.2 Indexical change in linguistic styles

As mentioned in the previous section and Chapter 2, some researchers point out the possibility regarding changes of indexicality in language shift. For example, Gibson and Bell (2012) state the possibility that the semiotic meaning of American English items in singing is slightly different from that in spoken situations, by introducing the singers' interviews in which they stated that they use American English accents because they are "default" and "mainstream" in singing. Cutler (1997) also describes linguistic features of the "white nigga" as an attempt to align himself with hip hop culture, rather than his wish to identify with African American people. In Bell's (2001) case, the pragmatic marker *eh* changes its indexical function from a marker of Māori identity to a marker of group solidarity. Although in these examples, the indexical information is not radically different from the original meaning that exists in speech, we can see some important shifts of semiotic meanings.

This means that indexical meanings are fluid and changeable according to situations. The mechanism underlying such an indexical shift may be explainable by using Silverstein's (2003) *nth* order usage. According to Silverstein (2003), social indexes that have been established in a certain situation (*nth* order) are likely to change their characteristics when they are used in a new situation (*(n+1)th* order). When indexical meanings have changed, features do not entirely lose the original meanings. Instead, some components of the earlier signification are brought along and used in a new setting (Bucholtz 2015:44-45). In other words, they start to take stances (see Kiesling 2009). The phenomenon is alternatively called recombination or bricolage (see Hebdige 1979; Bucholtz 2015).

To illustrate how original *nth* meanings have changed into (*n+1)th* meanings by using above examples, the original association of American English with American people, African American English with African American people, or Māori English with Māori people was established in speech situations, but the association seems to have diminished in each situation and started to index "mainstream," "hip hop," and "solidarity," respectively, through the recurrent or innovative uses, although in all these cases, the semiotic process was still underway, given that the original meanings can still be accessible among people. A web of different but interrelated semiotic meanings of the same linguistic feature is called *the indexical field* (see Eckert 2008).

4.3.3 Evidence of Americanization

As seen in Chapter 2, many scholars (e.g., Trudgill 1983; Simpson 1999; Morrissey 2008) claim that Americanization in British popular music is a possible case of outgroup referee design. If so, this means that there should be similarities between British popular music

and referee groups that motivate songwriters to use American styles. In this section, I discuss which patterns can be found when linguistic features are a result of referee design.

As seen in the previous section, referee design theory (Bell 1984, 2001) claims that the speaker or the writer imitates linguistic features of the social group with whom they want to be associated. In fact, due to a lack of the speaker's (or the writer's) ability to specify precise linguistic features (Trudgill 1983:145-36), the result of referee design often produces many different linguistic outcomes, such as selectivity (appearance of only selective variables), mis-realization (inaccurate use of linguistic features), overaccommodation (exaggeration of linguistic forms), and underaccommodation (underuse of linguistic features) (see Bell and Gibson 2011:568). However, previous studies on language contact and second language acquisition provide some generalizations about consequences of influence of one language on another. For example, Meyerhoff (2009:303) claims that there are a few possible outcomes of language transfer. Meyerhoff (2009) gives three possible scenarios ((i), (ii), and (iii)), but she also admits that even partial evidence of (i)-(iii) can support evidence of language transfer.

> (i) Where the same factor groups are significant constraints on a variable in the model and in the replica varieties, this is *weak transfer* or *replication.*
>
> (ii) Where the same factor groups are significant in both model and replica, and the ordering of these factor groups is the same in both model and replica, this is (*strong*) *transfer.*
>
> (iii) Where the same factor groups are significant in both model and replica, and the ordering of these factor groups is the same in both model and replica, and the factors within groups have the same ranking in model and replica, this is *calquing*.

While a similar frequency of linguistic features between two languages or two varieties of a language may also be evidence of linguistic transfer (e.g., Fuchs 2016), details about linguistic features such as which factors operate on linguistic variation, which factors are more important than others in linguistic variation, and how each factor influences linguistic variation would provide more support to linguistic transfer. In outlining the predictions, Meyerhoff (2009:303) took into account transfer of internal variables only. Later, studies such as Buchstaller and D'Arcy (2009) and Meyerhoff and Schleef (2012) considered possibilities regarding transfer of external variables as well. Those studies revealed that external factors (e.g., gender, social class) on linguistic variation of the source language/variety are not often seen in linguistic variation of the target language/variety. Since factors such as gender and social class are heavily influenced by the social structure of the target community, they are not easily transferable from the source language, unless the source and target communities share a similar social

structure. However, these studies do not deny the possibility about the transfer of external variables and imply that external factors can also be transferable under some circumstances (e.g., early stage of language contact, strong influence from the source language).

As seen earlier, linguistic patterns that correspond to the speaker's motivations may also be evidence of referee design. As seen in §4.3.1 and §4.3.2, referee design explains that linguistic features associated with a particular social identity are used in order to achieve a particular communicative goal (e.g., increasing authenticity, strengthening group solidarity). This means that when people change their communicative goal, the use of linguistic features may change. This indicates that similarities between linguistic patterns and the patterns of extralinguistic references (i.e., events that affect the speaker's motivation) are evidence of referee design.

As will be seen below, evidence of variable rules and similarities with extralinguistic patterns is helpful in identifying referee groups. Such information is also useful to support evidence of Americanization. As noted in Chapter 2, grammatical evidence of Americanization is often related with linguistic processes such as colloquialization, because features that are more frequent in American English often include features that are colloquial or informal (e.g., the intensifier *so,* see Chapter 6). Therefore, a question arises as to whether linguistic patterns as observed in British popular music are a case of Americanization. It would be difficult to claim the evidence of Americanization with a single occurrence of a form, especially when it is not perceptually salient. However, colloquialization is different from Americanization in that the former is an attempt to make discourse more speech-like for reasons such as increasing familiarity or comprehensibility (see Leech and Smith 2006), while the latter is linguistic convergence to American models (see Trudgill 1983; Leech and Smith 2006). This means that linguistic features that are used only to make speech colloquial do not presuppose that they show similarity to linguistic patterns of US referees. Therefore, if we can show similarities between British popular music and US referee model(s), it is possible to provide evidence of Americanization.

4.4 Models for linguistic stylization

Based on Bell's (1984, 2001) referee design, I argue that US stylization (if it happens) is modeled on certain American groups and is motivated by the songwriter's conscious or unconscious desire to associate their songs with America. Like previous studies on phonology (see Chapter 2), the present study will also make an attempt to explain linguistic model(s) for US style-shifting.

The present study, however, differs from previous studies in some respects. First, I will consider the possibility of each referee design in a systematic way. Rather than using sociological and ethnographic qualitative evidence, I draw on quantitative data which are either obtained by myself or are available in other studies such as data mining

science and business studies to measure the level of similarity between British popular music and each proposed model because quantitative data would give more objective support to evidence. I also take into consideration linguistic patterns (in the case of human referees), genre variation, and diachronic variation to evaluate the explanatory validity. By comparing the PMCE-UK and each referee, this thesis will consider the level of similarities between them. As seen in the previous section, similarities indicate evidence of linguistic transfer and the presence of influence. Therefore, I will interpret as the best explanatory model the one that has shown a high level of similarity to British popular music in terms of linguistic variation.

Second, I will evaluate three models from the referee designs in phonological studies and add two models that have not been discussed yet: (a) American popular music (§4.4.1), (b) American singers' popularity in British music scenes (§4.4.2), (c) the speech of American consumers (§4.4.3), (d) the size of the American music market (§4.4.4), and (e) the singability of linguistic (grammatical) forms (§4.4.5). Unlike some previous studies (e.g., Simpson 1999; Schulze 2014), the factor of the lyrical content is not analyzed in this thesis, because, as stated in Chapter 2, the lyrical content may be considered as an indicator of "Americanness," rather than a factor of "Americanness." [20] The theoretical reasoning and prediction patterns of each model will be explained below.

4.4.1 American popular music

I begin with the possibility that a model for US stylization in British popular music is language in American popular music. The rationale behind the choice of this group is that with some exceptions (e.g., reggae, funk), many genres originate in the US (see Borthwick and Moy 2004). The view that Americanization is motivated by the origin of music has frequently been mentioned in both sociological studies and linguistics, while few of them have tested the validity of the claim. The reason that the musical origin leads to such stylistic similarity at the expense of their own identity is that British singers may follow the idea of cultural authenticity (see Chapter 2), by which they assume that the legitimacy of music can be achieved by imitating successful American singers or following musical prototypes set by American popular music. This means that in this model, the "American" index is recontextualized (Briggs and Bauman 1992) into "(cultural) authenticity."

If linguistic features of American popular music are a referee, it is expected that there is similarity between British and American popular music in terms of the adoption rate of "American" English forms as well as the frequency order of linguistic variables (i.e.,

[20] In this thesis, Trudgill's (1983) "genre appropriateness" model (see Chapter 2) will not be discussed, either. It may be possible to relate the evidence of Americanization as a genre feature, especially when American English features are found in many different songs, but the explanation "is not on its own enough to provide an explanation for why it is this type of singing which is regulated in this way" (Trudgill 1983:143-44).

which grammatical variable is most frequently realized as “American,” and which variable(s) follow the variable). Since unlike phonological variables, where there are several constraints operative due to their non-nativity and unfamiliarity such as selectivity, mis-realization, overaccommodation, and underaccomodation (Trudgill 1983:145-50; Bell and Gibson 2011:568), British and American English mostly share the same grammatical forms, we can expect a remarkably high level of linguistic similarity.

We can also expect that American and British popular music are similar in terms of musical genres and diachronicity. If the rate of “American” English forms is affected by the factor of musical genres in American popular music, it is expected that in British popular music, a similar pattern is also produced. It is predicted, for example, that if the adoption rate of the “American” English form in pop (as a genre) is different from that in hip hop in American popular music, a similar pattern is also found in British popular music. With the diachronic prediction, two patterns are possible. One is that the diachronic linguistic patterns of British popular music parallel those of American popular music. Such a prediction assumes that songwriters in British popular music are so attentive to the linguistic variation in American popular music that they can produce a similar linguistic pattern in British popular music. The other possibility assumes that songwriters slowly react to the linguistic change. In this model, the change of the linguistic variation in British popular music is predicted to (slightly) lag behind that in American popular music.

4.4.2 Popularity of American acts

The next referee is American singers’ popularity in popular music scenes. The evidence that supports that popularity of American acts is a referee for the language of British popular music can be seen by comparing linguistic patterns in UK popular music and patterns as found in the number of American acts in music charts. Since appearance in music charts represents an economic and cultural success in music scenes, it is highly possible that social groups who made a success in music charts are respected and imitated by others. The motivation seems to further accelerate, especially when the respected group is associated with the musical origin. See Trudgill (1983:144):

> Most genres of twentieth century popular music, in the western world and in some cases beyond, are (Afro-)American in origin. Americans have dominated the field, and cultural domination leads to imitation; it is appropriate to sound like an American when performing what is predominantly an American activity; and one attempts to model one’s singing style on that of those who do it best and who one admires most.

The “American” index in this model is interpreted as a “coolness” or “fashionable” index (Silverstein 2003). If such cultural and economic success is a reference point for the direction of linguistic stylization, this would also apply to each musical genre. Within this framework, it is predictable that social groups “who do it best and who one admires

most" (Trudgill 1983:144) in each genre are most likely to be referees there. While such evidence is limited, North et al.'s (2020:855-57) investigation on cultural representation in each musical genre provides an insightful idea for the direction. Using 36,345 commercially released songs, which were collected in 2016, they compared the number of songs between US and UK music charts in terms of 23 musical genres. The direction of cultural representation is summarized in Figure 4.1.

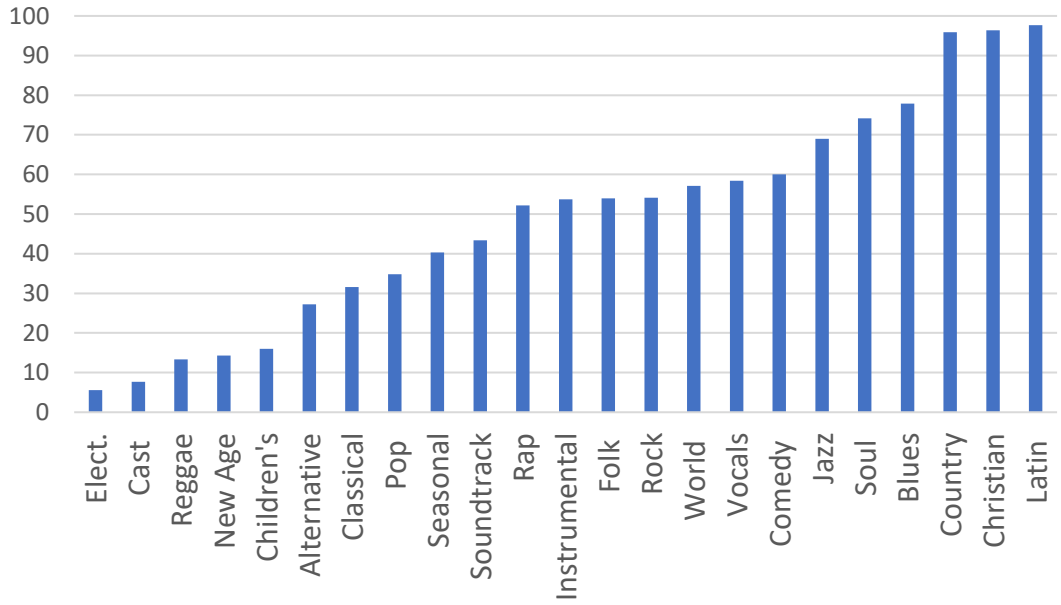


Figure 4.1 US representation in popular music in both UK and US charts by musical genre (%), extracted from North et al. (2020:855-57)

Figure 4.1 reads as follows. In the case of electronic music, 2,467 popular music songs appeared in American and British music charts: 139 songs (6%) from American charts and 2,328 songs (94%) from British charts. The figure shows the percentage for American charts. Thus, electronic music represents 6%, which is located in the leftmost bar in Figure 4.1. The direct reading of the figure presented is that there are different genre preferences between the US and UK. Thus, electronic music is much more popular in the UK than in the US. However, as seen in Chapter 2, preference can also lead to developments and eventually, cultural and economic success (cf. Hesmondhalgh 2001:279), meaning that US representation in Figure 4.1 may show a success level of each genre. Therefore, I believe that Figure 4.1 is a good representation of the cultural or economical reference point.

Although the genre classification with no less than 23 categories in North et al. (2020) makes the prediction rather difficult, we can predict from Figure 4.1 that some genres are more likely to choose "American" English forms than others. For instance, Figure 4.1 demonstrates that 52% of rap music songs come from US charts, which is followed by 35% and 6% of pop and electronic, respectively. Then, it follows that rap music would use more "American" English forms than pop, which is followed by electronic.

Regarding a diachronic tendency of economic and cultural success in music scenes, it is possible to use quantitative research conducted by Hon (2013:300-1), who calculates the cultural representation of British and non-British singers in British music charts, from which we can predict the overall chronological (1960s-2000s) direction of the model (see Figure 4.2).

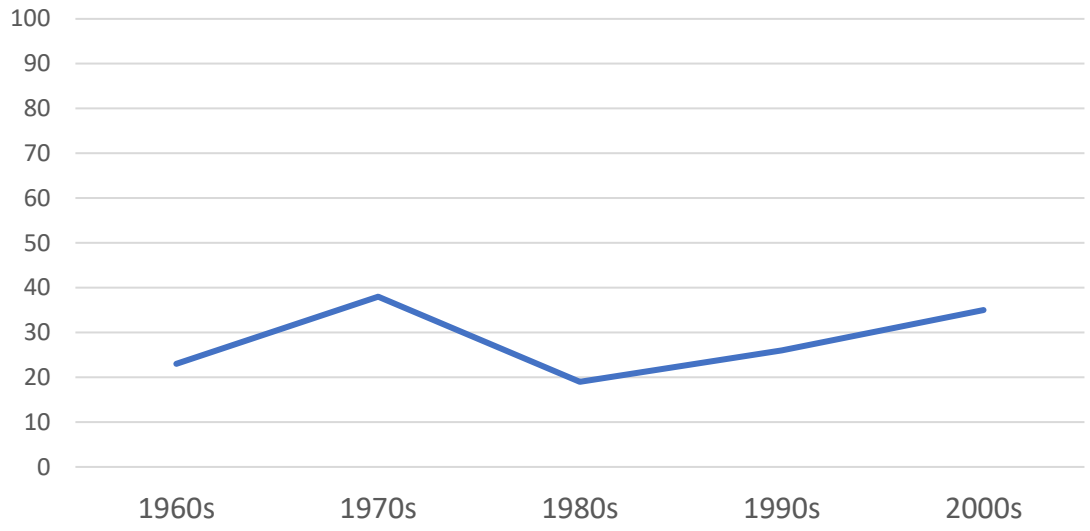


Figure 4.2 Non-British acts in UK music charts over time (%), extracted from Hon (2013:300-1)

Since the US is the largest music market during the whole period (Ferreira and Waldfogel 2013:642), it is safe to say that the non-British component in Hon's (2013:300-1) data mostly includes American artists. If cultural and economic success is used as a reference point for stylization, it is predicted that the pattern of "American" English forms in British popular music songs would show a laggard pattern in Figure 4.2. However, it is also possible that the patterns of "US" English forms follow the pattern closely, given that the popular music market is highly competitive. It would seem less likely that in order to gain cultural and economic success, music producers in the 1970s refer to songs from one decade ago.

Although Hon's (2013) data do not show the figure for the 1950s, the figure is available in other studies. Gourvish and Tennent (2010:206) show that during 1952-1959, the proportion of American acts in British music charts is the highest 81% (1952) to the lowest 52% (1955). Inglis (2009:379-80) also claims that the popularity of American acts was overwhelmingly dominant during the period. Therefore, like the 1970s and the 2000s, the number of American acts in the 1950s is also high, meaning that the level of "Americanness" is also high, if the popularity of American acts is a referee.

4.4.3 Speech of American consumers

The speech of American consumers (American English) is also a candidate for linguistic stylization (see Trudgill 1983). In a common sense, they are audience, but *American consumers* are used here because in Bell's (1984, 2001) stylistic theory, they belong to referee groups, i.e., they are physically absent when songwriters are writing a song. Although consumers are not visible to songwriters, it is possible to assume that they exert an influence on the choice of linguistic forms, because the audience constitutes social groups from which songwriters would like to get approval, given that the US is the largest marketplace and one of the most important exporters of UK popular music (see Ferreira and Waldfogel 2013:647). Therefore, it is natural to assume that songwriters would try to accommodate to the speech of American consumers (American English) in order to increase sales. Here, in Eckert's (2008) indexical field, the "American" index would work as a "solidarity" marker (see Silverstein 2003).

If American consumers are a model for US stylization in British popular music, it is expected that the rate of "American" English forms in American English speech and other linguistic patterns (e.g., which grammatical variable shows "Americanness" more frequently than others) is similar to those in British popular music, although such prediction needs to be cautious, given that conversation and song lyrics constitute different textual genres, which have different register features in the first place (see Chapter 3).

Unlike the referee designs mentioned above, it does not seem possible to predict genre variation with this referee design. Since musical genres only matter in contexts related to music, this factor does not seem to affect American English in natural conversation. Therefore, there is no prediction for genre variation in this model.

However, it is possible to make a prediction of diachronic patterns. If this model works, it is expected that the patterns of "American" English forms in British popular music follow those of American English speech. Such a claim assumes that songwriters have a high level of linguistic ability to notice linguistic change (if it occurs). If their linguistic ability is high, the patterns of "American" English forms in British popular music mirror those of American English speech. By contrast, if their ability is low, the patterns might be realized in the way that they are lagging, do not change, or even fluctuate.

Diachronic observations are possible if we can access a historical database that enables us to track historical patterns in American English speech. Unfortunately, at the time of writing, such data are not available, but there are individual studies dealing with different time periods that were conducted by different researchers. The diachronic patterns of each "American" English form of the selected grammatical variables will be shown in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7.

4.4.4 Size of the American music market

It is also possible to predict that the size of the American music market is a reference for linguistic variation in British popular music, given that the US is one of the most important countries where the UK music industry exports their products (Ferreira and Waldfogel 2013:647). In this case, too, the "American" index may be recontextualized (Briggs and Bauman 1992) into a "solidarity" index (see Silverstein 2003). Regarding genre variation, we do not expect genre variation to appear in this model because regardless of musical genres, popular music is a music for profit (Tagg 2015:4-5).

As regards diachronic tendencies of music consumption, Ferreira and Waldfogel (2013:647) point out that while the American music market was the largest throughout the 1960s-2000s, the size has not remained stable across the periods (see Figure 4.3). According to Ferreira and Waldfogel (2013:647), the consumption of music in general shows a higher rate in the 1960s, but it decreases from the 1970 to the 1980s. Since the 1990s, it has shown an upturn towards the end of the period. If the size of the American music market is a referee group, a similar diachronic pattern or a lagging pattern will be borne out in the language variation in British popular music. However, as seen in §4.4.2, given that the popular music market is competitive, a closer pattern to Figure 4.3 is more likely.

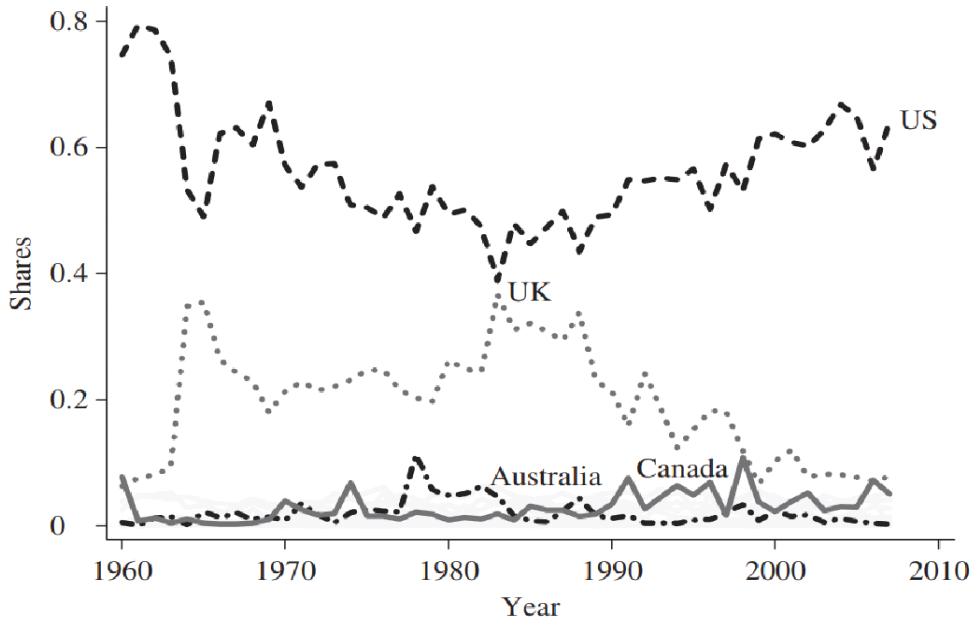
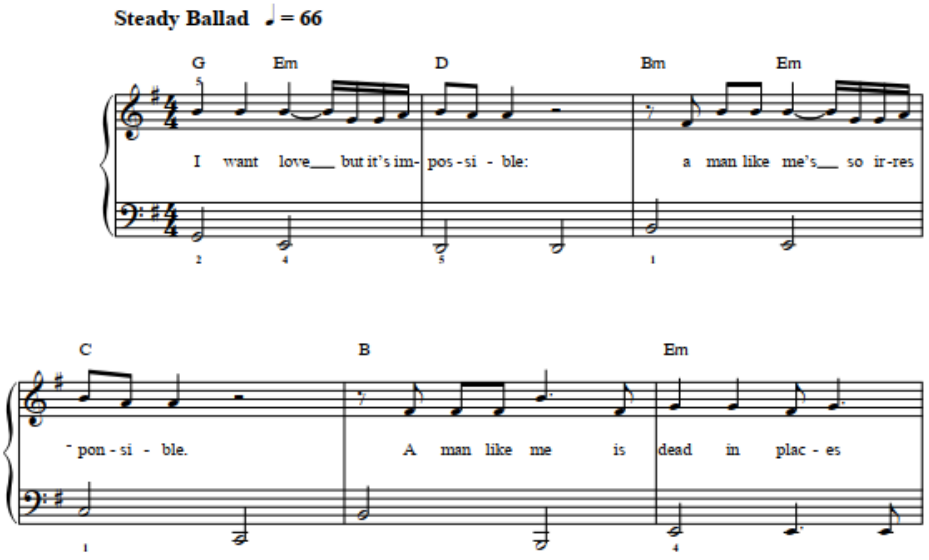


Figure 4.3 Proportion of each country in the world consumption of music between the 1960s and the 2000s, extracted from Ferreira and Waldfogel (2013:642)

4.4.5 Singability of linguistic (grammatical) forms

Finally, I deal with a special case of referee design. This model highlights the possibility that "American" grammatical features are selected due to their phonetic and grammatical attributes, which are preferable under the production circumstances of popular music (see Chapter 2). Such cases may not be a case of Americanization, because the use of linguistic forms is simply a result of production circumstances (see Chapter 3), but it should also be stressed that those linguistic features may also belong to "spokenness," where, as noted earlier, identity work is most likely to happen. If that is a case, in this thesis, rather than considering whether this is a result of the production circumstances or a case of Americanization, I take both positions, because given that the production circumstances of popular music songs more strongly control the linguistic variation than those of conversation, it is more natural to think that forms with multiple functions are convenient and therefore more likely to be chosen. In this case, the "American" index may be recontextualized into a "popular music" index (i.e., music features) (see Silverstein 2003).

As noted earlier, popular music songs prefer one- or two-syllable words (Watanabe 2017:20), because within a limited length of songs, songwriters feel forced to choose words and words have to be assigned on music patterns (beats) in the form of syllables (Tough 2013:106) and because monosyllabic words can occur freely in metrical positions (Tait 2013; Tabain et al. 2014). Therefore, it is possible that some "American" English grammatical forms are chosen due to their brevity. Figure 4.4 shows music sheets and lyrics of Elton John's *I Want Love*. It shows that although there are exceptions (e.g., *irresponsible*, *liberated)*, one- or two-syllable words are overwhelmingly preferred in popular music. Even when words with more than one syllable are used, they are decomposed into syllables according to music beats.



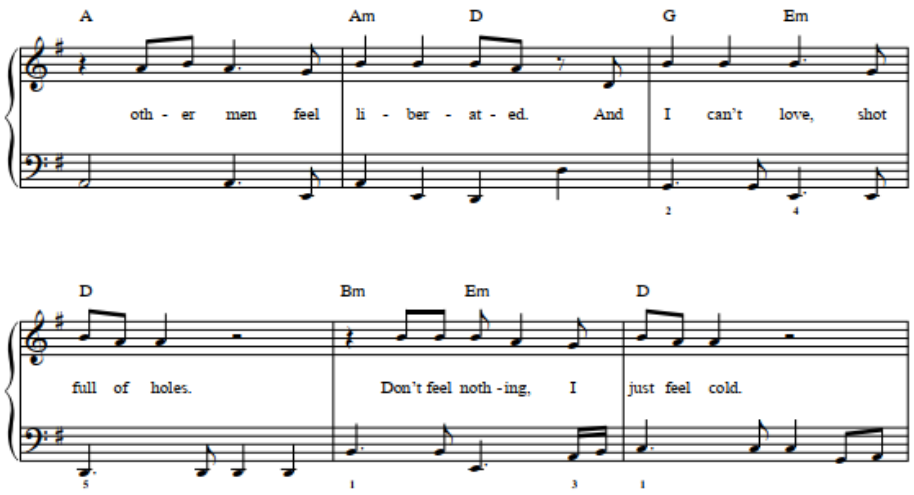


Figure 4.4. Elton John's *I Want Love* [21]

It is also important to note that some phonological features are also preferred in song lyrics due to their sonority (Morrissey 2008:210-12). Burquest (2006:149) claims that there are some sounds that are easier to phonetically produce than others. A scale of sonorous strength is as follows (from high to low): low vowels, mid vowels, high vowels/glides, flaps, laterals, nasals, voiced fricatives, voiceless fricatives, voiced plosives, voiceless plosives, and complex plosives (Burquest 2006:149). It then follows that some "American" English forms may be chosen because they have a higher sonority.

If words with certain features are more likely to be selected due to situational characteristics in music, it follows that genres that tend to have such features are more likely to be "Americanized" than genres which do not. While I do not have data regarding sonority in different genres and diachronicity, it is possible to estimate syllables by investigating the number of letters of each lexical item (i.e., average word length (AWL)) as seen in my song lyrics corpus, i.e., the British Popular Music Corpus of English (PMCE-UK) (see Chapter 5), by which it is possible to predict the direction of Americanization in terms of musical genres and diachronicity. I used the relevant function of WordSmith (Version 7.0) for calculation. Figure 4.5 shows the results of genres in the descending order.

Figure 4.5 demonstrates that there are a few genre differences in terms of AWL. The average of AWL of all songs is 3.83. Some genres prefer words of more than four letters (e.g., stage & screen), but note that the total number of songs in these genres is extremely small (see Chapter 5). By contrast, genres such as hip hop use shorter words (3.77) than others. With other genres, the pattern is around the average (e.g., pop, rock, electronic). Multiple comparison based on the Tukey-Kramer test largely supports the observation. A significant difference ($p < .05$) exists in the five following pairs: electronic and hip hop, pop and hip hop, rock and hip hop, stage & screen and hip hop, and reggae

[21] Available at: https://www.sheetmusicplus.com/ (Accessed 15 May 2023).

and stage & screen (see Appendix 1). Therefore, if the cause of Americanization in British popular music is this responsive referee design, it is expected that a higher level of "Americanness" may be found with popular music genres which have a lower AWL (e.g., hip hop) and that fewer differences may be found with genres such as rock, pop, and electronic.

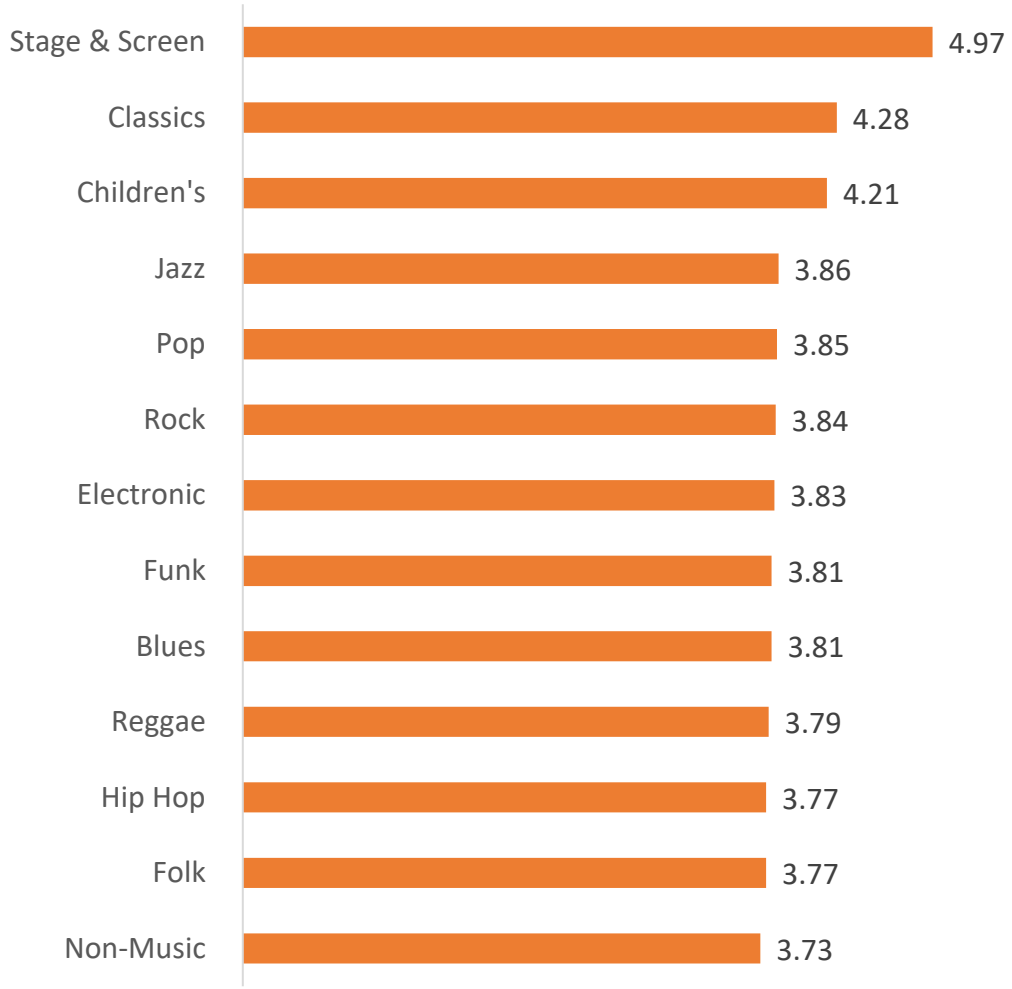


Figure 4.5 Average word length in the PMCE-UK, by musical genre

With the diachronic prediction, it is possible to measure AWL for the years 1950s-2000s by using the PMCE-UK. Figure 4.5 shows the results. At first, it would seem that there are few differences between the 1950s and the 2000s, but multiple comparison based on the Tukey-Kramer test reveals many pairs where the difference is statistically significant at the p <.05 level except for the 1950s and the 1970s, the 1950s and the 1980s, the 1950s and the 1990s, and the 1970s and the 1990s. Therefore, the difference is overall present between the 1950s and the 2000s (see Appendix 2). If responsive referee design is effective in British popular music, it is expected that the grammatical

features in the PMCE-UK see fluctuations with the two peaks of frequency in the 1960s and the 2000s.

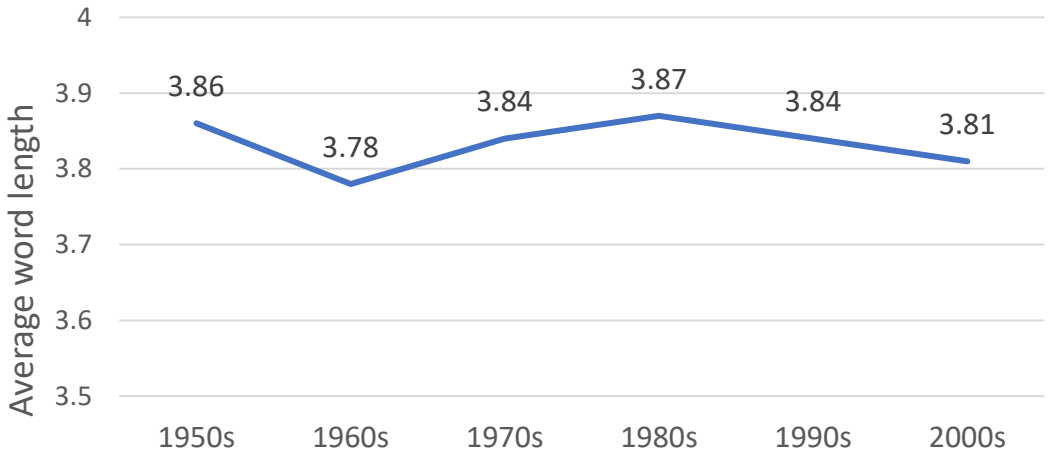


Figure 4.6 Average word length in the PMCE-UK, by decade (1950s-2000s)

4.4.6 Summary

A summary of genre and diachronic tendencies of the five referee designs is shown in Table 4.1. While some tendencies may not be clear due to lack of evidence (the speech of American consumers), I believe that these tendencies provide a better and more accurate prediction than anecdotal evidence provided by previous studies. By considering both genre variation and diachronic variation, I can predict the different direction of all referee models, which would help us to accurately specify referee model(s) for British popular music. A discussion of the referees will be shown in Chapter 7.

Table 4.1 Summary of predictions of each referee model in British popular music (BPM)

Referee	Genre variation in BPM	Chronological variation in BPM
1. American popular music (APM)	Follow APM	Follow APM
2. Popularity of American acts	Follow Figure 4.1	Follow Figure 4.2
3. Speech of American consumers	No prediction	Follow spoken American English
4. Size of the American music market	No genre variation	Follow the US pattern in Figure 4.3
5. Singability of linguistic (grammatical) forms	Follow Figure 4.5	Follow Figure 4.6

4.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explained the concept of indexicality, its mechanism, and possible methods to analyze social indexes of linguistic variation. Then, I have reviewed previous studies on linguistic style shifts and possible indexical changes of linguistic forms in order to look for the predictions and motivations of Americanization. In the same section, I have also mentioned how to use referee design in order to describe differences between Americanization and colloquialization. Finally, I presented predictions and motivations of possible referee models for British popular music. The validity of each referee design will be discussed in Chapter 7 and Chapter 8.

Chapter Five

Methodology

5.1 Overview

In this chapter, I will introduce research materials, methods that select grammatical variables including variants indexical of "Americanness," and methods that are used to analyze grammatical variation in song texts. The chapter consists of five sections. After this overview, I will explain the main research materials in the present study (i.e., the PMCE-UK) (§5.2). In this section, I first describe the corpus design of the PMCE-UK in detail. I also introduce the PMCE-US, which is used for evaluating the referee design (i.e., American popular music) (see Chapter 4). Then, in §5.3, I introduce the way I chose grammatical variables. I explain three methodological processes used to extract variables: (a) keyword analysis, (b) speech and fictional analyses, and (c) the questionnaire survey. In §5.4, I briefly comment on how I extracted and analyzed the selected grammatical variables from the PMCE-UK and PMCE-US. In §5.5, I summarize the main points from the methodological discussion.

5.2 Database

This section will introduce a corpus linguistic project on English song lyrics: the Popular Music Corpus of English (PMCE) project, which forms the basis of this thesis. The project involved the construction of two corpora: the British Popular Music Corpus of English (PMCE-UK) and the American Popular Music Corpus of English (PMCE-US). Both corpora follow the definition of popular music in Chapter 3 and consist of singles that were ranked on weekly top 20 popular music charts between 1953 and 2009, but the way in which they were compiled was slightly different from each other due to the availability of music charts and the purpose of creating each corpus. Thus, separate sections will be provided in order to describe the PMCE project.[22]

5.2.1 British Popular Music Corpus of English (PMCE-UK)

Representativeness, or "the extent to which a sample includes the full range of variability in a population" (Biber 1993:243), is one of the key considerations in corpus building. In order to maintain the representativeness of a corpus, Biber (1993:243) suggests that a full definition of the target population has to be made carefully, so that the analysts have a clear idea of what the samples of a corpus are intended to represent. In addition, he also suggests that this should be done before sample collection, because

[22] The lists of singers and bands in the PMCE-UK and PMCE-US (by genre) are available here: https://drive.google.com/drive/u/1/folders/1EA6iQZC71JWNb0zVCBS5yL9xaxI0NctK.

the definition of the target population can decide which texts to include or exclude when sampling a corpus. Thus, in this thesis, as a first step in making the PMCE-UK, I gave a full definition of the target population for this project. As mentioned in Chapter 3, I defined popular music as commercial music which is liked by many people, e.g., music that appears on music charts (see below).

When defining British popular music, i.e., music sung by British singers, one also must define British singer(s), although this may sound an easy task. In fact, defining a British singer is not always straightforward, since people sometimes use the term to refer to those who were not born in the UK, but made a debut in the UK (e.g., Freddie Mercury, from the Sultanate of Zanzibar).[23] This social grouping is different from standard sociolinguistic conventions in which people are categorized based on their birthplace or the length of settlement. Since the classification may cause an incorrect interpretation of the results in the quantitative analysis in Chapter 7, this study will follow a standard linguistic categorization. That is, British singers are defined in the present study as artists who were born and raised in UK or have settled in the country before the college year (16). In the case of music groups (e.g., bands or duos), the classification is based on the information of the lead vocal(s). Note that, as seen in Chapter 3, in popular music, songwriting and singing can be conducted by different people, and it is even possible that non-British songwriters (e.g., Americans) can write songs for British singers. Defining British popular music based on the nationality of singers means that the present study investigates the language that is performed by British singers (cf. stylization, see Chapter 4), rather than the language that is produced by them.

In order to obtain the demographic information of each singer, several websites (e.g., *Wikipedia*, *Discogs*) were mainly consulted. I admit that the information of these websites may not be completely reliable, but to my knowledge, there were no public databases as large as these that allowed me to access the demographic or personal history of each singer.

The definition of the target population led me to decide how to collect text samples for the corpus. Like previous studies (Murphey 1989, 1992; Kreyer and Mukherjee 2007; Kreyer 2012, 2015; Werner 2012, 2021a; Bértoli-Dutra 2014; Eiter 2017; Nishina 2017; Watanabe 2017; Brett and Pinna 2019; Goyak et al. 2021), the present study was also based on song selections that appear on music charts. While I admit that this method assigns much importance to singles that are higher on the charts (i.e., above the top 20s), I did not have a way to know which songs appear below the threshold. Therefore, I took a practical approach for the data collection (cf. Werner 2012:22). However, most singers mentioned in sociological studies (see Chapter 2) appeared in top charts, meaning that a linguistic analysis based on the data collection has a high level of comparability with sociological analysis (see Chapter 8).

[23] See: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Freddie_Mercury (Accessed on 8 August 2022).

Among many options, this study used *British Top 20 Hits (1952-2015)* by Smith (2016), a chart book mainly for singles. In order to choose which music charts are suitable for the present study, several preliminary attempts were made before embarking on constructing the complete version of the corpus. After a few trials, I found that based on other music charts, it was extremely difficult to construct a large corpus of British popular music. For example, albums usually include songs that were released much earlier than the album releases. Besides, the number of British songs was extremely small in album-based music charts. This is also the case with single charts from other music charts (e.g., UK Official Charts), especially for charts for early years. Therefore, I chose music charts of singles that allowed me to collect a number of songs.

The British Top 20 Hits (1952-2015) offers weekly-based UK rankings of songs between 1952 and 2015,[24] but I only used the 1953-2009 charts, so that a decade-based diachronic analysis (i.e., the 1950s, the 1960s, the 1970s, the 1980s, the 1990s, and the 2000s) became possible. I excluded the 1952 chart because it was not complete (see Smith 2016:10-11). The chart book not only provides songs which were performed by British singers, but also songs by artists from other backgrounds (e.g., US, Canada, Australia). From all those songs, only British songs were selected manually.

Note that the PMCE-UK includes cover songs, even though they were originally sung by non-British singers. Following Simpson (1999:353), I will consider the effect of cover songs on grammatical variability, especially the effect of covers of American songs (which were most likely written by US songwriters), in Chapter 7, where the effect of the songwriter's nationality and region is taken into consideration.[25]

The next step was to collect the lyrics of each song. Although many web pages are dedicated to song lyrics search, this study mainly used websites such as *AZ Lyrics*, *Genius*, and *Metrolyrics*, because these are large lyrics engines. In these websites, music fans (or, sometimes, singers themselves) contribute to the construction of the database by submitting song lyrics. As regards copyright issues, song lyrics are protected by copyright as literary works. Yet, text mining as well as quoting extracts of songs is still possible under UK copyright laws: "[t]he making of a copy of a work by a person who has lawful access to the work does not infringe copyright in the work provided that the copy is made in order that a person who has lawful access to the work may carry out a computational analysis of anything recorded in the work for the sole purpose of research

[24] The years 1953-2009 are a little outdated, compared to recent works (see Chapter 2). However, when I started the project (2018), the charts for the 2010s were not available.

[25] "Cover" is generally understood as a situation in song performance where a song credited to singer(s) is sung by another artist(s); however, this term is not accurate for some songs, especially songs in the 1950s-early 60s. In earlier times, song making involved a clear division of labor between songwriters and singers. This is the so-called the "Tin Pan Alley" tradition, in which "the songwriters produced songs that were then published as musical scores for professional musicians to be able to produce the music in public venues" (see Wall 2013:25). In this tradition, the credit was given to more than one artist, even though a singer made a release of a song several years later than the first recording by a different singer.

for a non-commercial purpose."[26] When song lyrics were not found on these websites, the songs were excluded from the list. The content of the webpages was copy-and-pasted and transferred to .txt format. All unwanted information like non-textual parts of songs (e.g. [Verse 1], [Chorus]) was deleted manually. All non-standard spellings and punctuations were retained. Repetitive parts were not removed so that the original textural structure of each text was kept. In Figure 5.1, I show how an original text format of song lyrics of *For Your Love* (by the Yardbirds) was edited in this clean-up process.

Before	After
[Chorus]	
For your love	For your love
For your love	For your love
For your love	For your love
[Post-Chorus]	
For your love, for your love	For your love, for your love
I would give the stars above	I would give the stars above
For your love, for your love	For your love, for your love
I would give you all I could	I would give you all I could
[Verse 2]	
For your love	For your love
For your love	For your love
For your love	For your love
I'd give the moon if it were mine to give	I'd give the moon if it were mine to give
For your love	For your love
I'd give the stars and the sun for I live	I'd give the stars and the sun for I live

Figure 5.1. Editorial process of song lyrics (the Yardbirds, For Your Love)

However, it has to be acknowledged that text materials available on these websites may not be accurately transcribed. They may be subject to the contributor's modification in which some forms of items were modulated, for example, by standardizing stigmatized forms to acceptable ones (e.g., *ain't* > *isn't*) or rendering contracted forms as full forms (e.g., *aren't* > *are not*). However, I can say that such problems were not the case with grammatical variables investigated for analysis (see Chapter 6). By using audio recordings (e.g., *YouTube*), I checked relevant cases and confirmed that they were transcribed verbatim.

[26] See: https://www.legislation.gov.uk/uksi/2014/1372/regulation/3/made (Accessed on 14 July 2022).

In order to see the effects of some external factors on grammatical variability, I coded four predictor variables for each text: year, genre, the singer's region, and the writer's region.

When coding the diachronic information, the chart year (e.g., 1963) of a song was converted with the corresponding decade (i.e., the 1960s). Six decades will be considered in the analysis in Chapter 7: the 1950s, the 1960s, the 1970s, the 1980s, the 1990s, and the 2000s.

The information concerning musical genres was obtained from *Discogs.* This online catalogue was chosen because it is a comprehensive catalogue, and compared to other similar catalogues, was the easiest to use, in that the search query quickly returned the necessary information, with few pop-up ads, which made the pace of the coding process slow. Also, as stated in Chapter 3, this catalogue uses simpler genre categories, compared to other catalogues. Thirteen different genres were identified for songs in the PMCE-UK: "Blues," "Children's," "Classical," "Electronic," "Folk, World, & Country" (or simply called "Folk" here), "Funk/Soul," "Hip Hop," "Jazz," "Non-music," "Pop," "Reggae," "Rock," and "Stage & Screen." The definitions of these genres are available at the website.[27] In *Discogs*, sometimes, songs were classified into two different genres (e.g., pop and rock) due to their (musical) features that cross genre boundaries. I excluded all those songs (56) in the data analysis in Chapter 7, although the PMCE-UK includes these songs.

In order to examine potential effects of the singer's regional speech, the singer's regional origin was searched in *Wikipedia* or *Discogs* (see Table 5.2) and coded with each text. With singer(s) in bands, the information of lead vocal(s) was noted. For the classification on British regions, "Dialect at Level 3," a dialect model that was used for the BNC 2014, was employed, with only a slight modification. Thus, UK regions were categorized into Ireland, Scotland, North England, Midlands, Wales, South England, and "Others" (see Table 5.1).[28] The original model further divides Southeast and Southwest in South England, but due to the small number of singers or songwriters from the Southwest, I added them to the South category, creating the broader category, South England. Also, the original model differentiates the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland, but in this study, the difference between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland is not investigated due to the small number of singers from the two areas. "Others" includes British India (e.g., Cliff Richard) and cases where two or more lead vocals come from different regions in the UK (e.g., Girls Aloud). Data taken from "Others" (211) were not included in the data analysis in Chapter 7.

[27] See: https://www.discogs.com/genre/rock?ev=em_rp (Accessed on 8 August 2022).
[28] See: http://corpora.lancs.ac.uk/bnc2014/doc/BNC2014manual.pdf (Accessed on 9 August 2022).

Table 5.1 Dialect categories used for singers

Dialect Level 3	Region
Ireland	Northern Irish
	Irish
Scotland	
North England	Northeast
	Yorkshire
	Humberside
	Northwest
	Merseyside
Midlands	East Midlands
	West Midlands
Wales	
South England	Eastern
	Southeast
	Southwest
	London
Others	British India
	Combination of the above categories

In the same fashion, the songwriter's social information was coded (i.e., country, hometown) (see Table 5.2), in order to see the effect of the songwriter's regional or national speech.

Table 5.2. Dialect categories used for songwriters

Dialect (UK)	Region	Dialect (US)	States
Ireland	Northern Irish Irish	Southeast	West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas
Scotland			
North England	Northeast Yorkshire Humberside Northwest Merseyside	Non-Southeast	All the rest
		Others	Sweden, Norway, Australia etc.
Midlands	East Midlands West Midlands		
Wales			
South England	Eastern Southeast Southwest London		
Others	British India Combination of the above categories		

In the case of songwriter(s), a "main" person who was involved in songwriting (i.e., the first person who appeared in the songwriter section in *Wikipedia*, unless it clearly stated who took the main role in songwriting) was coded, although song writing is often

collaborative (Werner 2021a:245). With coding, work efficiency was prioritized rather than perfect reality. For American categories, considering salience of ethnic variation in American English (see Chapter 6), two categories were used for the American English classification: American Southeast and American non-Southeast. American Southeast includes West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas, whereas American non-Southeast includes all the rest of American states.[29] The "Others" option was also made to include songwriters who were neither from the UK nor from the US (e.g., Sweden, Norway). Songs in "Others" were excluded from the analysis (153 songs).

The final version of the PMCE-UK contains 5,546 song texts with 1,392,446 words.[30] There are a few notes on aspects of the structure of the corpus that affect the analysis in Chapter 7. First, in terms of music genres, the corpus is heavily skewed towards some genres (see Table 5.3). Thirteen (out of fifteen) music genres appear in the PMCE-UK, but over half of the songs come from rock (2,536), which is followed by electronic music (1,810). As seen in Chapter 2, this would reflect longevity of rock and popularity of electronic music in British music scenes. Other genres only marginally appear in the PMCE-UK.[31]

Second, the corpus is unbalanced in terms of diachronicity (see Table 5.4). As seen in Table 5.5, the corpus size incrementally increases as the time goes on. This is (a) because in recent periods, the competition in music charts is intense and (b) because more recent songs tend to be longer and thus wordier (Tough 2017:87). Especially, after the 1980s, due to the emergence of wordier hip hop songs and its influence on other genres, the number of words increased significantly.

[29] American Southeast largely corresponds to "South" in the Atlas of North American English. See: https://www.ling.upenn.edu/phono_atlas/maps/MapsS/Map1S.html (Accessed 28 August 2022).

[30] A pilot version of the PMCE-UK was constructed before this version. Since the size of the corpus was one-third of the complete version, I found that statistical tests (e.g., chi-square test) were not possible in analysis, which led me to the construction of the current version. This could be considered as problematical from a methodological perspective as it could be interpreted as increasing sample size until I obtained statistically significant results. While I acknowledge such criticisms, nonetheless I increased the size of the corpus to increase the validity of the quantitative analysis. This also helps to capture a more comprehensive view of British popular music. A report of the pilot study is found in Watanabe (2021). It took almost two years to compile the complete version of the corpus.

[31] A question may arise regarding the genre categories in *Discogs* because the number of some genres (e.g., Children, Stage & Screen) is extremely small, indicating the possibility that some categories could be combined with others. However, the small number of songs for a particular genre category does not immediately mean that the category is not effective. Songs allocated to those genres have clear features that can be distinguished from more frequent genres (e.g., "Children" songs are songs that appear in anime intended for young people, songs in "Stage & Screen" are songs that appear in movies). Therefore, I used the original categories of musical genres in *Discogs*.

Table 5.3 Corpus structure of the PMCE-UK by musical genre

	No. of songs	Word co.
Rock	2,536	585,170
Electronic	1,810	513,631
Pop	789	179,402
Funk	124	32,882
Hip Hop	88	34,446
Jazz	68	12,145
Reggae	53	13,290
Folk	8	2,590
Stage & Screen	6	1,055
Blues	4	1,051
Non-music	2	482
Classic	1	108
Children's	1	171
Others	56	16,026
	5,546	1,392,449

Table 5.4 Corpus structure of the PMCE-UK by decade

	No. of songs	Word co.
1950s	195	36,116
1960s	692	131,207
1970s	791	181,135
1980s	1,243	308,089
1990s	1,315	342,050
2000s	1,310	393,852
	5,546	1,392,449

Although in terms of the representativeness of the corpus, these two issues could be a problem in the data analysis in Chapter 7, I also think that such imbalance is also one aspect of reality in British popular music, telling which songs are how much popular (or prevalent?) at which period. Therefore, I did not attempt to increase or reduce the number of texts for a subcorpus.

Following the copyright law in the UK, I do not share the data with anyone else. The law states that where a copyright of a work was made, the right is infringed if the copy is

transferred to people other than those who were given the permission to use the materials.[32]

5.2.2 American Popular Music Corpus of English (PMCE-US)

A different corpus was created in a similar fashion to the PMCE-UK that focused on American music: the American Popular Music Corpus of English (PMCE-US). This corpus was compiled to evaluate the referee design, i.e., to test the hypothesis that Americanization found in British popular music is motivated by the accommodation to American popular music (see Chapter 7).

The PMCE-US is a corpus of singles by US singers that appeared on the American popular music charts between 1953 and 2009. The songs were taken from the weekly American top 20 single music charts (1953-2009). American charts, rather than British charts, were used for the compilation for the PMCE-US, because I could collect a larger number of American songs with these charts. For the 1950s-1980s, charts which were edited by Smith (2018a, 2018b, 2018c, 2018d), the same author of Smith (2016), were used. Since at the time of corpus creation (2018-19), American weekly music charts compiled by the same author were not available for the 1990s and the 2000s, for these decades, I used the top 20 hits in *The Hot 100* on *Billboards*, "a weekly publication which fulfills the function of a central institution that registers sales" (Werner 2012:22). Songs performed by non-American popular music singers were removed. Song lyrics were taken from various websites, which was followed by removing the unnecessary textual information from each text.

As stated in Chapter 4, the PMCE-US was created in order to provide a theoretical explanation on the quantitative distribution of the selected linguistic variables that was found in the PMCE-UK. To repeat, I predict that if the referee of British popular music is American popular music, the same picture will emerge regarding musical genres and diachronicity as well as the type of grammatical variable. The quantitative distribution will thus be considered in terms of musical genres and diachronicity of songs. This means that songs in the PMCE-US were only coded in terms of musical genres and periods. Coding was conducted in the same manner as I did for the PMCE-UK.

The final version of the PMCE-US consists of 5,670 texts, equaling 1,633,402 words. There are 15 music genres in the PMCE-US. Like the PMCE-UK, the number of songs is skewed towards certain genres (see Table 5.5) and towards the later periods (see Table 5.6), but there are structural differences between the two corpora in terms of the corpus size, the number of songs, and the proportional distribution of musical genres. The possible explanations for the structural difference are that (a) in the US, the number of successful domestic songs/singers is larger than that in the UK, but since the 1970s, the

[32] See: https://www.legislation.gov.uk/uksi/2014/1372/regulation/3/made (Accessed on 14 July 2022).

number decreased, (b) that a number of wordier genres (e.g., hip hop) were included in the American corpus, especially after the 1980s, and (c) that there is a different preference of music genres between the UK and the US. In the analysis in Chapter 7, such differences will be minimized by using the relative frequency of the selected linguistic variables.[33]

Table 5.5 Corpus structure of the PMCE-US by musical genre

	No. of songs	Word co.
Rock	2,211	499,799
Hip Hop	703	406,738
Funk	1,086	289,256
Electronic	570	204,241
Pop	645	128,069
Folk	160	37,390
Jazz	185	35,406
Reggae	9	2,801
Blues	9	1,850
Non-music	3	1,508
Stage & Screen	6	1,428
Latin	3	656
Brass	2	620
Children's	2	463
Classic	1	176
Others	75	23,001
	5,670	1,633,402

[33] While I acknowledge that the normalized frequency (e.g., per million words) may be a better option, to be consistent with phonological analysis (e.g., Trudgill 1983), I will use the relative frequency for calculation.

Table 5.6 Corpus structure of the PMCE-US by decade

	No. of songs	Word co.
1950s	704	123,741
1960s	1,406	278,206
1970s	1,027	253,509
1980s	924	256,018
1990s	787	312,434
2000s	822	409,494
	5,670	1,633,402

5.3 Selecting grammatical variables

In this section, I explain how I chose target grammatical variables in detail. The selection of linguistic variables was processed in three steps, i.e., keyword analysis, speech and fiction analysis, and the questionnaire survey, although the results of the questionnaire survey were used as additional evidence only. In this section, the description of each method and tools used for the analysis are explained.

5.3.1 Keyword analysis

As stated in Chapter 3, song lyrics are a special register (Werner 2012:43) in that it consists of both spoken and written linguistic features (Kreyer and Mukherjee 2007; Werner 2021a). One question that arises is where one can find grammatical variables associated with a social identity from such a textual variety.

As seen in Chapter 3, in popular music, linguistic features that are used for the code of "spokenness" may be motivated by the songwriter's wish to relate linguistic features to a particular social identity. This means that linguistic features that code "spokenness" may be evidence of a deliberate attempt for stylization (see Chapter 4) (see Alim 2002). Various linguistic attempts have already been made from this perspective, most of which focus on gender identity (e.g., Watanabe 2017) or community or "street" identity (e.g., Olivo 2001), by examining spoken features of song lyrics. Since as seen in Chapter 4, Americanization may also be an attempt for stylization, this means that it is likely that grammatical features that potentially include variants with an "American" index tend to appear in spoken features of the texts.

In order to identify such grammatical items in an objective manner, I first applied a corpus linguistic technique called keyword analysis. This is a statistical technique that allows researchers to identify lexical items that are more (or less) frequent in the corpus which the researcher is looking at (the target corpus) than in the corpus which the researcher wants to compare with it (the reference corpus). It is often applied in genre studies and stylistics to identify general linguistic features of a particular linguistic style.

By utilizing corpus linguistics tools like WordSmith, Wmatrix, AntConc, and LancsBox, a list of words (keywords) is automatically generated in the order of "keyness," a value of significance calculated through e.g., log-likelihood, chi-square test, Bayes Factors, the Cochran rule, Bonferroni's correction (see Culpeper and Demmen 2015:98-99). The calculation of keyness is often made at a word level, meaning that lexico-grammatical items can also be identified through an analysis if they are given a high significance (e.g., Barbieri 2008; Bednarek 2012; Culpeper 2014b).[34]

In the present study, the keyword analysis was conducted in order to exclude spoken features of popular music. Since (British) popular music consists of both spoken and written linguistic features, features associated with writing have to be removed. To do this, I compared British popular music with British English writing. By doing this, I could extract linguistic features that are more frequent in British popular music than in British English writing. Since written features are common in both British popular music and British English writing, features associated with writing are less likely to appear in the analysis. Instead, linguistic features associated with speech are more likely to appear in this keyword analysis.

As a target corpus, I used the whole section of the PMCE-UK. As a reference corpus, I chose the British National Corpus, Baby edition, (BNC Baby).[35] The original BNC Baby is an aggregated corpus of spoken and written texts, which consists of approximately four million words in total. From this corpus, I excluded the spoken section (demographic) and created the written version of the BNC Baby (the w-BNC Baby). The w-BNC Baby comprises texts written in the mid-1960s to the early 1990s and taken from academic journals, newspapers, and literary fiction. The corpus size was 2,957,843 words, which is approximately double that of the PMCE-UK. This means that the log-likelihood measure is not potentially affected by the size difference between the target and reference corpora. Pojanapunya and Todd (2018:160) claim that one corpus should not be more than ten times as large as the other corpus for statistical (e.g., log-likelihood) measure.

I used *LancsBox* (Version 6.0) to perform the analysis. Following recent suggestions by Pojanapunya and Todd (2018), a log-likelihood test was used to measure keyness, because other methods like odds ratio tend to highlight more specialized words (e.g., proper nouns) in the keyword list.

[34] Grammatical keyness analysis (see Culpeper 2014a), which allows us to identify grammatical categories (i.e., part-of-speech tags) with statistically higher frequency in the target corpus, was not used here, because although it may be useful to identify the situational information (e.g., formality) of texts, it is not useful when specific grammatical forms which could be used for variationist studies are targeted.

[35] See: https://ota.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/repository/xmlui/handle/20.500.12024/2553 (Accessed on 14 July 2022).

When conducting a keyword analysis, text dispersion (i.e., the number of texts using the identified keywords) was not considered in this study, although Egbert and Biber (2019) suggest that it helps to ensure that the frequency of the identified words in a particular text would not skew the overall results. This is because an analysis based on textual dispersion usually fails to scoop function words (Egbert and Biber 2019:95-99). Besides, given that the PMCE-UK is not structurally balanced in terms of external variables (e.g., there are more in the rock lyrics than in the pop lyrics category) and that repetitive parts of each text were not removed, I believe that the concentration of a particular word in certain text(s), for example, texts from a particular genre, is inevitable with the current case. However, issues regarding text dispersion were maximally reduced by excluding repetitive tokens of grammatical variables.

The results shown in Chapter 6 show the highest ranked "positive" keywords, up to 50, in the PMCE-UK. This threshold was chosen because the list higher than 50 (e.g., top 100, 200) did not produce a result that features grammatical items. These are positive keywords, i.e., items that are statistically more frequent in the PMCE-UK than in the BNC Baby, as opposed to negative keywords, i.e., items that are statistically less frequent in the PMCE-UK than in the BNC Baby, but attention has been paid mainly to "positive" ones, because I found that negative keywords are less likely to highlight grammatical forms. In the discussion, I examined the first randomized 100 cases in the concordance lines of each "positive" keyword retrieved from *LancsBox*.

5.3.2 Speech and fiction analysis

In order to identify "Americanness" or "non-Americanness" of each variant of the selected grammatical variables, I quantitatively compared the distribution of the grammatical variables by using representative corpora of American and British English. For the analysis, I used a variationist framework, a mathematical method that describes the distribution of linguistic items in alternation. Variationist analysis was developed in Labov's (1963) study. The original analysis was conducted for phonological variables, but later, it was applied to research on grammatical variables as well (e.g., Wolfram 1969; Cheshire 1982). Variable analysis follows *the principle of accountability* (Labov 1972b:72), by which linguistic forms are not analyzed independently but examined in a relationship with other linguistic forms that have the same referential and functional meanings. By considering all possible linguistic contexts where the target linguistic forms could occur and excluding all non-variable contexts, the frequency of the target forms was presented in the form of proportions (%). Within the variationist framework, the distribution of linguistic forms in one corpus is thus comparable with that in another, even if the corpus size is different. By applying statistical methods such as the chi-square test for the descriptive analysis, researchers can adjust the difference of the number of variable contexts and evaluate the original calculation. As will be seen below, it is also possible to investigate the effect of factors that might affect linguistic variation. For such an analysis, it is required that one should code each token according to internal factors, i.e., factors "relating to the linguistic environment such as the grammatical category of

the word, the type of subject in the clause, or its function factors" (Tagliamonte 2011:7) and external factors, i.e., factors "relating to aspects of the social context, situation, community setting, or register" (Tagliamonte 2011:7).

The selected four grammatical variables were quantitatively compared within the variationist framework in order to gain insights of indexicality. Two corpora that represent informal American and British English speech were first compared: the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English (SBCSAE) (Du Bois et al. 2002-2005)[36] and the conversation part of British National Corpus (BNC 1994 S-Conv). The former comprises 249,000 words, which were taken from early 1990s recordings (Romero 2012:25). The data samples represent "a wide variety of people of different regional origins, ages, occupations, genders, and ethnic and social backgrounds."[37] The latter consists of 4,233,962 words. The recordings were taken from all regions from the UK. However, perhaps due to differences in corpus compilation, with some variables (i.e., *ain't*, third person *don't*, multiple negation, see below), it was not possible to gain sufficient tokens of these variants from the SBCSAE. Therefore, a different pair of spoken corpora were used for these variables. The spoken section (1990-1994) of the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) (Davies 2008-), which is a text collection of broadcast transcripts, was used to investigate American English. For comparison, three broadcast sections ("S:broadcast:discussion," "S:broadcast: documentary," and "S:broadcast:news") of the BNC 1994 were investigated as the British English counterpart. The corpus size was 22,160,125 words and 1,066,743 words, respectively.

In addition to the speech analysis, I also conducted a fiction analysis in order to supplement the speech data. Some linguistic studies (e.g., Biber 1988) revealed that the text type is more informal, compared to broadcast speech, meaning that it is possible to gain sufficient data of the variable forms associated with speech.[38] Fiction includes "[s]hort stories and plays from literary magazines, children's magazines, popular magazines, first chapters of first edition books 1990-present, and movie scripts" (COCA)[39] and "drama," "poetry," and "prose" (BNC 1994).[40] [41] Given that speech representation of fictional texts is not naturally produced and that the data of fictional texts consist of narrative/narration as well as direct speech representation, linguistic

[36] The SBCSAE texts that are publicly available are coded with pragmatic information, which is not necessary for the present research. Therefore, for the purpose of the present study, I manually removed all pragmatic information from the texts so that the text data can be readable at LancsBox.
[37] See: https://www.linguistics.ucsb.edu/research/santa-barbara-corpus (Accessed on 14 July 2022).
[38] Transcripts of movies or TV dramas were possible options, but there were no texts available in the BNC 1994. "Dramas" in the BNC 1994 are not taken from TV programs.
[39] See: https://www.english-corpora.org/coca/ (Accessed on 14 July 2022).
[40] See: http://bncweb.lancs.ac.uk/cgi-binbncXML/BNCquery.pl?theQuery=writtentexts&urlTest=yes (Accessed on 14 July 2022).
[41] I acknowledge that there is incompatibility between the COCA and BNC 1994 in terms of the subtext types that are included in the "Fiction," but due to the low frequency of the stigmatized forms of each subtext type, I compared the COCA and the BNC 1994 based on the large category ("Fiction").

features in fiction are not the same as those in natural speech. However, due to lack of materials, I had to choose this option in order to support indexical information of each linguistic variable. For this purpose, I used the fiction parts of the COCA (1990-1994) and BNC 1994. The fiction part of the COCA was 20,040,845 words, and the fiction part of the BNC ("fiction and verse") was 16,143,913 words.

Note that the indexical information obtained through the analysis described above may apply only to the situation where the corpora were compiled (i.e., the 1990s). Therefore, I conducted a diachronic analysis of the selected grammatical variables. However, due to the absence of diachronic corpora of American English speech, this attempt was not consistent, compared to the synchronic analysis mentioned above. For American English, I used synchronic results on American English dialects reported in previous studies (which were collected in a different time period). For British English, the Freiburg Corpus of English Dialects Sampler (FRED-S) (1,011,396 words), which represents informal speech in the 1970s-80s (Szmrecsanyi and Hernández 2007), the BNC 1994 S-Conv, and the spoken component of the British National Corpus 2014 (BNC 2014), which contains conversation recorded in informal settings in 2012-2016 (11,422,617 words), were used. Since American English data are taken from one region and British English data taken from many parts in the UK, I have to admit that the comparison was not very effective, but due to lack of speech corpora of American English, this seemed to be the best option to make a diachronic comparison at the time of research.

Except for the SBCSAE and the FRED-S, the analyses were conducted on the web platforms. For the COCA, I used the *English-Corpora.org* platform. For the BNCs 1994 and 2014, search functions of the BNCweb (CQP-Edition) were utilized to extract variable contexts. For the SBCSAE and the FRED-S, I used *LancsBox* to extract variable contexts.

5.3.3 Questionnaire survey

Some previous studies (e.g., Trudgill 1983) use phonological variables that are cognitively salient (e.g., the "USA-5 model") (Gibson and Bell 2012:144). Following those studies, I conducted a perceptual analysis on the selected grammatical variables. The results of the survey will be presented in Chapter 6, where I discuss perceptions of each grammatical variable. In this section, I explain the procedure of the questionnaire survey and the participants' demographic information.[42]

(i) The purpose
The purpose of the questionnaire survey was to investigate the direct perception of the grammatical variables, in order to see whether the selected variables were perceptually comparable with phonological variables used in some previous studies (see Trudgill 1983). It also helps to identify whether Americanization observed in the present study is an overt (above the level of consciousness) or covert (below the level of

[42] See: https://questionpro.com/t/ATua3Zop5b (Accessed 24 May 2023).

consciousness) type. I investigated indexical knowledge of British English speakers by taking perceptual data from them and used the data as primary evidence of linguistic perception. However, inspired by results from Jansen (2022), who showed that linguistic perceptions were different between American and British people, I also considered the perceptual information of other native speakers. The survey was granted ethics approval from the committee at the University of Sheffield.

(ii) Platform

The questionnaire survey was created by *QuestionPro*.[43] The platform helped to create an online questionnaire survey and gather information from the participants. It also quickly returned questionnaire results once participants submitted their responses. Information such as the participant's IP addresses and response time was also available.

(iii) Procedure

The questionnaire started from basic instructions about the survey design, consisting of three pages. The first page briefly introduced the purpose of the survey with the title ("Perceptions of informal speech in English"). The participants were notified that their linguistic knowledge would be investigated in the later section but were not informed that the questionnaire survey was related to research on British popular music. Contextual information may encourage the participants to choose a certain answer in a certain way (see Hilton and Jeong 2019; Squires 2019), but I did not include this factor when investigating the perception because there is a risk that the participants would return responses in a way that is not expected. Such information may help the participants to identify the source of the sentences in the survey (they were taken from music charts, see below). With the contextual information, the participants may choose the options based on the singer's information. Whether the speaker is a known (at least in terms of some social identities) individual has been proposed as an important factor of perception in previous literature (Campbell-Kibler 2010:382). As stated earlier, the purpose of the study is not to identify the song or the speaker, but to investigate the indexical knowledge of the linguistic form.

The same page also posted a URL which led to a Google shared drive where they were able to find the participant information sheet and asked to agree on the consent form. They were also notified how long it would take for the survey (ten minutes).

The next page notified that the survey includes potential concerns related to the labels of options that the participant would see in the questionnaire (i.e., "A user of African American English") (see below). The labels included ethnic concerns that some participants may feel offended during the survey. Therefore, before the survey started, I noticed them about such concerns. The page also reminded the participants that the information that they would submit was anonymized so that the speaker was not identifiable from the answers submitted.

[43] See: https://www.questionpro.com/a/listSurveys.do (Accessed on 14 July 2022).

The third page asked participants to agree on the participation. They were notified that if they do not agree, they are allowed to leave the survey.

The basic information section was followed by the main part. The main part first asked the participants about their nationality ("US," "UK/Ireland," "Australia," "Canada," "Others"), age ("18-20," "21-30," "31-40," "41-50," "51-60," "61-70," "71-80," "81-100"), and gender ("Male," "Female," and "Other"). Then, the page instructed the participants as to how they should choose an answer for each question. They were notified that they would see multiple options that represent users of different English varieties in the US and the UK and choose from the multiple options people who they believe are most likely to say the sentence. Participants then read 22 questions that included target linguistic forms (see below). The questionnaire is written-basis, meaning that participants answered each question by reading each sentence. No audio data were attached to any questions. The method was chosen because given that "there is no socially neutral voice" (Squires 2019:9), social identity encoded in the voice would be reflected in the obtained results if the vocal stimuli were used. There was no time limit to complete the survey. During the survey, participants read the sentences at their own pace.

For each question used for a linguistic analysis, participants were given multiple options for the possible answer. For the choice of options and labels for each option, a few points should be mentioned. First, given that the grammatical forms investigated include variants whose use may be conditioned by ethnicity or a type of social group, categories were selected to reflect such external factors. From literature review (see Chapter 6), it seemed sensible to include categories that reflect ethnicity ("black" vs. "white") and region ("standard" or "nonstandard") as well as nationality ("US" vs "UK").

Second, labels used for those social categories were considered carefully. For the American options, "General American" and "African American" were used to reflect ethnic differences in American English (cf. Collins and Mees 2013:7), although I am aware that the term "General American" may not be familiar to non-linguists (but I assume that it is possible to understand the meaning by contrasting the term with "African American").[44] Also, although in (socio)linguistics, the term "General American" usually refers to accent features, rather than lexical and syntactical features (Melchers, Shaw, and Sundkvist 2019:80-89), nonetheless the label was used. Despite the linguistic convention, it is highly possible that non-linguistic people do not immediately associate "General American" with accent characteristics only, because people generally understand dialects and their labels more generally. Such tendencies are observable in drawing-map tasks (e.g., Bucholtz et al. 2007), in which participants often mention lexical and grammatical features (e.g., *hella*) in addition to phonological features when they describe accent labels.

[44] "Standard American" was a possible option, but "General American" is more often used to refer to speech in northern US (Kretzschmar 2008:42-43; Bailey 2017:24).

For British categories, “non-Standard British” and “Standard British” were used to reflect possible perceptual differences in regionality. While given that the concept “(non)standardness” may be ambiguous, nonetheless I used these categories because previous studies using either or both labels in their survey showed that informants from the UK correctly understood the terms (see Coupland and Bishop 2007). Although it is still possible that non-British people (like Americans) do not understand the labels due to lack of familiarity with British culture (see also below), for the questionnaire design, I prioritized perceptions of British people rather than those of non-British (American) people because one of the purposes of the questionnaire survey is to compare phonological perceptions and grammatical perceptions within the UK contexts.

Third, since ethnicity and region were generally sensitive topics, a care was taken so that people belonging to the community would not feel offended during the questionnaire. For example, “A user of African American English” was used for the option labeling, rather than e.g., “African American people.”

Fourth, I also considered whether I should include “Others” and “no idea” in order to examine details of participants’ perceptual reality (Buchstaller 2006:373-75). However, I did not include these options because the inclusion often leads many people to choose them, especially when items (like grammatical variants) have a weak indexicality (see Buchstaller 2006:374).

Thus, for options of each question, the following four categories were used: (a) “A user of African American English,” (b) “A user of ‘General American’ English,” (c) “A user of non-Standard British Englishes,” and (d) “A user of Standard British English.”

The twenty-two linguistic items except one (see Chapter 6) were taken from the PMCE-UK. The sentences used for stimuli include the four variables that were identified through the keyword analysis (see Table 5.7). The written stimuli include uses of *ain’t*, third person *don’t*, multiple negation, and intensifier variants such as *so*. These forms occurred more frequently in American English than in British English or occur more frequently in British English than in American English in the speech and/or fiction analyses (see Chapter 6). Sometimes, an “American” grammatical form co-occurred with another “US” grammatical form. Therefore, the effect of the co-occurrence was investigated (e.g., *I ain’t never seen before*) in the section of multiple negation (§6.4.3). In addition, in the PMCE-UK, there were some grammatical items and usages that are not often found in speech (e.g., *so* NP, *mighty*). I also included these cases in the questionnaire survey.

Also, to retrieve grammatical perceptions that are not affected by the surrounding context, I chose each sentence that includes a semantically abstract subject (e.g., pronouns, “what I think” etc.) and no references associated with American or British culture (e.g., cowboy, football).

Table 5.7 Grammatical variables under investigation in the questionnaire survey

Variable	Examples
Ain't	It *ain't* so hard
	I *ain't* been home all week
Third person *don't*	What I think *don't* matter anymore
Multiple negation	I *don't* want *no* more now
	I *ain't never* seen before
	It *don't* mean *nothing*
Intensifiers	You look *so* good
	It's *really* popular
	We're *real* tough
	It's *very* cold out here in the snow
	I'm *damn* sure I will
	It's *ever so* strange
	I'm *well* serious
	Life seems *jolly* rotten
	I'm *mighty* thankful
	I'm *awful* shy
	It's *most* unusual
	So damn cute
	I'm *so very* proud
	I'm *so* in awe of you
	It's *so* you
	When they freed him, it *so* relieved him

The survey ended with the participant pressing the submission bottom. The participant was once again reminded that their linguistic data were anonymized in the analysis. The personal information of the participant (i.e., e-mail address) was collected if the participant wished to join a prize draw. The information was deleted completely after the prize draw.

In a few cases, after the survey, participants who were interested in the survey contacted me to ask about my PhD research. In those cases, I explained in more detail the nature of the questionnaire survey (e.g., the source of the examples). I also gained some insights of indexicality from the discussion. For example, a participant told me how he judged the sentence. He told me that when the perceptions of the intensifier *so* were judged, he used the grammatical information (e.g., following noun, adjective) as a clue. Another participant from Australia was not very clear about the labels of multiple options, especially about the British categories, as she was not familiar with the British social structure. These people also told me that they have never thought about grammatical variables consciously. This may indicate that compared to phonological variables, grammatical variables have a weaker indexicality, and as will be seen in Chapter 6, this seems to be reflected in the survey results.

(iv) Distributions of the survey

The questionnaire was distributed in January 2022 and closed at the end of the same month. I chose target participants as people whose age was 18+. Until they go to college or university, people are less likely to move out of the area where they grew up. Once they start to go to college or university, they can meet people with different social backgrounds. Therefore, the choice of the age (18+) reflected my expectation that indexical knowledge about nationality is more likely to establish after secondary school (in Britain). The questionnaire form was mainly distributed via online Facebook pages, such as where students exchange their respective surveys for their project (e.g., *Survey Exchange/Survey Group/Survey Participants*, *Thesis/Survey Questionnaire Filling Group*, *Dissertation Survey Exchange*). I first recruited participants regardless of their nationality but found that most of the early participants were American. So, one day after the starting date of the survey, I controlled the number of participants to increase the number of British participants. In other words, I stopped recruiting other native speakers of English until I recruited 100 British participants. I also distributed the survey to other communities (e.g., the university accommodation community, social gathering community). In fewer than ten cases, I also asked some of my friends overseas.

(v) Participants

Once the survey ended, the results were calculated for each question. The participant's nationality was considered in the analysis. There were 233 participants for the survey when I closed the survey. However, I excluded 9 cases from the total dataset. I excluded people who indicated "Other" in the nationality section. I also excluded people whose self-identified national identity and their IP address did not match. For example, some people chose the "UK" option, but a closer observation revealed that their IP address showed an American region. Those people tended to behave like American participants, rather than British participants in terms of perceptual reality. This might mean that the speaker who was born in one country but moved into the other country in later life would change the knowledge of indexicality, but it is also possible that those people may deceive the researcher. Since there was a prize draw for the session, some people may

have joined this project in the guise of British participants to win the prize draw.

The data of 223 participants were then analyzed for the purpose of the study. The dataset consists of 105 British and Irish participants, 108 American participants, 6 Canadian participants, and 5 Australian participants. In the subsequent analysis (see Chapter 7), I combined the last three categories due to the small number of participants of the Canadian and Australian participants.[45] With the British participants, I could also obtain from the participant's IP address the information about UK regions where they accessed the survey. I categorized the participants' regional distribution based on the dialect category as explained above (see Table 5.8). Many of the participants came from England (South England (44), North England (22), Midlands (20), unspecified areas in England (2)), which is followed by Scotland (10), Wales (4), and Ireland (3). With the American participants, speakers from at least 22 different states participated in the survey. Nearly a quarter of the participants were from California, which is followed by Texas (12). For the rest of the states, less than 10 participants took part in the survey. The demographic of non-Southeast and Southeast states is almost equally distributed.

Table 5.8 IP address of British and American participants

Region (UK)	N	States (US)	N
South England	44	Non-Southeast	63
North England	22	Southeast	45
Midlands	20		
Scotland	10		
Wales	4		
Ireland	3		
Unidentifed*	2		
	105		108

* England

With the Canadian participants, four accessed my survey from Ontario, one from New Brunswick, and one from Alberta. With the Australian participants, the four participants came from New South Wales and one is not identified from the IP address.

Although the present study is not particularly interested in age and gender factors on perception, the information about the demographics is also available. Regarding age, most of the participants were 21-30 (143), which is followed by 31-40 (42), 18-20 (27), 41-50 (10), 51-60 (1), and 61-70 (1) (see Figure 5.2).

[45] Canadian and Australian participants could have been included with British participants, given that Canada and Australia are British Commonwealth countries. However, I distinguished British participants as a separate category because the main purpose of the survey is to compare phonological and grammatical perceptions of "American" forms in British contexts.

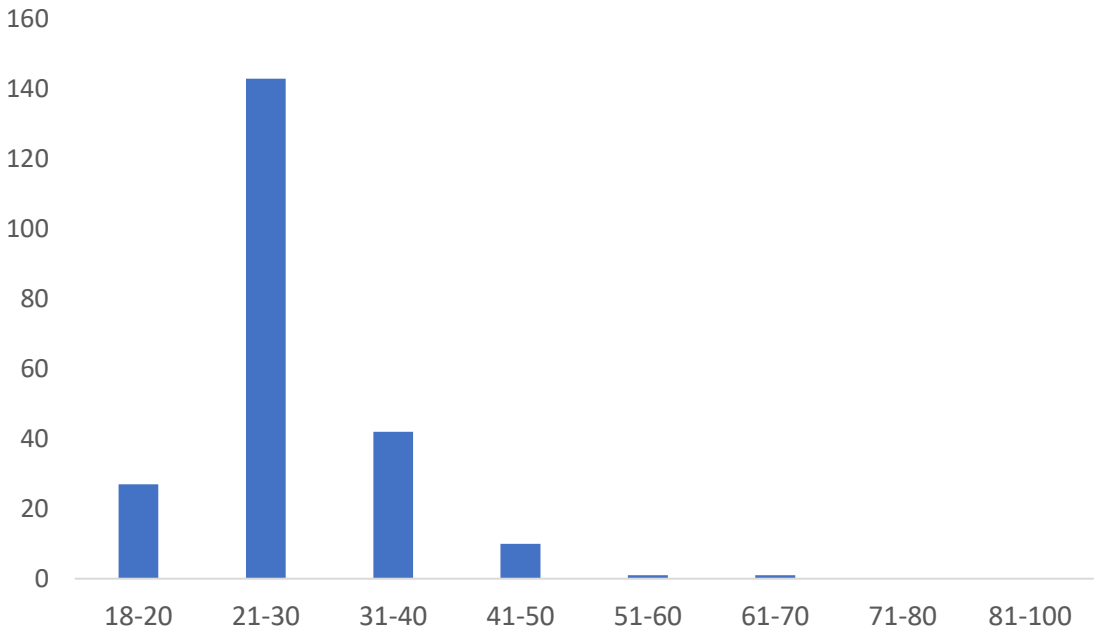


Figure 5.2 Age distribution of participants

As regards gender, 144 participants were female, and 77 participants were male. 3 people indicated "Other" (see Figure 5.3). Because I recruited people from Facebook pages where many university students (many of whom are female) joined, the demographic distribution regarding age and gender was inevitably unbalanced.

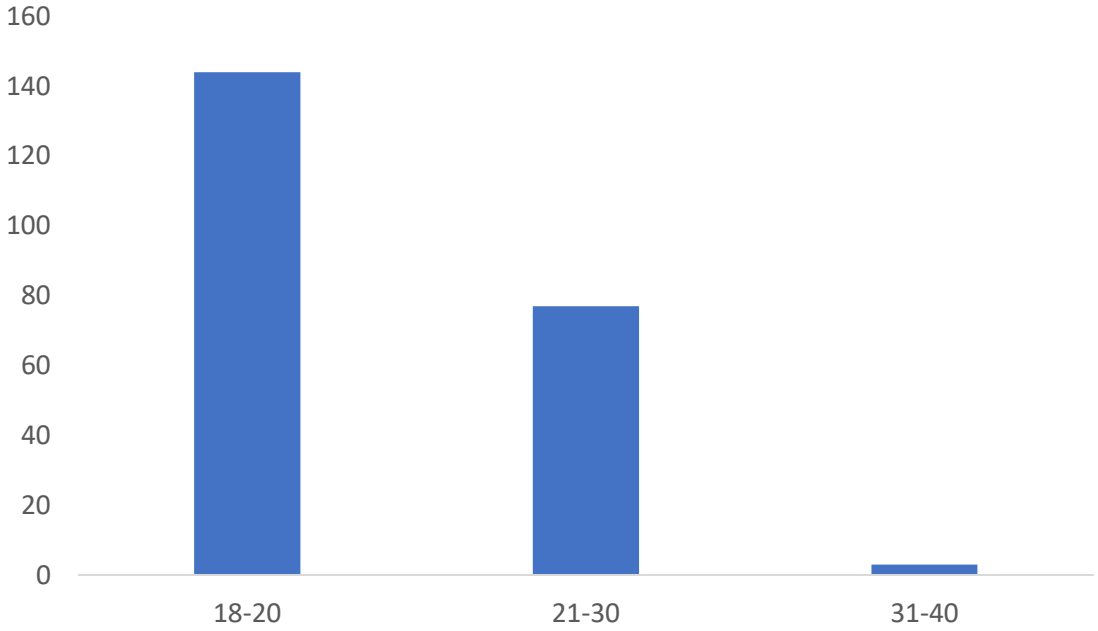


Figure 5.3 Gender distribution of participants

From my experience of taking part in the participants' survey, only a few people were studying linguistics (applied linguistics, forensic linguistics). None of them were

sociolinguists. Although I did not total the data, my impression is that most of them were studying fields related to psychology, which is followed by education, medicine, politics, business, criminology, and sociology. Many of the students seemed to be undergraduate rather than postgraduate, as some people mentioned that they were conducting their survey as a part of their course assignments. Therefore, it would seem that linguistic knowledge shown in the present study is not heavily skewed due to expert bias. The average time of the participants' survey completion was approximately three minutes.

5.4 Methods and tools to use for analysis on British popular music

Grammatical analysis of British popular music was conducted in the same way as Trudgill's (1983) phonological research. That is, the linguistic variables that include variants that index "American" English were examined within a variable framework by using the PMCE-UK, and the frequency of the "American" English variants was presented as evidence of Americanization in British popular music. All variable tokens were extracted by LancsBox. The variable contexts for each grammatical variable are defined in Chapter 6. Factors that may affect the linguistic variation were also examined in order to evaluate a possible linguistic model for British popular music: the type of grammatical variable, musical genres, the period of music charts, the singer's region, and the songwriter's nationality and region. The effect of each factor was then calculated. First, the effect of each factor was observed independently by descriptive statistics. Second, the relative strength of each factor was also examined in regression analysis.

Regression analysis is a mathematical approach that allows estimating the relative effect of different predictor variables (i.e., factors) on a dependent variable. When the dependent variable is binary, it is called logistic regression analysis. A number of statistical tools, such as R and SPSS, enable researchers to carry out the analysis. The analysis returns a model of predictor variables. This means that when the analysis is conducted, statistical tools return the accuracy of the model as well as the effect strength of the predictor variables. The accuracy of the model is typically presented as a *p*-value. If the *p*-value is above the threshold (e.g., 5%), the selection of the predictor variables is to be reconsidered. The variables that are correlated with other predictor variables or that do not show robust variation are often excluded. Such cases undermine the statistical significance of a predictor variable because the relative strength of each predictor variable may change erratically in response to small changes in the data and thus affect the validity of a model. Once the condition for the *p*-value is met and the accuracy of the model is high, it is possible to evaluate each predictor variable with this model.

For each predictor variable, the accuracy level of the prediction is also presented as a *p*-value. Besides, coefficients (B) and Exp(B) for each variant of a predictor variable are also returned. They both represent the relative strength of the predictor variant, which is compared to the default variant. The default variant is usually the category that shows the lowest figure. Unlike Exp(B), coefficient (B) also shows the direction of realization,

e.g., if the presence of a predictor variable predicts that variant A (coded with 1) is more likely to appear, the coefficient appears as positive value (above 0), whereas if the presence of a predictor variable predicts that variant A (coded with 1) is less likely to appear, the presence of a predictor variable appears as a negative value (below 0).

In the present study, I used SPSS to calculate the relative strength of each factor. In the analysis in Chapter 7, I chose the category that showed the lowest or the second[46] lowest degree of "American" English realization as the default, so that the coefficients (B) would indicate all positive value. For example, in the PMCE-UK, electronic music showed the lowest degree of "Americanness," compared to the other genres. Therefore, the genre was chosen as a default category for music genres. Besides, I used a logistic regression analysis for all four linguistic variables. In other words, tokens were all coded as "American" variants (1) or "non-American" variants (0). With the "non-American" variants, I combined the "neutral" and "British" variants in intensifier variables (see Chapter 6), as the number of variable contexts of the two categories was small.

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have introduced research materials and analytical methods used for the present study. First, I have introduced the British Popular Music Corpus of English (PMCE-UK) as well as the American Popular Music Corpus of English (PMCE-US). Then, methods used to choose grammatical variables as a measurement of "Americanness" were explained. Three indexical analyses, i.e., keyword analysis, speech and fiction analysis, and the questionnaire survey, were described. Finally, I have also explained how I analyzed the selected grammatical variables in the PMCE-UK.

[46] The second lowest category was chosen when the lowest category does not have sufficient tokens.

Chapter Six

Selecting grammatical variables

6.1 Overview

This chapter shows the process of selecting grammatical variables that I use to measure the level of "Americanness" in British popular music. In this chapter, I first create a list of grammatical variables from a wordlist of British popular music via keyword analysis. Indexical analyses of the selected grammatical variables will then be conducted in two different ways. The first analysis involves quantitative comparison between corpora of American and British English. The second is perception analysis based on a questionnaire survey. This chapter consists of five sections. After the overview, I report outputs of keyword analysis and create a tentative pool of target grammatical variables (§6.2). In §6.3, results of the quantitative comparison will be reported. In §6.4, I present results from the questionnaire survey and discuss the outcome discrepancy between the two analyses. Some methodological implications that arise from the outcome are also discussed. In §6.5, I will conclude this chapter by summarizing the results of the analyses.

6.2 Keyword analysis

In this section, I report results of a keyword analysis and create a tentative pool of grammatical variables from the analyses. In §6.2.1, I show keywords that I gleaned from an analysis of British song lyrics as a target corpus and written texts as a reference corpus. The keywords are arranged in a descending order of keyness. As noted in Chapter 5, keyness was calculated through log-likelihood tests. In §6.2.2, I will discuss the results by reviewing previous literature.

6.2.1 Analysis

As stated in Chapter 3, linguistic features that code "spokenness" are often associated with a social identity. Therefore, items found in spoken features of British song lyrics are possible candidates for target grammatical variables that include "American" English variants. An attempt was made through keyword analysis to exclude written features from British song lyrics. Table 6.1 shows a top 50 positive keyword list which I produced by comparing the PMCE-UK as a target corpus with the w-BNC Baby as a reference corpus.

Table 6.1 Keyword list (the PMCE-UK as a target corpus and the w-BNC Baby as a reference corpus)

Rank	Word	Frequency PMCE-UK	Frequency w-BNC Baby	Keyness
1	you	54,377	12,966	67914.3
2	i	48,011	16,557	48645.6
3	me	25,217	3,610	38490.6
4	love	13,824	635	26774.9
5	my	18,111	3,625	24465.9
6	i'm	11,271	1,001	19516.0
7	your	14,095	2,692	19408.9
8	oh	8,366	623	15013.8
9	don't	10,350	2,051	14039.8
10	yeah	5,712	46	12513.5
11	it's	8,737	1,604	12219.9
12	you're	6,686	527	11867.5
13	know	9,242	2,823	10106.9
14	baby	5,164	238	9997.5
15	gonna	3,911	28	8599.5
16	wanna	2,959	6	6659.9
17	got	6,012	1,875	6492.9
18	can't	4,382	689	6485.0
19	do	8,331	4,299	6099.0
20	just	7,460	3,416	6095.3
21	i'll	3,665	459	5823.9
22	so	9,355	6,038	5353.9
23	all	10,672	7,662	5306.5
24	feel	3,700	675	5187.6
25	never	4,889	1,685	4955.6
26	i've	3,410	584	4896.0
27	get	5,609	2,423	4813.3
28	la	2,441	110	4739.5

Rank	Word	Frequency PMCE-UK	Frequency w-BNC Baby	Keyness
29	heart	3,115	454	4727.5
30	say	4,746	1,710	4668.2
31	come	4,919	1,938	4536.9
32	let	3,690	931	4482.0
33	go	4,971	2,128	4297.4
34	want	4,314	1,603	4152.6
35	ooh	1,675	4	3763.0
36	like	6,599	4,276	3758.2
37	hey	1,745	22	3756.0
38	cause	2,586	430	3752.9
39	there's	2,491	401	3656.6
40	we're	2,116	263	3369.7
41	now	6,420	4,445	3355.6
42	ain't	1,606	60	3188.7
43	na	1,401	1	3176.3
44	gotta	1,465	17	3165.2
45	no	7,140	5,707	3021.2
46	away	3,596	1,663	2913.0
47	see	4,674	2,850	2864.1
48	won't	2,103	421	2840.7
49	tonight	1,638	171	2731.9
50	down	4,711	3,035	2702.3

It is immediately evident from Table 6.1 that the keyword analysis not only returned spoken features of British popular music, but also other situational features related to the genre of popular music. For example, keywords such as *love*, *know*, *baby*, *feel*, *heart*, *want*, *like*, *now*, and *tonight* seem to be related to general topics of popular music. Also, items for filling empty music slots, i.e., *oh*, *la*, and *na*, also appear in the top 50 keywords.[47] Genre features related to relations between participants and production circumstances are also indicated by the higher frequency of pronouns (*you, i, me, my, i'm, your, you're, i'll, i've, we're*) and lexical contractions in various forms (*i'm, don't, it's, you're, gonna, wanna, can't, i've, cause, there's, we're, ain't, gotta, won't*) and the

[47] These items are called vocables (see Wallmark 2022).

concentration of lexical items having one or two syllables. Importantly, except for the phonesthetic items, these keywords also represent spoken characters.

Grammatical keywords in variable contexts are highlighted in grey in Table 6.1. From the keyword list, I first searched for nonstandard grammatical forms as a clue for variable items. This is not only because they tend to code "spokenness," but also because this is a main locus where linguistic variation occurs (see Wolfram 1969; Cheshire 1982). In the keyword list, I immediately identified such nonstandard cases in *ain't* (Rank 42), a well-known feature of nonstandard English (Anderwald 2002:116).

(1) We *ain't* ever gonna be respectable
(Mel & Kim, Respectable)[48]

(2) I got nothing to say I *ain't* said before
(Sisters of Mercy, This Corrosion)

(3) And there *ain't no* way i'm gonna let you out
(Mud, Tiger Feet)

Ain't applies to all person/number and, in most American and British English varieties, typically corresponds both to negated *be*, as in (1), and negated *have*, as in (2), in the present tense with the same functions. In other words, it semantically alternates with *am not* and both contracted and full forms of *are not*, *is not*, *have not*, and *has not*, but not commonly with *don't*, *didn't*, *wasn't*, or *weren't* or full verbs *haven't* or *hasn't* (Wolfram and Fasold 1974:162). However, structural and pragmatic comparisons reveal that *ain't* alternates only with *not*-contraction, i.e., *isn't*, *aren't*, *hasn't,* and *haven't*.[49] The full forms are generally more emphatic than contracted forms (Biber 1988; Yaeger-Dror, Hall-Lew, and Deckert 2002) and not acceptable with tag questions, whereas *ain't* and the contracted forms can occur with the structure. Forms involving auxiliary contraction (e.g., *he's not*) are not structurally equivalent, either. Since this contraction requires strict word ordering, it cannot occur at all, for example, when the subject and verb are inverted or when a phrase is inserted between them. It is also affected by phonological characteristics of subjects (e.g., ending in /s/, /z/). All these constraints are not effective with *ain't* and the contracted forms.

With other grammatical variables, I identified nonstandard cases from the concordance lines of each keyword. Through an observation of randomly selected 100 cases of *don't* (Rank 9), I first identified four cases of the nonstandard use of *don't*. One of the

[48] References to data identify singer(s) and songs.

[49] This means that the variable excludes *ain't* as a first person singular negative, e.g., *Dancing Tight I ain't gonna let you go* (Galaxy feat. Phil Fearon, Dancing Tight). In both American and British English, *no*t-contraction is not acceptable in the present first person singular paradigm, which is generally called "**amn't* gap" (see Broadbent 2009).

examples is shown in (4). Two are used with a negative indefinite *no* (multiple negation), as in (5).

(4) He smokes and drinks and *don't* come home at all
(Julie Covington, Only Women Bleed)

(5) She *don't* want *no* wild romance
When she's with me she only wants to dance
(Rick Astley, She Wants to Dance with Me)

This is also a nonstandard usage of the present tense negation preceded by a third person singular subject (e.g., *he*). Since, in both standard American and British English, verbal negation following a third person singular subject is the only locus where the subject agreement to standard *doesn't* is required, the non-standard use of *don't* turns itself into the same form as the negatives used for the other types of subjects (i.e., the first and second person subjects in singular and all plural subjects). As stated in the discussion on *ain't*, the full forms are generally more emphatic than the contracted forms. Therefore, the alternative form of the nonstandard form is the contracted *doesn't* only.

From concordance lines of keywords in the top 50, I also found a nonstandard structure that is commonly called multiple negation or negative concord. As seen above, multiple negation occurs with *ain't*, as in (3), and third person *don't*, as in (5). It is also possible with *can't*, as in (6), and *won't*, as in (7). Each case occurs only once in the concordance line. Multiple negation with *never*, as in (8), occurs three times in the 100 randomly selected words in the concordance line. From the concordance line with *no*, I found four cases of multiple negation, as in (9). In multiple negation structures, the negative force of each negative element is not logically cancelled out. In other words, the semantic value of the sentence is always negative.

(6) She don't talk to me
'Cause she *can't* take *no* sympathy
(Spandau Ballet, Highly Strung)

(7) No! I swear I won't tease you
Won't tell you *no* lies
(George Michael, I Want Your Sex)

(8) No, he *never* comes back *no* more
(Alma Cogan, In the Middle of the House)

(9) I *don't* need *no* hamburgers
No take-away
(Bow Wow Wow, Go Wild in the Country)

While multiple negation takes other forms,[50] previous studies (e.g., Anderwald 2002) revealed that it is forms as in (6), (7), and (9), i.e., cases in which a verbal negator shows negative concord to negative indefinite(s), that are frequent and are commonly variable with their alternative forms. Alternative forms of multiple negation of this type are *any*-forms, i.e., cases where the second negator in multiple negation as in (6) is replaced by *any* or compounds with *any* (i.e., *anyone*, *anybody*, *anything*, *anymore*, *anywhere*, *ever*). Also note that in the multiple negation construction, the first negator mostly takes contracted forms (e.g., *don't*) (Anderwald 2002:107).[51] Therefore, the first negator of the alternative forms should also take contraction.

In addition to the grammatical variables including stigmatized forms, I also found a less stigmatized grammatical form that alternates with other standard forms. *So,* which emphasizes a degree of an adjacent item, is a case in point. There are 57 cases in randomly selected 100 words. It typically modifies an adjective phrase, as in (10), and less frequently a prepositional phrase, as in (11), and a noun phrase, as in (12).

(10) I'm *so* happy and I don't wanna be free
(10cc, Good Morning Judge)

(11) We were *so* in love and high above
(Billy J. Kramer & The Dakotas, Trains and Boats and Planes)

(12) She's *so* 20th century
(The Boomtown Rats, She's So Modern)

The usage is widely called an intensifier (Quirk et al. 1985:589-90), which commonly takes an adverbial form (Bäcklund 1973:279). More specifically, the intensifier *so* is an amplifier, a device to denote a higher degree on a scale (Quirk et al. 1985:589-90). This means that strictly speaking, it is semantically different from maximizers like *totally* or *completely* and downtoner like *pretty*, *rather,* and *not very* (Quirk et al. 1985:589-90). The Intensifier variable in English is well-known for having many alternants, as they are open classes (i.e., new expressions are constantly added to the list). Those forms often appear both where the forms modify NP(s) (attributive) and where the forms do not (predicative), but it is commonly said that intensifiers occur more frequently in the latter position (see Ito and Tagliamonte 2003:274). With the intensifier *so*, due to a structural constraint, the intensifier *so* is variable only with other intensifiers in the predicative

[50] Although the randomly selected 100 examples of the concordance line did not include other forms of multiple negation, in the PMCE-UK, multiple negation takes many other different structural forms, e.g., negation involving a negative subject (e.g., *no one else can't make me cry*), two verbal negators (e.g., *needn't not to notice you*), and multiple negation with *neither* (e.g., *neither no opticians to tell me what I ought to see*).

[51] An explanation for the preference for contracted forms is given by van Gelderen (2014:217), who claims that the use of multiple negation reflects the speaker's need for clarification of a statement, given that contracted *n't* is phonetically weak. In other words, full *not* with negative indefinites may be pragmatically redundant and thus be avoided.

position.

As seen in the keyword list in Table 6.1, there are other linguistic variables that might be included as grammatical variables. See, for example, *gonna* and *going to*, *wanna* and *want to*, and *gotta* and *got to*:

(13) I know exactly what I'm *gonna* do
(Dickie Valentine, The Finger of Suspicion)

(14) I *wanna* be Bobby's girl
(Adam Faith, Don't you know it?)

(15) You *gotta* make way for the home superior
(Peter Noone, Oh You Pretty Thing)

One methodological challenge involving the selection of grammatical variables is difficulty in distinguishing grammatical variables from phonological variables. As seen in cases in (13)-(15), there are borderline cases in terms of phonological and grammatical status. In the case of *gonna* (< *going to*), *wanna* (< *want to*), and *gotta* (< *have got to*), these variables may be taken as cases of phonological variables, but due to a process of grammaticalization, many of these forms have started to take grammatical functions in spoken and written English. To illustrate, in (16) and (17), the use of *wanna* and *gotta* following the third person pronominal subject (e.g., *she*) can be evidence of their grammatical status in that like semi-modals (e.g., *need*), they do not follow the subject-agreement rule in the environment (compare with *she wants to be a politician*, *she has got to be able to come when I need her*). From such usages, some people (e.g., Krug 2000; Lorenz 2012; Machová 2015) began to consider these forms as grammatical variants, rather than phonological variants.[52]

(16) She *wanna* be a politician
(Script, We Cry)

(17) She *gotta* be able to come when I need her
(Lloyd Banks ft. 50 Cent, On Fire)

However, it is important to note that such grammaticalized forms are still not very frequent.[53] Also, we should recognize that the linguistic status of *gonna*, *wanna*, and

[52] *Gonna* may also have a grammaticalized form, e.g., *When gonna we get an accessibility option for PHOBIA!!!?* (See: https://forums.bhvr.com/dead-by-daylight/discussion/361118/when-gonna-we-get-an-accessibility-option-for-phobia, Accessed 13 May 2023). However, there are no clear grammaticalized forms of *gonna* (as well as its reduced forms *Ima* and *Imma*) in both the PMCE-UK and PMCE-US.

[53] For example, the spoken component of the BNC 1994 revealed that *wanna* following the third person singular subject only occurs 11 cases in British English speech while the standard form (*wants*

gotta is still closer to typical phonological features than typical grammatical features.

One feature that may support the phonological status of *gonna*, *wanna*, and *gotta* is found in orthographical forms. In the PMCE-UK, sometimes, the full forms are used even though singers clearly use the reduced forms in singing. For example,

(18) Someday I'm *going to* write
The story of my life
(Gary Miller, The Story of My Life)[54]

Since contracted forms are not generally considered as appropriate in writing, such forms may have been changed into full forms by the contributors of *AZ Lyrics*, *Genius*, *Metrolyrics* (see Chapter 5), but interestingly, the modulation did not occur with grammatical variables that include nonstandard variants (e.g., *ain't*, third person *don't*) in the PMCE-UK (see Chapter 5). This suggests that there are (cognitive) differences between variables including *gonna*, *wanna*, and *gotta* and typical grammatical variables. The examples like (18) seem to show that even though some grammaticalized forms appear, there is less recognition among people that the forms are independent grammatical forms. They are thus often considered as forms that are phonologically derived from *going to*, *want to*, *got to*, while, in the case of *ain't* and third person *don't*, the forms are considered as independent grammatical forms. In fact, it is said that forms such as *ain't* and third person *don't* are historically derived from their standard forms (e.g., *isn't*, *doesn't*) by means of phonetic reduction (see Cheshire 1981; Palacios Martínez 2016). However, in Present-Day English period, their forms acquired an independent grammatical status. The examples such as (18) show that in the case with *gonna*, *wanna*, and *got to*, such an independent status has not yet been established.

While the evidence is scarce, consideration on linguistic perceptions may also support their phonological status. Regarding differences between phonological and grammatical variables, many scholars (see Levon and Buchstaller 2015; Levon, Buchstaller, and Mearns 2020; Moore 2021) summarize differences by focusing on perceptions. They claim that since grammatical variables are characterized by low frequency and sparse distribution (Rickford et al. 1995:106; Cheshire 1999:61), grammatical variables do not usually develop social meanings that are immediately recognizable, and when they do, they tend to be perceived in relation to class, education, professionalism, and formality (Eckert 2018; Levon, Buchstaller, and Mearns 2020). As seen earlier, the grammatical variables that were identified in the keyword analysis seem to have this perceptual feature. *Ain't*, third person *don't*, and multiple negation are all widely known or described as nonstandard variants in English (see Anderwald 2002).

Previous studies show that *gonna*, *wanna*, and *gotta* tend to show features in common with phonological items, rather than grammatical items. Jansen's (2022) research on lay

to) occurs 444 times.

[54] See: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IpuBVVoay0Y (27 January 2023 Accessed).

people's perceptions of linguistic forms in British popular music is illustrative in this point. Her research shows that during her interviews, some British interviewees stated that *gonna* and *wanna* are associated with "Americanness" (Jansen 2022:77). Although it is equally possible that *gonna*, *wanna*, and *gotta* are more readily associated with "informality," the evidence may suggest that like typical phonological variables such as the "USA-5 model," social awareness in relation to nationality has developed, which is not usually the case with more typical grammatical variables (see below). While I admit that more research is required for indexicality of *gonna*, *wanna*, and *gotta*, Jansen's (2022) research on British popular music seems valuable in considering the linguistic status of these forms.

While I am well aware that the linguistic status of *gonna*, *wanna*, and *gotta* is gaining its grammatical status, it would seem that the current evidence on tendencies regarding perception and orthographical forms shows that features or functions of these forms are still closer to those of phonological variables, rather than those of grammatical variables. Therefore, in this thesis, variables including those forms and their alternatives are treated as phonological cases, rather than grammatical cases.[55]

6.2.2 Discussion

From the keyword analysis with the w-BNC Baby, four grammatical variables were identified: *ain't* variable, third person *don't* variable, multiple negation variable, and intensifier variable. While all these grammatical items appear both in American and British English, quantitative findings reported in previous research revealed that as expected, they are more frequent in American English than in British English.

With variables including *ain't*, in both *be* context (i.e., contexts which are variable with *isn't* and *aren't*) and *have* context (i.e., contexts which are variable with *haven't* and *hasn't*), *ain'*t is much more likely to be found in American English (see Figure 6.1).[56] [57]

[55] I am aware that the *get*-passive construction (an alternative of the *be*-passive construction) can be a candidate of grammatical variables (Leech et al. 2009:256). However, a search for the first random 100 concordance lines did not return any cases of the construction. Therefore, in this thesis, I am not going to look at this construction for analysis, although this could be an interesting area for future research.

[56] *Ain't* for *didn't*, e.g., *I ain't have 50 Cent when my grandma died* (The Game featuring 50 Cent, Hate It or Love It), has been treated as a geographically specific usage to American English (Labov et al. 1968:255-58), so it might be used as a textural indicator of "American" English, but recent studies have shown that *ain't* for *didn't* also appears in British English usage as well (Anderwald 2002:146-48). Therefore, the mere presence itself does not support "Americanism" in textual features. Besides, it is generally much less infrequent than *ain't* in canonical uses even in the US.

[57] From left to right: East Kentucky English (Montgomery 2014:52); Ohio English (Weldon 1994:371, 379); West Virginia English (Wolfram and Christian 1976:116); Suffolk English (Braña-Straw 2016:10).

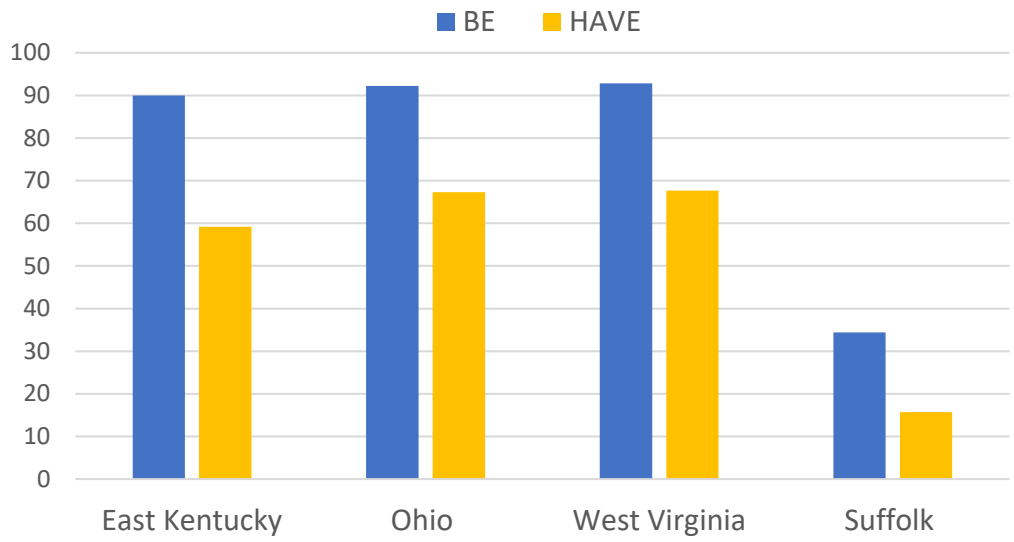


Figure 6.1 Rate of *ain't* in American and British English (%)

It is immediately clear from Figure 6.1 that the American English varieties favor *ain't*, compared to the British English counterpart. For the *be* paradigm, the data show that the frequency of *ain't* is 90% in East Kentucky English, 92% in Ohio English, and 93% in West Virginia English.[58] Some studies (which are not shown in Figure 6.1) observe the frequency rate in the *be* paradigm only. For example, Hazen (1996:102) and Ewers (1995:236) report 92% and 94% for the rate of *ain't* in North Carolina English and Southeast (i.e., states located in the east coastline) English in the *be* paradigm, respectively. Compared to these figures in American English, the figure in Suffolk English, a variety of British English, is much lower (34%).[59] Likewise, for the *have* paradigm, *ain't* occurs at 34% in Alabama English, 59% in East Kentucky English, 67% in Ohio English, and 68% in West Virginia English, whereas the figure for Suffolk English is only 16%.

Although there is lack of quantitative evidence, the variable including third person *don't* also shows a similar tendency (see Figure 6.2).[60]

[58] Feagin (1979:214) reports that in Alabama English the realization as *ain't* is 38% and 34% in the *be* context and the *have* context, respectively. A somehow different result in Alabama English may be attributed to differences in data collection or calculation methods in this study. The variable context includes full forms and auxiliary negation as well as *not*-contraction and *ain't*.

[59] Anderwald (2002:126, 128) also reports the rate of *ain't* in British English, but the variable contexts in her study seem to include full forms and auxiliary forms as well as *not*-contraction. Therefore, the rate which she reports is rather lower, compared to other previous studies: 8.9% in the *be* context and 14.1 % in the *have* context.

[60] From left to right: Washington English (Fasold 1972:124), West Virginia English (Wolfram and Christian 1975:116), Alabama English (Feagin 1979:198), Ohio English (Weldon 1994:367), and London English (Palacios Martínez 2016:68-69).

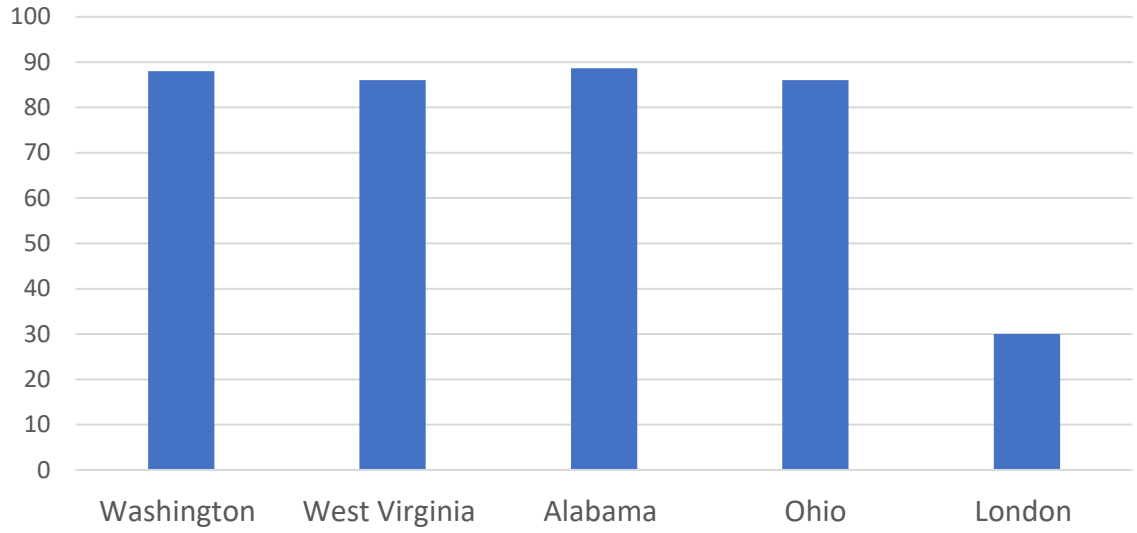


Figure 6.2 Rate of third person *don't* in American and British English

Difference between American and British English in the use of third person *don't* variable is clearly visible in terms of the frequency of *don't*. Washington English shows the rate of third person *don't* at 88%, which is similar to that in West Virginia English (86%), that in Alabama English feature (89%), and that in Ohio English (86%). All these American English varieties show a higher rate of *don't* than that in London English, UK (30%). Anderwald (2002) further supports the lower frequency in British English (30%) by using the BNC 1994.

The data of multiple negation show that the linguistic feature is more frequent in American English. Figure 6.3 summarizes the frequency of multiple negation in some American English varieties.[61] Note that an attempt was made to limit the context where multiple negation alternates with *any*-forms (see above). In Detroit English, the feature takes place at 66% of possible syntactic environments in the lowest social class, which patterns similarly in West Virginia English (53-68%)[62] and in Alabama English (81%).

[61] From left to right: Detroit English (Wolfram 1969:12), Appalachian English (Wolfram and Christian 1976:115), and Alabama English (Feagin 1979:232).

[62] The frequency range indicates age difference. Multiple negation occurs at 53% and 68% in the 20-40 age group and group aged 40+, respectively (Wolfram and Christian 1976:122).

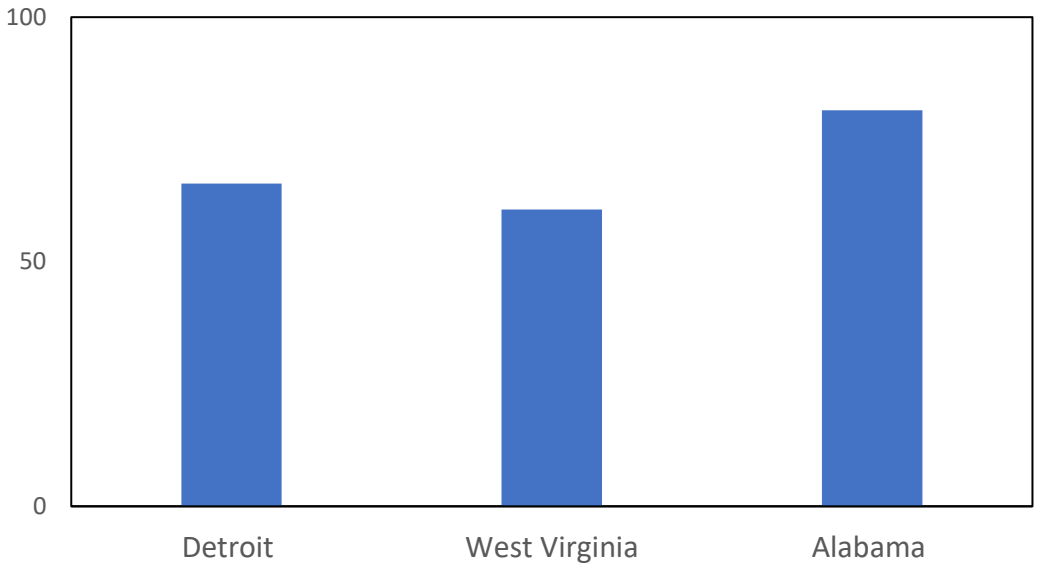


Figure 6.3 Rate of multiple negation in American English (%)

Figure 6.4 summarizes the frequency of some British English varieties.[63]

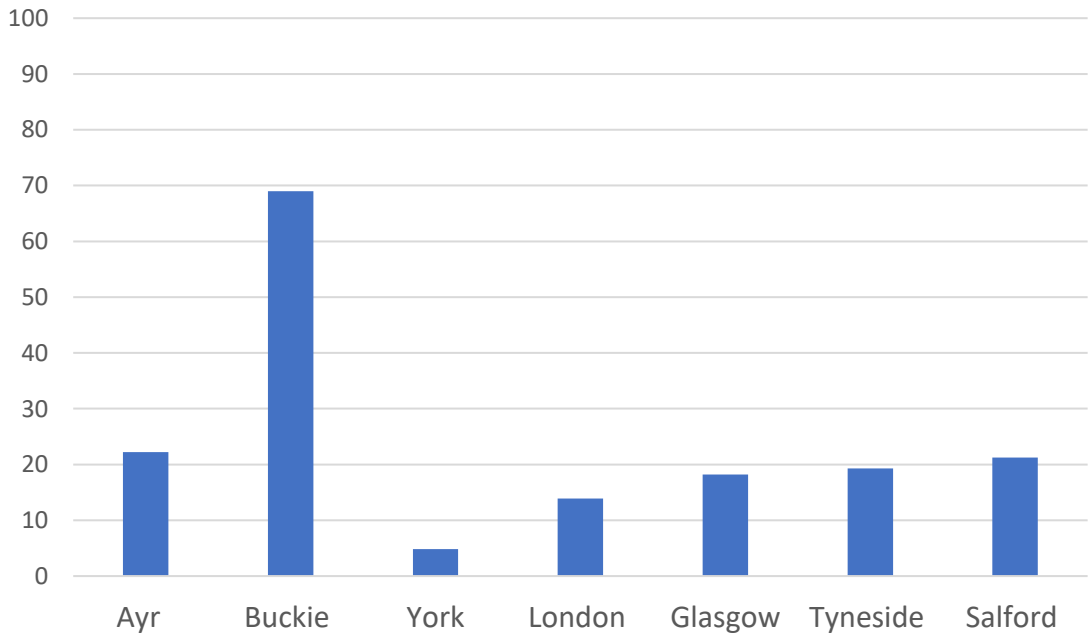


Figure 6.4 Rate of multiple negation in British English (%)

[63] From left to right: Ayr English (Macaulay 1991:54), Buckie English (Smith 2001:110), York English (Childs et al. 2018:33), London English (Palacios Martínez 2017:163), Glasgow English (Childs 2017:16), Tyneside English (Childs 2017:16), and Salford English (Childs 2017:16).

While Buckie English, an east-coast Scottish English dialect,[64] shows a higher incidence of multiple negation (69%), the other British English varieties show a much lower frequency at 22% in Ayr English, 5% in York English, 14% in London English, 18% in Glasgow English, 19% in Tyneside English, and 21% in Salford English. The idiosyncrasy of Buckie English may be due to the social isolation of the dialect. Smith (2001:110) explains: "because of its peripheral geographic location and isolated social circumstances, Buckie is one of those relic areas that in historical linguistics is widely accepted as preserving features typical of earlier stages in the history of a language." By contrast, the other areas in UK are situated where contact with other varieties of English is relatively common, especially York, where the lowest rate of frequency was observed (Childs et al. 2018:41).

Finally, the variable including the intensifier *so* also shows that the selected form is more frequent in American English. See Figures 6.5[65] and 6.6.[66] The difference of the top three intensifiers (i.e., *very*, *really*, *so*) between American English and British English is summarized.

From these figures, it is immediately noticeable that in British English, *very* is the most preferred intensifier, whereas *really* and *so* are not as frequent. By contrast, in American English, *really* and *so* are equally preferred, though it seems that *really* gains more popularity in the 2000s corpus. Although quantitative evidence is not presented, Labov (1984:44) also claims that in the 1980s, *really* is the most frequent intensifier in American English. Therefore, it seems from this comparison that *really* indexes "American," while *very* indexes with "British." Perhaps, the intensifier *so* also indexes "American," since except for a few cases (DCPSE, ICE-IrE, and LIC), the frequency looks higher in American English than in British English.

[64] Adger and Smith (2020:232) conducted follow-up research on Buckie English, showing that negative concord variably (47%) occurs where it is alternatively used with *any*-forms.

[65] From left to right: Longman Spoken and Written English Corpus (LSWE) (Barbieri 2008:71-72) and Stanford Tape-Recorded Corpus (STRC) (Rickford et al. 2007:10). Note that Barbieri (2008) includes intensifiers modifying verbs, nouns, and propositional phrases as well as adjective and adverb phrases.

[66] From left to right: Tyneside Linguistic Survey (TLS) corpus (Barnfield and Buchstaller 2010:263); The Diachronic Corpus of Present-Day Spoken English (DCPSE) (Núñez-Pertejo and Palacios-Martínez 2018:128); Phonological Variation and Change in Contemporary Spoken English (PVC) corpus, which represents Tyneside English (Barnfield and Buchstaller 2010:267); the British component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-GB) (Romero 2012:30); the Irish component of the International Corpus of English (commonly called ICE-Ireland, but here represented as ICE-IrE) (Schweinberger 2021:135); York English corpus (see Ito and Tagliamonte 2003:266); the Female Adult Corpus (FAC) and the Male Adult Corpus (MAC) (corpora for Irish English) (Murphy 2010:132); Linguistic Innovator Corpus (LIC) (Núñez-Pertejo and Palacios-Martínez 2018:128); London Newcastle Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English 2 (NECTE 2) corpus (Barnfield and Buchstaller 2010:269); Multicultural London English Corpus (MLEC) (Núñez-Pertejo and Palacios-Martínez 2018:128).

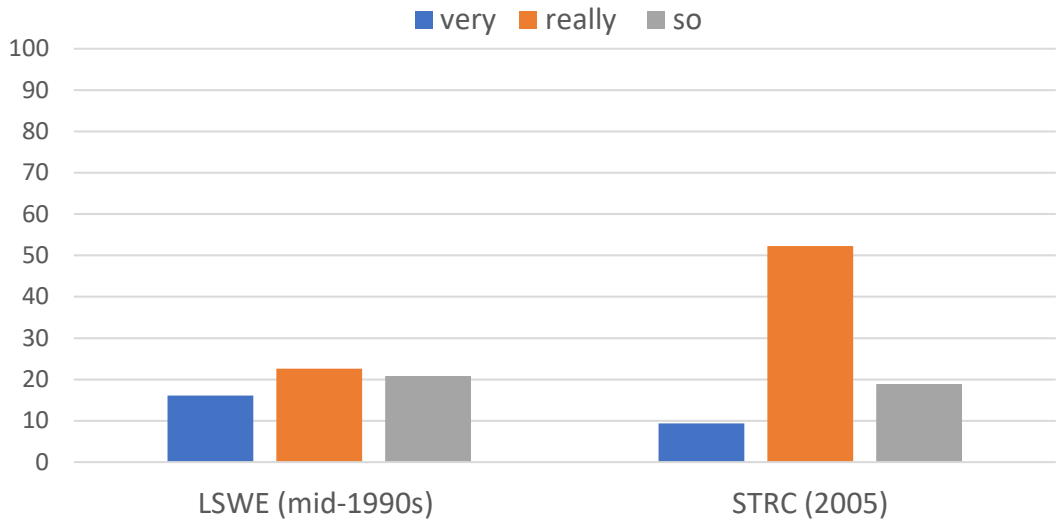


Figure 6.5 Rate of *very*, *really*, and *so* of variable contexts in American English (%)

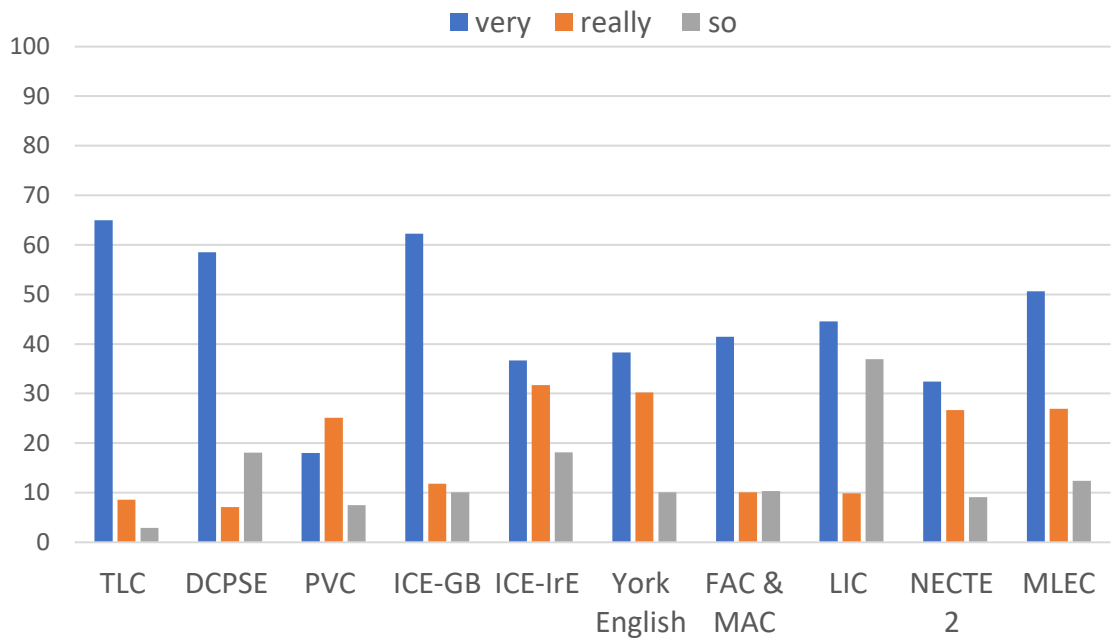


Figure 6.6 Rate of *very*, *really*, and *so* of variable contexts in British English (%)

In addition to the quantitative evidence reported in previous studies, it would seem that *eWAVE*[67] (see Kortmann, Lunkenheimer, and Ehret 2020) also supports that some of these grammatical forms are associated with "US." In *eWAVE*, experts on different varieties of English reported frequencies of nonstandard grammatical forms by using crude frequency measures (e.g., "pervasive or obligatory," "neither pervasive nor

[67] See: https://ewave-atlas.org/ (Accessed on 14 July 2022).

extremely rare," "feature exists, but is extremely rare," "attested absence of feature"). Tendencies regarding *ain't*, third person *don't*, and multiple negation are reported in *eWAVE*. All these grammatical forms are reported as "pervasive or obligatory" in American English, while they are reported as "neither pervasive nor extremely rare" or "feature exists but is extremely rare" in British English.

Thus, it would seem that as expected, all these grammatical variables are useful in measuring the degree of "Americanness" in British popular music. Note, however, that evidence from American English is extremely scarce and limited. With the negative variables, the evidence tends to come from only one ethnicity (African American people) or areas located in (south) east, although the ethnic or regional effect is not clearly shown in the figures presented.[68] In order to support an "American" index of *ain't*, third person *don't*, multiple negation, and the intensifier *so*, a further quantitative comparison of these grammatical variables is required in order to support the indexical information.

6.3 Speech and fiction analysis

This section reports results of the speech and fiction analysis on the four grammatical variables. As stated in Chapter 5, the analysis was conducted by comparing American and British English corpora. The variable contexts of each grammatical variable have already been discussed in §6.2.

6.3.1 *Ain't*

Due to semantic and syntactic differences between present and present perfective *ain't*, the two forms were differentiated and analyzed separately. In order to make an analysis in a manageable manner, I focused on *ain't* and its alternatives that were directly preceded by pronouns (i.e., *I*, *you*, *he*, *she*, *it*, *we*, *they*) and existential *there*. One drawback in using the search formula is that cases followed by a subject (e.g., *ain't it, isn't it*) cannot be retrieved in the query. Some studies report that *ain't* may be frequent in tag questions (see Anderwald 2002:133), so excluding cases in tag questions may skew the result. Acknowledging that the search formula could not capture a complete picture of *ain't*, nonetheless I prioritized time efficiency and thus decided not to include *ain't* in these positions.

[68] For example, due to lack of evidence, it is not clear to what extent the usage level of *ain't* in Figure 6.1 is influenced by ethnicity. Research on Ohio English is based on African American English in the area (see Weldon 1994). As seen in Figure 6.1, the patterns of East Kentucky English (see Montgomery 2014) and West Virginia English (see Wolfram and Christian 1976), which were taken from data which are not stratified in terms of race, are not very different from the patterns of Ohio English.

Table 6.2 shows the frequency of occurrence of nonstandard *ain't* in the broadcast texts in the COCA (1990-1994) and the BNC 1994. Due to the formal nature of broadcast speech, overall, the total frequency of the variable contexts was small in both corpora. However, the difference between American and British English was found. In the COCA (1990-1994), *ain't* occurred 5% of the time, while in the BNC 1994, it occurred 3% of the time. The quantitative difference was statistically supported in a chi-square test ($\chi^2(1)= 5.166$, $p < .05$). Note, however, that when I distinguished cases in the *be* context from cases in the *have* context, "Americanness" of *ain't* only applied to the *be* context ($\chi^2(1)= 7.510$, $p < .001$).[69]

Table 6.2 Rate of *ain't* in the COCA (1990-1994) and the BNC 1994 (%): broadcast

	COCA		BNC	
	N	%	N	%
be	250	12	8	5
have	82	2	6	2
Total	332	5	14	3

A similar pattern was also observed in the fiction parts in the COCA (1990-1994) and the BNC 1994 (see Table 6.3). The frequency of the variable was still small, but the difference between American and British English was much clearer. The frequency distribution showed a regular patterning with the linguistic contexts: in both *be* and *have* paradigms, American English used *ain't* more often than British English ($\chi^2(1)= 245.760$, $p < .001$). In the *be* paradigm, almost one third of the possible cases in the COCA (1990-1994) were *ain't*, whereas only 16% of the possible contexts in the BNC 1994 were the nonstandard form ($\chi^2(1)= 85.150$, $p < .001$). In the *have* paradigm, *ain't* occurred 14% of the time in the COCA (1990-1994), which was almost twice as frequent as that in the BNC 1994 (6%) ($\chi^2(1)= 66.218$, $p < .001$).

Table 6.3 Rate of *ain't* in the COCA (1990-1994) and the BNC 1994 (%): fiction

	COCA		BNC	
	N	%	N	%
be	791	30	329	16
have	348	14	169	6
Total	1,139	22	498	10

Although the data from broadcast speech and fiction showed smaller differences between American and British English than data from more casual speech (see Figure 6.1), the analysis showed that based on exemplar theory, it is possible to claim that that *ain't* has an "American" index.

However, a question may arise as to whether the observed pattern is only applicable to a period when the data were gathered (i.e., the late 1980s to the early 1990s). According

[69] In the *have* context, the difference was not statistically significant ($\chi^2(1)= 0.001$, $p > .05$).

to Fisher's (2018) diachronic research (2018:33-34), the use of *ain't* in non-past contexts was stable throughout the period (1901-1969),[70] although it is important to notice that her data were collected from one ethnic variety (African American English). Ewers (1995:229-38) also conducted diachronic research by using two corpora that allowed for comparison between the 1940s and 1970s and found that there was no diachronic change (in the *be* context) during the period. Comparison between previous studies (see Figure 6.1) revealed that in the 1970s, *ain't* appeared out of the variable contexts at 90-93% for *be*-context and 59-68% for *have*-context (Wolfram and Christian 1976:116; Montgomery 2014:52), whereas in the 1990s, 92% for *be*-context and 67% for *have*-context (see Weldon 1994) were realized as *ain't*. This means that the frequency for the 1990s was similar to that for the 1970s. Anderwald (2012:311-16) showed that in the 2000s, the feature was used almost categorically in North American Englishes, regardless of its syntactic positions. Therefore, during the 1950s-2000s, the use of *ain't* does not seem to have changed significantly in American English.

In order to investigate diachronic patterns in British English, I compared the frequency of *ain't* in the FRED-S (1970s-1980s), the BNC 1994, and the BNC 2014 (see Figure 6.7).

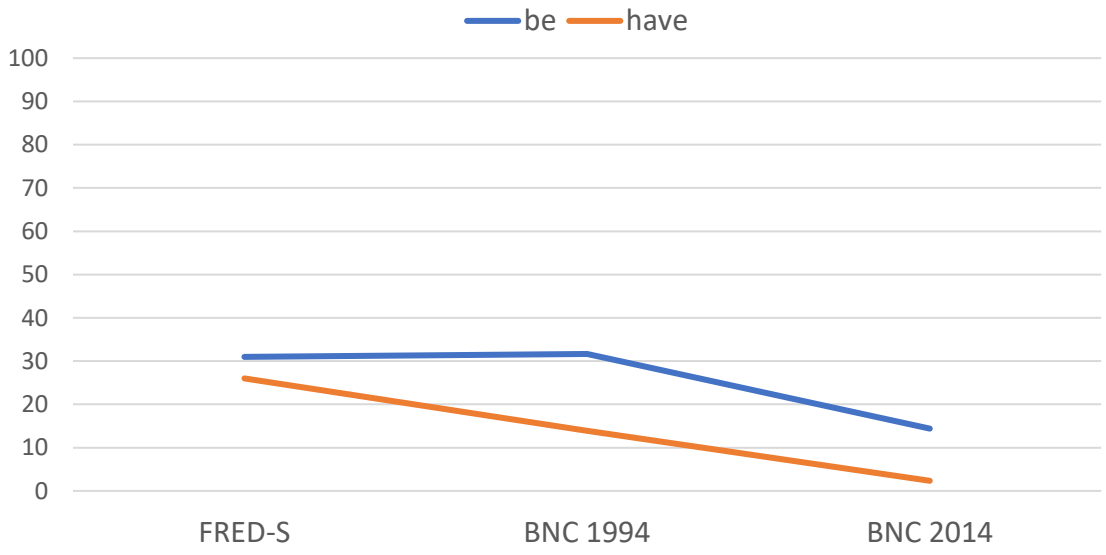


Figure 6.7 Rate of *ain't* in the FRED-S, BNC 1994, and BNC 2014 (%)

The comparison revealed that there was a different diachronic pattern between the *be* context and *have* context. In the *be* context, *ain't* was chosen over *isn't* or *aren't* at around 30% in the 1970s/1980s, which was consistent in the early 1990s. This figure, however, dropped to 14% twenty years later. In the *have* context, I observed a continuous decline of *ain't* from 26% to 2% during the period. The decrease of *ain't*

[70] Variable contexts used in Fisher's (2018) research were different from the present study. She included auxiliary contraction as variable contexts in addition to *not*-contraction.

might be related to formality of the BNC 2014,[71] but given that other informal items (e.g., the intensifier *so*) increased in the same period (see Fuchs 2017a), the decrease may be attributive to the real language change. Rautionaho and Kaunisto's (2022) observation on *was*/*were* variation with plural subjects showed a similar decreasing tendency in the BNC 2014. They explained that the change might be led by urbanization, by which regional features are being replaced by features that are commonly used in urban cities. Given that *was*/*were* variation includes stigmatized variants like *ain't*, the results as seen in Figure 6.7 can also be interpreted as a result of urbanization in British English.

If, as Rautionaho and Kaunisto (2022) claim, the decreasing tendency of *ain't* in British English is a real language change, this means that the "American" index of the grammatical form is largely maintained throughout the period. American English shows stability of the usage of *ain't*, whereas British English demonstrates a decline of the frequency, meaning that the hierarchy of the frequency level, i.e., American English > British English, is the same, although the declining frequency of *ain't* between the 1970s/1980s and the 2010s might mean that it became more likely that people perceive the grammatical form as "American." Therefore, one can conclude from the diachronic patterns that an "American" index of the grammatical form is attached with *ain't* throughout the period, meaning that it is possible to use the indexical information for the diachronic analysis of British popular music.

6.3.2 Third person *don't*

To investigate indexicality of third person *don't*, I made a frequency comparison between the COCA (1990-1994) and BNC 1994. In order to retrieve only the variable contexts, this study looked at third person *don't* or *doesn't* followed by verbs showing a robust variation in previous literature (Palacios-Martínez 2016:77): *bother, care, do, get, have, hurt, know, like, make, matter, understand,* and *want.* To increase the validity of the framework, I added to the list three more verbs which occurred frequently with third person *don't* in the BNC 1994 and the COCA (1990-1994): *mean*, *come*, and *seem*. Since the corpora yielded an extensive number of results, like *ain't* variable, I restricted myself to investigating cases preceded by subjects (i.e., *he*, *she*, *it*, *this*, *that*, and singular noun) which may or may not be followed by an adverb (e.g., "he ADV don't like").

Table 6.4 shows the results. Third person *don't* appears in both American and British English corpora, but in both broadcast and fiction, the form occurs more frequently in American English ($\chi^2(1)=4.286$, $p < .05$). Due to formality of broadcast texts, the difference between the COCA (1990-1994) (3%) and the BNC 1994 (2%) is not very large (1%) and not statistically significant ($\chi^2(1) = 0.841$, $p > .05$), but even so, the higher rate of third person *don't* in American English is confirmed. In fictional texts, the difference is more in evidence (5%) ($\chi^2(1)= 38.142$, $p < .001$). In the COCA (1990-1994), *don't* occurs

[71] "BNC 2014 consists of more focused conversations, compared to the interactions in BNC 1994, thus making it potentially more formal in style" (Rautionaho and Kaunisto 2022:59).

10% of the times, whereas in the BNC 1994, it happens 5% of the times. Following exemplar theory, this may mean that third person *don't* indexes "Americanness," although the level of salience is not clear from the quantitative evidence.

Table 6.4 Rate of third person *don't* in the COCA (1990-1994) and the BNC 1994 (%)

	COCA		BNC	
	N	%	N	%
Broadcast	133	3	3	2
Fiction	314	10	83	5
Total	447	6	86	5

Recall that the data used for the speech and fiction analysis are recordings from the late 1980s and the early 1990s. Therefore, a question arises as to whether the rate of third person *don't* in other periods is similar to that in the 1980s-1990s. While the evidence is very scarce, especially in American English, it is still possible to see a diachronic tendency of third person *don't* in both American and British English by comparing results in previous studies. If the results from previous literature in Figure 6.2 are seen with a diachronic perspective, there does not seem to be a clear change during the period: 86-89% in the 1970s (Fasold 1972:124; Wolfram and Christian 1975:116; Feagin 1979:198) and 86% in the 1990s (Weldon 1994:367). The situation in the 2000s does not seem very different from that in earlier decades. *eWAVE* shows that in the 2000s, third person *don't* is almost obligatory in North American regions.

By contrast, British English (see Figure 6.8) shows a sharp decline of third person *don't* between the 1970s/1980s and the 2010s. According to the FRED-S (1970s-1980s), third person *don't* occurs at no less than 60% of the variable contexts in the 1970s-1980s, but the BNC 1994 (Anderwald 2002:159) shows 30% by the early 1990s. In the early 2010s, the rate is only 7% in the BNC 2014. As seen previously, such a decline is also visible in *ain't* variable, meaning that the same interpretations are possible with the pattern with *don't*. That is, the decline might be related to the relatively formal recording circumstances of the BNC 2014, but it is equally possible that the decrease reflects a result of urbanization (see Rautionaho and Kaunisto 2022:59).

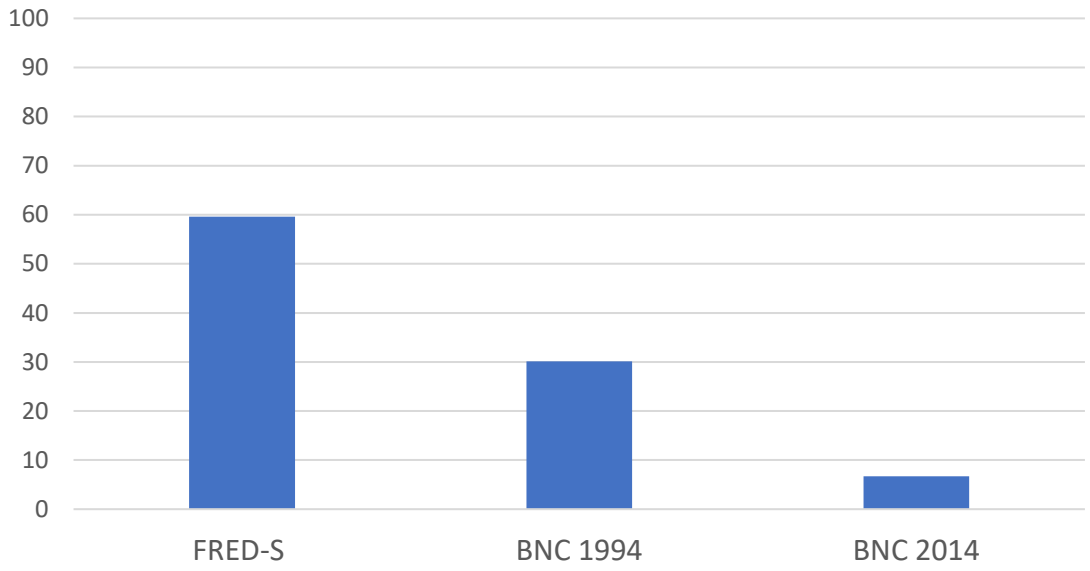


Figure 6.8 Rate of third person *don't* in the FRED-S, BNC 1994, and BNC 2014 (%)

If the language change seen in British English corpora is a reflection of social phenomena like urbanization, it would seem that third person *don't* has an "US" index throughout the period. While in British English the frequency of third person *don't* decreases significantly, in American English the higher frequency of third person *don't* persists, meaning that third person *don't* is more frequent in American English during the period in the question. Given that the lowest figure is observed in the most recent dataset, this might also mean that the association of "Americanness" is becoming stronger.

6.3.3 Multiple negation

To retrieve variable contexts involving multiple negation, a pair of the variable context (see Table 6.5) was computed by search formula presented in Table 6.6.[72]

[72] Each asterisk (*) stands for a wildcard, a search symbol that returns any single words irrespective of its word category (e.g., part-of-speech). Searching with wildcard(s) also produced irrelevant cases, which were later removed by hand. The number of wildcards represents the number of words inserted between the specified items (three is the maximum). Up to four right windows of each verbal negator were analyzed, as shown in Table 6.6. In this respect, the present study extended Malkamäki's (2013) research on multiple negation in American English, which considered only up to the second right window of the specified verbal negator.

Table 6.5 Forms within variable contexts of multiple negation

	Negative Concord	*Any* -Negation
n't	*no*	*any*
	none	
	nothing	*anything*
	nobody	*anybody*
	no one	*anyone*
	no more	*any more*
	never	*ever*
	nowhere	*anywhere*

Table 6.6 Search formula in the COCA (1990-1994) and the BNC 1994

1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	Example
V	M/A				do n't no
V	*	M/A			do n't * no
V	*	*	M/A		do n't * * no
V	*	*	*	M/A	do n't * * * no

V: verbal negator (need to be specified)

M/A: negative indefinite or the *any* -form (need to be specified)

*: wildcard

The results for broadcast and fiction are shown in Table 6.7. Like *ain't* and third person *don't*, the form appears in both American and British English. Due to formality of broadcast texts, American English differs from British English only in a slightest way, but, as expected from previous literature, in which American English shows a predominant use of the form (see Figure 6.3), the data show that multiple negation is more frequent in American English than in British English ($\chi^2(1)= 159.275$, $p <.001$). In broadcasts, speakers of American English apply negative concord with 7% of the variable context, which is slightly higher than 4% in speakers of British English. The difference is small, but statistically significant ($\chi^2(1)= 5.0125$, $p <.05$). The difference in fiction is larger than that in broadcast speech. In fiction, negative concord occurs with 15% in COCA (1990-1994), which is more than double that in the BNC 1994 (6%). The difference is, again, statistically significant ($\chi^2(1)= 308.423$, $p <.001$). While the evidence does not tell the perceptual information of this grammatical form, it shows that it is possible that multiple negation has an "American" index.

Table 6.7 Rate of multiple negation in the COCA (1990-1994) and the BNC 1994 (%)

	COCA		BNC	
	N	%	N	%
Broadcast	643	7	14	4
Fiction	1,491	15	432	6
Total	2,134	12	446	6

In order to make sure that an "US" index was maintained in periods other than the 1980s-1990s, during which the data COCA (1990-1994) and BNC 1994 were collected, I attempted to make a comparison of the frequency of multiple negation in previous studies with a diachronic perspective. With limited evidence for American English, however, it is not very clear whether the language change happened during the period. The rate was 66% in the 1960s (Wolfram 1969:156) and 53%-81% in the 1970s (Wolfram and Christian 1976:155; Feagin 1979:232). However, according to *eWAVE*, in the 2000s, the feature of multiple negation was reported as "obligatory or prevalent" in many of American English varieties, meaning that the use of the linguistic feature may not have dramatically changed diachronically.

With British English, the comparison between the FRED, BNC 1994, and BNC 2014 was compared. The data of the complete version of FRED and the BNC 1994 have already been analyzed by Anderwald (2002, 2005). Therefore, her data were used for the purpose of the study. The pattern is summarized in Figure 6.9. In British English, multiple negation became an exceedingly rare phenomenon by the beginning of the 2010s. As the FRED shows, in the 1970s-80s, multiple negation was chosen at almost 30% of the variable context (Anderwald 2005:126). The figure, however, declined to 14% in the BNC 1994 (Anderwald 2002, 2005). In the BNC 2014, the decrease further accelerated to the point where I hardly found multiple negation (2%).

Due to the difference in the recording environments of the BNC 2014, the decline seen in Figure 6.9 may simply reflect differences in formality between the corpora. However, as Rautionaho and Kaunisto (2022:59) claim, it is equally possible that an influence of urbanization may be reflected in the variability of multiple negation. It is also important to note that a downward tendency of multiple negation is also visible in Buckie English, a variety located in Northern Scotland. The variety was in observed in Smith (2001), and later Adger and Smith (2020) conducted a follow up study. The comparison revealed that the difference is visible between Smith (2001) (69%) and Adger and Smith (2020) (47%).

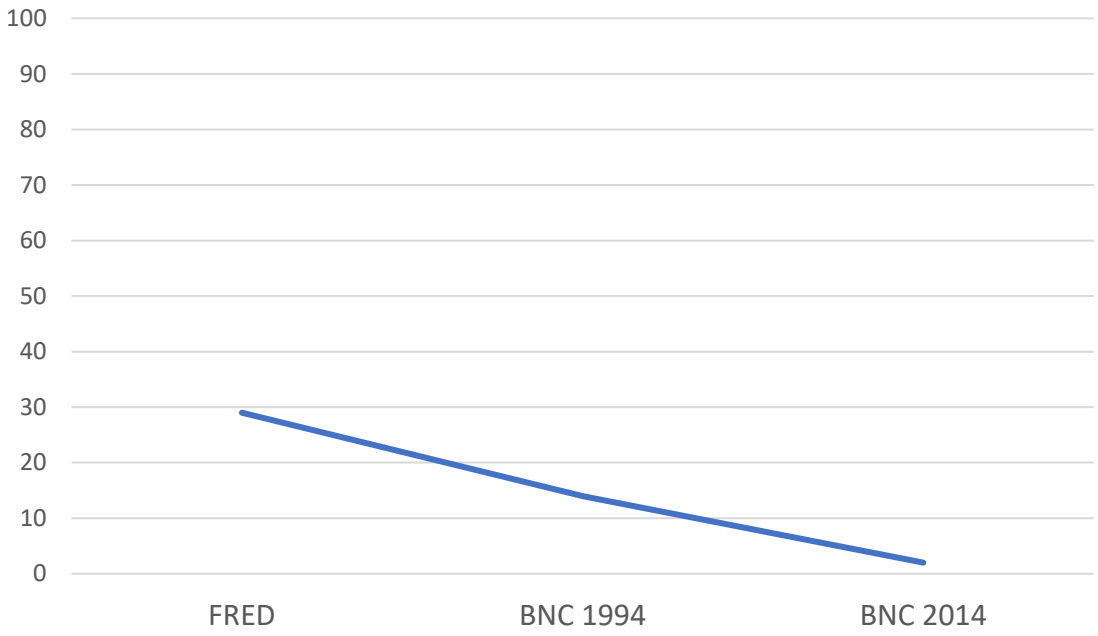


Figure 6.9 Rate of multiple negation in the FRED, BNC 1994, and BNC 2014 (%)

If the language change observed in British English was a real language change driven by language phenomena like urbanization, it seems that an "US" index of multiple negation persisted throughout the period in the question. Although I need more data, especially from American English, to make a more decisive conclusion, it would seem that the use of multiple negation was stable in American English, whereas there was a decline in British English. This means that the frequency hierarchy (American English > British English) was the same and that "Americanness" of multiple negation was persisted during the period.

6.3.4 Intensifiers

In order to identify which intensifiers are associated with "Americanness," I extracted all intensifiers that preceded predicative adjectives from the SBCSAE and BNC 1994. For the SBCSAE, I used the Part of Speech (POS) functions of *LancsBox* in order to extract the variable contexts. Due to the poor tagging of adverbial forms of *LancsBox*, all adjectives with "_JJ" were automatically retrieved, and then, each was manually coded as to the intensifier form and the structural position to exclude the attributive positions. Since in the SBCSAE, adjectives ending *-ed* were often tagged as a past particle (e.g., *tired*), I also retrieved past particles, which were coded with "_VVN" by *LancsBox*. For the BNC 1994, I simply ran a search query "_AV0 _AJ0" (an adverb followed by an adjective) and manually removed irrelevant cases. The results are shown in Table 6.8.

Table 6.8 Rate of intensifiers in the SBCSAE and the BNC 1994[73] [74]

Intensifier type	SBCSAE		BNC	
	N	%	N	%
very	137	24	1,878	42
so	191	33	1,041	23
really	141	25	902	20
ever so	0	0	173	4
well	0	0	45	1
real	71	12	31	1
Others*	33	6	368	8
Total	573	100	4,438	100

Table 6.8 shows that the patterns in the SBCSAE and the BNC 1994 are much in line with the reports in most previous literature (see Figures 6.5 and 6.6). The comparison between the two corpora reveals that the intensifier *so* is more frequent in American English than in British English. In addition to *so*, *really* and *real* are more frequent in American English. By contrast, *very, ever so,* and *well are* more common in British English.

Since the SBCSAE is a rather small corpus, I also conducted a quantitative analysis based on the fiction parts of the COCA (1990-1994) and the BNC 1994. Since the two corpora consist of over 10,000,000 words, I restricted myself to investigating the distribution of the most frequent adjectives in English fiction: *good*, *sorry*, *happy*, *fine*,[75] *different*, *beautiful*, and *bad* (Schweinberger 2020:239). For the COCA (1990-1994), I ran the search inquiries "ADV good" and "ADJ good" (*good* is variable with *sorry*, *happy*, etc.) in the search box before extracting only relevant cases. "ADJ good" was added as well as "ADV good" because some forms were conventionally tagged as adjectives rather than adverbs (e.g., *real*, *mighty*). For the BNC 1994, "_AV0 good" (again, *good* is variable with *sorry*, *happy*, etc.) was performed by using the search functions in the BNC 1994. The results are shown in Table 6.9.

[73] Table 6.8 includes intensifiers that are frequent enough to conduct a chi-square test (the expected numbers are greater than 5).

[74] *very* ($\chi^2(1)= 71.519$, $p <.001$), *so* ($\chi^2(1)= 26.700$, $p <.001$), *really* ($\chi^2(1)= 5.648$, $p <.05$), *ever so* ($\chi^2(1)= 23.135$, $p <.001$), *well* ($\chi^2(1)= 5.863$, $p <.05$), and *real* ($\chi^2(1)= 347.922$, $p <.001$).

[75] However, with *fine*, there were no intensifiers that are frequent enough to conduct a chi-square test.

Table 6.9 Rate of intensifiers in the COCA (1990-1994) and the BNC 1994 [76]

good[77]

	COCA		BNC	
	N	%	N	%
very	281	43	375	59
so	207	32	145	23
real	48	7	8	1
really	40	6	27	4
damn	14	2	1	0
awfully	7	1	9	1
jolly	2	0	16	3
Others	58	9	59	9
	657	100	640	100

sorry[78]

	COCA		BNC	
	N	%	N	%
so	156	47	201	43
very	64	19	121	26
terribly	27	8	39	8
really	35	11	28	6
awfully	5	2	14	3
real	14	4	0	0
so very	4	1	14	4
Others	25	8	46	9
	330	100	463	100

[76] Table 6.9 includes intensifiers that are frequent enough to conduct a chi-square test (the expected numbers are greater than 5).

[77] *very* ($\chi^2(1)= 32.474$, $p <.001$), *so* ($\chi^2(1)= 12.843$, $p <.001$), *real* ($\chi^2(1)= 28.780$, $p <.001$), *really* ($\chi^2(1)= 2.313$, $p >.05$), *damn* ($\chi^2(1)= 11.0582$, $p <.001$), *awfully* ($\chi^2(1)= 0.015$, $p >.05$), and *jolly* ($\chi^2(1)= 11.419$, $p <.001$).

[78] *so* ($\chi^2(1)= 1.160$, $p >.05$), *very* ($\chi^2(1)= 4.893$, $p <.05$), *terribly* ($\chi^2(1)= 0.015$, $p >.05$), *really* ($\chi^2(1)= 5.475$, $p <.05$), *awfully* ($\chi^2(1)= 1.875$, $p >.05$), *real* ($\chi^2(1)= 19.995$, $p <.001$), and *so very* ($\chi^2(1)= 2.850$, $p >.05$).

beautiful[79]

	COCA		BNC	
	N	%	N	%
so	132	49	88	40
very	61	23	84	38
really	8	3	3	1
Others	67	25	44	20
	268	100	219	100

bad[80]

	COCA		BNC	
	N	%	N	%
very	45	26	57	43
so	80	45	47	36
really	15	9	17	13
real	16	9	4	3
Others	20	11	7	5
	176	100	132	100

different[81]

	COCA		BNC	
	N	%	N	%
so	76	38	87	39
very	73	36	109	48
so very	4	2	10	4
Others	49	24	19	8
	202	100	225	100

happy[82]

	COCA		BNC	
	N	%	N	%
so	144	51	124	42
very	91	32	116	39
Others	49	17	55	19
	284	100	295	100

[79] *so* ($\chi^2(1)= 4.014$, $p <.05$), *very* ($\chi^2(1)= 14.045$, $p <.001$), and *really* ($\chi^2(1)= 1.430$, $p >.05$).

[80] *very* ($\chi^2(1)= 10.565$, $p <.01$), so ($\chi^2(1)= 3.019$, $p >.05$), *really* ($\chi^2(1)= 1.537$, $p >.05$), and *real* ($\chi^2(1)= 4.563$, $p <.05$).

[81] *so* ($\chi^2(1)= 0.069$, $p >.05$, *very* ($\chi^2(1)= 6.646$, $p <.01$) and *so very* ($\chi^2(1)= 2.069$, $p >.05$).

[82] *so* ($\chi^2(1)= 4.375$, $p <.05$) and *very* ($\chi^2(1)= 3.338$, $p >.05$).

Patterns observed in fiction show a similar tendency to those in speech. The high frequency of *so*, *real*, and *really* is observed in American English, whereas the high frequency of *very* is observed in British English. In addition to the intensifiers whose frequency difference is statistically significant in the speech data, *damn* (American English) and *jolly* (British English) are selected.

A diachronic comparison between American English and British English is visible from reports from previous studies. With American English, Labov (1984:44) claims that in the 1980s, *really* is the most frequent intensifier in American English, which is quantitatively supported by the 1990 data from Barbieri (2008) (see Figure 6.5). In more recent years (2000-) (Rickford et al. 2007:10), the intensifiers *so* and *really* are still frequent. Note that in the two corpora of American English in Figure 6.5, the intensifiers *so* and *really* occupy the variable contexts at the level of 20%, which is higher in most British English varieties in Figure 6.6, in which they occupy almost 10%.[83]

In British English, overall, there was stability of the intensifier variable between the 1960s and 2000s. In the 1960s, the intensifier *very* was more frequent than the other intensifiers (Barnfield and Buchstaller 2010:263). The DCPSE showed that the high frequency of *very* was maintained between the late 1960s and early 1980s (Núñez-Pertejo and Palacios-Martínez 2018:128). The tendency was continuous at least to the early 1990s (Barnfield and Buchstaller 2010:267; Romero 2012:32). However, since the 2000s, it seems that *really* started to gain popularity, although *very* was still the most favored intensifier in the late 2000s (Barnfield and Buchstaller 2010; Murphy 2010; Núñez-Pertejo and Palacios-Martínez 2018; Schweinberger 2021). My additional analysis based on the FRED-S, the BNC 1994, and BNC 2014 revealed a similar tendency (see Figure 6.10). In the 1970s-1980s (FRED-S), the intensifier *very* was the most popular (62%), followed by *really* (11%) and *so* (10%), the pattern of which was continuous by the early 1990s (BNC 1994). However, by the early 2010s, the intensifier *really* finally occupied the first position.

[83] The intensifier *so* might also be frequent in periods earlier than the 1990s in the US. Some scholars (e.g., Kenter et al. 2007) state that non-canonical cases of *so* (e.g., the intensifier *so* modifying NP, PP, VP) are a result from grammaticalization of adjective modifier *so*. As conditions for grammaticalization, the increase and the high frequency of a form are often proposed (Hopper and Traugott 2003). Therefore, it is possible that the intensifier *so* was already frequent in the 1980s. Note also that as will be seen below, in my song lyrics corpus, the first case of the non-canonical *so* was recorded in the year 1960. Therefore, it is also possible that the intensifier *so* has occurred frequently even since then.

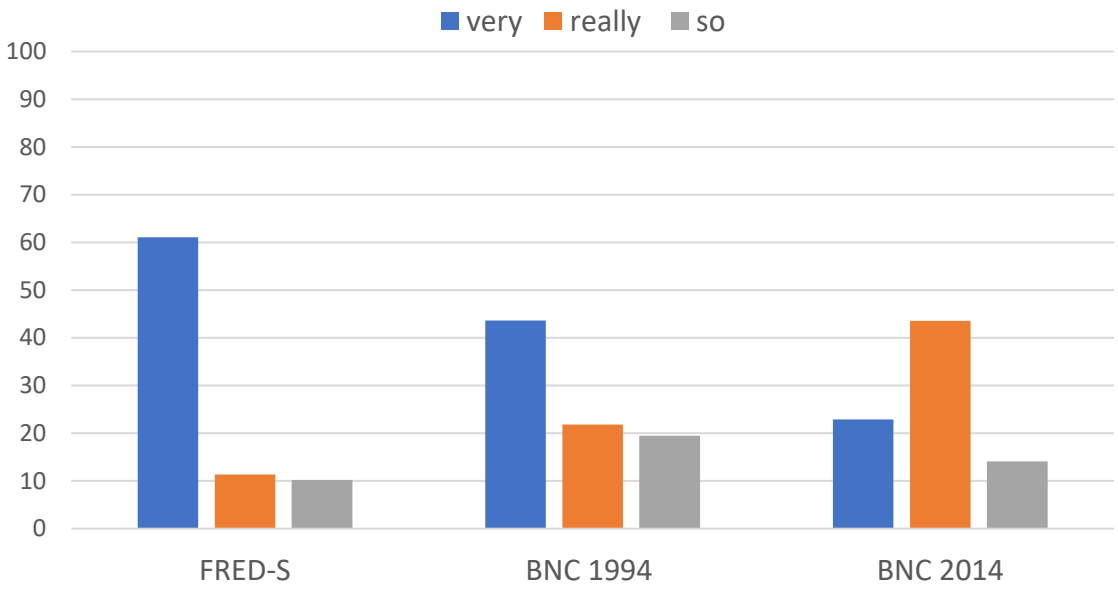


Figure 6.10 Rate of *very*, *really*, and *so* in the FRED-S, BNC 1994, and BNC 2014 (%)

The comparison of the frequency of *very*, *really*, and *so* thus revealed that until around the 2000s, a higher frequency of *very* in British English and a higher frequency of *really* and *so* in American English were persisted throughout the period, although *really* and *so* were gradually gaining popularity in British English. This may mean that at least until the 2000s, like variables including *ain't*, third person *don't*, and multiple negation, indexes of intensifiers were the same. Therefore, the intensifier *so* as well as other intensifiers may have been associated with "Americanness" until the 2000s.

6.3.5 Summary and discussion

The quantitative analysis based on the speech and fiction corpora of American and British English has confirmed that grammatical items found in the keyword analysis (*ain't*, third person *don't*, multiple negation, and the intensifier *so*) are more frequent in American English than in British English. The analysis has also found that other forms (*really*, *real*, and *damn*) occur more frequently in American English. Although the evidence is scarce, especially from American English, the diachronic comparison shows that the difference between American and British English does not seem to have changed dramatically. Therefore, based on exemplar theory, I can propose a grammatical version of an "American" index model (cf. the "USA-5 model"), which is summarized in Table 6.10:

Table 6.10 Grammatical version of the "American" and "non-American" index model

Variable	"American"	"non-American"
1. Contracted negation in the present tense	*ain't*	*isn't* , *aren't* , *haven't* , *hasn't*
2. Third person singular negation	third person *don't*	*doesn't*
3. Negative concord to indefinites	multiple negation	*any* -negation
4. Intensifiers	*so* , *real* , *really* , *damn*	All others (e.g., *very* , *ever so* , *jolly* , *well* , and other intensifier forms)

For categorizing alternatives of the four grammatical variables, the term "British" may be more sensible than the term "non-American." However, the latter designation is used because the category includes intensifiers that are not categorized either in "American" or "British," either due to the low frequency or due to the fact that those forms are equally frequent in both varieties of English. The analysis in Chapter 7 revealed that the number of those forms was in fact very small in the PMCE-UK as well as in the PMCE-US. Also, using the two binary categories make all grammatical variables consistent. Therefore, I include those forms and "British" forms in the same category "non-American."

6.4 Perception research

In §6.3, I have found the quantitative evidence that *ain't*, third person *don't*, multiple negation, and intensifiers such as *so* all index "American." Here, I will observe whether the phenomenon observed in the quantitative comparison is perceptible among native speakers of English. As stated in Chapter 5, peception research on each grammatical variant was conducted in the form of a questionnaire survey. Each participant was asked to choose one answer from options related to "Americanness" or "Britishness." Given that many previous studies (e.g., Wolfram and Christian 1976; Weldon 1994) claim that the use of some grammatical variables (especially negation) is conditioned by ethnicity (in American English) and a regional dialect (in British English) in addition to nationality, four options were presented to each participant: "A user of African American English," "A user of 'General American' English," "A user of non-Standard British Englishes," and "A user of Standard British English." I divided participants' responses into two different groups, depending on the participant's nationality, i.e., British group and non-British (mostly American) group, and responses from each group are reported separately in

order to see whether different participants perceive the forms presented differently. This section consists of five parts. In the next four parts, I report perceptions of *ain't* (§6.4.1), third person *don't* (§6.4.2), multiple negation (§6.4.3), and intensifiers (§6.4.4). In §6.4.5, I will provide a brief summary of the results of the questionnaire survey and disucss the outcome discripacy between the questionnaire survey and speech and fiction analysis.

6.4.1 Perception of *ain't*

For the perception research on *ain't*, I used the following sentences as written stimuli. Each represents *ain't* in the *be* context, as in (19), and *ain't* in the *have* context, as in (20).

(19) It *ain't* so hard (Jamelia, Call Me)

(20) I *ain't* been home all week
(Roman Holiday, Don't Try to Stop It)

Figure 6.11 shows distributions of perceptual responses of *ain't* among British English speakers and non-British speakers. It shows that contrary to the expectation from the speech and fiction analysis, differences between *be* context and *have* context are at a negligible level and in both *be* and *have* contexts, the claim that *ain't* indexes "American" is only marginally supported. In the *be* context, only 52% of the participants perceived *ain't* as "American," i.e., 35% for "A user of 'General American' English" and 17% for "A user of African American English." Similarly, in the *have* context, 52% of the participants chose "American" users, i.e., 36% for "A user of General American English" and 16% for "A user of African American English." Given that "A user of non-Standard British Englishes" is also favored among British participants (the second most favored answer in the *be* context and the most favored answer in the *have* context), *ain't* is also perceivable as "British."

The patterns from non-British participants are not significantly different from those from British participants. Figure 6.11 shows that "Americanness" in *ain't* is only marginally evident in non-British data. In this group, difference between the *be* context and the *have* context seems to be important, as the association with users of American English becomes slightly higher in the *be* context (59%) than in the *have* context (53%). However, like British data, the chance of British English users being selected is also high, especially in the *have* context.

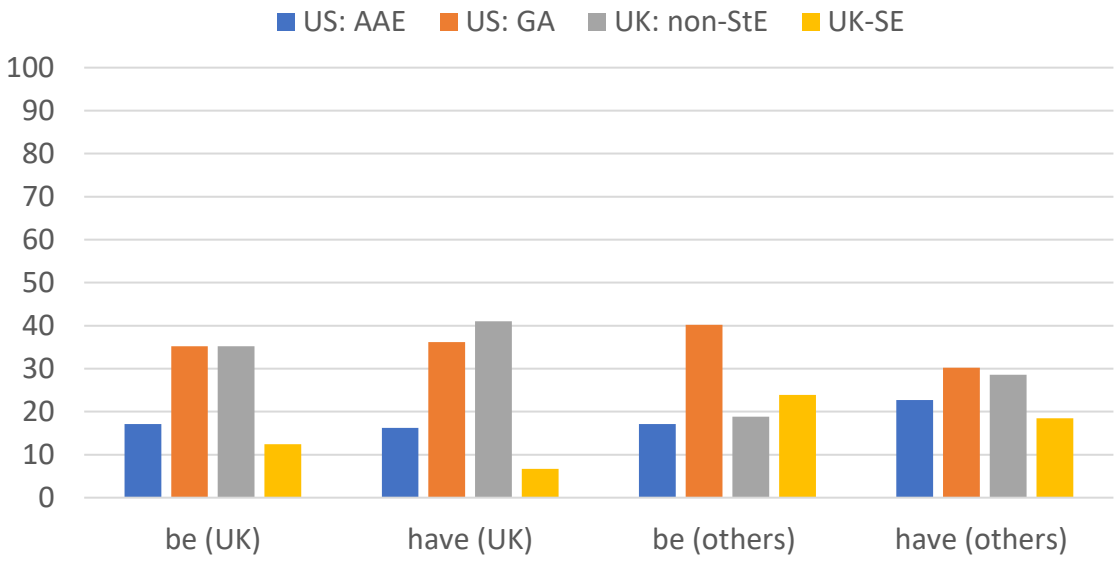


Figure 6.11 Perception of *ain't* (%)

6.4.2 Perception of third person *don't*

For third person *don't*, the written stimulus was (21). The verb *matter* was the most frequent verb followed by nonstandard *don't* in the PMCE-UK. There might be some disagreement on the grammaticality of *don't* in this sentence, but in the survey, I led the participants to a nonstandard reading by repeatedly stating that this is an ungrammatical form in Standard English ("Informal Speech Grammar").

(21) What I think *don't* matter anymore
(The Prodigy, Baby's Got a Temper)

Figure 6.12 shows responses from the British participants. Like *ain't*, the evidence that third person *don't* indexes "American" is only marginally supported at the perception level despite the quantitative tendency in the speech and fiction analysis. The fact that almost half of the British participants (49%) chose "A user of non-Standard British Englishes" indicates that third person *don't* is more likely to be perceived as "British," rather than "American." Still, one must also notice that 46% of participants perceived the written sentence as "American," i.e., 28% for "A user of 'General American' English" (28%) and 18% for "A user of African American English" (18%).

The results of non-British participants are also shown in Figure 6.12. Like the UK data, I cannot find clear evidence to support the quantitative tendency at the perception level in the non-UK data. In the non-British participants, the US categories and the UK categories were chosen at an almost equal level, indicating that the American participants can also perceive *don't* as "British": 21% for "A user of African American

English," 29% for "A user of 'General American' English," 29% for "A user of non-Standard British Englishes," and 21% for "A user of Standard British English."

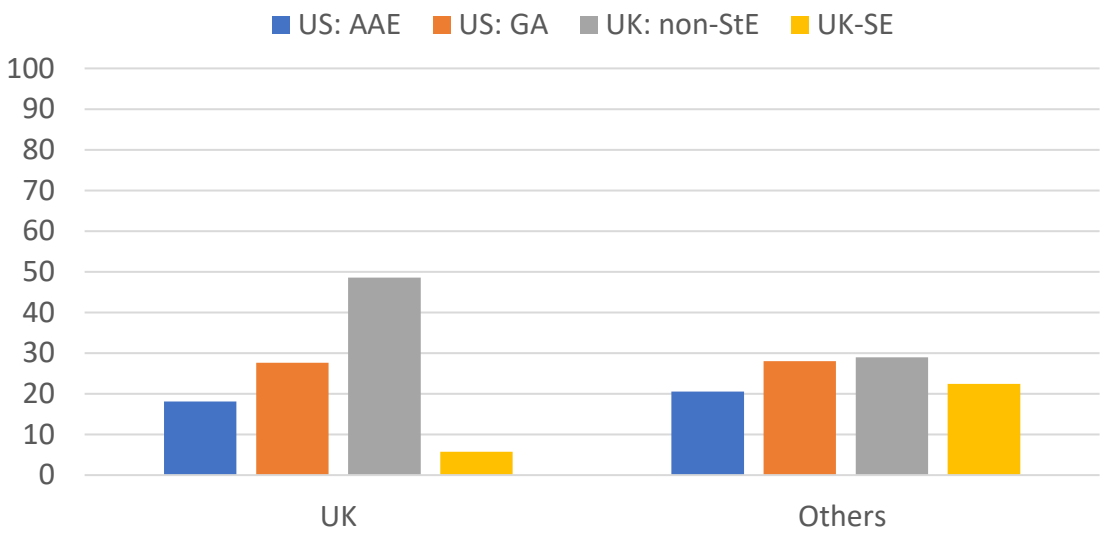


Figure 6.12 Perception of third person *don't* (%)

6.4.3 Perception of multiple negation

Since multiple negation also occurs with *ain't* and third person *don't* as well as other verbal negators, I used three written stimuli to see whether other "American" forms can influence perceptions of multiple negation. The three sentences are illustrated below:

(22) I *don't* want *no* more now
(Javine Hylton, Best of My Love)

(23) I *ain't never* seen before
(Tom Jones & Stereophonics, Mama Told Me Not to Come)

(24) It *don't* mean *nothing*
(A, Nothing)

When participants saw the sentences, the rephrasing sentences also appeared right next to the question sentences (see Figure 6.13, which visualizes example (22)). For rephrasing, the original *n*-words were replaced by corresponding *any*-forms. The addition of rephrasing sentences was made because without the instruction, the participant would interpret the sentences as affirmative, rather than negative, which would affect the results.

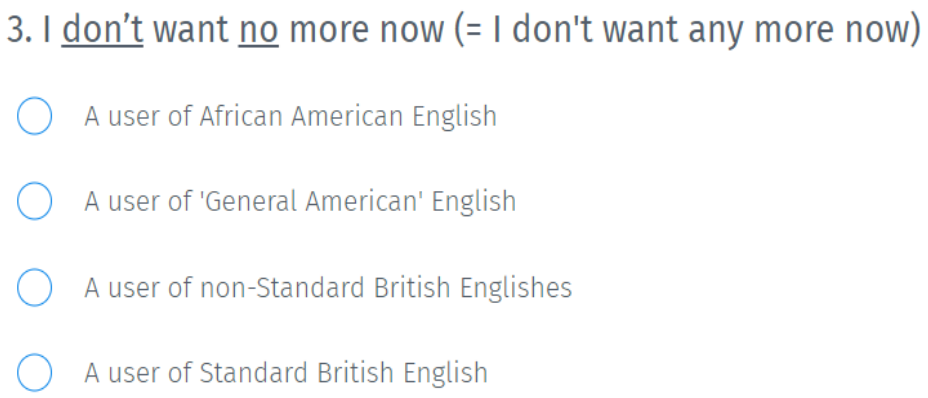


Figure 6.13 Written stimuli of the sentence 3 (multiple negation with *don't … no*)

Figure 6.14 shows linguistic perceptions of multiple negation among British participants. Like *ain't* and third person *don't*, the quantitative evidence is not reflected in the perception data clearly. With multiple negation in (22) and (24), almost half of the British participants chose "A user of non-Standard British Englishes" as a possible user of the sentence, 47% and 43%, respectively, although almost half of the participants (41% for (22) and 50% for (24)) also perceived the sentence as "American." With multiple negation including *ain't* (23), "A user of African American English" is the most preferred choice and the overall chance of American English users being selected is almost 60%. But in this category, it is worth mentioning that the second most frequent response is also "A user of non-Standard British Englishes" (31%).

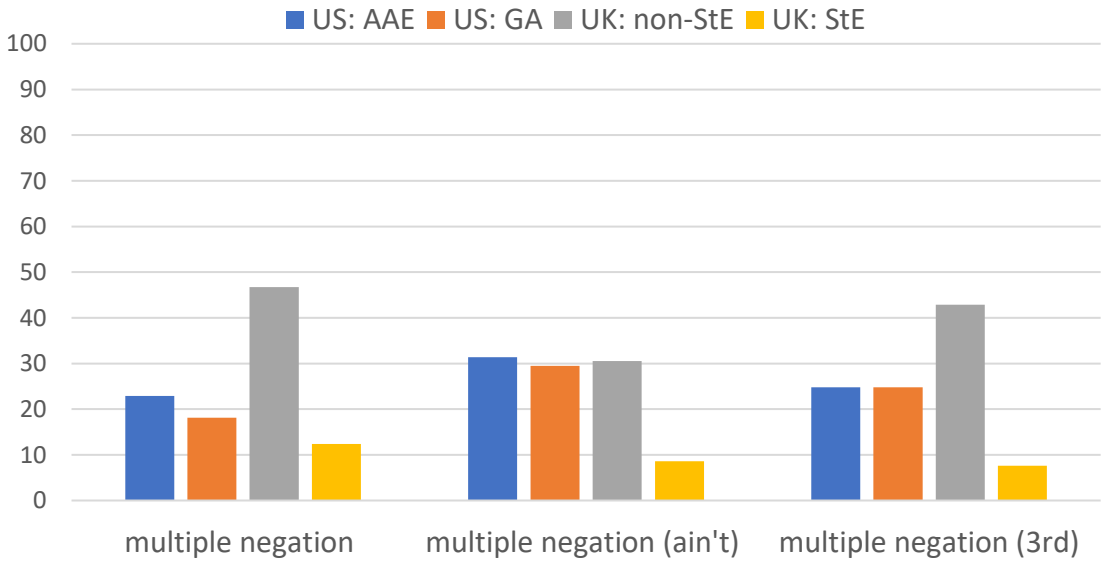


Figure 6.14 Perceptions of multiple negation among British participants (%)

With non-British participants (see Figure 6.15), the overall chance of American English users being selected is over 50% for all written stimuli. Besides, "A user of 'General American' English" is the most favored response to all the sentences investigated, i.e., 35% for (22), 31% for (23), and 35% (24), respectively, but it is also possible that non-British participants perceive multiple negation as "British," as evidenced by the fact that at least 40% of the participants chose either "A user of non-Standard British Englishes" or "A user of Standard British English" as possible users of the sentences.

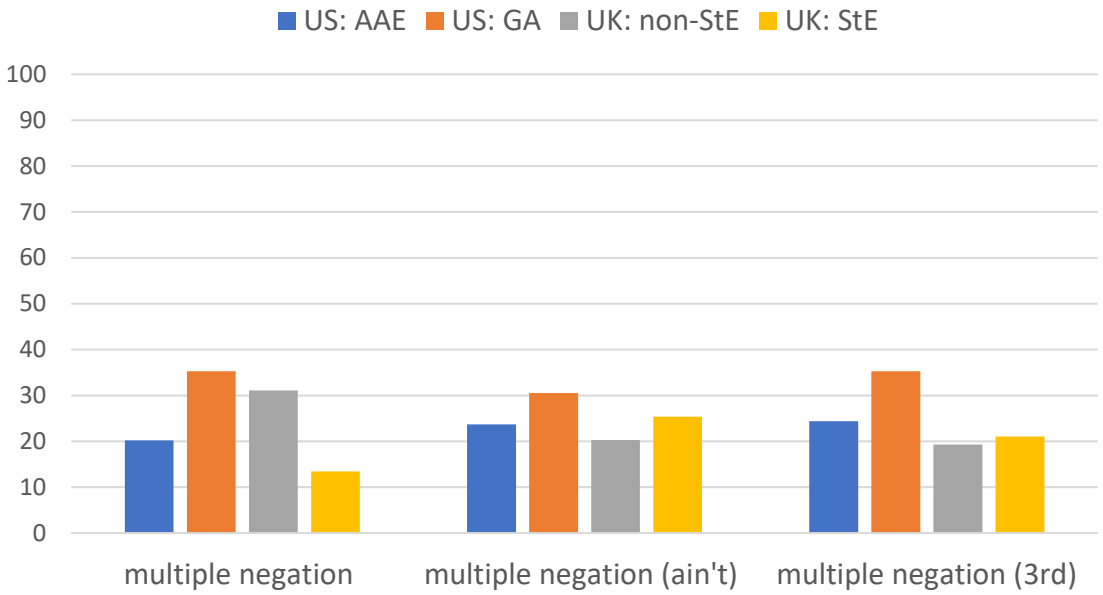


Figure 6.15 Perception of multiple negation among non-British participants (%)

6.4.4 Perceptions of intensifiers

The written stimuli used for the intensifier variable are variants that were more frequent in either variety of English (American or British) in §6.3.4.

(25) You look *so* good
(Craig David, What's Your Flava?)

(26) It's *really* popular
(Underworld, King of Snake (Straight Mix))

(27) We're *real* tough
(Orchestra Manoeuvres in the Dark, Walking on the Milky Way)

(28) It's *very* cold out here in the snow
(Jona Lewie, Stop the Cavalry)

(29) I'm *damn* sure I will[84]

(30) It's *ever so* strange
(Jem, Just a Ride)

(31) I'm *well* serious
(Ordinary Boys, Boys Will be Boys)

(32) Life seems *jolly* rotten
(Monty Python, Always Look on the Bright Side of Life)

Figure 6.16 shows perception results among British participants. Unlike negation variables, each answer was more uniform among participants. However, like the negative variables, the quantitative evidence was not necessarily supported by the perceptual evidence. Some intensifiers even showed an opposite tendency to the quantitative (corpus) evidence. Intensifiers *so* and *really*, both of which showed a higher frequency in American English in the quantitative comparison, were overwhelmingly perceived as "British" ("A user of Standard British English"), rather than "American." With other intensifiers, the quantitative evidence and perceptual data showed a similar direction. *Real* and *damn*, which were more frequent in US English than in British English, were also perceptually associated with "Americanness" ("A user of 'General American' English"). *Very*, *ever so*, and *jolly* were perceived as "British" ("A user of British Standard English"), which also supported the quantitative data in the speech and fiction analysis. Although *well* was also perceived as "Britishness," it was associated with "Britishness" having "nonstandardness" ("A user of nonstandard British Englishes").

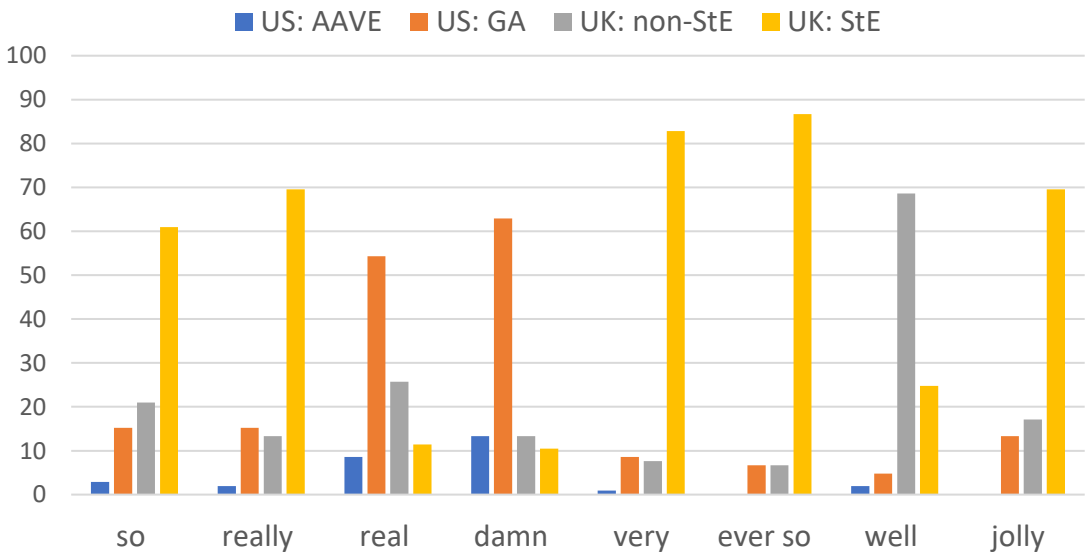


Figure 6.16 Perception of intensifiers in the grammatical model among British participants (%)

[84] The example (29) was taken from the BNC 1994 due to a lack of tokens in the PMCE-UK.

The data from the non-British participants are shown in Figure 6.17. The picture of these participants is different from that of the British participants in that none of the linguistic features were given a dominant answer, meaning that all intensifiers can be perceived as both "American" and "British." With all the intensifiers investigated except *very*, "A user of 'General American' English" was the most preferred answer, although none of them surpassed the 50% level. With *ever so*, *well*, and *jolly*, the direction of perception was different from that in the speech and fiction analysis. They preferred the "American" answer for these questions. With *so*, *really*, *real* and *damn*, the most preferred perceptions were "American," which was the same direction in the quantitative comparison.

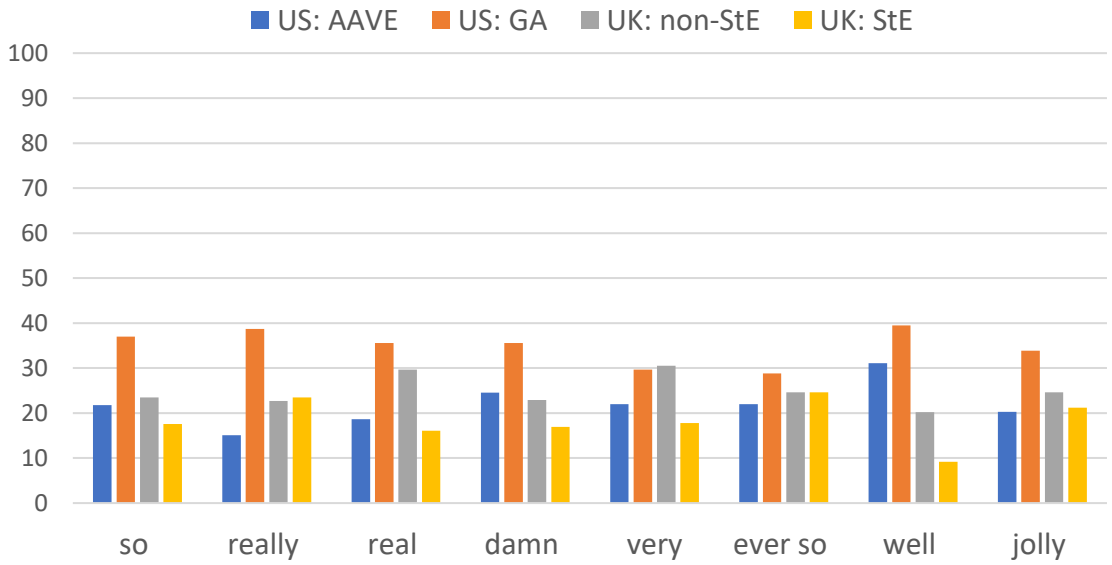


Figure 6.17 Perception of intensifiers in the grammatical model among non-British participants (%)

I also investigated intensifier forms that were infrequent in the SBCSAE/COCA and BNC 1994 but appeared relatively frequent in the PMCE-UK (see Chapter 7): *mighty*, *awful, so damn*, *most,* and *so very*. These intensifiers might be "register features" (Biber and Conrad 2019:53) because compared to the intensifier ranking in the spoken corpus (the BNC 1994),[85] they occupied a higher position in the frequency rank.

(33) I'm *mighty* thankful
(Wet Wet Wet, Temptation)

(34) I'm *awful* shy
(Andy Stewart, Donald, Where's Yer Trooser?)

[85] These intensifiers were not selected in the top 10 intensifiers in the BNC 1994, but as will be seen in Chapter 7, they were ranked in the top 10 intensifiers in the PMCE-UK.

(35) *So damn* cute
(Robbie Williams, Come Undone).
(36) It's *most* unusual
(Pet Shop Boys, I Wouldn't Normally Do This Kind of Thing)

(37) I'm *so very* proud
(Jimmy Nail, Big River)

The results among British and non-British participants are shown in Figure 6.18 and Figure 6.19.

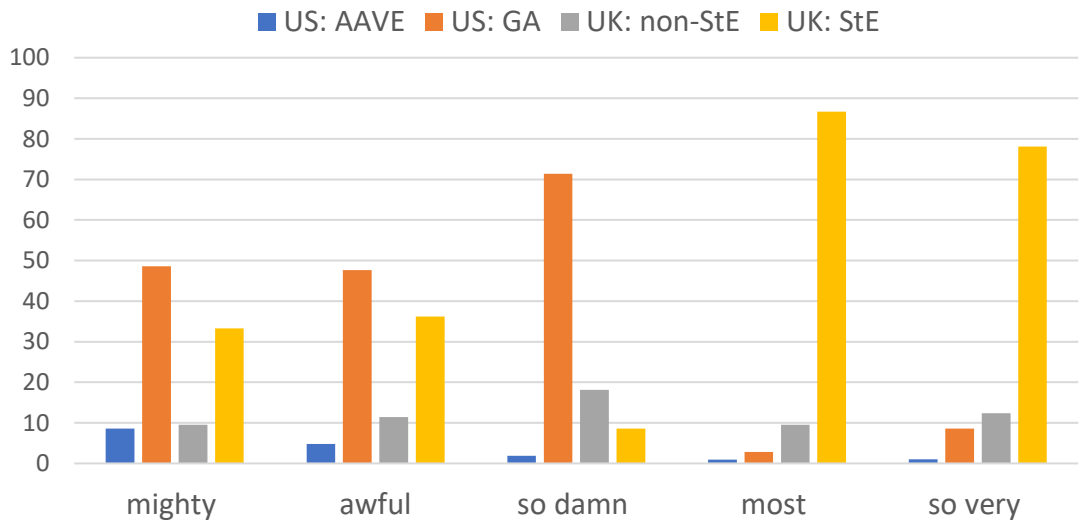


Figure 6.18 Perception of *mighty*, *awful, so damn*, *most*, and *so very* among British participants (%)

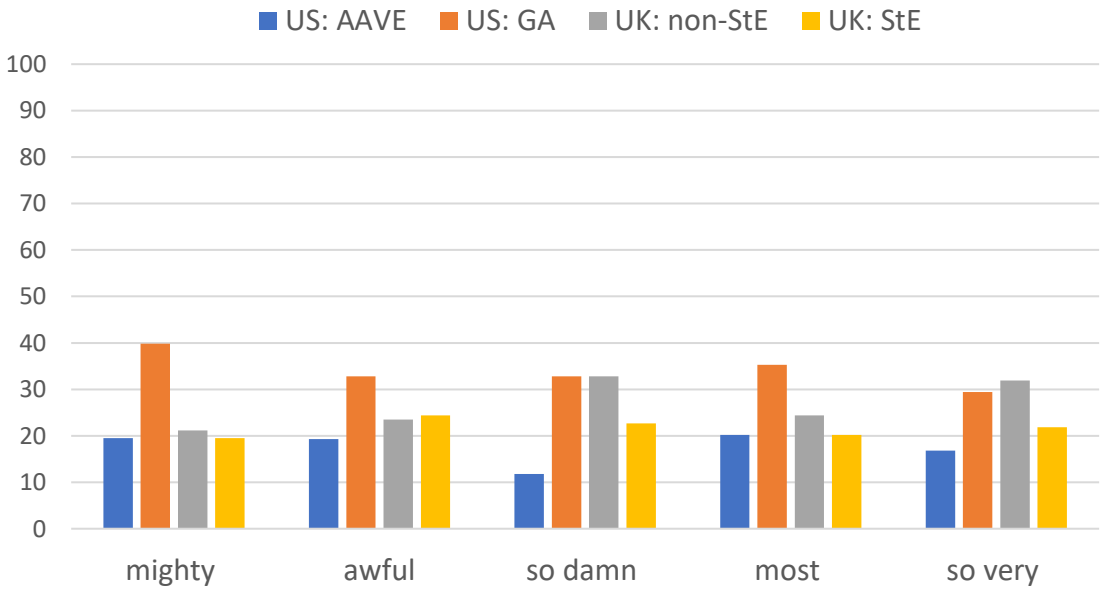


Figure 6.19 Perception of *mighty*, *awful*, *so damn*, *most*, and *so very* among non-British participants (%)

In the UK, *mighty* and *awful* were more likely to be perceived as "American" ("A user of 'General American' English") as well as "A user of Standard British English." *So damn* was associated with "American" ("A user of 'General American' English"), showing a similar tendency to single *damn.* By contrast, *most* and *so very* were associated with "British" (A user of General American English"). The distribution of *so very* was similar to that of single *very* in Figure 6.16. The results among non-British participants were, again, not clearly delineated in terms of the social category.

Since as seen in the keyword analysis, there were some noncanonical cases of the intensifier *so*, I also investigated the usage in terms of perception. The following sentences were used for the stimuli. Each differs in terms of the type of modifying phrase:

so PP
(38) I'm *so* in awe of you
(Orchestral Manoeuvres in the Dark, Sailing on the Seven Seas)

so NP
(39) It's *so* you
(Olive, Outlaw)

so VP
(40) When they freed him, it *so* relieved him
(Gilbert O'Sullivan, Ooh-Wakka-Doo-Wakka-Day)

The results taken from the British participants are shown in Figure 6.20.

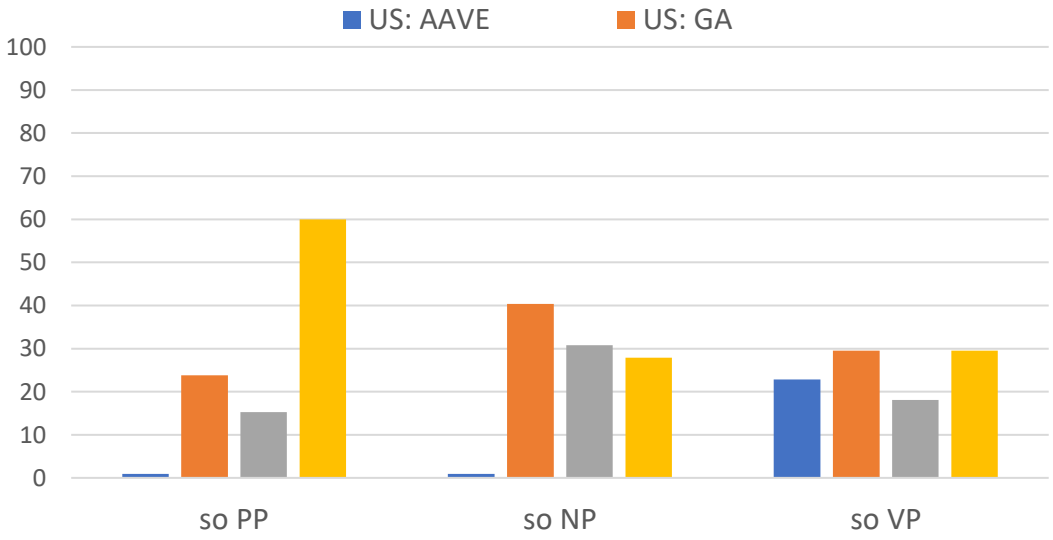


Figure 6.20 Perception of the "so PP," "so NP," and "so VP" constructions among British participants (%)

Unlike popular "US" associations of these forms (Zwicky 2006), such evidence was found only from perceptions of *so* preceding a noun phrase. With *so* preceding a prepositional phrase, "A user of nonstandard British Englishes" was an overwhelmingly preferred answer. With *so* modifying a verbal phrase, it was perceived as both, as evidenced by the same number of "American" and "British" categories.

The results from the non-British participants (see Figure 6.21) show that although the "American" answers are a slightly more likely to be selected by them, the "British" answers are also possible with the three sentences.

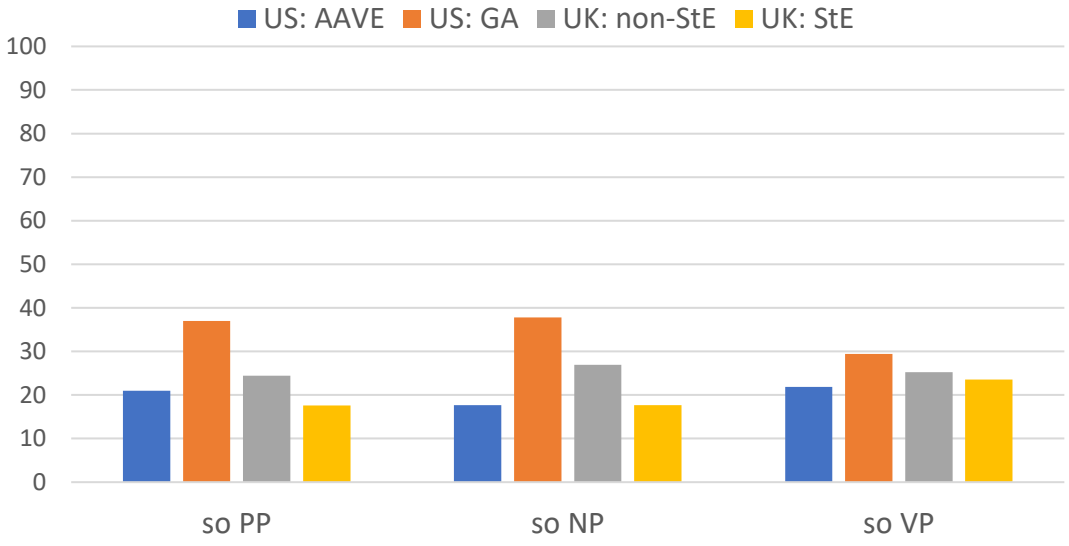


Figure 6.21 Perception of the "so PP," "so NP," and "so VP" constructions among non-British participants (%)

6.4.5 Summary and discussion

Contrary to the expectation that the forms categorized as "American" in Table 6.10 were perceived as "American," the questionnaire survey has given only partial support to the quantitative analysis presented in §6.3. Among the sentences tested, only the sentences including intensifiers *real* and *damn* have shown the same direction of indexicality in the two analyses. With *ain't*, third person *don't*, and multiple negation, both "American" and "British" interpretations are possible. With intensifiers other than *real* and *damn*, the perceptions were different between British and non-British participants: while non-British participants almost equally (though with a slightly "American" English slant) perceived the intensifier forms as "American" and "British," British participants uniformly perceived each form as either "American" or "British." In the latter group, some of the responses (*real, damn*, *ever so*, *jolly*, *well*) were similar to the tendencies in the quantitative analysis, but others (*really*, *so*) were the opposite.

Why were the results of the speech and fiction analysis and questionnaire survey different? First of all, it is necessary to recognize that the questionnaire survey used for the perception research has methodological problems. One potential problem about the survey is the experimental setting. "Americanness" could have been perceived if I told participants about the source of the sentence stimuli (i.e., popular music or genres of popular music) or asked them to listen to the audio resource (see Gibson 2010, 2019), rather than the context-free written stimuli. (But recall that the source information also has a potential to skew the result). Second, the questionnaire survey was designed to tap into the perceptions of the linguistic forms at a conscious level. In questionnaire surveys in such a design, participants may have avoided answers that can be interpreted negatively. The smaller number of responses from "A user of African American English" among participants might reflect the participants' hesitancy, although this cannot explain why "A user of Nonstandard British Englishes" was selected frequently with some of the given questions. It is also possible in such a questionnaire design that participants may have judged linguistic forms without the necessary degree of introspection to answer the questions (Meyerhoff, Schleef, and MacKenzie 2015:83). It is not surprising that under lack of introspection and given that all forms exist in both American and British English speech, the data have shown more responses of the British categories among British participants and more responses of the American categories among American participants, regardless of the actual distributions of linguistic forms.

However, there is also a possibility that the results indeed reflect the perceptual reality of the grammatical forms investigated. The questionnaire survey may simply reflect perceptional situations in the 2020s, but recall the speech and fiction analysis is based on the 1980s-1990s data. Therefore, there is a chronological gap between the survey and corpus data. The use of the intensifiers *so* and *really* may reflect this, because as seen earlier, these forms increased the frequency in British English between the BNC 1994 and BNC 2014, during which the indexicality may have changed. Recall also that the majority of participants belong to the young age (21-30) group, who are generally more likely to use *really* and *so* than the older groups (see Tagliamonte 2008).

With perceptional differences between British and non-British data, I speculate that non-British participants did not understand correctly the labels used for the multiple options in the questionnaire. Unlike the British participants in the survey, the non-British participants showed a consistent result across different variables in that every answer option was given an almost equal chance. Even "A user of Standard British English," which is less likely to be chosen as a possible answer for stigmatized forms such as *ain't* and multiple negation, received a larger number of responses in their data. This may mean that for the participant groups, the linguistic forms can be perceived as any of the possible users, but it is also possible to speculate that they may have randomly chosen an answer due to the lack of knowledge about English varieties labeled as "African American English," "'General American' English," "non-Standard British Englishes," and "Standard British English" (cf. Jansen 2022:94, 122). Recall that one participant from

Australia directly asked me the difference between "A user of nonstandard British Englishes" and "A user of Standard British English" (see Chapter 5). I believe that this might also apply to American participants who formed the majority of non-British group. Jansen (2022:124) notes that cultural security makes American people much less sensitive to dialectological differences, which is likely to apply to the current case as well.

Recall also that although in the speech and fiction analysis I have found the quantitative evidence that the grammatical forms are more frequent in either variety of English (American or British English) and thus index "American" or "British" based on exemplar theory (see Drager and Kirtley 2016), the linguistic forms are not totally absent in the variety which has not been selected. As noted earlier, the use of *ain't*, third person *don't*, and multiple negation is common in many nonstandard British English varieties (see Anderwald 2002), as well as in American English. Therefore, even though the forms are not as frequent in British English as in American English, people still encounter these linguistic forms in their own national variety, even if they do not use the forms by themselves. This would mean that at the perception level, there is less of a definite link between the linguistic features and specific national varieties.

However, it is also vital to note that "Americanness" (or "Britishness") of the grammatical forms is not completely rejected from the perception results. Even though perceptually, the forms do not have an immediate index in relation to identity of place, it is still possible that people can notice the quantitative relationship between American and British English. As stated in Chapter 3, with the help of technology like hit song science, it may be possible for songwriters to know the indexical information of non-salient linguistic features.

Also, the result from the questionnaire survey seems to be well in line with recent perception studies that discuss the complexity of linguistic perception. While in some cases a linguistic perception to a certain indexicality is possible with a single feature (Purnell, Idsardi, and Baugh 1999; Levon, Buchstaller, and Mearns 2020), recent studies show that there are many cases where a certain linguistic perception is possible only when other linguistic forms co-occur with the target linguistic feature (Levon 2007; Pharao et al. 2014; Pharao and Maegaard 2017; Montgomery and Moore 2018; Levon, Buchstaller, and Mearns 2020). For example, Levon, Buchstaller, and Mearns (2020) show that a social evaluation related to professionalism does not occur with one single phonetic feature. The perception data show that to elicit the social evaluation, the listener must encounter the same or other phonetic forms that have the same indexical meaning multiple times (Levon, Buchstaller, and Mearns 2020:41). Interestingly, however, with morphosyntactic features, Levon, Buchstaller, and Mearns (2020) state that social evaluation is possible with one single feature. Regarding the reason for the perceptual difference, Levon, Buchstaller, and Mearns (2020:47) state that while the social evaluations of morphosyntactic features regarding professionalism are codified in formal institutions, those of phonological features are gradual and not as strictly prescriptive as those of morphosyntactic features. In the present case in which

"Americanness" is evaluated, it would seem that the situation is the opposite to "professionalism." Generally speaking, people can identify clearly American English phonological features (and orthographical features), but not grammatical features (Algeo 2006:2; Rohdenburg and Schlüter 2009:1). Therefore, following Levon, Buchstaller, and Mearns (2020), it would be possible that some linguistic forms are given more "American" English answers if features that are indexically "American" co-occur with the target feature.

Importantly, this would also mean that a sociolinguistic style (e.g., "professionalism") does not consist of a single feature, but of a combination of different features having a similar index. The perception data from the questionnaire survey would then suggest that in order to holistically understand an "American" English style, we should look at different linguistic features together rather than looking at the "American" English features independently.

Therefore, following the suggestion by these previous studies, in the corpus-based analysis on British popular music in Chapter 7, I will assess the level of "Americanness" of British (and American) popular music by combining the index of each grammatical feature in the grammatical model in Table 6.10 (cf. Schulze 2014). The method does not yet solve indexical problems with the grammatical variables, but if quantitative distributions presented by investigating the combinations of the linguistic features are not contradictory to American referee model(s) as described in Chapter 4, it means that it also provides evidence for "Americanness" of each linguistic feature, although the indexical salience is weaker, compared to a phonological variable as in the "USA-5 model." As will be seen in the next chapter, the linguistic tendency (genre distribution and chronological trend) in British popular music is more clearly visible with this method, rather than by observing individual features independently, and does not seem contradictory to some of the American models described in Chapter 4.

6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined four grammatical variables extracted through keyword analysis: *ain't*, third person *don't*, multiple negation, and intensifiers. Indexical information was then investigated through a speech and fiction analysis, which tapped into the indexicality that is not necessarily noticeable by participants, and a questionnaire survey, which examined the direct perceptions of the linguistic forms. In the speech and fiction analyses, the forms extracted via keyword analysis (e.g., *ain't*, *so*) were all identified as "American." However, in the questionnaire survey, in which the perception of each feature was assessed independently, most of the forms were not always clearly perceived as "American," suggesting that each feature has a perceptually weak indexicality, in relation to nationality. However, it is important to note that even though an indexical association is weaker, it does not rule out the possibility that these forms can be used as an identity marker. It is still possible that "Americanness" is visible when I look at individual features together. Following the suggestion by recent

perception studies (Levon 2007; Pharao et al. 2014; Pharao and Maegaard 2017; Montgomery and Moore 2018; Levon, Buchstaller, and Mearns 2020), in the next chapter, I assess the level of "Americanness" on the basis on the combination index of "American" English grammatical variables.

Chapter Seven

Grammatical analysis of British popular music

7.1 Overview

Having established the analytical model in Chapter 6, this chapter quantitatively assesses the textual degree of "Americanness." By using the PMCE-UK, I will analyze linguistic patterns of variables including *ain't*, third person *don't*, multiple negation, and intensifiers such as *so* and *real.* The effect of each grammatical variable is considered in §7.2.1, but on the whole, following Levon, Buchstaller, and Mearns (2020), who claim that when a linguistic feature has a weaker indexicality, the salience of a sociolinguistic style is visible mainly by looking at the combination of different items with a similar indexicality, this thesis will measure "Americanness" in the PMCE-UK, based on the combination index of the four grammatical variables.

This chapter consists of five sections. In §7.2, I will first present an overall linguistic picture of British popular music by considering five factors, i.e., the type of grammatical variable, musical genres, the period of music chart, the singer's region, and the songwriter's nationality and region. In §7.3, based on the outcomes of the analysis, the validity of the five referees that I presented in Chapter 4 will be analyzed. In §7.4, I will reflect on the observation based on the quantitative analysis and briefly mention other interpretations on the observed data by considering linguistic perceptions. In §7.5, I will conclude this chapter.

7.2 Overall results

In order to evaluate the five referee models of British popular music in §7.3 (American popular music, popularity of American acts, speech of American consumers, size of the American music market, and singability of linguistic (grammatical) items), the effects of predictor variables on the grammatical variation will be first considered in this section. As seen in Chapter 4, each model predicts different patterns regarding the type of grammatical variable (if applicable), musical genres, and diachronic tendencies. Therefore, the effects of the three predictor variables will be examined.

In addition, I will also consider the effects of the singer's and songwriter's birthplace and compare the patterns with those in British English speech, because, given that grammatical forms such as *ain't* and multiple negation appear in British English, it is necessary to see the level of influence from British English. The British English data were taken from the BNC 1994 S-Conv.

In the following subsections, the five factors will be considered: (a) the type of grammatical variable (§7.2.1), (b) musical genres (§7.2.2), (c) periods of music chart (§7.2.3), (d) the singer's British region (§7.2.4), and (e) the songwriter's nationality and region (§7.2.5). The relative strength of each factor will be assessed in a logistic regression analysis in §7.2.6. An interim summary will also be provided in §7.2.7.

7.2.1 The type of grammatical variable

A quantitative analysis of the whole PMCE-UK was conducted in variable framework. Table 7.1 summarizes the results. It shows that the rate of "Americanness" in British popular music is 75%. (The rate was calculated by dividing the number of tokens of the "American" English variants in the PMCE-UK by the number of all tokens of the variable contexts).

Table 7.1 Frequency of variables including *ain't*, third person *don't*, multiple negation, and intensifiers (e.g., *so*, *real*) in the PMCE-UK

	PMCE-UK		
Variable	"American"	"non-American"	% ("American")
ain't (in *be* and *have* context)	511	207	**71**
third person *don't*	193	184	**51**
multiple negation	401	228	**64**
intensifiers	1,106	122	**90**
Total	2,211	741	**75**

In order to see whether this pattern reflects the usage of British English or shows a possibility of Americanization, I also observed the frequency of the same grammatical variables in the BNC 1994 S-Conv. The figure was 26% (4,403/17,167). The fact that British English is 26% "Americanized" is not surprising, given that the variants categorized as "American" appear in British English. As seen in the speech and fiction analysis (see Chapter 6), the forms categorized as "American" do not exclusively occur in American English. In British English, it is in colloquial speech that the forms appear most frequently, indicating that these forms may be used to make speech informal. Also, some of these forms are also well-known features of regional speech (see Anderwald 2002). Therefore, it is possible that the forms are also used to mark a regional identity (see §7.2.4 and §7.2.5).

The comparison between the BNC 1994 S-conv and the PMCE-UK reveals that the frequency in the PMCE-UK is much higher than that in the BNC 1994 S-Conv, suggesting that the grammatical variation in the PMCE-UK does not simply reflect the speech pattern in British English. Note also that the pattern meets the definition of Americanization (see Chapter 2): Americanization is a phenomenon in which physical or non-physical items that are perceptually or quantitatively associated with US frequently occur in non-American contexts. At this stage of the analysis, however, the possibility remains that Americanization does not work in British popular music and that the forms are simply used to mark colloquialism. In order to claim the evidence of Americanization, it is necessary to identify referee models for British popular music (see Chapter 4).

As seen in Chapter 4, the variable rule underlying the grammatical variation is an important consideration in identifying the referees (see Meyerhoff 2009). As a first step, this thesis looks at whether the grammatical variation is conditioned by the type of grammatical variable. Figure 7.1, which visualizes Table 7.1, displays details about the frequency of tokens for the four selected grammatical variables in the whole sections of the PMCE-UK. Figure 7.1 also shows the frequency rate of the same variables in the BNC 1994 S-Conv. The frequency of variables including third person *don't* and multiple negation is available in works from Anderwald (2002:105,156).

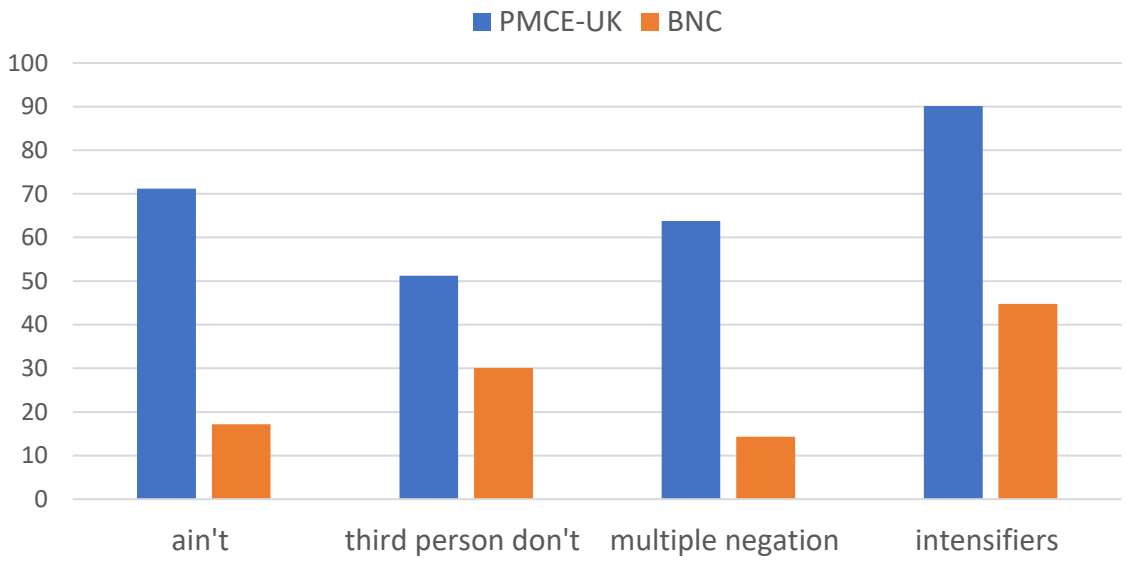


Figure 7.1 Frequency comparison of variables including *ain't*, third person *don't,* multiple negation, and intensifiers (e.g., *so*, *real*) between the PMCE-UK and the BNC 1994 (%)

Compared to the frequency rate in the BNC 1994 S-Conv, the frequency in the PMCE-UK is much higher with all four grammatical variables, suggesting that it does not simply reflect the speech pattern in British English. In the PMCE-UK, the "American" English variants occur at more than 50% in all variables. By contrast, in the BNC 1994 S-Conv, the rate of forms categorized as "American" in all four variables is less than 50%.

Regarding the frequency rank of the grammatical variable, the patterns of "American" English variants were not identical between the PMCE-UK and the BNC 1994 S-Conv. In the PMCE-UK, the use of the grammatical variants in the intensifier variable is almost categorical (90%). The *ain't* and multiple negation variables exhibit a lower rate at 71% and 64%, respectively. The lowest figure is found with third person *don't*, which is only slightly more frequent than its alternative (i.e., *doesn't*) (51%). Interestingly, the order is not exactly the same as that in the speech. In the BNC 1994, the intensifier variable exhibits the highest frequency (48%), which is followed by third person *don't* variable (30%), *ain't* variable (17%), and multiple negation variable (14%). To summarize:

PMCE-UK
Intensifier variable > *ain't* variable> multiple negation variable
> third person *don't* variable

BNC 1994
Intensifier variable > third person *don't* variable > *ain't* variable
> multiple negation variable

While there are some different patterns between the PMCE-UK and the BNC 1994 S-Conv, there are also similarities between them. For example, internal factors effective on speech are also visible in the grammatical variation in British popular music. As stated in Chapter 6, *ain't* variable consists of two different usages, i.e., *ain't* in the *be* context and *ain't* in the *have* context. In the BNC 1994 s-Conv, *ain't* occurs at a higher frequency in the *be* context (32%) than in the *have* context (14%) (see Chapter 6). This is also the case with the PMCE-UK. *Be* context (78%) exhibits a higher use of *ain't* than *have* context (52%) (see Table 7.2).

Table 7.2 Rate of *ain't* in *be* and *have* contexts

	ain't	Others	% (*ain't*)
be	413	116	**78**
have	98	91	**52**
Total	511	207	**71**

In the variable contexts for *ain't,* there are some variable contexts (186) where another "American" variant, multiple negation, co-occurs with *ain't*. The effect of co-occurrence is in evidence in some regional British Englishes (e.g., London English) (Palacios Martínez 2010:556).[86] Therefore, I compared the rate of *ain't* based on the presence or absence of multiple negation (see Table 7.3). The effect is also evident in the PMCE-UK. When variants do not occur with multiple negation, the rate of the realization of *ain't* is 61%. By contrast, when variants occur with multiple negation structure, the rate of *ain't* increases and becomes almost categorical (99%).

[86] I am fully aware that this may not apply to British English in general. Due to time restriction, I could not examine the effect of multiple negation on *ain't* variable in the BNC 1994 S-Conv.

Table 7.3 Rate of *ain't* with or without multiple negation in the PMCE-UK

	ain't	Others	% (*ain't*)
With multiple negation	186	1	**99**
Without multiple negation	325	206	**61**
Total	511	207	**71**

Third person *don't* shows a similar distribution. The effect is present in British English speech (Palacios-Martínez 2016:74-76). In the PMCE-UK, the effect is also evident. There are some variable contexts (13) where the variants co-occur with multiple negation (see Table 7.4). When the variable context is included in multiple negation structure, third person *don't* occurs almost categorically (93%). When the variable context is not included in the structure, third person *don't* is realized at 50% only.

Table 7.4 Rate of third person *don't* with or without multiple negation in the PMCE-UK

	don't	Others	% (*don't*)
With multiple negation	13	1	**93**
Without multiple negation	180	183	**50**
Total	193	184	**51**

Multiple negation follows a pattern similar to *ain't* and third person *don't*. In some varieties of English (e.g., Bahama English), this factor is also suggested as effective on the variability (Hackert and Laube 2018:300-01), although the evidence is scarce in British English.[87] Table 7.5 shows the realization of multiple negation in the PMCE-UK, according to types of the verbal negator. As shown in Table 7.5, when the variable context occurs with *ain't* and third person *don't*, multiple negation is almost categorically selected at 94% and 92%, respectively. By contrast, when the variable context does not accompany the nonstandard forms, the rate of multiple negation is only 46%.

Table 7.5 Rate of multiple negation (MN) by verbal negator in the PMCE-UK

	MN	Others	% (MN)
ain't	204	12	**94**
third person *don't*	12	1	**92**
Others	185	215	**46**
Total	401	228	**64**

[87] I am fully aware that this may not apply to British English in general. Due to time restriction, I could not examine the effect of *ain't* and third person *don't* on multiple negation variable in the BNC 1994 S-Conv.

However, the intensifier variable shows a different pattern to British English speech. As seen in Table 7.1 and Figure 7.1, compared to the other variables, the intensifier variable exhibits a very high rate of the selected variants in the PMCE-UK. This is because the intensifier *so* occurs very frequently in the PMCE-UK. Table 7.6 shows intensifier types (with a minimum absolute frequency of 5) that were observed in the complete corpus. The intensifier *so* occupies 86% of the variable contexts in the PMCE-UK. *Very* and *really,* which are the second and third most frequent intensifiers, occur at only 4% and 3%, respectively. Recall that in most varieties of British English, the intensifier *very* is the most frequent and that the intensifier *so* is much less frequent (see Chapter 6). In the PMCE-UK, the intensifier *so* also appears in the combination with other intensifiers such as *damn* and *very.*

Table 7.6 Rate of intensifier types in the PMCE-UK

Intensifier types	N	%
so	1,053	**86**
very	49	**4**
really	40	**3**
real	12	**1**
most	6	**0**
so damn	6	**0**
mighty	5	**0**
so very	5	**0**
Others	52	**4**
	1,228	**100**

With the intensifier *so*, I also found 11 cases where *so* modifies a NP, with 35 cases in prepositional phrases, and 5 cases in verbal phrases. In the PMCE-UK, the "*so* NP" construction modifies pronouns (*so you*) and common nouns (*so 20th century*, *so 1970s*, *so 18th century*, *so anti-fashion*, *so rock n' roll* (2 cases), *so animal*, *so A-D-D*, *so start and stop*, *so corporate suit*). With prepositional phrases, the phrase s*o in love with you* repeatedly appears in different songs. With verbal phrases, the verbs *want* (2), *need*, *fuck*, and *relieve* are used with *so*.[88]

It is also worth mentioning that there is one intensifier type that is infrequent but seems to play a special role in British popular music. The intensifier *mighty* is a case in point. In the BNC 1994 S-Conv, this intensifier occurs only three times in the predicative position. In the SBCSAE, it occurs once in the predicative position. The difference between the BNC 1994 S-Conv and SBCSAE is too low to conduct a statistical analysis (e.g., chi-square test). Therefore, it is not clear whether this intensifier indexes "American" or "British." In the PMCE-UK, the intensifier also occurs infrequently, i.e., five times in the predicative

[88] Contrary to the claim that the non-canonical usage appears in the 1980s (Zwicky 2006), the earliest case in my corpus is *so* modifying a prepositional phrase which appeared in 1960 (Michael Holliday, Starry Eyed).

position. One of the examples is shown in (41).

(41) Boy, we had a quartette that was *mighty* hard to beat
(Max Bygraves, (The Gang that Sang) Heart of My Heart).

However, as seen in Table 7.6, it occupies the seventh position in the frequency rank in the PMCE-UK. *Mighty* does not appear in such a high position in the BNC S-Conv 1994, and it does not appear in the frequency tables (N > 10) in other British English corpora (e.g., DCPSE, ICE-GB, York Corpus) (Ito and Tagliamonte 2003:266; Núñez-Pertejo and Palacios-Martínez 2018). By contrast, a quick search for "mighty ADJ" in the COCA (1990-1994) shows 400 tokens. In the Corpus of Global Web-Based English (GloWbE), "mighty ADJ" is slightly more frequent in American English (789 tokens) than in British English (729 tokens). Recall that the perceptual data from British participants (see Chapter 6) show that *mighty* has a relatively stronger association with American English speakers. Therefore, it is likely that the use of *mighty* is a case of Americanism.

Thus, while there are some similarities between British English and British popular music, overall the distribution is different, meaning that the grammatical variation in British popular music may not simply reflect the usage of British English speech.

7.2.2 Musical genres

Sociological research (see Chapter 2) revealed that genres that failed to receive popularity of local acts (e.g., hip hop) tend to follow styles in American popular music, even though local orientation is required from its genre norms (e.g., "keepin' it real"). By contrast, genres that gained popularity and have genre norms such as personal authenticity (e.g., rock, electronic music) tend to present local styles. Therefore, it is expected that there is a different level of "Americanness" across musical genres. This section thus considers the level of "Americanness" in different genres.

Table 7.7 displays the frequency of tokens and percentages of the selected four grammatical variables in each music genre in the PMCE-UK. Recall that there was unbalancedness of musical genres in the frequency distribution. This is because some genres appear more frequently in the music charts. Due to the small number of tokens in funk, reggae, blues, Latin, jazz, folk, and stage & screen, I will not discuss these genres any further. Instead, in this section, I will focus on four genres that show relatively frequent variable tokens: pop music, rock music, electronic music, and hip hop music. I summarized the tendency of the four genres in Figure 7.2.

Table 7.7 Frequency of variables including *ain't*, third person *don't*, multiple negation, and intensifiers (e.g., *so*, *real)* in the PMCE-UK

	Pop			Rock		
Variable	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")
ain't (in *be* and *have* context)	44	24	**65**	275	94	**75**
third person *don't*	25	22	**53**	111	82	**58**
multiple negation	23	11	**68**	213	115	**65**
intensifiers	126	22	**85**	523	63	**89**
Total	218	79	**73**	1,122	354	**76**
	Electronic			Hip Hop		
Variable	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")
ain't (in *be* and *have* context)	152	73	**68**	26	5	**84**
third person *don't*	36	70	**34**	12	3	**80**
multiple negation	130	87	**60**	19	3	**86**
intensifiers	375	32	**92**	40	1	**98**
Total	693	262	**73**	97	12	**89**
	Funk			Reggae		
Variable	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")
ain't (in *be* and *have* context)	8	6	**57**	3	1	**75**
third person *don't*	5	3	**63**	1	4	**20**
multiple negation	15	8	**65**	1	1	**50**
intensifiers	21	4	**84**	4	0	**100**
Total	49	21	**70**	9	6	**60**

	Blues			Latin		
Variable	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")
ain't (in *be* and *have* context)	0	3	**0**	1	0	**100**
third person *don't*	1	0	**100**	0	0	**N/A**
multiple negation	0	0	**N/A**	0	0	**N/A**
intensifiers	3	0	**100**	0	0	**N/A**
Total	4	3	**57**	1	0	**100**

	Jazz			Folk		
Variable	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")
ain't (in *be* and *have* context)	2	1	**67**	0	0	**N/A**
third person *don't*	1	0	**100**	1	0	**100**
multiple negation	0	3	**0**	0	0	**N/A**
intensifiers	13	0	**100**	0	0	**N/A**
Total	16	4	**80**	1	0	**100**

	Stage & Screen		
Variable	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")
ain't (in *be* and *have* context)	0	0	**N/A**
third person *don't*	0	0	**N/A**
multiple negation	0	0	**N/A**
intensifiers	1	0	**100**
Total	1	0	**100**

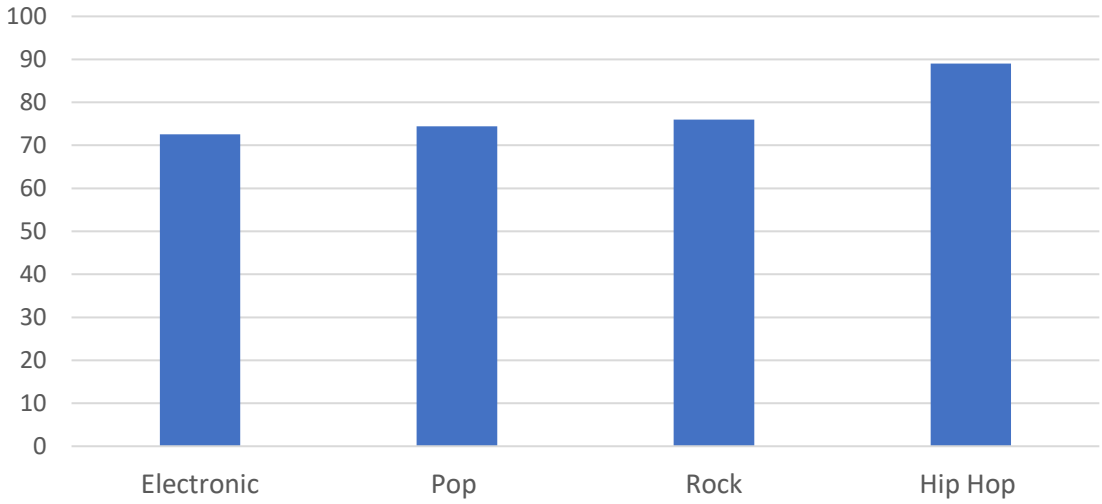


Figure 7.2 Frequency comparison of variables including *ain't*, third person *don't*, multiple negation, and intensifiers (e.g., *so*, *real)* in the PMCE-UK, by musical genre (%)

The combination index of the grammatical variants categorized as "American" in Table 7.7 and Figure 7.2 indicates the degree of "Americanness" in each music genre. They show that there is a different degree of "Americanness" across the four genres. In hip hop, the realization of forms associated with "American" is higher than the other genres (89%). Among genres other than hip hop, "American" English variants are most frequently realized in rock in which the variants occur at 76%. The third highest rate is found in pop music, which is followed by electronic music, but the difference between pop music (73.4%) and electronic music (72.6%) is only slight.

Although in sociological literature, not all genres are discussed in terms of Americanization, it would seem that grammatical variables show a similar pattern to non-linguistic variables (e.g., musical structure, fashion, lyrical content). As seen in Chapter 2, in sociology, hip hop is often explained as an American genre because due to lack of popularity of hip hop and local talents in the UK, the US association with hip hop is firmly established. By contrast, in electronic music, due to popularity of local acts and its genre norms related to personal authenticity, there are many localized attempts. The situation with rock is similar to that with electronic music, but UK singers still prefer American styles to some extent because American rock is popular and thus an important inspiration for British popular music. As a result, both American and British styles often coexist in rock. Sociological studies thus suggest that the degree of "Americanness" in non-linguistic variables is high in the order of hip hop, rock, and electronic music. As seen in Table 7.7 and Figure 7.2, the order looks similar with grammatical variables.

As regards pop, the PMCE-UK shows a relatively lower rate of "Americanness." This might mean that like rock and electronic music, there are some local attempts by pop singers, but as seen in Chapter 3, this is an unlikely scenario, given that pop does not have genre norms related to personal authenticity. A more likely scenario is that the low

degree of "Americanness" reflects the rate of American popular music. According to Gibson (2023:20), due to its genre norms (i.e., commercialism), pop prefers styles that have already been established (or conventionalized) in popular music. This means that it is expected that pop would show a high level of imitation to American popular music. If the low level of "Americanness" is found in American popular music, this seems to be a more likely explanation for the linguistic features of pop. To deepen understanding of genre tendencies in British popular music, a linguistic analysis of American popular music is required for comparison. I will come back to this point in §7.3.1.

It is also important to note that the data from the PMCE-UK show that the differences between rock, pop, and electronic are not very large. Also, even if hip hop is taken into account, the frequency range is not very wide between the highest hip hop (89%) and the lowest electronic music (73%). The contrast is clear when we compare the range with that in phonological variables. The phonological research on Australian popular music as presented by O'Hanlon (2006:198-200) shows that the range between genres is more than 50%. The lowest frequency of "American" forms was found in hip hop (8%), whereas the highest frequency was seen in pop (56%).[89] This would mean that at the grammatical level, the level of "Americanness" is generally higher, compared to phonological variables, and that genre differences in British popular music are hard to identify, if not impossible.[90]

7.2.3 Periods of music chart

In addition to musical genres, the decade of music charts is also an important factor when considering styles in British popular music. As seen in the history of British popular music (see Chapter 2), styles in British popular music are often explained as not static, because the adoption degree of American styles is closely related to cultural or economic success and developments of popular music. The factor has already been examined in many linguistic studies (e.g., Trudgill 1983; Simpson 1999; Morrissey 2008), although many of these studies conducted small-scale research (see Chapter 2).

Table 7.8 displays the frequency of tokens and percentages of the selected variables between the 1950s and the 2000s. The same data are visualized in Figure 7.3.

[89] The reason why in Australian hip hop, local English features are frequent is that there may be more successful local acts, compared to British hip hop (see Chapter 8).
[90] Note that the genre categories in *Discogs* might not be reliable. As seen in Chapter 3, the genre categorization is rather simple, compared to other music catalogues (e.g., *Apple Music*). If similar research is conducted based on another genre classification, a clearer pattern might be borne out.

Table 7.8 Frequency comparison of variables including *ain't,* third person *don't*, multiple negation, and intensifiers (e.g., *so*, *real*), by decade

	1950s			1960s		
Variable	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")
ain't (in *be* and *have* context)	11	4	**73**	32	20	**62**
third person *don't*	2	1	**67**	20	13	**61**
multiple negation	6	2	**75**	36	26	**58**
intensifiers	25	4	**86**	115	17	**87**
Total	44	11	**80**	203	76	**73**
	1970s			1980s		
Variable	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")
ain't (in *be* and *have* context)	112	23	**83**	103	53	**66**
third person *don't*	36	31	**54**	30	50	**38**
multiple negation	75	26	**74**	103	58	**64**
intensifiers	146	25	**85**	254	29	**90**
Total	369	105	**78**	490	190	**72**
	1990s			2000s		
Variable	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")
ain't (in *be* and *have* context)	99	62	**61**	154	45	**77**
third person *don't*	45	50	**47**	60	39	**61**
multiple negation	80	68	**54**	101	48	**68**
intensifiers	281	24	**92**	285	23	**93**
Total	505	204	**71**	600	155	**79**

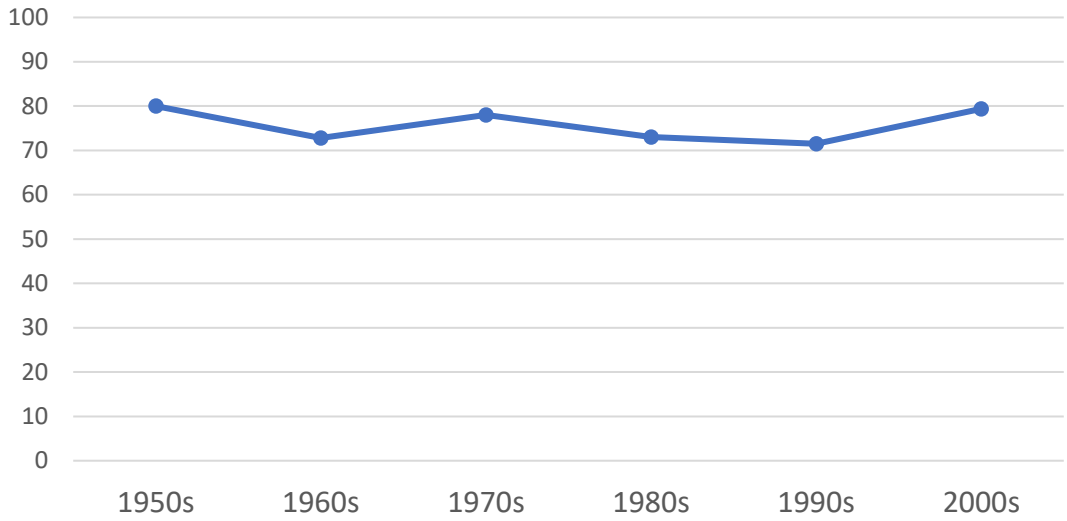


Figure 7.3 Frequency comparison of variables including *ain't*, third person *don't*, multiple negation, and intensifiers (e.g., *so*, *real)* in the PMCE-UK, by decade (%)

Table 7.8 and Figure 7.3 show that in the aggregated results, at first sight, it is hard to see a change of "Americanness" between the 1950s and the 2000s because the range of change is between the lowest 71% in the 1990s and the highest 80% in the 1950s. The tendency does not seem to correspond to more dramatic phonological tendencies as described in Trudgill (1983) and Carlsson (2001). In Trudgill's (1983:150) data, "American" rhoticity was used at 36% in the early 1960s. However, this figure dropped to 2% in the 1990s, according to Carlsson's (2001:166) data. The range of change is thus 34%. It is also important to notice that the range for the period of music chart is even smaller, compared to that of musical genres.

However, if I observe the pattern of Figure 7.3 closely, I can still see a change of the frequency, even though it is not so dynamic. A higher rate of "American" English variants was found in the 1950s (80%), the 1970s (78%), and the 2000 (79%), although one must also bear in mind that in the earliest period (the 1950s), the frequency tokens are very small due to the size of the subcorpus (see Chapter 5). While the patterns are not clear due to lack of phonological quantitative research, evidence from sociological studies (e.g., Laing 1985:58; Bennet 2010:71) as well as a few linguistic small-scale research (e.g., Konert-Panek 2016, 2017b; Flanagan 2019) show that in the same periods we can see a high use of "American" English accents. Therefore, although the dynamic tendency is absent in grammatical variables, a similar pattern is still observable, meaning that both grammatical and phonological/sociological variables may be affected by the same variable (diachronicity).

Also, the fact that the diachronic factor does not strongly contribute to the grammatical variation is not very surprising. As seen in Chapter 2, due to a different history of music genre, it may be better to consider the diachronic factor within the context of each musical genre, rather than treat it as an independent factor in popular music.[91]

7.2.4 The singer's region

So far, by analyzing the effects of musical genres and periods of music chart, I have shown that the data categorized based on the grammatical model established in Chapter 6 show a similar pattern to those reported in phonological and sociological studies (see Chapter 2). However, it is important to recognize that the items that have been categorized as "American" are forms that are more frequent in American English than in British English. This means that the same forms also appear in (regional) British English, as seen in the speech and fiction analysis.

As stated in Chapter 2, many sociological studies revealed that some British singers use British styles, rather than American styles, in order to follow personal authenticity. For example, attempts by rock singers in the 1960s-1980s and electronic music are examples of localization. Even after the 1990s, in which rock singers started to imitate singers in the 1960s and 1970s, some rock singers (e.g., Arctic Monkeys) use local styles by using their own accents.

Given that forms that are categorized as "American" are used in British English, it is possible that these forms are used to make local acts, rather than to make American styles, by British singers. The effect of localization can be observable by classifying the data based on the British regions of the singer and comparing the results to those in British English speech.

Table 7.9 shows the frequency of tokens and percentages of the selected variables in the PMCE-UK, which is sorted by the British singer's region (hometown). As described in Chapter 5, such information was available at the Internet (*Wikipedia*) and British regions were classified into six different areas based on the modified version of the Dialect Level 3: Ireland, Scotland, North England, Midlands, Wales, and South England. Although the number of singers in each region was not equal and was strongly biased towards singers from North and South England,[92] the number of the four grammatical variables was sufficient enough to conduct such a comparison.

[91] However, due to lack of tokens, such an analysis is not possible in this research.

[92] These are areas which include cities (e.g., Liverpool, London) where popular music mainly developed (see Simonelli 2012).

Table 7.9 Frequency comparison of variables including *ain't*, third person *don't*, multiple negation, and intensifiers (e.g., *so*, *real*) (%), by the singer's UK region

	Ireland			Scotland		
Variable	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")
ain't (in *be* and *have* context)	10	21	**32**	33	8	**80**
third person *don't*	11	16	**41**	8	16	**33**
multiple negation	10	11	**48**	22	12	**65**
intensifiers	62	6	**91**	82	18	**82**
Total	93	54	**63**	145	54	**73**
	North England			Midlands		
Variable	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")
ain't (in *be* and *have* context)	93	69	**57**	59	16	**79**
third person *don't*	45	49	**48**	18	22	**45**
multiple negation	82	80	**51**	41	12	**77**
intensifiers	266	29	**90**	108	10	**92**
Total	486	227	**68**	226	60	**79**
	Wales			South Engalnd		
Variable	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")
ain't (in *be* and *have* context)	17	8	**68**	299	85	**78**
third person *don't*	2	4	**33**	109	77	**59**
multiple negation	14	12	**54**	232	101	**70**
intensifiers	39	3	**93**	549	56	**91**
Total	72	27	**73**	1,189	319	**79**

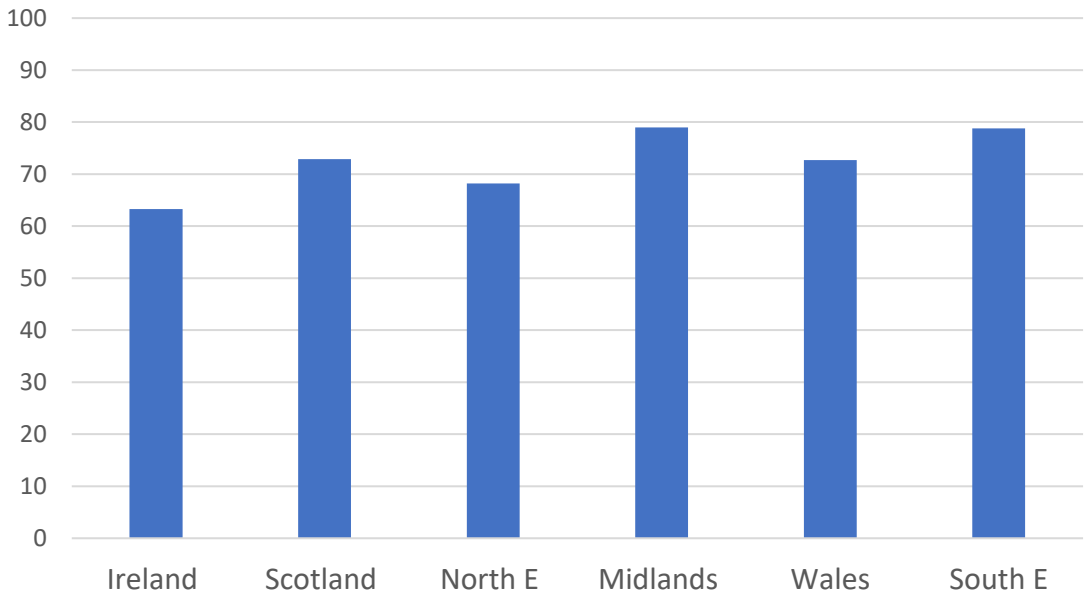


Figure 7.4 Frequency comparison of variables including *ain't*, third person *don't*, multiple negation, and intensifiers (e.g., *so*, *real*) in the PMCE-UK (%), by the singer's UK region (%)

See Figure 7.4, which visualizes Table 7.9. It shows that Ireland displays by far the lowest degree of the grammatical realization (63%), which is followed by North England (68%). Wales and Scotland exhibit a moderate degree at 73%. Midlands (79%) and South England (79%) exhibit an even higher degree of the grammatical realization. In other words, northern[93] regions tend to show a relatively lower level of the grammatical realization than southern regions.

It is important to notice that the patterns are similar to those in British English (see Figure 7.5). The analysis in the BNC 1994 S-Conv reveals that northern regions (Ireland, Scotland, Northern England) show a relatively lower degree of the realization of *ain't*, third person *don't*, multiple negation, and intensifiers including *so* and *real* than southern regions (Midlands, Wales, and South England). Although the rate is overall higher in the PMCE-UK, the patterns would seem to align with those in the PMCE-UK, suggesting that the grammatical patterns in the PMCE-UK may reflect those in the singer's British region.[94]

[93] Ireland may be a borderline area between northern and southern areas. Here, I follow Anderwald's (2002) interpretation of Ireland. She claims that Ireland English and Scotland English are northern Celtic Englishes.

[94] However, note that the regional data from the BNC 1994 are not representative in terms of the corpus size (see Chapter 5).

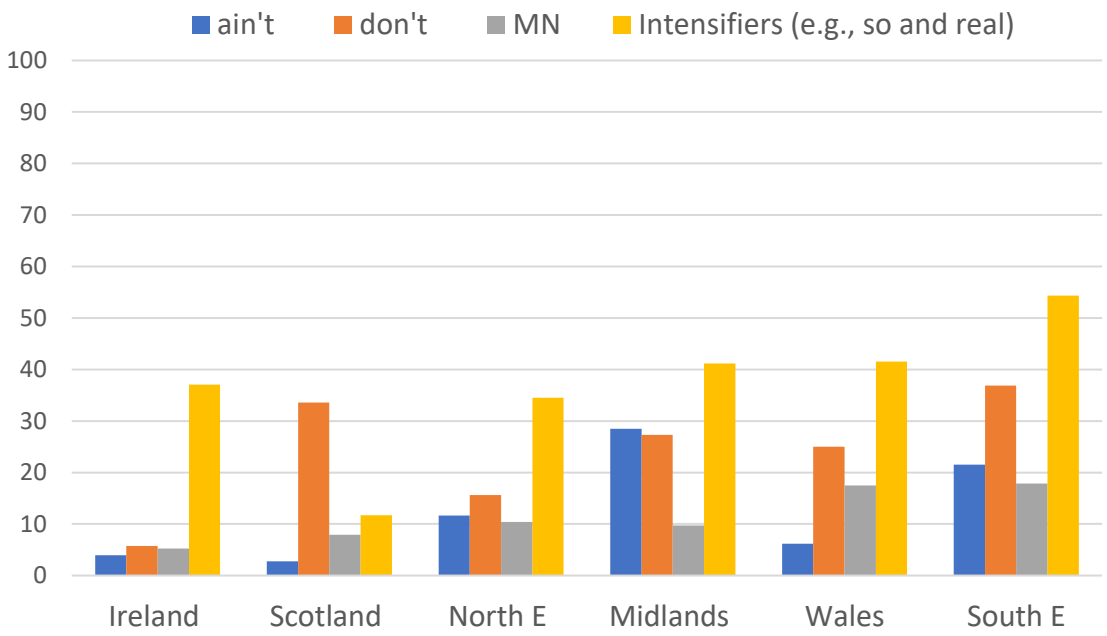


Figure 7.5 Frequency comparison of variables including *ain't*, third person *don't*, multiple negation, and intensifiers (e.g., *so*, *real*) in the BNC 1994 S-Conv, by region (%)

It is also possible that the tendency in the PMCE-UK represents different regional attitudes towards Americanization, rather than localization. Martell's (2008) explanation seems relevant to the discussion, while I am fully aware that his sociological analysis is not conducted to describe (linguistic) tendencies in British popular music (see Chapter 4). Martell (2008:463) claims:

> Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland show different attitudes to globalization from those of England. The smaller UK nations tend to be more friendly to Europe and less so to Atlanticism and Britain's global interventions. Anglo-American capitalism involves a culture of individualism, which is less strong in Scotland. Social attitudes data show such regional differences: for instance, Scots are more egalitarian and interventionist than people in the Midlands, London, and the South of England and more pro-European than the England, with the exception of Londoners.

Assuming that globalization is Americanization (see Chapter 2), this explanation predicts that singers from Ireland, Scotland, and Wales tend to show a lower degree of "Americanness," whereas singers from England show a higher degree. It would seem that Scotland leads this tendency. Comparison between this prediction and Figure 7.4 reveals that Martell's (2008) claim only partially corresponds to regional differences in the PMCE-UK. My data have shown that singers from Ireland, Scotland, and Wales show a lower rate of "Americanness" and that singers from the Midlands and South England show the highest rate of "Americanness." However, Martell's (2008) claim does not

correspond to the lower tendency of North England in the PMCE-UK. From Figure 7.4, what can be seen from the PMCE-UK would seem to be more in line with the north-south division, rather than the nation-based division as proposed in Martell (2008).

Therefore, it would seem from the data of the singer's regional distribution that localization operates on the grammatical variation in the PMCE-UK. However, this does not immediately mean that the effect of Americanization is absent, because the rate observed for each region is much higher than that in British English speech (compare Figure 7.4 and Figure 7.5). Also, notice that with no exceptions, singers from each region show a lower rate of "Americanness" in third person *don't* variable than in the other grammatical variables. This does not correspond to the pattern in British English speech, in which third person *don't* is placed in the second highest position in many regions (the exception is Midlands). Possible explanations would be that in addition to localization, factors other than localization are operating in the grammatical variation in British popular music (see below).

7.2.5 The songwriter's nationality and region

In addition to the singer's region, the effect of the songwriter's nationality and region was examined. As seen in §7.2.4, the consideration of this effect can show how much the variation in British English speech affects the linguistic pattern in British popular music. Also, given that not all songwriters in British popular music are British, the examination of the effect will also show how much the variation in British popular music is caused by American songwriters.

Table 7.10, which is visualized in Figure 7.6, shows the frequency of tokens and percentages of the selected variables, sorted by the songwriter's nationality and region. As noted in Chapter 5, eight categories were used for the national or regional classification: US Southeast, US non-Southeast, Ireland, Scotland, North England, Midlands, Wales, and South England.

The comparison of the total index score reveals that song lyrics written by songwriters from the American Southeast (89%) show the highest incidence of the grammatical variants, which is followed by song lyrics written by songwriters from the Midlands in the UK (82%). Song lyrics written by South England (78%) and the American non-Southeast (76%) also show a higher level of the realization. By contrast, song lyrics written by songwriters from Wales (72%), Scotland (71%), North England (66%), and Ireland (64%) show a lower degree, although the degree in all these regions is still higher, compared to those in British English speech (see Figure 7.5 above).

Table 7.10 Frequency comparison of variables including *ain't*, third person *don't*, multiple negation, and intensifiers (e.g., *so*, *real*) (%), by the songwriter's region

	US Southeast			US non-Southeast		
Variable	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")
ain't (in *be* and *have* context)	27	3	**90**	73	32	**70**
third person *don't*	8	1	**89**	23	14	**62**
multiple negation	20	2	**91**	46	24	**66**
intensifiers	17	3	**85**	115	11	**91**
Total	72	9	**89**	257	81	**76**
	Ireland			Scotland		
Variable	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")
ain't (in *be* and *have* context)	10	15	**40**	20	4	**83**
third person *don't*	12	15	**44**	5	12	**29**
multiple negation	9	9	**50**	14	8	**64**
intensifiers	46	5	**90**	56	14	**80**
Total	77	44	**64**	95	38	**71**
	North England			Midlands		
Variable	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")
ain't (in *be* and *have* context)	69	59	**54**	49	13	**79**
third person *don't*	35	50	**41**	12	10	**55**
multiple negation	73	68	**52**	36	7	**84**
intensifiers	234	31	**88**	80	8	**91**
Total	411	208	**66**	177	38	**82**

	Wales			South Engalnd		
Variable	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")
ain't (in *be* and *have* context)	9	6	**60**	254	75	**77**
third person *don't*	1	2	**33**	97	80	**55**
multiple negation	4	7	**36**	199	103	**66**
intensifiers	30	2	**94**	528	48	**92**
Total	44	17	**72**	1,078	306	**78**

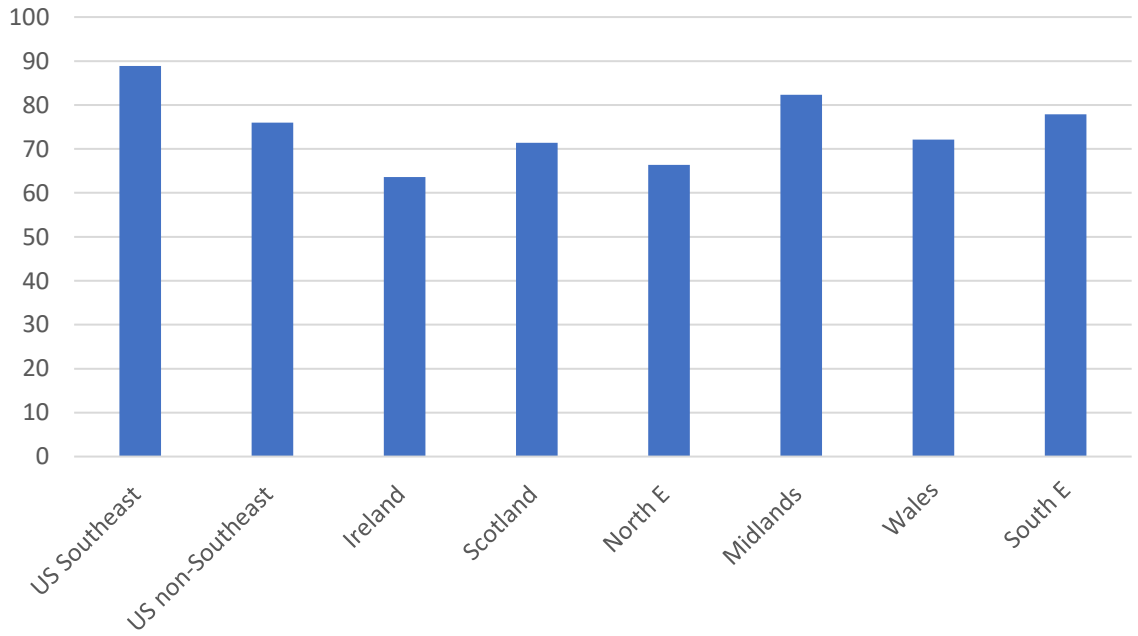


Figure 7.6 Frequency comparison of variables including *ain't*, third person *don't*, multiple negation, and intensifiers (e.g., *so*, *real*) in the PMCE-UK (%), by the songwriter's nationality and region

From Table 7.10 and Figure 7.6, it is immediately noticeable that songwriters from the US exhibit a higher frequency of the grammatical forms. As seen in Chapter 6, this seems to align with the tendency in spoken English. The grammatical forms like *ain't*, third person *don't*, multiple negation, and intensifiers such as *so* and *real* are all more frequent in American English than in British English.

Note also that songwriters from the American southeast show a higher frequency than songwriters from other states. As seen in Chapter 6, some researchers (e.g., Labov et al.

1968; Wolfram 1969; Labov 1972a) point out that within American English, there is ethnic variation for some grammatical variables, with African American English (AAE) showing a higher rate of the grammatical forms than non-AAE. Although the present data are not stratified in terms of ethnicity, note that many users of AAE live in southeastern states in the US.[95] Therefore, the evidence that the southeastern varieties show a higher degree of the realization than non-southeastern varieties in the PMCE-UK might reflect ethnic variation as found in spoken English in the US.[96]

The same can be said about the tendency about British songwriters. Figure 7.7 shows that songwriters from northern areas (Ireland, Scotland, and Northern England) tend to show a higher frequency than songwriters from southern areas (Midlands, Wales, and Southern England). The grammatical distribution sorted by the songwriter's British region corresponds very well to the speech patterns in British English. As seen above, the pattern described based on the BNC 1994 S-Conv shows that northern areas (Ireland, Scotland, North England) in the UK present a lower degree of the grammatical variation than southern areas (Midlands, Wales, and South England). Thus, the pattern of British songwriters in the PMCE-UK shows a similar direction.

As seen in the previous section, it is possible that the data from British songwriters would reflect different regional attitudes towards Americanization. However, the pattern does not fit very well with Martell's (2008) claim that smaller UK regions (nations) tend to have negative views on Americanization. In the PMCE-UK, North England shows a lower rate of the grammatical variation, although Martell's (2008) predicts a higher frequency.

The similarities between such national and regional tendencies in American and British English and the songwriter's variation in the PMCE-UK might indicate that the grammatical variation found in the PMCE-UK may not be explainable within communicative accommodation theory (i.e., the speaker's communicative strategy) (see Chapter 4). In other words, it might simply reflect the songwriter's unconscious linguistic features in their natural speech, rather than features as a result of purposeful stylization.

However, given that song lyrics are a nonspontaneous written medium (see Chapter 3) and that grammatical forms that are often associated with nationality and regionality are informal and in some cases (e.g., *ain't*, multiple negation) highly stigmatized (see Chapter 6), it would seem less likely that the use of such grammatical features is the songwriter's subconscious act. It is more likely that the use of the songwriter's

[95] See: https://www.kff.org/other/state-indicator/distribution-by-raceethnicity/?currentTimeframe=0&sortModel=%7B%22colId%22:%22Black%22,%22sort%22:%22desc%22%7D (Accessed on 30 June 2022).

[96] It is also important to note that songs written by US songwriters tend to be cover songs. In other words, they were originally written for (the speech of) American singers. Therefore, it may not be surprising to see a higher rate of "Americanness" in those songs.

grammatical variation would reflect a stylistic strategy. Although songwriters are usually less known than singers, this does not immediately reduce the cultural and economic significance of songwriters. A songwriter can become famous, especially when a songwriter is a singer-songwriter. Also, the names of a songwriter often appear in the songwriter's section in webpages like *Wikipedia*, meaning that they are culturally and economically important figures in popular music (see Chapter 3). Therefore, it is possible that like self-image of singers, the songwriter's self-image may also be considered as important in music performance and evaluated by audience by using the measure of cultural authenticity vs. personal authenticity. Therefore, it is possible that songwriters use their own self-image (as well as the singer's image) in their song lyrics to let the audience know the direction of authenticity. The fact that the grammatical variation of the songwriter shows a similar pattern to regional variation in British or American English speech means that in order to show an authentic self-image, the identity of national and regional identity and the social index of grammatical forms may be used for the purpose. This means that (the speech of) their social (or regional) group is a referee design (Bell 1984, 2001) of the songwriter's linguistic variation.

Note also that when songs were written by songwriters from British regions, the lowest degree of "Americanness" was observed for third person *don't* variable, unlike the pattern in British English speech. This means that even though regional identity plays a role in the grammatical variation, the pattern is not exactly the same as that in British English speech. This would mean that something other than localization happens with the grammatical variation in British popular music (see below).

7.2.6 Logistic regression analysis

Finally, I subjected the grammatical variability to a logistic regression analysis. As seen in the previous subsections, the descriptive analysis has revealed that there are at least five predictor variables (the type of grammatical variable, musical genres, the period of music charts, the singer's region, and the songwriter's nationality and region) that seem to contribute to the grammatical variation in British popular music.

A few methodological concerns need to be mentioned for the logistic regression analysis. First, for the execution of the analysis, I excluded cases of multiple negation from the total occurrences of *ain't* and third person *don't* and focused on hip hop, pop, rock, and electronic music. Second, the default (reference) categories seen in Table 7.11 are the ones that show the (second) lowest value of the selected linguistic items in the descriptive statistics for the new dataset. This means that I chose variables including third person *don't* for linguistic variables, electronic for musical genre, and Ireland for the singer's region. For the songwriter's region, I chose the second lowest category in the descriptive analysis (North England) as a default category because the comparison between the lowest category (Ireland) and other categories produced a number of insignificant cases ($p > .05$), making pattens less visible. For the same reason, I chose the second lowest category (the 1980s) as the default category for the period of music chart.

Table 7.11 Logistic regression analysis on the PMCE-UK (dependent variable: "American" English model, predictor variables: grammatical variable, musical genres, periods of music charts, the singer's region, and the songwriter's region)

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I.for EXP(B)	
							Lower	Upper
Grammatical variable			309.069	3	**0**			
Ain't	0.433	0.146	8.761	1	**0.003**	**1.542**	1.158	2.055
Multiple negation	0.612	0.143	18.319	1	**0**	**1.844**	1.394	2.441
Intensifiers	2.37	0.151	246.312	1	**0**	**10.693**	7.954	14.376
Musical genre			16.890	3	**0.001**			
Hip Hop	0.983	0.333	8.723	1	**0.003**	**2.671**	1.392	5.128
Rock	0.396	0.122	10.458	1	**0.001**	**1.486**	1.169	1.888
Pop	0.211	0.181	1.346	1	0.246	1.234	0.865	1.762
Period			21.012	5	**0.001**			
1950s	-0.396	0.437	0.819	1	0.365	0.673	0.286	1.586
1960s	-0.228	0.192	1.404	1	0.236	0.796	0.546	1.161
1970s	0.350	0.171	4.172	1	**0.041**	**1.419**	1.014	1.985
1990s	0.077	0.141	0.295	1	0.587	1.080	0.819	1.423
2000s	0.469	0.145	10.452	1	**0.001**	**1.599**	1.203	2.125
Singer's region			19.843	5	**0.001**			
Scotland	0.868	0.474	3.357	1	0.067	2.382	0.941	6.026
North England	1.086	0.398	7.445	1	**0.006**	**2.962**	1.358	6.461
Midlands	0.792	0.448	3.131	1	0.077	2.208	0.918	5.308
Wales	0.636	0.489	1.688	1	0.194	1.889	0.724	4.928
South England	1.370	0.387	12.549	1	**0.000**	**3.935**	1.844	8.396
Songwriter's region			32.242	7	**0.000**			
US Southeast	2.050	0.435	22.160	1	**0.000**	**7.766**	3.308	18.233
US non-Southeast	0.732	0.217	11.345	1	**0.001**	**2.080**	1.358	3.185
Ireland	0.839	0.433	3.746	1	0.053	2.314	0.989	5.411
Scotland	0.187	0.379	0.244	1	0.621	1.206	0.574	2.536
Midlands	1.096	0.351	9.725	1	**0.002**	**2.992**	1.503	5.959
Wales	0.474	0.444	1.139	1	0.286	1.607	0.672	3.840
South England	0.430	0.197	4.759	1	**0.029**	**1.537**	1.045	2.262
Constant	-2.014	0.446	20.371	1	0.000	0.133		

The overall model shown in Table 7.11 was statistically significant when compared to the null model (χ^2 (23) =476.087, p <.001), explained 24% of the linguistic variation in British popular music (Nagelkerke's R2), and correctly predicted 75.6% of cases.[97]

Overall, the logistic regression analysis confirms the effects of the predictor variables which were observed in the descriptive analysis: grammatical variables (*p* <.001), musical genres (*p* <.01), and periods of music charts (*p* <.01). The direction of preference for the "American" forms was similar to that in the above descriptive analysis. It has been found that the intensifiers such as *so* are more likely to show "American" variants, which is followed by multiple negation and *ain't*. The preference for the "American" forms in hip hop and rock was also confirmed in the data. For the period of music charts, the higher rate of the grammatical forms was observable for the 1970s and the 2000s.

In addition to the type of grammatical variable, musical genres, and the periods of the music charts, the singer's region (*p* <.01) is also significant. As seen above, the difference between singers from Ireland (default category) and singers from South England is significant (*p* < .01), but due to the low frequency of singers from other regions, the difference between southern regions and northern regions as observed in the descriptive analysis became somewhat unclear.

With the songwriter's region, an effect is seen on the linguistic variation in British popular music (*p* <.001). The statistical difference in the linguistic realization is found between North England (default) on the one hand and US Southeast, US non-Southeast, Midlands, and South England on the other (*p* <.05). Therefore, overall, the logistic regression analysis confirms the tendencies described in the descriptive statistics.

Finally, I would also like to make a brief comment on the validity of the methodology. It is important to note that if I conducted a logistic regression analysis on each grammatical variable with the remaining four variables (i.e., musical genres, the periods of music charts, the singer's regionality, the songwriter's nationality and region), I could not identify the effects of any factors, except for *ain't* (the period of music chart and the songwriter's nationality and regionality are effective) and *don't* (musical genres are effective). However, as seen above, if different linguistic variables were treated together, the effects of the factors became much more clearly visible.

[97] Regarding interaction between predictor variables, there are no interaction between the type of grammatical variable and musical genres (Wald=16.175, df=9, p >.05), between the type of grammatical variable and periods of music chart (Wald=17.169, df=15, p >.05), between the type of grammatical variable and the singer (Wald=17.635, df=15, p >.05), between the type of grammatical variable and the songwriter (Wald=14.214, df=21, p >.05), between musical genres and periods of music chart (Wald=9.213, df=10, p >.05), between musical genres and the singer (Wald=13.963, df=13, p >.05), between musical genres and the songwriter (Wald=21.066, df=18, p >.05), between periods of music chart and the singer (Wald=21.755, df=22, p >.05), between periods of music chart and the songwriter (Wald=26.170, df=28, p >.05), and between the singer and the songwriter (Wald=11.370, df=27, p >.05).

7.2.7 Interim summary

In the analysis above, I have described linguistic patterns in the PMCE-UK. There are important observations that can be made from the data.

(i) All four grammatical variables contribute to the realization of "American" English variants. Intensifiers (mostly *so*) are the most powerful variant among the four variables. The grammatical variable including third person *don't* is the least likely to contribute to Americanization, which is followed by the variables including multiple negation and *ain't*.

(ii) Linguistic items such as *ain't*, third person *don't*, multiple negation, and intensifiers including *so* tend to appear more frequently in hip hop, which is followed by rock. Pop and electronic show lower rates of the linguistic forms. However, compared to phonological tendencies, the differences are not very large.

(iii) The third important factor is the period of music chart. I have found that there are at least two frequency peaks of the grammatical variation, i.e., the 1970s and 2000s. In descriptive statistics, the 1950s also displays a higher frequency. However, the overall change is not very dynamic, compared to the phonological variation.

(iv) The fourth important factor is the singer's region. A similar tendency to speech patterns in British English is found in the PMCE-UK, suggesting that the grammatical pattern in British popular music would also index "(nonstandard) British."

(v) The songwriter's region is effective on the grammatical variation in the PMCE-UK. The realization pattern is similar to differences within and between American and British English. Given that some of the examined grammatical forms include informal and stigmatized forms, it would seem more likely that the use of these patterns reflects an accommodating strategy on the part of the songwriter.

(vi) It is also important to notice that there are some predictor variables that seem to contribute to the grammatical variability more strongly than others. Such effects can be seen in the frequency gap. The frequency gap within each predictor variable shows that the range of the grammatical variable and musical genres is larger than that of the period of music chart. For the grammatical variable and musical genres, the range is 39% (90% for hip hop and 51% for pop) and 16% (89% for hip hop and 73% for electronic), respectively. However, the range is even smaller (9%) for the period of music chart (80% for the 1950s and 71% for the 1990s), meaning that this variable does not strongly contribute to the grammatical variability. As seen in Chapter 4, if the same pattern is found in

referees, this may be evidence of language transfer (Meyerhof 2009:303).

In the previous subsections, I have not satisfactorily provided an explanation as to e.g., why some genres are more "Americanized" than other genres and why some decades are more "Americanized" than other decades. In the analysis below, I will provide a more detailed analysis on the PMCE-UK by considering possible referees.

7.3 Linguistic models for grammatical variation

Having observed linguistic tendencies in the PMCE-UK, this chapter now tests models for the grammatical variation in British popular music. Here, I will assess the validity of five possible referees as described in Chapter 4: (a) American popular music, (b) popularity of American acts, (c) speech of American consumers, (d) the size of the American music market, and (e) the singability of linguistic (grammatical) forms. As seen in Chapter 4, the validity of each model can be assessed by looking at similarities between grammatical variation in the PMCE-UK and the patterns predicted by each model.

7.3.1 American popular music

The first referee model that I considered is the language of American popular music. Since popular music originated in the US, it is possible that American popular music is considered as a referee model. Quantitative linguistic resemblance between British popular music and American popular music would support that the former imitates the latter (see Trudgill 1983) or that the former follows prototypes ("mainstream music") set by the latter (see Gibson and Bell 2012). More specifically, it is predicted that the tendencies regarding the type of grammatical variable, musical genres, and diachronicity will be similar to those in American popular music if the referee of British popular music is American popular music. As seen in Chapter 4, the variable rule underlying the language of American popular music will also be useful in the discussion on the evidence of Americanization, because the operation of the same variable rules can be used as evidence of language transfer. For the purpose of the present study, I first analyzed the variation of the same grammatical variables by using the PMCE-US. Table 7.12 and Figure 7.11 show the results.

Table 7.12 Frequency of variables including *ain't*, third person *don't*, multiple negation, and intensifiers (e.g., *so*, *real*) in the PMCE-US

	PMCE-US		
Variable	"American"	"Non-American'"	% ("American")
ain't (in *be* and *have* context)	1,744	273	**86**
third person *don't*	515	227	**69**
multiple negation	1,268	344	**79**
intensifiers	1,903	154	**93**
Total	5,430	998	**84**

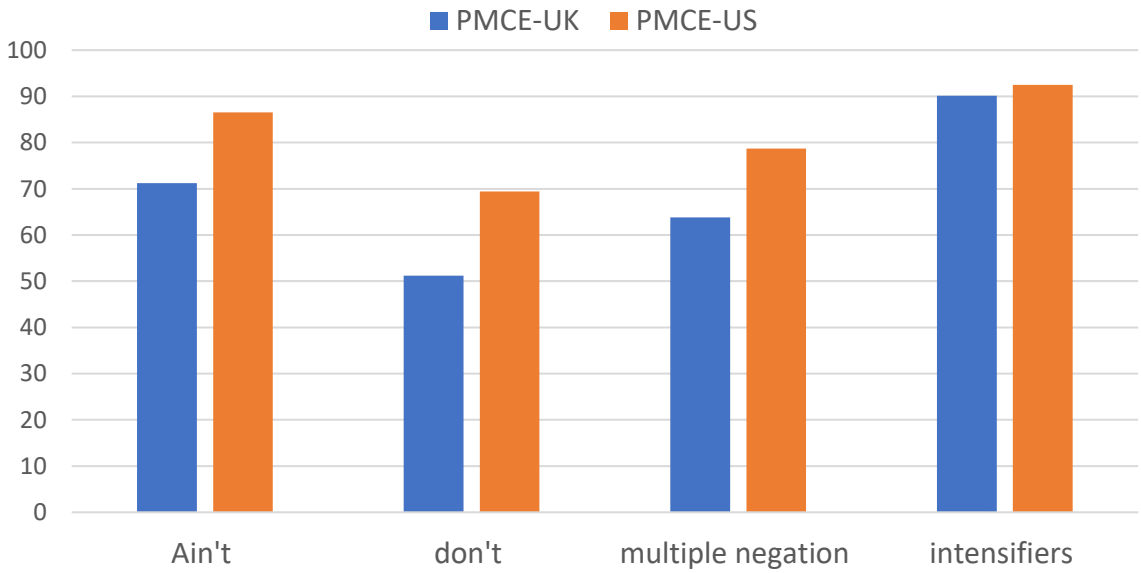


Figure 7.7 Frequency comparison of variables including *ain't*, third person *don't*, multiple negation, and intensifiers (e.g., *so*, *real*) between the PMCE-UK and the PMCE-US, by linguistic variable (%)

In the PMCE-US, the forms categorized as "American" appeared at 84% of the variable contexts. The comparison between American popular music and British popular music reveals that "Americanness" in the PMCE-US (84%) is slightly higher than that in the PMCE-UK (75%). This difference proved to be statistically significant ($\chi^2(1)=122.827$, p <.001). The tendency is applicable to all four grammatical variables. Perhaps, the fact that the level of "Americanness" in the PMCE-US is slightly higher than that in the PMCE-UK may be derived from the fact that the grammatical variation in British popular music is affected by the singer's region and the songwriter's nationality and region (see §7.2.4 and §7.2.5). As seen above, singers and songwriters from some regions (e.g., Ireland, North England) show a lower degree of the grammatical variation in the PMCE-UK. (It is also possible that other referees affect the grammatical variation, see §7.3.2).

However, note also that American popular music and British popular music have similarities. As seen in Figure 7.7, the frequency order in the four variables in the PMCE-UK is the same as that in the PMCE-US. In the PMCE-UK, the "American" variants occur at the highest frequency in the intensifier variable, which is followed by *ain't* variable, multiple negation variable, and third person *don't* variable. This is also similar in the PMCE-US, in which the degree of "Americanness" is the highest in the intensifier variable, which is followed by *ain't* variable, multiple negation variable, and third person *don't* variable. Compare:

PMCE-UK
Intensifier variable > *ain't* variable> multiple negation variable
> third person *don't* variable

PMCE-US
Intensifier variable > *ain't* variable> multiple negation variable
> third person *don't* variable

Recall that the frequency order in the PMCE-UK is not the same as that in the spoken part of the BNC 1994, in which intensifiers are most likely to be realized as "American," which is followed by variables including third person *don't*, *ain't,* and multiple negation, meaning that the possibility that the language of American popular music is a model for British popular music is higher than the possibility that the language of British English is a model for British popular music.

I move on to musical genres. Genre tendencies (pop, rock, electronic, and hip hop) in the PMCE-US and the PMCE-UK are summarized in Table 7.13 and Figure 7.8.[98]

[98] Appendix 4 shows the frequency of variables including *ain't*, third person *don't*, multiple negation, and intensifiers (e.g., *so*, *real*) in the PMCE-US (%), by musical genre.

Table 7.13 Frequency comparison of variables including *ain't*, third person *don't,* multiple negation, and intensifiers (e.g., *so*, *real*) (%) between the PMCE-UK and the PMCE-US, by musical genre

	PMCE-UK			PMCE-US				
Genre	"AE"	"non-AE'"	%	"AE"	"non-AE'"	%	Difference to the PMCE-UK	Chi-square test
Pop*	218	79	73	292	126	70	-4	$p > .05$
Rock	1,122	354	76	1,495	392	79	3	$p < .05$
Electronic	693	262	73	798	120	87	14	$p < .001$
Hip Hop	97	12	89	1,750	148	92	3	$p > .05$

*The difference between the PMCE-UK (73.4%) and the PMCE-US (69.9%) is -3.5%

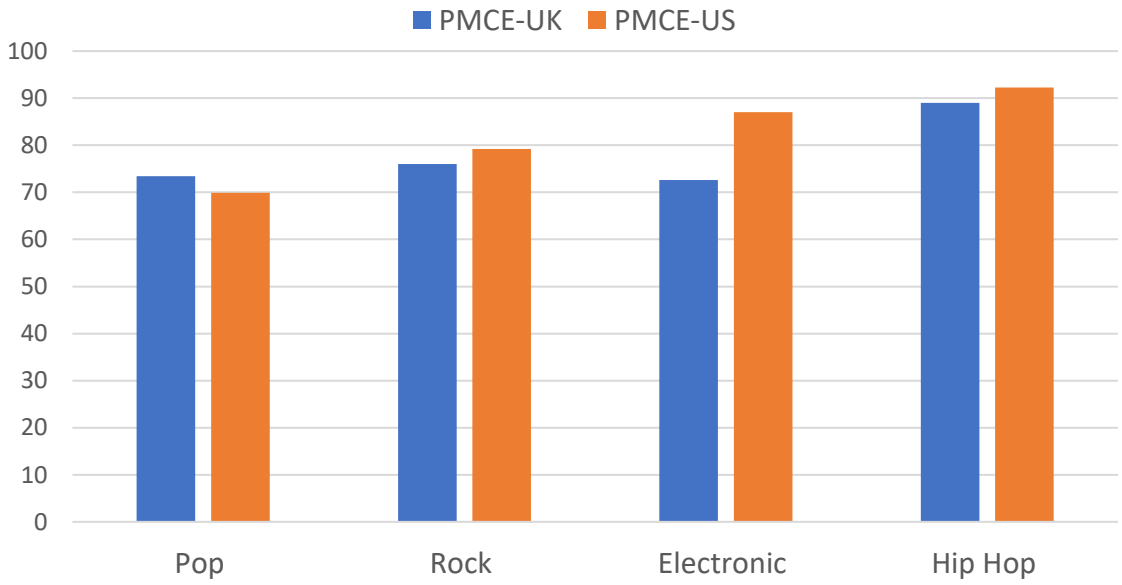


Figure 7.8 Frequency comparison of variables including *ain't*, third person *don't*, multiple negation, and intensifiers (e.g., *so*, *real*) between the PMCE-UK and PMCE-US (%), by musical genre

The comparison of the frequency order between the PMCE-UK and PMCE-US reveals that the frequency pattern in the latter is very similar to that in the former. In the PMCE-US, the most "Americanized" genre is hip hop (92%), which is followed by electronic (87%), rock (79%) and then, pop (70%). In §7.2.2, I have shown that "Americanness" in grammatical variation is high in the order of hip hop, rock, pop, and electronic music in

British popular music. While the order of electronic music is different between the two corpora (see below), the order of the other genres is very similar. Looking at the frequency gap between the PMCE-UK and the PMCE-US, the rate of frequency is also similar between the two corpora. With pop and hip hop, the frequency of the "American" English variants is almost the same between the PMCE-US and the PMCE-UK. In pop, the forms appear at 70% in the PMCE-US and at 73% in the PMCE-UK ($\chi^2(1)= 1.066$, $p >.05$). In hip hop, the forms occur at 92% in the PMCE-US and at 89% in the PMCE-UK ($\chi^2(1)= 1.599$, $p >.05$). In rock music, the grammatical realization is only slightly lower (3%) in the PMCE-UK (79%) than in the PMCE-US (76%) ($\chi^2(1)= 4.943$, $p <.05$).

As seen in Chapter 3, when a genre is imported in non-American popular music, it is often the case that the original style is often considered as more authentic than local styles. While the popularity of genres and social and ideological rules of each genre (genre norms) may lead to the emergence of local styles, the belief that the original styles are authentic persistently matters in music production. The fact that the frequency of some genres in the PMCE-UK is largely similar to that in the PMCE-US confirms that cultural authenticity is highly valued in British popular music. This explanation also provides useful insights on linguistic features with pop music, in which cultural authenticity is highly valued due to its genre norms (commercialism). Recall that in the §7.2.2, pop shows a low level of "Americanness" in the grammatical variation in the PMCE-UK and that I predicted that this is due to the low level of "Americanness" in American popular music.[99] As predicted, the frequency of the grammatical variants in American popular music is low. The small frequency gap between American popular music and British popular music indicates that, as expected, the level of imitation to American popular music is high.

While in most cases, the frequency distribution is very similar between American and British popular music, a somewhat different tendency is observed with electronic music. As seen earlier, electronic music is the least "Americanized" genre in the PMCE-UK, whereas it is the second most "Americanized" genre in the PMCE-US. This means that the gap between the PMCE-UK and the PMCE-US is large with this genre. In the PMCE-UK, the rate is 73%, while in the PMCE-US, the rate is 87%. The difference (14%) is statistically significant ($\chi^2(1)= 35.795$, $p <.001$). While the difference (14%) may not seem to be so large, given that the other genres show a much more similar distribution between American and British popular music, the tendency with electronic music is noteworthy.

[99] One possible reason why "Americanness" in American popular music is low in pop may be due to the fact that the use of grammatical forms such as *ain't* and multiple negation is associated with African American culture. Compared to the other three genres, the association of pop with African American culture is not much documented. Due to the weaker association with African American culture, the frequency of the forms associated with "African Americanness" may be low.

If similarities indicate imitation, then the fact that the rate of "Americanness" is lower in the PMCE-UK than in the PMCE-US would indicate that the motivation to follow cultural authenticity may be weak with electronic music. As seen in Chapter 2, electronic music developed mainly in the UK because the popularity of electronic music and social and ideological rules in electronic music led to the emergence of local styles. As a result, although the original form appeared in the US, the motivation to follow American styles may be weak. (The same explanation may apply to rock music, in which "Americanness" is slightly lower in the PMCE-UK than in the PMCE-US). I will come back to this point in §7.3.2 and discuss in detail whether the popularity of electronic music can affect the stylistic choice in British popular music.

Although the evidence from the type of grammatical variable and musical genres shows some similarities between American popular music and British popular music, in terms of diachronicity (1950s-2000s), the pattern in the PMCE-US is, however, not identical to that in the PMCE-UK. The diachronic comparison between the PMCE-US and the PMCE-UK is summarized in Table 7.14 and Figure 7.9.[100]

Table 7.14 Frequency comparison of variables including *ain't*, third person *don't*, multiple negation, and intensifiers (e.g., *so*, *real*) (%) between the PMCE-UK and the PMCE-US, by decade

	PMCE-UK			PMCE-US				
Decade	"AE"	"non-AE"	%	"AE"	"non-AE"	%	Difference to the PMCE-UK	Chi-square test
1950s	44	11	80	258	74	78	-2	$p > .05$
1960s	203	76	73	927	202	82	9	$p < .001$
1970s	369	105	78	751	173	81	3	$p > .05$
1980s	490	190	72	837	200	81	9	$p < .001$
1990s	505	204	71	1,111	177	86	15	$p < .001$
2000s	600	155	79	1,546	172	90	11	$p < .001$

[100] Appendix 5 shows the frequency of variables including *ain't*, third person *don't*, multiple negation, and intensifiers (e.g., *so*, *real*) in the PMCE-US (%)**,** by decade.

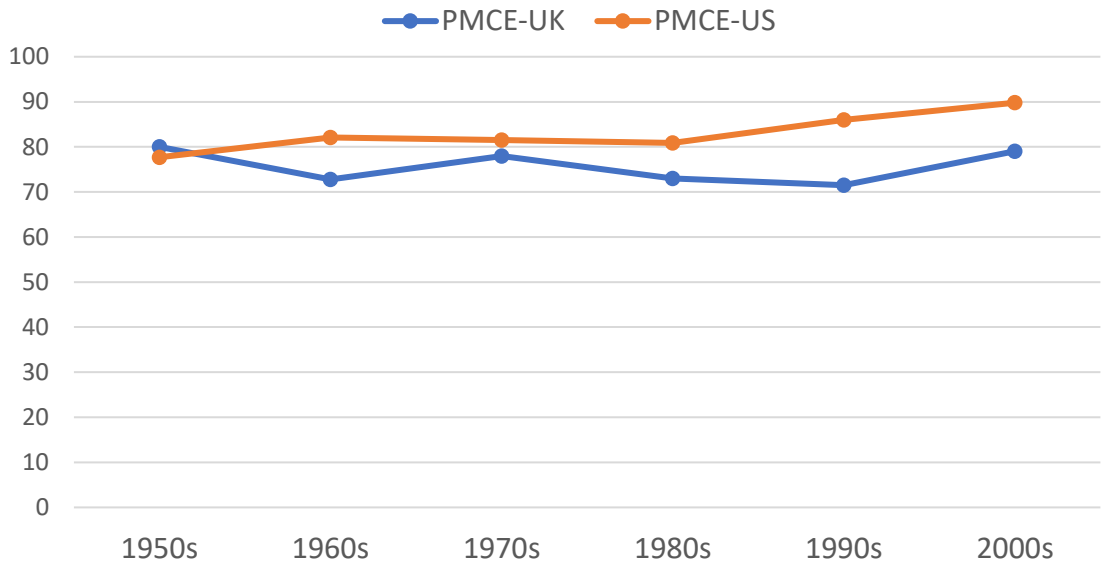


Figure 7.9 Frequency comparison variables including *ain't*, third person *don't*, multiple negation, and intensifiers (e.g., *so*, *real)* between the PMCE-UK and PMCE-US (%), by decade

In the PMCE-US, the forms that were categorized as "American" in Chapter 6 were relatively stable over time, although the last two decades saw a slight increase. The forms appeared at almost 80% in the 1950s, and the figure remained stable until the 1980s. Later, the use increased gradually to 86% in the 1990s and 90% in the 2000s. As stated above, in the PMCE-UK, such patterns were not observable. The rate of "Americanness" fluctuated over time, with three peaks of the frequency, i.e., the 1950s,[101] the 1970s, and the 2000s. The periods seem to correspond to the periods in which the rate of "Americanness" in the PMCE-UK became closer to that in the PMCE-US, although in the 2000s, the gap between the two corpora was still large at least at the statistical level (p <.001).[102]

There are two possible reasons why there is no corresponding pattern between the PMCE-US and the PMCE-UK. One possible reason is that the PMCE-UK has different genre components from the PMCE-US. As seen in Chapter 5, compared to British popular music, American popular music has more successful singers in hip hop. As seen above, "Americanness" is high in hip hop. Thus, a higher frequency from the 1980s in American popular music may reflect the emergence of the genre.

[101] In this period, "Americanness" is slightly higher in the PMCE-UK than in the PMCE-US, but this may be caused by the corpus size of the two corpora (see Chapter 5).

[102] The 1950s ($\chi^2(1)= 0.144$, $p >.05$), the 1960s ($\chi^2(1)= 12.338$, $p <.001$), the 1970s ($\chi^2(1)= 2.397$, $p >.05$), the 1980s ($\chi^2(1)= 14.780$, $p <.001$), the 1990s ($\chi^2(1)= 64.104$, $p <.001$), and the 2000s ($\chi^2(1)= 49.502$, $p <.001$).

The other possibility is that the motivations to follow American styles are subject to change. It is possible that in the periods when American popular music is less successful, there are less motivations to follow American styles. In the periods when "Americanness" is lower in the PMCE-UK than in the PMCE-US, the popularity of British singers may be higher, compared to other decades. I will come back to this point in §7.3.2.

Before moving on to the next referee design, I conducted a logistic regression analysis for the grammatical variability in the PMCE-US. Since for the PMCE-US I did not code the information regarding the singer and songwriter (see Chapter 5), only the type of grammatical variable, musical genres, and the period of music chart are subject to the analysis. The result is shown in Table 7.15. Note that cases of multiple negation were excluded from the total number of *ain't* and third person *don't* variable contexts. For the execution of the analysis, I chose the category which showed the lowest frequency of the "American" variants as default: third person *don't* variable, pop, and the 1950s. The overall model shown in Table 7.15 was statistically significant when compared to the null model (χ^2 (11) =446.725, p <.001), explained 16% of the linguistic variation in British popular music (Nagelkerke's R2), and correctly predicted 82.2% of cases.[103]

Table 7.15 Logistic regression analysis on the PMCE-UK (dependent variable: "American" English model, predictor variables: the type of grammatical variable, musical genres, and the period of music chart)

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I.for EXP(B)	
							Lower	Upper
Grammatical variable			218.609	3	**0**			
Ain't	0.611	0.124	24.378	1	**0**	**1.843**	1.446	2.348
Multiple negation	0.565	0.12	22.124	1	**0**	**1.759**	1.39	2.226
Intensifiers	1.959	0.138	200.269	1	**0**	**7.092**	5.407	9.302
Genre			109.399	3	**0**			
Electronic	0.966	0.173	31.168	1	**0**	**2.627**	1.872	3.688
Hip Hop	1.836	0.178	106.293	1	**0**	**6.271**	4.423	8.89
Rock	0.753	0.138	29.805	1	**0**	**2.124**	1.621	2.784
Period			7.079	5	0.215			
1960s	-0.353	0.198	3.183	1	0.074	0.703	0.477	1.035
1970s	-0.204	0.205	0.991	1	0.319	0.815	0.545	1.219
1980s	-0.233	0.198	1.376	1	0.241	0.792	0.537	1.169
1990s	-0.192	0.208	0.851	1	0.356	0.825	0.549	1.241
2000s	0.013	0.212	0.004	1	0.951	1.013	0.668	1.536
Constant	-0.189	0.198	0.906	1	0.341	0.828		

[103] There are some interactions between musical genres and the period of music chart (Wald=42.199, df=9, p <.001) and between musical genres and the type of grammatical variable (Wald=38.187, df=10, p <.001) and no interaction between the period of music chart and the type of grammatical variable (Wald= 23.339, df=15, p >.05). The interaction appears between hip hop and the 1990s, between rock and 1970s, between rock and 2000s, between hip hop and multiple negation, and between hip hop and intensifiers.

The logistic regression analysis confirms the results of the above descriptive analysis. It shows that differences between grammatical variables are statistically significant (p <.001). Third person *don't* variable shows the lowest frequency of "American" English variants, which is followed by *ain't* variable, multiple negation variable, and intensifier variable. The difference in musical genres is also statistically significant (p <.001). The level of "Americanness" is the lowest in pop, which is followed by rock, electronic, and hip hop. By contrast, the period of music chart is not selected as statistically significant (p >.05).

Although there are few similarities in terms of diachronic patterns, it is still highly possible that American popular music is a referee of British popular music. As seen in Chapter 4, not only the same factor groups and the direction of the effect from each factor, but also the ranking of the variable contribution may be evidence of language transfer (Meyerhoff 2009:303). In the PMCE-US, the range of frequency in the period of music chart is 12% (78% in the 1950s and 90% in the 2000%). By contrast, the range of frequency in musical genres and the type of grammatical variable is 22% (70% for pop and 92% for hip hop) and 24% (69% for third person *don't* and 93% for intensifier variable), respectively. Recall that a similar pattern is found in the PMCE-UK, i.e., 9% for the period of music chart, 16% for musical genres, and 39% for the type of grammatical variable. This means that in both American and British popular music, the contribution of the period of music chart is the weakest, which is followed by musical genres and the type of grammatical variable. Thus, although the same factor groups are not selected, American and British popular music are very similar in terms of the variable rule. The present case may be what Meyerhoff (2009) calls partial weak transfer.

7.3.2 Popularity of American acts

In Chapter 2, by drawing on sociological studies, I have shown that popularity of British acts can lead to the emergence of local styles. This means that popularity of American or British acts can be a (non-human) referee model for the stylistic choice in British popular music. Thus, in Chapter 4, I predicted the patterns of musical genres and diachronicity based on the number of US appearance in music charts, as is observable in Hon (2013) and North et al. (2020).

To evaluate the validity of the referee model, popularity of American acts was calculated by using music charts. As noted earlier, in North et al.'s (2020:855-87) data, the success rate in 23 music genres is presented by comparing the number of acts in American and British music charts by genre (see Figure 4.1 in Chapter 4). For the purpose of the present study, I focused on pop, rock, electronic, and hip hop, which were frequent in the PMCE-UK. In North et al's (2020:855-57) genre classification, the term *rap*/*hip-hop* is used for songs that were categorized into hip hop in the present study. With rock, the genre is further divided into *alternative/indie* and *rock*. Therefore, I combined the two subcategories into one "rock" category in order to match the genre classification for the

present analysis. Figure 7.10 shows the reclassification of the success model presented by North et al. (2020:855-87).

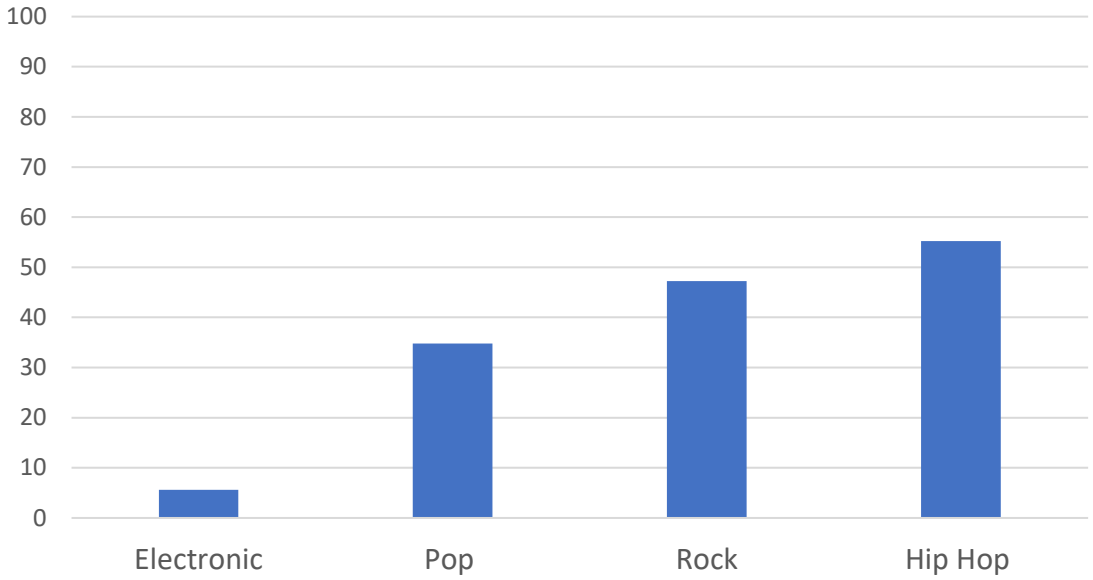


Figure 7.10 US representation in popular music in pop, rock, electronic, and hip hop (%), extracted from North et al. (2020:855-87)

In North et al.'s (2020:855-87) data, 6% of electronic music is occupied by American music charts (in other words, 94% by British music charts), meaning that this genre is very popular in the UK. Given that as seen in Chapter 2, popularity can lead to success and music developments, we can predict that this genre is most likely to have British styles. This is followed by pop (35%), in which the popularity is still higher in the UK. Rock, which combined *alternative/indie* and *rock* in the original data, shows a much higher US dominance (47%). The level of the US occupation is even higher in hip hop (55%).

That is, from North et al.'s (2020:855-87) data, we can predict that if popularity of American acts is a referee for British popular music, the level of "Americanness" is the highest in hip hop, followed by rock, pop, and electronic music. Since sociological studies (see Chapter 2) show similar explanations on hip hop, electronic, and rock, this prediction seems to be sensible. As seen in §7.2.2, the genre analysis of the PMCE-UK has shown that electronic music demonstrates the lowest degree of the grammatical variants associated with "Americanness," which is followed by pop, rock, and hip hop. That is, the same ranking order of "Americanness" is found between the PMCE-UK and popularity of American acts.

However, note that in Chapter 3, I have explained that in addition to popularity, there is one more condition for developing local styles in non-American popular music: genre norms related to personal authenticity. Without genre norms that value personal authenticity, it is less likely to develop local styles, even if there is cultural and economic

success. This means that we should be careful to look at the linguistic pattern found in pop. In Chapter 3, I have predicted that pop tends to follow American styles because it follows commercialism as its genre norms. Therefore, although the low rate of "Americanness" in the PMCE-UK seems to correspond to patterns predicted from popularity, this does not seem to be in line with sociological and musical explanations on pop. As seen in §7.3.1, grammatical variation in pop in UK popular music is very similar to that in American popular music. The similarities seem to be much more in line with the sociological explanations than the patterns predicted from popularity.

However, the fact that pop is not explained with the patterns from popularity does not immediately mean that the referee design does not work on the grammatical variation in British popular music. Although American popular music explained much grammatical variability found in genres in British popular music, recall that some patterns could not be explained with American popular music. The patterns of electronic music and, to some extent, rock are a case in point. In these genres, a frequency gap was found between American and British popular music. In the previous section, I argued that this may be because there is a lower level of motivations to follow American styles. I also argued that the influence of American popular music is weak because popularity of American acts is low in these genres. Comparison with the data in Figure 7.10 shows that this seems to be the case. More successful British acts appeared in electronic music than in rock and hip hop. This would mean that for genres that value personal authenticity, the factor of popularity works on grammatical variation.

I move on to diachronic patterns. In Hon's (2013:300-1) data (1960s-2000s), the diachronic tendency in popularity of American singers in British music charts is presented in the form of the number of British acts in British popular music. For the ease of exposition, I show Figure 4.2 (Figure 7.11 here) once again with the addition of the diachronic tendency in the PMCE-UK. Recall that in Hon's (2013:300-1) data, there are two important peaks, i.e., the 1970s (38%) and the 2000s (35%), in which American acts appeared very frequently in British charts. As noted earlier, other scholars (e.g., Inglis 2009:380; Gourvish and Tennent 2010:199) show that the proportion of American acts is also high (above 50%) in the 1950s. As noted in Chapter 4, if the referee is the singer's economic and cultural success, the grammatical patterns in British popular music would immediately or slowly follow the diachronic pattern. Given that the music market is highly competitive, it is more likely that the pattern follows closely that in Figure 7.11.[104]

[104] If I was able to sort the linguistic data on a year-by-year (rather than decade-by-decade) basis, I could make a more accurate discussion, but due to the size of the corpus, the data sorted year-by year would only give insufficient number of variable tokens.

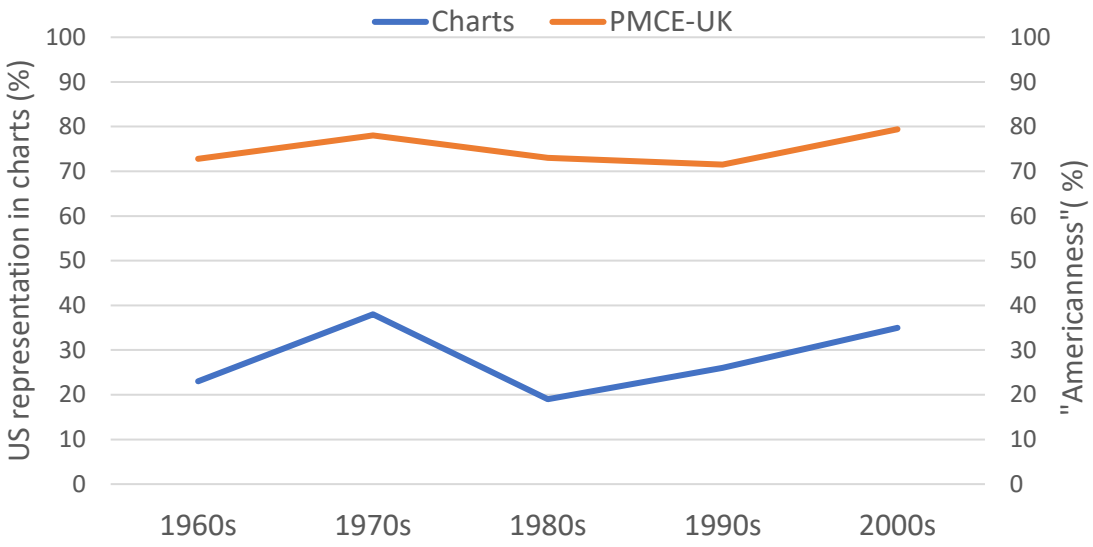


Figure 7.11 Diachronic comparison between the rate of non-British acts in UK music charts (Hon 2013:300-1) and the rate of the "American" English variants

The comparison between the data by Hon (2013) and the pattern in the PMCE-UK (see § 7.2.3) reveals that the diachronic pattern in British popular music is very similar to the pattern of the US representation in music market. Recall that in the 1970s and the 2000s, the selected grammatical variants showed a higher usage of the grammatical variants indexing "Americanness." Although in the logistic regression analysis the 1950s was not selected due to infrequency of the variable contexts, the period also showed a higher rate of the grammatical forms in the descriptive analysis. The pattern for the 1950s corresponds to that predicted by Inglis (2009:379-80) and Gourvish and Tennent (2010:199). Note also that these periods were when British popular music is approaching American popular music (see Figure 7.9).

However, one must also notice the important difference between popularity of American acts and the PMCE-UK. In the case of the former, the range of frequency change is large, compared to the diachronic pattern in the latter. This model predicts that there are more dynamic changes across musical genres and diachronicity. However, as seen earlier, the variation in the PMCE-UK is less dynamic. This may be because the grammatical variation in British popular music is affected by American popular music, in which the pattern is not very dynamic, either. It is also possible that the grammatical variation is affected by musical structure (e.g., syllabic structure) (see §7.3.5). This may mean that numerical sociological data such as Figure 7.10 and Figure 7.11 cannot be directly compared to linguistic data, in which other factors (e.g., musical factors) may influence the linguistic choice.

Although there are a few differences, given popularity of American acts and British popular music show many similarities in music genres and diachronicity, this referee model is a likely candidate for the referee design for British popular music. The prediction from popularity would seem to correspond to the variation in the PMCE-UK,

especially areas that could not be explainable with the linguistic model of American popular music (e.g., a lower degree of "Americanness" in electronic music, diachronic patterns in British popular music). Therefore, it is highly likely that these two models work together to affect the grammatical variation in British popular music, while some aspects such as the small range of change are not still explainable with these two models.

7.3.3 Speech of American consumers

The third referee group that I presented in Chapter 4 is the speech of American consumers, i.e., American English in conversation. It is hypothesized that the use of "American" English features in the language of British popular music is motivated by the songwriter's wish to accommodate to American people, who constitute a large audience in music markets. If this model works, it is expected that British popular music and the speech of American consumers show similar linguistic patterns and diachronic patterns. Since it is not possible to see genre variation in American English in natural conversation, the prediction regarding genre variation is not possible with this referee design.

The comparison reveals that American English speech is less likely to be a referee for British popular music. First, the frequency and the frequency ranking of grammatical variables were examined. Table 7.16 compares the frequency of the four grammatical variables between the PMCE-UK and American English speech.

Table 7.16 Frequency comparison of variables including *ain't*, third person *don't*, multiple negation, and intensifiers (e.g*., so*, *real*) (%) between the PMCE-UK and American English speech

Variable	PMCE-UK	AmE
ain't	71%	77%-83%
Third person *don't*	51%	86%-89%
multiple negation	64%	61%-81%
intensifiers (*so* , *real* , *really* , and *damn*)	90%	70%

The data of American English are summarized from various previous studies in which an American regional variety was observed (see Chapter 6). While the tendency as regards variables including *ain't* and multiple negation is not clear due to differences in individual studies, differences emerged regarding the third person *don't* variable and intensifier variable. In the case of third person *don't* variable, it would seem that the degree of "Americanness" is lower in the PMCE-UK than in American English speech. In the case of intensifier variable, the degree of "Americanness" is higher in the PMCE-UK than in American English speech. It would seem that the ranking of third person *don't* is also different between the PMCE-UK and the speech of American consumers, although the ranking of the other variables is not very clear with American speech due to

individual differences in previous studies. Third person *don't* variable shows the lowest value of "Americanness" in the PMCE-UK, whereas the variable shows the highest value in American English speech.

Second, diachronic patterns were observed by using previous studies. The referee design does not seem to work, either. I have seen that in the PMCE-UK, there are three important diachronic changes of the rate between the 1950s and the 2000s (i.e., the 1950s, the 1970s, and the 2000s), but this does not correspond to the patterns in American English speech. As seen in Chapter 6, the diachronic pattern as found in American English is largely stable during the period concerned (the 1950s-2000s) with all grammatical variables investigated.

Thus, the patterns predicted from the speech of American consumers (American English) and grammatical variation in British English are not very similar. Therefore, I conclude that the speech of American consumers is less likely to be a referee for the language of British popular music. However, I am fully aware that the conclusion based on previous studies that investigated a variety of American English (rather than American English more generally) should be problematized. Therefore, this is an area that needs to be improved once appropriate research materials become available.

7.3.4 Size of the American music market

The fourth referee group is the American music market, which is measurable in the share in the global music market. In this model, it is expected that there are no or few genre differences because the model assumes that regardless of music genres, popular music is produced for mass production. As we have seen above, there are important genre differences in the PMCE-UK, although the frequency range of the grammatical realization is small.

With diachronic patterns, the model predicts the pattern like Figure 7.12.[105] I also added the linguistic data from the PMCE-UK to Figure 7.12. It shows that the share of American market in world music consumption is higher in the 1960s (80%), after which, however, the rate decreases to 40% until the end of the 1980s. The 1990s shows an upturn, which continues until the 2000s (60%). In other words, the model predicts that there are two peaks in the 1960s and the 2000s. However, as seen above, the prediction does not support the tendency in the PMCE-UK, where the peaks exist at least in the 1970s and the 2000s.

[105] Using the data from Ferreira and Waldfogel (2013:362), I created Figure 7.12. In Ferreira and Waldfogel (2013:362) (see Chapter 4), the data of the market share for each year are presented, but for the comparability with linguistic data divided by decade, I recalculated the original data.

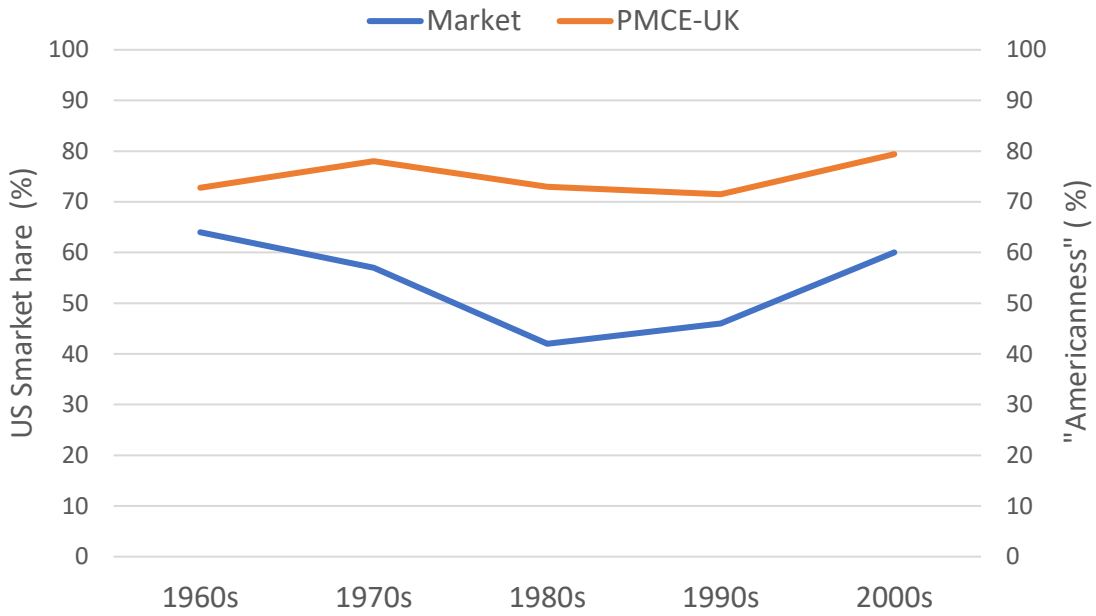


Figure 7.12 Proportion of the US in the world consumption of music between the 1960s and the 2000s and the rate of the "American" English variants

Since there are no similarities in terms of genre and diachronic variation, it would seem that American popular music and the popularity of American acts are better models than size of the American popular music. Therefore, I conclude that the size of the American popular music is less likely to be a referee for the language of British popular music.

7.3.5 Singability of linguistic (grammatical) forms

Finally, a possibility of musical effects on the grammatical variation in the PMCE-UK is considered. In Chapter 4, I have mentioned that linguistic forms that have one- or two-syllable words and/or phonologically and rhythmically sonorous qualities tend to be preferred in song lyrics due to production circumstances in popular music (see Chapter 3). If "American" English forms of the grammatical variables examined are characterized by such features, it is possible that the high frequency of "Americanness" is observed in British popular music.

For the evaluation of the referee model, phonological and syllabic features of the grammatical variants are considered. Like phonological variants in the "USA-5 model," grammatical variants selected as "American" in the speech and fiction analysis have sonorant features. According to Burquest's (2006:149) explanation, vowels are easier to pronounce than consonants. Within vowels, open vowels are easier to sing than closed vowels. Considering the grammatical variants established in Chapter 6, this feature applies to most of the grammatical variants associated with "Americanness." The intensifier *so* ([səʊ]), which, as noted earlier, is an overwhelmingly frequent intensifier

in the PMCE-UK, consists of one syllable, ending with lower vowels. Compare with two-syllabic *very* [ˈvɛri]). *Ain't* ([eɪnt]) is also phonologically more sonorous than its three alternants, i.e., *isn't* ([ˈɪznt]), *hasn't* ([ˈhaz(ə)nt]), and *haven't* ([ˈhav(ə)nt]), because it also ends with a vowel before *-n't* (see Burquest 2006:149), although there is an exception for *aren't* ([ɑːnt]), which also has a sonorous quality. For the same reason, *don't* ([dəʊnt]) is more sonorous than *doesn't* ([ˈdʌznt]). With variation between multiple negation and *any*-forms, *no* ([nəʊ])-forms have more sonorant features than *any* ([ˈɛni])-forms, with the exception of the variation between *never* ([ˈnɛvə]) and *ever* ([ˈɛvə]), in which both end with a vowel. In terms of syllabic features, it would seem that most of the variants have one- or two-syllable words, but some "American" forms (e.g., *so, no*) are clearly shorter than their "non-American" alternants (e.g., *very, any*). As seen in §7.2, the degree of "Americanness" in British popular music is high, compared to that of British English speech. This may be caused by such musically structural and acoustic factors.

In Chapter 4, I have shown that some genres prefer short words (or words with a small number of syllables) than others by means of AWL. Based on this, I have hypothesized that some genres tend to show a high usage of "American" (i.e., short) variants than others. The prediction model established in Chapter 4 (see Figure 7.13) has showed that in hip hop (3.77) the value of AWL is the lowest, followed by electronic (3.83), rock (3.84), and then pop (3.85) (the differences in AWL between pop, rock, and electronic music were not statistically significant, see Chapter 4). Thus, if this model works, hip hop will show the highest level of "Americanness," than pop, rock, and electronic and there will be no differences between pop, rock, and electronic.

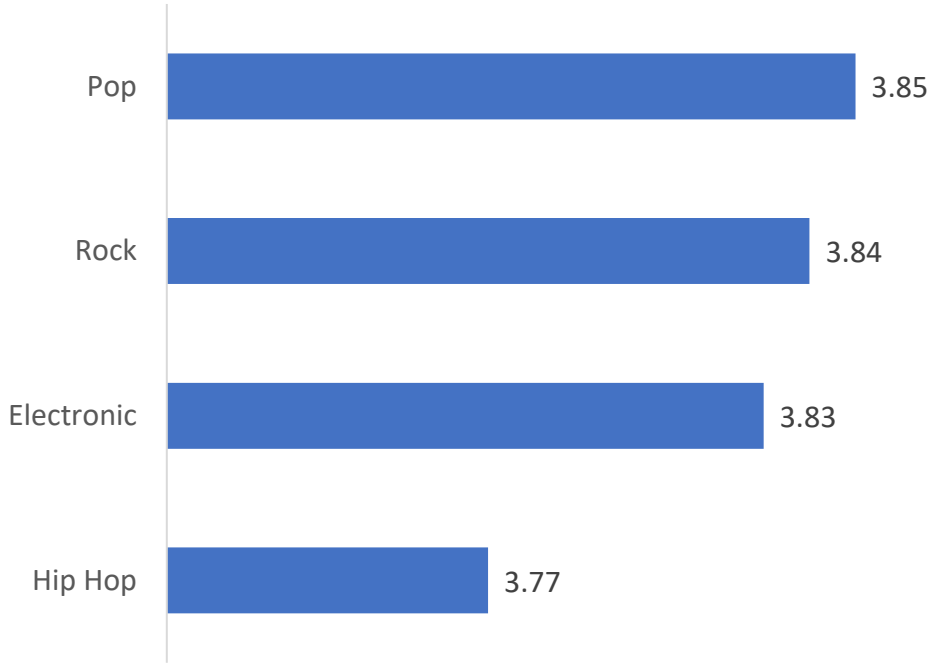


Figure 7.13 Average word length of pop, rock, electronic, and hip hop

In the descriptive analysis shown above, hip hop shows the highest degree of "Americanness" (89%), followed by rock (76%), pop (73%), and electronic (73%). Thus, the frequency order does not clearly correspond to the pattern of AWL in Figure 7.13 but recall that in the PMCE-UK the differences between rock, pop, and electronic are not very large. Therefore, it is highly possible that this referee design works on the grammatical variation in British popular music. Also notice that none of the other linguistic models (American popular music, popularity of American acts) can explain the similarities between pop, rock, and electronic music.

As regards the diachronic tendency, I have hypothesized that some periods tend to show a high usage of "American" (i.e., short) variants than others because songs in some periods prefer shorter words than others. I have predicted that there is a higher frequency of the "US" grammatical forms in the 1960s and the 2000s, as seen in Figure 4.6 (replicated in Figure 7.14 below).

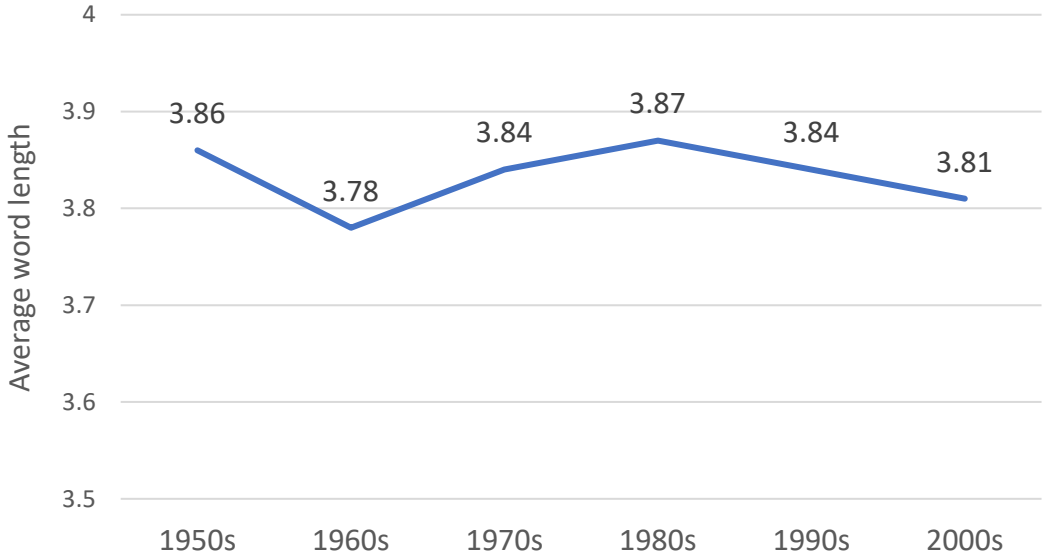


Figure 7.14 Average word length in the PMCE-UK, by decade

As stated in the descriptive analysis, the frequency peaks of the "US" forms in the PMCE-UK were found in the 1950s (80%), the 1970s (78%), and the 2000s (79%). This pattern, however, does not correspond to the diachronic pattern in Figure 7.14, where the peaks are expected to be found in the 1960s (3.78) and the 2000s (3.81).

Therefore, the effect of the referee model does not seem to be powerful compared to American popular music and popularity of American acts. However, although I could not see a diachronic pattern as predicted in this model, the fact that similarities are found in terms of the genre variation may mean that the linguistic model is still effective, even though the effect may be small.

As stated in Chapter 3, the effect of musical factors such as sonority and syllables is less controllable on the part of music producer (lyricist) because it is motivated for musically structural reasons. However, it does not immediately mean that the pattern that corresponds to the prediction of the model has no relation to identity construction. It is still possible that the grammatical variants associated with "Americanness" are chosen because they not only have sonorant features but also have an "US" index, meaning that the forms are used to meet both situational and identity demands. As stated in Chapter 4, such a referee design is called responsive referee design (see Gibson and Bell 2012).

However, I also must admit that similarities between the grammatical variation and the prediction of the referee design do not strongly support indexicality of the grammatical variables and evidence of Americanization in British popular music. As stated previously, the same grammatical variants are used to make songs associated with British regions. Therefore, in relation to identity of place, the model is not very helpful in considering the effect of Americanization in British popular music.

7.3.6 Summary

Table 7.17 summarizes the results of the comparison between the PMCE-UK and the five referee designs tested above. By comparing the tendencies regarding grammatical patterns, musical genres, and the period of music chart in the PMCE-UK with the predictions of each referee design, this thesis has found the validity of three referee models: American popular music, popularity of American acts, and singability of linguistic (grammatical) forms.

Table 7.17 Comparison between the prediction of the referee models and the tendency observed in the PMCE-UK

Referee design	Genre	Diachronicity	Additional evidence
1. American popular music (APM)	✓		The same frequency order
2. Popularity of American acts	✓	✓	
3. Speech of American consumers	No prediction		
4. Size of American music market			
5. Singability of linguistic (grammatical) forms	✓		The frequency range

Recall that the three referee designs are also suggested as effective in the phonological analysis (Trudgill 1983; Simpson 1999; Morrissey 2008) (see Chapter 2). Therefore, it would seem that the same referees are responsible for the variation in grammatical and phonological variables, although the degree of "Americanness" is higher in the grammatical variation.

Importantly, the similarities between British popular music and American referees (American popular music and popularity of American acts) would mean that the grammatical indexicality proposed in the speech and fiction analysis (see Chapter 6) is supported. The fact that the grammatical variation analyzed by the model corresponds to the prediction patterns of the US referee models means that the grammatical forms such as *ain't* and multiple negation have an "American" index. However, as seen in the previous sections (§7.2.4 and §7.2.5), given that grammatical variation is also affected by the singer and the songwriter's British regions, the same grammatical model may also function as an indicator of "(regional) Britishness."

The results also provide valuable insights on the discussion on Americanization. As seen in Chapter 4, since Americanization and colloquialization often work together, a question arises as to whether the observed features in the PMCE-UK are cases of Americanization. If Americanization works, it is predicated that the variable rule found in the PMCE-UK is similar to that in US referees. The analysis on the variable rule in the PMCE-UK shows that the type of grammatical variable, musical genres, and diachronicity are effective on the grammatical variation. In the PMCE-US, only the effects of the type of grammatical variable and musical genres were found, but it is still highly possible that American popular music is a referee model for British popular music because the pattern of each predictor variable and the strength of each predictor variable on the grammatical variability are almost the same. These tendencies seem to support evidence of language transfer (Meyerhoff 2009:303).

In terms of diachronic patterns, British popular music does not show similarity to American popular music, but instead it shows similarity with another US referee: popularity of American acts. During the 1950s-2000s, there are three periods (the 1950s, the 1970s, and the 2000s) when popularity of American acts is high. In the PMCE-UK, it is in the three periods that the degree of "Americanness" is high. Therefore, it would seem that the referee model also works on the variability of British popular music. In other words, the similarity indicates the possibility that songwriters of British popular music refer to popularity of American popular music for their stylistic choice. This may mean that there is a cause-effect relation between the two, indicating that the patterns in the PMCE-UK are a result of convergence to American culture (i.e., Americanization).

Thus, from the quantitative evidence on the variable rule and diachronic patterns, it would seem that Americanization takes place in UK popular music. However, given that the grammatical forms are not perceptually salient (see Chapter 6), people are less likely to notice that the grammatical forms work as cases of Americanization.

7.4 Discussion

In order to understand how audience of popular music may perceive the grammatical forms investigated, this section will conduct a small-scale qualitative analysis of the linguistic forms. According to Jansen (2022), it is possible that producers and audience have different associations of the same linguistic forms. In her explanations, the relation between production and perception is diagramed in Figure 7.15.

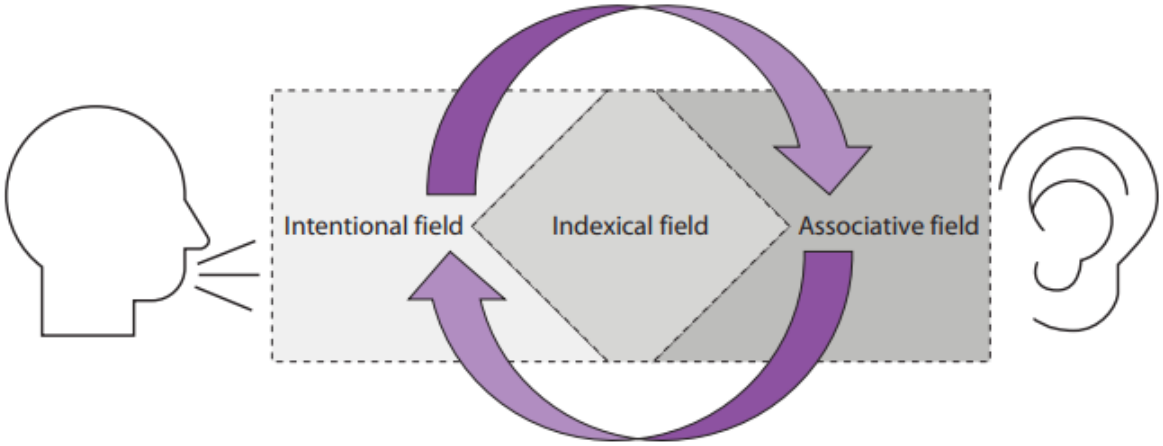


Figure 7.15 Intentional, associative, and indexical field (extracted from Jansen 2022:64).

In Figure 7.15, Jansen (2022:64) highlights the value of audience in terms of roles in creation of social meanings, by separating it from that of producers. Like Eckert (2008), who has proposed flexibility of social meanings by means of introducing the term *indexical field* (see Chapter 4), Jansen (2022) has also acknowledged that social meanings are recontextualized according to contexts involved. However, she also notes that the way that people attached meanings to linguistic forms may be different between those who produce speech (or writing) and those who listen to speech. For example, it is highly unlikely that linguistic forms that are perceived as "uneducated" by listeners are also used by speakers in order to make the speech sound "uneducated" (Jansen 2022:66).

In order to theorize differences between production and perception, Jansen (2022) has decomposed Eckert's (2008) original framework and highlighted the different indexical process between production and perception. In the new version of the model, she uses the term "intentional field" to refer to "the speaker's stylistic choices to achieve a desired effect" (Jansen 2022:64) and "associative filed" to refer to "the associations and values of hearers" (Jansen 2022:64). The original term "indexical field" is used to refer to the aggregation of intentional field and associative field.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the aim of the present research was to argue evidence of Americanization by considering how the language is produced, i.e., the "intentional field" of the songwriter. However, given that the grammatical features are not indexically

salient, for the rest of the chapter, it would also seem worthwhile to consider the audience's perception and how the forms are perceived by them. Also, the distinction between production and perception is an important consideration because it is highly likely that the process of attaching meanings to linguistic features is different between songwriters and listeners. Given that songwriters may have technology like hit song science and that songwriting is often conducted in collaboration with multiple songwriters (see Chapter 3), the producers may have more detailed knowledge about linguistic forms than listeners.

In some cases, it is possible that the intentional field and the associative field in British popular music are the same, i.e., the same linguistic forms can be perceived in the same way between producers and audience (consumers). For example, the "USA-5 model" that has been used in phonological analyses (e.g., Trudgill 1983) is a case in point. Previous phonological studies (see Trudgill 1983; Gibson 2023) have revealed that the phonological variants in non-American popular music show a pattern similar to those to American popular music or the patterns of popularity of American acts. Based on Bell's (1984, 2001) referee design, the fact would mean that the forms are used to make songs American by music producers (singers). According to the perceptional analysis as conducted in Jansen (2022), these forms are also perceived as American by consumers at least in the UK. Some participants in Jansen's (2022) survey frequently mentioned these phonological variants when they perceived American styles in the recording stimuli.

However, in other cases, intentional field and associative field of linguistic forms are not necessarily congruent. In the phonological analysis on New Zealand popular music in Gibson (2019), phonological variants like LOT vowels show similar patterns to those in American popular music. Based on Bell's (1984, 2001) referee design, this would mean that the forms are used to make songs American by music producers. However, Gibson (2019) also states that these forms lack salience, i.e., they are not immediately perceived as American among people in New Zealand.

The grammatical forms used for the present study are also examples where intentional field and associative field of linguistic forms may not be the same. As seen above, the grammatical forms such as *ain't*, third person *don't,* multiple negation, and the intensifiers such as *so* and *real* are more frequent in American English, and linguistic variation calculated by the combination index of the grammatical variables patterns similarly with referee models associated with "Americanness," such as American popular music and popularity of American acts, meaning that they are used to make styles American by music producers. However, on the perception side, the social index of these forms may be more complicated. As seen in Chapter 6, with a few exceptions (e.g., *real, damn*), the results from the perception study on the grammatical forms showed that the chance of the forms being perceived as American or British is almost equal (in the case of *ain't*, third person *don't*, multiple negation) or even showed the opposite patterns to the production results (in the case of *so* and *really*). Since the

grammatical forms associated with "American" still frequently appear in British English (see Chapter 6) and have a weaker indexicality compared to the "USA-5 model," it is less likely that audience of popular music notice the intention of the producer unless the listener has sophisticated linguistic skills.

Therefore, as seen in different treatments of social indexes of *ain't* and multiple negation in the analysis of Simpson (1999:347) and Flanagan (2019:90), in the case of grammatical variables, the linguistic perceptions in popular music are highly influenced by surrounding linguistic or other semiotic contexts. In some cases, it would seem more likely that the grammatical forms are perceived as American, given that the grammatical forms are surrounded by more salient American English variants. For example, See (42) from Frankie Vaughan's *Seventeen*.[106]

(42) Seventeen, seventeen
Cool and solid seventeen
Young enough to dance and sing
Old enough to get that swing

Past sixteen, just been kissed
Graduated and got that twist
Kind of love I can't resist
At seventeen

Now, sloppy shirt, old blue jeans
Dirty shoes, by all means
Patch of blonde, p'roxide hair
Jukebox baby *ain't no square*

Seventeen, she's the queen
Cutest gal you've ever seen
Tell the world I'm *really* keen
On my hep-cat doll of seventeen
(Frankie Vaughan, Seventeen).

Two grammatical forms used in the quantitative analysis (multiple negation and intensifier *really*) appear in the extract. While it is possible to find these forms in British English as well as in American English, surrounding phonological contexts may hint at American styles, leading the listeners to associate the grammatical forms as American. For instance, the vowels in *dance*, *last,*[107]*can't,* and *cat* (in *hep-cat*) are close to American English [æ]. As seen in Chapter 2, this is an American English variant, as opposed to [ɑː] in British English. Rhoticity in *dirty* and *ever* may also lead to an "American" reading,

[106] See: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jV16c9-vCRg (Accessed on 06 February 2023).
[107] In fact, the pronunciations of *dance* and *last* do not clearly sound [æ], but something between [æ] and [ɑː]. These may be the so-called "mid-Atlantic" (Laing 1985:56) accents.

although in this variable, British English accents are often used in the same extract (e.g., *shirt*, *hair*, *square*, *gal*, *world*). In addition, *my* in *my hep-cut doll* is pronounced as [ma·] in American English, as opposed to [maɪ] in British English. In Trudgill's (1983) analysis, variation involving *love* was used for analysis as well as the "USA-5 model." In this song, *love* is pronounced with a vowel [ə·], which is more frequent in American English, but in British English, [ʌ] and [ʊ] are more common (Trudgill 1983:142). In addition to these phonological features, some lexical items (e.g., *blue jeans, hep-cat doll*[108]*)* may evoke "Americanness." [109]

A more recent case is from Elton John's *I Want Love*, in which the intensifier *so*, multiple negation, and third person *don't* are used.[110]

(43) I want love, but it's impossible
A man like me, *so* irresponsible
A man like me is dead in places
Other men feel liberated

And I can't love, shot full of holes
Don't feel nothing, I just feel cold
Don't feel nothing, just old scars
Toughening up around my heart

But I want love, just a different kind
I want love, won't break me down
Won't brick me up, won't fence me in
I want a love that *don't* mean a thing
That's the love I want, I want love

I want love on my own terms[111]
After everything I've ever learned
Me, I carry too much baggage
Oh man, I've seen so much traffic
(Elton John, I Want Love)

In addition to these grammatical forms, the extract has phonological variables that are included in the "USA-5 model." For example, *can't* in the second verse is American

[108] See an entry of *OED*: "slang (originally U.S.). Now somewhat dated, and chiefly humorous. A person, typically a man, who is hep (*hep* adj.); an enthusiast of or expert in jazz, swing music, etc.; (more generally) a person considered cool, sophisticated, or stylish." (*OED* s.v. *hepcat*).
[109] It is important to note that whether people can notice a social index of linguistic forms depends on the listener's background knowledge. Given that the song was released in the 1950s, the association of lexical items such as *blue jeans* and *hep-cat dolls* may not be perceivable to younger audience due to lack of cultural knowledge about these terms.
[110] See: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ufbexgPyeJQ 8 (Accessed on 06 February 2023).
[111] The pronunciations *terms* and *heart* are exceptional in that they do not sound rhotic.

[kænt], an opposite variant of [kɑːnt] in British English. In the same verse, rhoticity appears in *scars* as American [skɑrz] as opposed to British [skɑːz].[112] The way that *my* in *my heart* and *my own terms* sounds [maˑ]. In addition to these three variables, the pronunciation of *love* may be a hint of American style. In the south of England, which is Elton John's hometown, it is more likely to be pronounced as [ʌ], but in the US, it is pronounced as [əˑ] (Trudgill 1983:142). In this song, the latter variant is frequently used throughout the song and thus may increase "Americanness" of the song. In addition to this, the use of American *learned* as opposed to British *learnt* may add "Americanness" to this song. Surrounded by these phonological and morphological variants, the listener may attach social meanings associated with "American" to the grammatical forms.

Another example is (44) from Mark Morrison's *Crazy.*[113]

(44) All of these girls trippin' on me (trippin')
See here now I'm goin' crazy ever since
I went Number One (like a bomb)
My whole world pandemonium

Everybody crazy turnin' on me
Can't dis a brother for going silly
Everybody crazy trippin' on me
Ain't nothin' wrong standing strong

Walking my 'hood day and night (day and night)
People saying Mark *ain't* right no (you're crazy)
Doing wrong souped on my song (step off)
Ain't nothing changed leave me alone

Everybody crazy frontin' on me (step off)
Why dis a brother (jungle) for keeping street
Everybody crazy (you're crazy) trippin' on me (you're crazy)
Tell me what's wrong movin' on
(Mark Morrison, Crazy)

As seen in the example (44), multiple negation (*Ain't nothing wrong standing strong* and *Ain't nothing changed leave me alone*) and *ain't* appear occasionally. In addition to these grammatical forms, there are phonological variables that are included in the "USA-5 model." The first variable is a variable involving *girls* and *world.* The pronunciations are rhotic, *girls* [gərl] and *world* [wərld], meaning that these are American English variants, as opposed to [gəːl] and [wəːld] in British English (but *here* [hɪə] and *ever* [ˈɛvə] sound British). Like (43), *can't* [kænt] and *my* [maˑ] are pronounced as American English forms. In addition, lexical features such as *hood* and *street* as well as visual information from

[112] However, rhoticity is absent in *heart* and *ever.*
[113] See: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YXwaNGWLVX0 (Accessed on 06 February 2023).

the official musical video (e.g., luxury) may hint at "Americanism," because they may evoke the association between hip hop and "Americanism." (The song was released in the 1990s when hip hop was still widely considered as an American product in the UK, see Chapter 2).

In other cases, however, it is more likely that the same grammatical forms are perceived as British, rather than American, due to the occurrence of more salient linguistic or other signs that can widely be taken as British. While the use of local English features is reported in much earlier songs (the 1960s) in previous studies (see Trudgill 1983; Simpson 1999; Morrissey 2008), such cases are commonly found in songs after 1980 in the PMCE-UK. See, for instance, (45) from Sham 69's *Hersham Boys.*[114]

(45) Robin Hood, Robin Hood here we go again

Living each day outside the law
Trying not to do what we did before
Country slang with the Bow Bell voice
So close to the city we *ain't* got much choice

Council estates or tower blocks
Wherever you live you get the knocks
But the people round here they are *so* nice
"Stop being naughty, take our advice!"

Hersham boys, Hersham boys
Laced up boots and corduroys
Hersham boys, Hersham boys
They call us the Cockney cowboys

It's down to the hop for the local girls
They're not beauty queens but they're our pearls
So when you go to bed tonight
Don't worry about us, we're alright
(Sham 69, Hersham Boys)

In this extract, the intensifier *so* and *ain't* are used with British English pronunciations. The most noticeable phonological feature in this song is the pronunciation of *here* [ɪə] which is characterized by the absence of rhoticity and *h*-dropping. In addition to this, the absence of rhoticity is also found with *before* [bɨˈfɔː]*, girls* [gəːlz], and *pearls* [pəːlz], although *tower* [ˈtaʊər] sounds rhotic in the recording. The pronunciations of *stop* are also clear indicators of "Briticism," as they are [stɒp] as opposed to [stɑp] in American English. The vowel of *hop* [ɒp], which is characterized by *h*-dropping, is also British. The phonological variables as well as British cultural references (*Robin Hood*, *Bow Bell*,

[114] See: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bzHFXzum95w (Accessed on 06 February 2023).

council estates, *Cockney*, *Hersham boys*) may direct people to "British" readings of the grammatical variants.

A more recent example is Enemy's *Away from Here*, in which the intensifier *so* and *ain't* appear as follows.[115]

(46) I'm *so* sick, sick, sick and tired
Of working just to be retired
I don't want to get that far
I don't want your company car
Promotions *ain't* my thing
Name badges are not interesting

It's much easier for me, see
To stay at home with Richard and Judy

A way, a way oh, oh-oh, away from here
A way, a way oh, oh-oh, away from here
A way, a way oh, oh-oh, away from here
A way, a way oh, oh-oh, away from here
(Enemy, Away from Here)

These grammatical forms are surrounded by phonological forms associated with British English accents. For example, the pronunciations of the postvocalic *r* in *tired* ['tʌɪəd], *retired* [rɨˈtʌɪəd], *working* [wəːkin'], *far* [fɑː], *car* [kɑː], and *here* [hɪə] are realized as the absence of rhoticity. *My* in *my thing* is [maɪ], a British English variant. Surrounded by these clear British English cues, it is more likely that the grammatical forms are perceived as British. In addition to these linguistic features, the promotion video highlights British cultural products (e.g., British currency (pound), train tickets of UK railways), and this also increases the chance of these forms being perceived as British.

The last example is Inspiral Carpets' *This is How It Feels*.[116]

(47) Husband *don't* know what he's done
Kids don't know what's wrong with Mum
She can'*t* say, they can't see
Putting it down to another bad day
Daddy *don't* know what he's done
Kids don't know what's wrong with Mum

So this is how it feels to be lonely
This is how it feels to be small

[115] See: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7ZCVds_Q3WE (Accessed on 06 February 2023)
[116] See: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J-fX0UbpZls (Accessed on 06 February 2023).

This is how it feels
When your word means nothing at all

Black car drives through the town
Some guy from the top estate
Left a note for a local girl
And yet he had it all on a plate
(Inspiral Carpets, This is How It Feels)

In this extract, third person *don't* is used twice (*Husband don't know what he's done*, *Daddy don't know what he's done*). These are surrounded by *can't* [kɑːnt], *word* [wəːd], car [kɑː], *top* [tɒp] and *girl* [gəːl]. All of these are British variants, according to Trudgill's (1983) classification. In addition to this, the pronunciation of *all* is also British, as it is pronounced as [ɔːl], rather than [ɔl] or [ɑl] in American English. The music video does not specify a location, although some landscapes may hint at a British port city.

Thus, the indexical process of linguistic production and perception of the grammatical forms investigated may be different. However, this does not mean that there is a total absence of interaction between the two processes. In fact, the speaker's intentions and the hearer's associations complement and affect each other in cyclical processes (Jansen 2022:66), and especially, it is highly possible that the listener's associative field is purposely used during music production. In fact, it does not seem likely that songwriters make their popular music songs American in order to achieve cultural authenticity without considering how the stylization would be taken by audience. Jansen's (2022) research on perceptions on popular music reveals that like people on the production, audience also have knowledge about authenticity and that based on the knowledge, they tend to evaluate songs which they hear. Since such evaluation may affect popularity or sales of songs, songwriters may tend to follow different authenticity (cultural or personal authenticity) depending on genres by using different linguistic features. Therefore, it is not very surprising that intentional field and associative field show a similar pattern, as in the cases of phonological variables included in the "USA-5 model."

Even when the listener does not have the same indexical knowledge as the songwriter, it is still possible to see the possibility that the songwriter uses the listener's associative field to stylize their popular music acts. As seen in the quantitative analysis on musical genres and the period of music chart, the frequency of change within musical genres and the period of music chart is not very dynamic in the grammatical variables than that reported in previous phonological studies (e.g., Trudgill 1983; Carlsson 2001; O'Hanlon 2006) and that because of that, overall, the rate of "Americanness" is higher than that of the phonological variables. Although factors such as musical constraints (see Chapter 8) may be responsible for the high level of "Americanness," it is still possible to consider that such tendencies are a result of the producer's strategic act for stylization.

One possible reason why "Americanness" is extremely high in the grammatical variable may be that the songwriters know the listener's associative field of the grammatical variables and use the knowledge to stylize their acts. As seen in Chapter 6, the grammatical forms such *ain't*, third person *don't,* multiple negation, and intensifiers *so* and *real* appear both in American and British English and have potentials to index both American and British nationality. Therefore, as seen above, listeners are generally not able to identify the embedded social index with a single form. Thus, even if the frequency rate and genre tendencies of the grammatical forms clearly show American patterns, listeners do not easily notice them.

Importantly, this also means that the grammatical variation is less likely to cause the discussion on cultural authenticity vs. personal authenticity (see Chapter 3). Since music evaluation often involves comparison with successful acts in the past, cultural authenticity is important consideration for all genres of popular music, but adherence to cultural authenticity is also considered as fake, since it is considered as imitation. Therefore, music producers often need to find a way to take balance between cultural authenticity and personal authenticity. In the case of salient phonological variables, the use of American forms often receives criticism or at least often leads people to question why singers in non-American popular music sing in an American way. Therefore, salient phonological variables are not useful for cultural authenticity but more useful for personal authenticity. However, in the case of grammatical variables, they are less likely to be immediately perceived as American even if the producers use them for the purpose of Americanization. Such indexicality may be useful for the producer for the purpose of cultural authenticity and it is highly possible that in order to make their acts culturally authentic, they use grammatical variation more frequently for American styles than phonological variables. In other words, grammatical variation is indexically "risk free."

Although the present study has mainly discussed production in British popular music, the consideration on the listener's perception thus enabled us to think why some variables tend to be used in a certain direction more frequently than others. In this section, the discussion on this aspect was very brief, but the audience's perception is surely an interesting and valuable area for future research.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter has analyzed the variation of the selected grammatical variables in the PMCE-UK and compared the prediction patterns with five linguistic models (referees) that I presented in Chapter 4. There are important observations that can be made from the data:

(i) The patterns in the PMCE-UK are similar to those in the PMCE-US, suggesting that American popular music may be a referee of British popular music. The

tendency regarding the frequency order of the selected linguistic variables and musical genres is similar between the PMCE-US and the PMCE-UK, although the frequency of the former is slightly higher than that of the latter. The lower tendency in the PMCE-UK may be caused by other referees (popularity of American acts) or the fact that the variants used for analysis are also used to code the singer's and the songwriter's region (see (iv)). However, when a diachronic perspective is considered, the pattern is not necessarily identical.

(ii) I have also found similarities between British popular music and the tendency regarding the number of American representations in music charts. Genre and diachronic patterns which could not be explained by the referee model of American popular music seem to be explainable with this model. Therefore, popularity of American acts may also be a referee for the grammatical variation in the PMCE-UK (cf. Trudgill 1983).

(iii) American consumers and the size of the American music market in global market are less likely to be referees for the grammatical pattern in the PMCE-UK.

(iv) However, it is also important to note that a referee for British popular music can also be British, given that the singer's and the songwriter's British region affects the grammatical variation.

(v) A musical effect on the grammatical variation cannot be ruled out, as the "American" English variants examined are phonetically sonorant and characterized by a small number of syllables. The high degree of "Americanness" in British popular music may be caused by this factor. The high degree of "Americanness" in hip hop may also be explained by this factor because hip hop prefers short words (words with a small number of syllables). In the PMCE-UK, the degree of "Americanness" in pop, rock, and electronic music is almost the same. This is also explained by this musical factor because the length of words that these genres prefer is almost the same.

(vi) It is also vital to recognize that compared to phonological variation, grammatical variation is less dynamic (see Carlsson 2001; O'Hanlon 2006) and that overall the rate of "Americanness" is higher. This may be related to musical factors (e.g., syllabic structure), but it is equally possible that this reflects the songwriter's styltistic strategy to follow a cultural authentic model.

(vii) The fact that the patterns found in British popular music are similar to the prediction patterns of referees associated with American culture (American popular music, popularity of American acts) means that Americanization works on the language of popular music, because such similarities are not predictable if other social phenomena like colloquialization work alone.

Chapter Eight

Discussion and conclusion

8.1 Overview

In this chapter, the results of Chapter 7 are contextualized and discussed in the light of previous studies and theories reviewed in Chapters 2-4. In the course of this, the research questions posed in Chapter 2 will be revisited and answered. The questions are reproduced below:

RQ1: Is there any quantitative evidence of Americanization at a lexico-grammatical level?

1a: Do music genres affect the degree of "Americanness"?

1b: Is the degree of "Americanness" different between the 1950s and the 2000s?

1c: Who or what are possible US model(s) for the language of British popular music?

RQ2: Do the observed lexico-grammatical patterns display a different or similar picture from patterns at other linguistic (e.g., phonological) or behavioral (e.g., musical, visual, lyrical) levels?

This chapter answers each question in turn. After the overview, I will summarize and discuss the results in Chapter 7 to address the above research questions (§ 8.2). In this section, I will start the discussion of grammatical variables, which is followed by the discussion on similarities and differences with phonological and other semiotic variables. In §8.3, I review previous approaches to Americanization in British popular music and, based on the results in Chapter 7, propose new directions of the research. In §8.4, a few interesting areas for future research will be briefly mentioned. In §8.5, I will summarize points in this chapter.

8.2 Reflecting on the results

This section examines the findings of this thesis and answers in turn each of the above research questions. I first consider the results by looking at grammatical variation only (§8.2.1). Then, by drawing on previous studies as summarized in Chapter 2, I expand the scope to variation other than grammatical variation (§8.2.2).

8.2.1 Grammatical variables

The first research question (RQ1) was motivated by findings of previous phonological studies on non-American popular music (e.g., Trudgill 1983; Simpson 1999). Those studies showed that British singers tend to sing in American English accents instead of their own British English accents. Those previous studies also found that singers use a set of phonological variables including variants that are more frequent in American English than in British English (see Trudgill 1983:141-43). The present study also aimed at finding out whether there is evidence of Americanization at a linguistic level but approached the question differently by looking at other linguistic variables, that is, grammatical variables. The approach was chosen because most previous studies (Trudgill 1983; Simpson 1999; Carlsson 2001; Morrissey 2008; Beal 2009b; Schulze 2014; Konert-Panek 2016, 2017a, 2017b, 2018) examined phonological variables whose variants tend to have salient indexicality in terms of identity of place. With the exception of Flanagan (2019), linguists have paid little attention to grammatical variables, probably because grammatical variables generally do not have clear indexicality. My interests were whether even less salient variables can contribute to Americanization and, if so, how they are realized and function in British popular music.

In order to investigate patterns of grammatical variables, I first chose four spoken grammatical variables from British popular music via keyword analysis: *ain't* variable, third person *don't* variable, multiple negation variable, and intensifier variable. They were chosen because they are spoken variables. Spoken variables are usually a main locus where a social identity is expressed (see Chapter 3). Then, based on exemplar theory (see Drager and Kirtley 2016), I determined "Americanness" of each variant of the selected variables by comparing American and British English corpora. The analysis of British popular music was conducted in a similar way to Trudgill's (1983) phonological analysis, i.e., variable analysis. By calculating tokens of both "American" and "non-American" forms of the selected variables and the rate of "American" forms, I observed the degree of "Americanness" in British popular music. The analysis showed that the degree of "Americanness" was much higher than that in spoken British English. Although at this stage, there were other possibilities to explain the tendency (e.g., colloquialization), the result seemed to be in line with a definition of Americanization (see Chapter 2): Americanization is a phenomenon in which items that are perceptually or quantitatively associated with US frequently occur in non-American contexts. Therefore, from the data, it seemed that Americanization happens at a grammatical level.

Previous studies from linguistics and other studies such as sociology and musicology (see Chapter 2) revealed that styles in non-American popular music are conditioned by several external factors. One of the factors proposed in those studies is musical genres. In Australian and New Zealand popular music (see O'Hanlon 2006; Gibson 2019, 2023), this factor was effective on linguistic variation. In sociology, stylistic differences in musical genres were often highlighted. Since there was no linguistic attempt to look at

the genre factor in the context of British popular music, the research question (RQ1a) asked whether the grammatical degree of "Americanness" is affected by musical genres. In order to investigate the effects of the factor, I categorized the tokens of the selected grammatical variables according to musical genres classified in *Discogs.* The analysis focused on four genres that appeared frequently in music charts, i.e., hip hop, electronic, pop, and rock.

Both descriptive and logistic regression analysis revealed that the grammatical patterns were affected by musical genres. Hip hop showed the highest level of "Americanness," which is followed by rock, pop, and electronic music. However, the quantitative differences between the four genres were smaller, compared to the phonological differences reported in O'Hanlon (2006), meaning that with grammatical variables, the degree of "Americanness" is generally high and that it may be hard to identify genres with grammatical features, if not impossible. The differences were particularly small between rock, pop, and electronic music.

The other factor discussed in previous studies is the period of music chart (see Trudgill 1983; Simpson 1999; Morrissey 2008). Previous studies found that there are some periods when "Americanness" is particularly low, and that the periods correspond to periods when cultural and economic success of British acts are seen. Inspired by those previous studies, this study also addressed whether the degree of "Americanness" is affected by the period of the appearance on music charts (RQ1b). Each song was coded, according to the period of the appearance of British music charts. Six decades (i.e., the 1950s-2000s) were considered in the present study.

Both descriptive and logistic analyses of the grammatical variables in this thesis also revealed that the patterns in British popular music were conditioned by the period of music chart. In logistic regression analysis, the 1970s and the 2000s were selected as periods when the degree of "Americanness" is high. In the descriptive analysis, the 1950s also showed a high degree of "Americanness." However, again, the difference between periods was much smaller, compared to that in phonological variables (see Trudgill 1983; Carlsson 2001), meaning that there was no dynamic change. The high degree of "Americanness" was maintained throughout the six periods. Also, compared to the frequency range found in musical genres, the frequency range of this factor was smaller. This means that the factor does not strongly condition the grammatical variability.

The same research question also asked who or what are possible linguistic models for the language of British popular music (RQ1c). This question was inspired by the discussion in previous phonological studies (see Trudgill 1983; Simpson 1999; Morrissey 2008). In previous studies, it would seem that researchers agree that the variation in British popular music is motivated by referee design (Bell 1984, 2001), meaning that the linguistic variation in British popular music reflects (linguistic) patterns of referees (models). A number of explanations for who or what are possible referees for British

popular music were considered in previous studies (e.g., American singers, intended audience), but it would seem that none of them evaluated each explanation empirically. For example, although previous studies claimed that it is American popular music that provides a referee design for British popular music (see Trudgill 1983), none of them discussed similarities with American popular music with the exception of Gibson (2019, 2023) (but note that he investigated New Zealand popular music).

Like those previous studies, this thesis also addressed why American styles appeared in British popular music based on referee design theory. While the original referee design theory claims that speech of social groups (humans) is a reference point, I extended the notion of referees to non-human models because some previous studies (see Trudgill 1983) showed that patterns like popularity of American acts can be a reference point for linguistic stylistic choice. In the present study, I first set up prediction patterns of five possible linguistic referees that differed in terms of the predictions of linguistic patterns (if applicable), musical genres, and diachronicity (i.e., American popular music, popularity of American acts, speech of American consumers, the size of the American music market, singability of linguistic (grammatical) forms) and looked at similarities and differences in patterns between each referee and British popular music. Based on the similarity level, I decided which model(s) were responsible for the variation of British popular music. Although, as seen in Chapter 7, none of the prediction models showed perfect similarities, the comparison revealed that three models seemed to be effective for grammatical variation in British popular music.

The first effective referee design was American popular music. This model predicted that British popular music would follow linguistic patterns of American popular music in terms of the frequency order of grammatical variables, musical genres, and diachronicity. Although the diachronic pattern in British popular music was not identical to the prediction pattern, this model seemed to be effective because it explained the other variable patterns.

The frequency order of the grammatical variables was identical between American popular music and British popular music. In British popular music, the highest degree of "Americanness" was found in the intensifier variable, which is followed by variables including *ain't*, multiple negation, and third person *don't*. The same pattern was found in American popular music. Note that the pattern was not found in spoken British English. In the BNC 1994, the highest frequency was found in the intensifier variable, followed by third person *don't* variable, *ain't* variable, and multiple negation variable. This would mean that the pattern in British popular music does not reflect a speech pattern in spoken British English, but a pattern in American popular music.

American and British popular music were also similar in terms of genre patterns. In American popular music, the degree of "Americanness" was the highest in hip hop, which is followed by electronic, rock, and pop music. Recall that in British popular music, the frequency was the highest in hip hop, followed by rock, pop, and electronic music.

With the exception of electronic music, the order was the same between American and British popular music.

As seen in Chapter 3, there are some possible concerns that songwriters in non-American popular music may have when they create music imported from America. Cultural authenticity issues (Barker and Taylor 2007:v) are one of the important considerations for them. Since American music is the origin of many genres in popular music, many people tend to consider American styles as more authentic and more successful and thus evaluate songs by non-American singers based on similarities with American popular music. Therefore, songwriters in non-American popular music may imitate styles in American popular music. The fact that American popular music and British popular music showed similar patterns would mean that songwriters in British popular music are indeed very sensitive to cultural authenticity issues.

However, as stated earlier, it is also important to recognize that not all genres showed the same degree of "Americanness" between American and British popular music. Comparison of the frequency rate revealed that the degree of "Americanness" was almost the same in hip hop and pop, whereas the degree was slightly different in rock and electronic music. In electronic and rock music, the degree of "Americanness" was slightly lower in British popular music than in American popular music.

Reflecting on the results by using sociological and linguistic explanations in previous studies, it would seem that the genre patterns in the grammatical variation in British popular music reflect cultural and economic developments and norms of each genre. As seen in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, sociological and linguistic studies showed that there are at least two conditions by which genres can develop local styles. One is popularity, or cultural and economic success of local styles. The other is genre norms that value personal authenticity (local orientation). According to sociological studies, in the UK, among the four genres investigated, only electronic and rock music meet the conditions. Both genres succeeded in gaining a global success since the early stage of the genres. Both genres also have genre norms related to personal authenticity (see Chapter 3). By contrast, sociological studies revealed that hip hop and pop only meet one of the conditions. Hip hop has genre norms related to personal authenticity (i.e., "keepin' it real"), but there is lack of success of local acts. In the case of pop, while some British singers gained success, this genre does not have genre norms related to personal authenticity. The phonological and sociological explanations on the four musical genres seem to be in line with the grammatical patterns in British popular music, meaning that the development and genre norms may affect the grammatical variation in British popular music.

While American popular music explained many aspects of the grammatical variability in British popular music, it is important to recognize that the model did not fully explain the diachronic variation in British popular music, as there were few corresponding patterns between them. As seen in Chapter 7, in British popular music, a lower degree

of “Americanness” was found in the 1960s, the 1980s, and the 1990s and a higher level of “Americanness” in the 1950s, the 1970s, and the 2000s. By contrast, American popular music showed a relatively stable pattern between the 1950s-2000s. During the 1950s, the 1970s, and the 2000s, British popular music made its closest approach to American popular music by increasing the frequency of “American” English variants in British popular music. During the 1950s and the 1970s, the level of “Americanness” between American and British popular music was almost the same.

The fact that some aspects could not satisfactorily be explained would mean that there is a possibility that other referees work on the grammatical variation in British popular music. The next referee design that seemed effective on the grammatical variation was popularity of American acts. As seen earlier, previous studies on genres that have genre norms related to personal authenticity (i.e., hip hop, rock, electronic music) often revealed that whether there are similarities or differences between American and British popular music in such genres depends on whether they met a cultural and economic success of local acts. This means that non-linguistic referees such as popularity of American/local acts can also affect styles in British popular music. The tendency regarding popularity of American (or British) acts was observed by looking at the number of the appearance of US acts in music charts.

The comparison between popularity of American acts and the grammatical variation in British popular music (hip hop, rock, and electronic music) revealed that the pattern in the former was similar to that in the latter. In this model, as explained from sociological studies, electronic music was expected to show the lowest degree of “Americanness” because it has the highest level of success of local acts, which is followed by rock and hip hop. As mentioned earlier, the imitation level to American popular music (i.e., the frequency gap between the PMCE-UK and the PMCE-US) was the same as this order. That is, genres that received less success in the UK showed a higher imitation level to American styles (hip hop), while genres that gained more success showed a lower level (rock, electronic).

Diachronic patterns of popularity of American acts also explained diachronic patterns in British popular music. The data of popularity (see Hon 2013) show that there are three peaks in which the number of American acts is high in UK popular music during the 1950s-2000s: the 1950s, the 1970s, and the 2000s. This means that it was expected that in these periods, there would be a high motivation on the part of British popular music to follow American styles. As seen in the descriptive and logistic regression analysis, this pattern was similar to that in the PMCE-UK. The periods when the gap between American and British popular music was closer corresponded to the periods when the cultural and economic success of American acts was higher.

Note, however, the patterns in British popular music were not always identical to the economic and cultural tendencies. The two periods, the 1990s and the 2000s, are a case in point. Because the music charts showed an increase of popularity in American acts in

the 1990s and the 2000s, it was expected that British popular music was approaching American popular music in these periods, but the PMCE-UK showed that the reaction to the success in these periods was slow, compared to the earlier decades. The level of "Americanness" was stable in the 1990s, and even in the 2000s, when the level of "Americanness" increased again, the figure could not reach that present in American popular music.

One possible explanation for the failure to get to the level of American popular music is that the emergence of hip hop songs in British music charts was late. Although as stated in Chapter 2, hip hop entered the UK as early as in the 1980s, most British hip hop acts were conducted in underground scenes, as a result, failing to appear on music charts. In the PMCE-UK, it is not until the 2000s that there are many grammatical variables in hip hop songs in British charts (9 in the 1980s, 28 in the 1990s, and 72 in the 2000s), although even in the 2000s, there are less than 100 variable tokens only. Compare the number of variable tokens in the PMCE-US: 31 in the 1980s, 674 in the 1990s, and 1,193 in the 2000s. As seen above, since hip hop showed the highest degree of "Americanness," the small number of tokens from the genre may affect the degree of "Americanness" in British popular music. Therefore, the unexpected patterns in grammatical variables in the 1990s and the 2000s may reflect the difference of genre demographics between American and British popular music.

Another possibility is related to the reference models in the 1990s and the 2000s. In Chapter 2, drawing on some sociological studies, I introduced the peculiarity of British (rock) acts in the 1990s and the 2000s. Unlike the earlier rock artists who saw cultural authenticity derived from American artists and personal authenticity, these artists tended to stylize themselves based on the 1960s and the 1970s British rock bands in order to make their works culturally authentic in a British way (Barker and Taylor 2007:x). If a similar motivation worked in the grammatical variation, it was expected that there would be similarities between the 1960s and the 1990s on the one hand, and similarities between the 1970s and the 2000s on the other. The grammatical variation in the PMCE-UK indeed showed such patterns. As seen in Chapter 7, in both the 1960s and the 1990s, I saw a relatively lower rate of grammatical realization, whereas in both the 1970s and the 2000s, I found a relatively higher rate of the realization. Thus, the peculiarity of the 1990s and the 2000s might be related to the difference in the referee model in these periods.

Although the effect of the two referee models (American popular music and popularity of American acts) seemed to be present, the two prediction models did not fully explain (a) why there was a high level of "Americanness" overall and (b) why there were only a few differences between rock, pop, and electronic in British popular music. Perhaps, music features of music genres can explain the variation. As seen in Chapter 3, linguistic variation in popular music was more or less affected by musical structure. According to Burquest (2006:146), some phonetic features (e.g., open vowels) have more sonority than others (e.g., closed vowels, consonants). Watanabe's (2017) corpus-based study

also revealed that lexical items with fewer syllables (e.g., *so*) are overwhelmingly preferred in popular music. Monosyllabic items are easy to use in music production because those words are less likely to be affected by stress patterns in metric positions in music than items with more than one syllable (see Tait 2013). If linguistic variants associated with "Americanness" have these features, it was expected that "Americanness" would be high in British popular music. It is also important to note that the model also predicted genre differences. Since as seen in the analysis of syllables, hip hop prefers lexical items with fewer syllables than other genres, it was expected that hip hop would show a higher level of "Americanness." The model also predicted that there would be few differences between pop, rock, and electronic, because syllabic features of these genres are similar.

Most "US" English variants investigated for the present study (i.e., *ain't*, multiple negation, third person *don't*, and the intensifier *so*) followed sonorant or syllabic patterns, compared to their alternants (e.g., *isn't*, *any*-forms, *doesn't*, *very*). Thus, with this model, we can explain why there was a higher level of "Americanness" in British popular music. Also, as seen in the descriptive and logistic regression analysis, the analysis of the PMCE-UK showed that there were few differences between pop, rock, and electronic music, meaning that this corresponds to the prediction of the model. Although the model did not explain the diachronic tendency in British popular music, it seemed possible that this model is effective for British popular music as well as American popular music and popularity of acts. Although the fact that the grammatical variation was affected by musical factors poses a question (i.e., is this a case of Americanization or a result of production circumstances?), it is still possible to relate the data to social identity, if we assume that songwriters use the grammatical variables to meet both musical and social identity demands (cf. responsive referee design).

In addition to the three models tested, we should also recall that when American songwriters wrote lyrics for British popular music, a high degree of "Americanness" was found with the variation in the lyrics. The pattern was also clearly stratified according to American regions, or possibly ethnicity, which may correspond to that in spoken American English (see Chapter 6). This may not be a case of referee design, if the language simply reflects their speech patterns, but given that grammatical variants with an "US" index include informal and stigmatized forms (*ain't*, multiple negation, third person *don't*), it is likely that the songwriters purposefully used these items for showing their personal authenticity (Barker and Taylor 2007:x) (see Chapter 2). Therefore, although not all variable tokens in the data were produced by Americans, the social profile of the songwriter may also work as a referee.

In this study, I also investigated the effects of other referee designs. The speech of American consumer is a case in point. However, it did not seem that American audience was a referee for British popular music. Given that the American market is bigger than the British market, it was expected that the frequency pattern and the frequency order of the selected grammatical variables would be similar to those found in American

speech. However, the study could not find the similarities between them. Also, although the referee design predicted that the diachronic pattern in British popular music would be similar to that found in American English speech, the patterns were not similar. The data from American English speech, although the evidence was limited due to a lack of research on American English speech, showed that the pattern in American English was stable with the selected grammatical variables at least during the 1950s-2000s, but as seen earlier, this did not correspond to the pattern in the PMCE-UK.

The present study did not support the hypothesis that the size of the American music market is a referee, either. The model predicted that if music producers pay attention to an economic factor when producing music, given that regardless of musical genres, popular music is a commercial product, there would be no genre variation. Also, it was expected that that when the size of American market increased, the degree of "Americanness" would become high. Since Ferreira and Waldfogel's (2013:647) research shows that the peaks of the American market are the 1960s and the 2000s, it was predicted that it would be these periods that show a higher degree of "Americanness. As seen in the descriptive and logistic regression analysis, neither genre tendencies nor diachronic tendencies in the PMCE-UK supported the validity of this referee model.

Therefore, to the question "who or what are possible US linguistic model(s) for language stylization of British popular music?," there was more than one possible referee design for the language of British popular music. Overall, the interpretations are similar to those given by Trudgill (1983) and many other scholars in that this study also revealed that American singers and popularity of American acts have an effect on the language of British popular music, while the other factors such as American audience are less powerful on the variation. This study also expanded the study of Morrissey (2008), by proposing the possibility that some "American" forms are used because they have sonority.

Importantly, the fact that grammatical variation can be explainable with referees related to American culture also supports the evidence of Americanization. As seen in Chapter 4, grammatical variables involving variants related to "spokenness" often involve issues related to colloquialization. It may be said that even if forms that are categorized as "American" appear in non-American contexts, this may be a result of the songwriter's wish to make texts colloquial if the forms have colloquial features.

One way to find evidence of Americanization from colloquial features is to identify similarities between British popular music and American referees. As seen in Chapter 4, when language transfer occurs, there are a few possible outcomes in the linguistic (grammatical) realization. One is, as Fuchs (2016) shows, similarity in the frequency rate of linguistic variables. The other is similarities in the variable rule between the target language and the possible source language (see Meyerhoff 2009). As seen in the quantitative analysis in Chapter 7, the language of British popular music is similar to that

of American popular music in terms of the frequency rate of "Americanness" in that in both American and British popular music, a high level of "Americanness" was observed. Besides, the predictor variables affecting grammatical variation in British popular music were similar to those in American popular music. In both American and British popular music, the type of grammatical variable was effective on the realization of "Americanness." The intensifier variable showed the highest level of "Americanness," followed by *ain't* variable, multiple negation variable, and third person *don't* variable. In terms of musical genres, although there was an exception (electronic), the variable rule was similar to that in American popular music, in that hip hop showed a higher rate than the other genres. The contribution ranking of the predictor variables was the same between American and British popular music. In both American and British popular music, the type of grammatical variable contributed to the grammatical variation more strongly than musical genres and the period of music chart.

The evidence that linguistic variation in British popular music showed similarities with patterns in popularity of American acts also supports evidence of Americanization. The fact that the periods when "Americanness" in British popular music increased corresponded to the periods in which popularity of American acts was particularly high may mean that the songwriters are attentive to American culture (popular music). Although the diachronic factor on the variation in British popular music was weaker than other factors, this evidence may support the evidence of Americanization in British popular music.

Note, however, that although the evidence from the variable rule and diachronic tendency in British popular music may support that Americanization works in British popular music, the evidence does not preclude the possibility that colloquialization works in the grammatical variability, given that all grammatical variables analyzed have colloquial features. What the current evidence suggests is that in British popular music it may not be the case that colloquialization works alone, meaning that Americanization and colloquialization work together in British popular music.

A few further comments are worth making with respect to referees of the grammatical variation of British popular music. The fact that the prediction patterns of referees related to American culture (i.e., American popular music, popularity of American acts) were similar to the grammatical variation in British popular music would also give strong support to "Americanness" or "non-Americanness" of the selected linguistic variables. However, as seen in Chapter 7, when I examined the regional effect of British singers and songwriters, I also found the effects of the predictor variables. British singers and songwriters from northern areas (e.g., Northern England, Ireland) showed a lower degree of the linguistic forms (e.g., *ain't*, multiple negation) than singers and songwriters from southern areas (e.g., Midlands, South England). As seen in Chapter 7, this corresponded to the pattern in spoken British English (BNC 1994). In British English, the same linguistic forms showed a lower degree in northern regions and a higher degree in southern regions. This would mean that the grammatical variants used to investigate

"Americanness" in British popular music also enregister "(regional) Britishness" or more precisely the singer's or songwriter's "personal authenticity" (Barker and Taylor 2007:x) and that the language of British popular music would also model referees related to British culture (in this case, the singer and songwriter's regional community), in order to show "Britishness." (But note also that the frequency order of grammatical variables in each region was not the same as that in British English speech, see below).

How can I explain the coexistence of both American and British referee designs for the language of British popular music? As seen in Chapter 2, the coexistence of both American (or global) and local features in the same context is in fact very common and can be found in many different social situations, because "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" (Jansen 2022:7). When local features have emerged with American features and the two features coexist based on a division of labor, e.g., American features used for authoritative plannings and local features used for practical concerns, such a case is commonly called glocalization (see Robertson 1995). Typically, the phenomenon refers to business strategies by global companies, but gradually, the term has been used more widely to refer to various phenomena occurring in non-business settings. Local (English) accents in non-American popular music are one example of glocalization in non-business settings (see Schulze 2014).

Note, however, that the grammatical variation as observed in the present study may not be a case of glocalization. There are at least two differences between typical examples of glocalization and the present case. One difference is that in typical glocalization, local adaption of global features is observed, while in the current case, adaption does not seem to happen. As seen in the analysis of the effect of the singer's and the songwriter's region, it would seem that the grammatical variation in British popular music is affected by the usage of British English. Since British English is the language of British singers (i.e., grammatical forms associated with "Americanness" have already been frequently used in British English), the co-existence of local and American forms in grammatical variation is not a result of local adaption of American English features. The other difference is that in the present study, the same grammatical forms play both American and British (local) roles. In typical glocal cases, at least two different forms (American forms and local forms) appear in the same context (see Trudgill 1983; Schulze 2014), but in the current case, the same grammatical forms are simultaneously used to index "Americanness" and "localness."

However, there is also a similarity between typical examples of glocalization and the present case. One important consideration is the purpose of referee design. As noted above, when I saw the combination index of the four grammatical variables as an "American" English indicator and the variables were analyzed in such a way, similarities with some different US referee designs (i.e., American popular music, popularity of American acts, US songwriter's nationality and region) were observed. By contrast, when I saw the same combination index of the four grammatical variables as a "British" indicator and the variables were analyzed in that way, similarities with UK referee designs (i.e., UK singer and songwriter's region) were evident.[117] The point is that the referees are different when the combination index is working as an "American" indicator and when it is working as a "British" indicator. As seen in Chapter 4, a referee design is carried out when there is a certain communicative purpose on the side of the speaker, meaning that a different referee design is assumed to have a different communicative function, or stance, however subtle. In the case of American referee designs, the referee designs and the linguistic features used for the designs index "American," but a closer observation revealed that they also index "mainstream" or "cultural authenticity" (American popular music), "coolness" (popularity of American acts), and in some cases, the US songwriter's "personal authenticity" (the nationality and region of the US songwriter). In the case of British referee design, the referee design (the singer and the songwriter's region) and the linguistic features index "(regional) British," but more precisely, the UK singer or the songwriter's "personal authenticity." Therefore, like typical glocal cases, a division of labor exists as regards the identity construction in British popular music. Indexes like "cultural authenticity" and "coolness" also mean that American referees play a more authoritative role in British popular music because they are associated with musical origins and economic success. In this respect, it would seem that the present case is similar to many examples of glocalization as found in sociological studies.

Whether one should see the coexistence of American and British referee designs as a case of glocalization is not the purpose of the present research,[118] but like previous studies on glocalization (see Chapter 2), the present study has revealed that Americanization is a complex social phenomenon in which multiple motivations operate simultaneously while maintaining local orientation (see Figure 8.1).

[117] Music features of grammatical variants are set aside here, as the model can index both "American" and "British."

[118] According to Khondker (2004), what can be observed in British popular music may be a case of glocalization. His definition of glocalization is a little wider than Robertson's (1995): "blending, mixing adapting of two or more processes one of which must be local" (Khondker 2004:6). However, in previous literature, local adaptation of global features is the more oft-cited example as glocalization than global adaptation of localization.

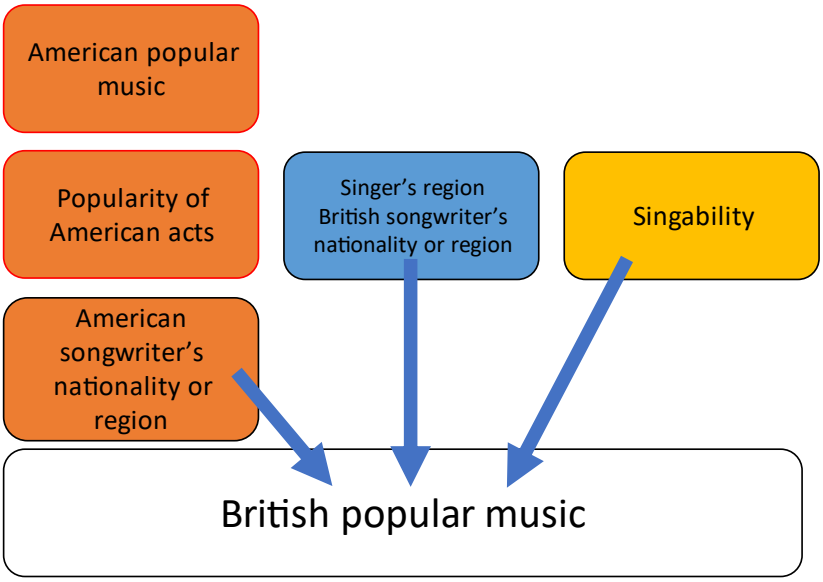


Figure 8.1 Referee designs operating in British popular music

8.2.2 Similarities and differences between grammatical and other semiotic variables

Research question two (RQ2) investigates whether the patterns of grammatical variables in British popular music align with those of phonological and other semiotic variables. This research question was motivated because Americanization in British popular music has been discussed not only by linguists but also by scholars in other domains (e.g., sociology, musicology). This question is also relevant in considering sociological styles because the notion of style requires complexity. Although in the above analysis, the study revealed that the grammatical variables are used for stylistic purposes, Bucholtz (2015:41-42) shows that styles consist of not only grammatical variables, but also multiple linguistic and non-linguistic variables. Sociolinguistic studies like Bucholtz (2015) indicate that grammatical evidence alone does not satisfactorily explain styles of British popular music and require a more holistic view by taking into account multiple semiotic variables at the same time. Therefore, in this section, by drawing on previous studies summarized in Chapter 2, I will take a holistic view to discuss Americanization.

As seen above, the comparison revealed that in some respects, the grammatical patterns were similar to phonological and other semiotic patterns. In terms of diachronic patterns, phonological and sociological analyses identified at least three peaks of the frequency of "American" English variants. The first peak was the (pre-)1950s. Sackett's (1979) qualitative evidence and Trudgill's (1983) quantitative evidence found that there was a tendency for British singers to use American English accents when singing until the early 1960s, in which they started to shift to British English accents due to the success of the Beatles. Sociological studies (e.g., Cooper and Cooper 1993; Inglis 2009;

Simonelli 2012) also pointed out that not only the singer's singing accents but also other behaviors such as their visual looks and stage names were Americanized. Another period where US realization was equally high is the 1970s (see Laing 1985:58; Bennet 2010:71), during which there were some attempts to localize styles, but also attempts to Americanize styles, especially regarding accent modification. Finally, the 2000s is also the period when the degree of "Americanness" was recorded as high, although the evidence comes from individual artists, rather than a cohort of artists (see Konert-Panek 2016, 2017a, 2017b). As seen in Chapter 7 and the previous section, all these three periods corresponded to the periods where a high level of "Americanness" was observed at the grammatical level.

In terms of musical genres, as seen in Chapter 2, sociological studies identified the different degree of "Americanness" across musical genres.[119] In hip hop, British popular music often stylizes themselves in a way that is "American" in terms of visual, lyrical, and musical fashion, although some local attempts are underway though in underground scenes (see Hesmondhalgh 2001; Borthwick and Moy 2004). This is because it has a strong association with American culture due to a lack of talents in British popular music or social discrimination of minority groups living in the UK, who consist of the majority of hip hop actors in the UK. By contrast, the style of electronic music is often described as a British style derived from British regional working class identity (see Borthwick and Moy 2004; Wiseman-Trowse 2008; John 2015; Milestone 2018), because the music style mainly developed in the UK and has genre norms related to personal authenticity. Finally, the style of rock music is eclectic in that both American and British features are characterized variously in acts (see Laing 1985; Simonelli 2012). Rock still models American acts because American singers are popular throughout the period, but some local attempts also emerged and developed in the UK, especially after the 1960s. These sociological studies revealed that "Americanness", or more precisely the imitation level to American popular music styles, is higher in the order of hip hop, rock, and then electronic music. As noted in Chapter 7 and the previous section, the same pattern was also found with grammatical variation.

Note, however, that there were also important differences between the grammatical variation and other stylistic variation. Overall, grammatical variation showed a higher level of "Americanness" and did not change dynamically in terms of music genres and diachronic patterns . Recall that phonological variation changed in diachronic patterns more dynamically. Changes in diachronic and genre patterns in sociological variables would also seem dynamic, as people can immediately notice stylistic changes due to clear identity cues of sociological variables (e.g., regional fashion, landscape in MTV).

There are three possible interpretations of the discrepancy in the semiotic patterns. First, as seen in Chapter 7, the effect of singability, which directs songwriters to use "American" forms, may more strongly affect grammatical variables than other semiotic variables (see Morrissey 2008; Watanabe 2017). With phonological variants, there are some

[119] Recall that there is no phonological research on genres in British popular music.

sounds that make it easier for people to articulate in singing (see Chapter 4), but the choice of variants seems to be rather free, given that in choral singing such pronunciations are not often used (see Wilson 2017). With sociological variables, lack of research makes it difficult to discuss how physical conditions affect the lyrical content and musical rhythms, but the influence of such physical conditions is free at least from visual styles and off-stage performance. By contrast, it would seem that the choice of linguistic forms (i.e., grammatical forms) is heavily affected by such physical conditions, because the consideration of syllables of lexical forms and time restriction is necessary. As seen in Chapter 7, given that average word length (an indicator of syllabic features) in different genres and different periods is between 3 and 4 letters, it would seem that the physical condition works quite similarly across musical genres and different periods, although the statistical tests revealed the significance of the difference (see Chapter 4).

Another interpretation is that the small range of the variation is inevitable due to a sociolinguistic nature of grammatical variation in American and British English. The variants in the grammatical variables used in this thesis do not appear categorically in either variety of English, but appear in both varieties, only with differences of the frequency, as seen in Chapter 6. As the perceptual data in Chapter 6 suggest, they are also not clearly indexical of "American" or "British" with most of the grammatical forms (*ain't*, multiple negation, third person *don't*). In other words, the grammatical forms lack indexical immediacy, or salience (see Drager and Kirtley 2016). By contrast, with other variables, differences between American and British forms are more clearly delineated. At the perceptual level, many people can notice the difference and each form is clearly associated with nationality. The variation in phonological variables used in most phonological research, i.e., the "USA-5 model," is well known to people, as seen in Jansen's (2022) interview data in which participants mentioned that the phonological variables are a key to identify American or local styles. The same goes to sociological variables. In sociological studies, cultural objects that are clearly associated with American and local culture are discussed (e.g., styles linked to famous American singers, national flags, landscape). The indexical ambiguity of the grammatical variables may affect the realization of the patterns in the PMCE-UK, causing fewer clear differences across musical genres and different periods.

However, as seen in Chapter 7, it is still possible to argue that people in music production know the indexical links of grammatical variants and strategically use grammatical variation. The fact that grammatical variation is less dynamic in terms of musical genres and diachronicity indicates that a high level of Americanness is also maintained in areas where other semiotic variables show British styles more saliently. This means that grammatical variables follow cultural authenticity more frequently, while phonological variables follow personal authenticity more commonly. It seems that the result is in line with Gibson and Bell (2012) and Gibson (2019), who showed that non-salient phonological variables are more likely to follow "American" styles, compared to salient ones, whose variation is more often used for "local" styles.

The reason why grammatical variables are used mainly to follow cultural authenticity may be that grammatical variables have indexicality that audience do not immediately notice. As seen in Chapter 2, since the 1960s, the use of local styles can be seen in British popular music, because some genres started to value personal authentic models. However, this does not mean that American styles are no longer valued. American popular music is still highly valued for British popular music because it is associated with musical origins. Therefore, songwriters need to find a way to take balance between cultural authenticity and personal authenticity. As seen in the qualitative analysis in Chapter 7, in the case of grammatical variables, people may associate grammatical forms simply with informal features or change the perceptions, depending on the surrounding contexts. This means that the use of "American" forms is less likely to be criticized by audience who value personal authenticity, even if grammatical variables are used to follow American styles. Thus, using non-salient variables like grammatical variables for the purpose of cultural authenticity would seem highly effective, compared to phonological variables.

8.3 Americanization in British popular music revisited

It becomes apparent by now that Americanization found in British popular music is not satisfactorily explained in previous methodological frameworks as presented by Trudgill (1983) and other scholars who follow his methodology. In this section, I now move on to discuss the methodological and theoretical contributions of this thesis by revisiting and updating the previous understandings of Americanization of British popular music (see Chapter 2).

8.3.1 Investigating grammatical variables

Apart from Flanagan (2019), previous studies on Americanization of British popular music mainly targeted phonological variables as research objects. Those researchers (Trudgill 1983; Simpson 1999; Carlsson 2001; Morrissey 2008; Beal 2009b; Schulze 2014; Konert-Panek 2016, 2017a, 2017b, 2018) chose phonological variables, probably because the indexical information of phonological variables is usually perceivable. Non-phonological variables like grammatical variables are not often considered as research objects due to lack of indexicality in relation to place (see Moore 2021:54-60). Even though grammatical variables were observed in the analysis, the researchers (e.g., Trudgill 1983; Simpson 1999; Morrissey 2008; Beal 2009b) mentioned grammatical variables only occasionally. Very often, they were only treated as supporting evidence of the findings of phonological variables.

However, the fact that grammatical variables lack indexical salience does not prevent us from conducting research on Americanization in British popular music because previous studies such as Moore (2021) reveal that even such semiotic items are used for stylistic purposes. The present research showed that there is indeed evidence of

Americanization at a grammatical level, even though the audience may not notice the indexical information from the grammatical patterns (see Chapter 6). Evidence comes from the fact that the variation of grammatical variables in British popular music is similar to that in American popular music and the fact that the variation shows a similar pattern to popularity of American acts. Similarities between linguistic patterns of British popular music and patterns of these referees are good evidence of linguistic transfer and cause-effect relations (Leech and Smith 2006; Meyerhoff 2009) and suggest that Americanization happens in the grammatical variation.

Thus, this study has revealed that styles can work even in areas where people are less likely to notice social meanings. While there may be questions as to whether music producers (mostly non-linguists) can use such non-salient variables to stylize British popular music, given that there are some technologies like hit song science (see Chapter 3), there is a possibility that music producers have very detailed knowledge of indexicality about non-salient linguistic forms. Thus, even though not all people may notice the social meanings of grammatical forms ("Americanness"), an analysis of non-salient variables such as grammatical variables is equally important to an analysis of salient variables like phonological variables when considering styles of British popular music.

8.3.2 Quantitative analysis

In most phonological and sociological studies (e.g., Simpson 1999; Morrissey 2008; Beal 2009b), a qualitative approach is a common method in analyzing British popular music. The method may be chosen because there are methodological difficulties in extracting enough relevant variables or because researchers believed that by using more salient phonological variables, results from a qualitative approach may more convincingly show how styles in British popular music are realized. Qualitative approaches certainly have merits in that they enable a detailed analysis by focusing on individual cases, but there are also demerits in that results often lack generalization because the analysis is usually based on the small number of singers and songs.

By contrast, quantitative analyses have methodological demerits such as lack of details on each specific case, but they can also provide us with a large picture of Americanization and give empirical support to an anecdotal claim (e.g., American popular music is a referee, popularity of American acts can affect the degree of imitation). Also, such quantitative evidence can reveal important tendencies that people cannot easily notice by looking at a single or a few linguistic items.

A quantitative approach in the present study revealed a large picture of linguistic variation in British popular music. By using 5,500 song lyrics, the present study confirmed many findings from previous small-scale (qualitative) studies (e.g., the evidence of Americanization in British popular music, the effect of musical genres, the effect of a diachronic factor). Also, the present study gave further support to the claim

regarding who are possible referee groups of British popular music by using quantitative methods (i.e., variable analysis). Quantitative similarities between some American referees (American popular music and popularity of American acts) and British popular music provided empirical support to the claim that the former influences the latter (see referee design below). Also, the present study revealed that similarities are also found between British popular music and British English speech. The evidence was found from the same grammatical variables that were used when looking for the evidence of Americanization, meaning that the same grammatical forms are simultaneously used to make styles "American" and "British." Such evidence is not usually found in qualitative analysis where there is usually one-to-one relation between a linguistic form and a social index (see Flanagan 2019).

Note that the present study does not intend to claim that quantitative analyses are better than qualitative analyses. As seen in Chapter 7, for better understanding of Americanization, it is required to add a qualitative analysis and pay more attention to the perceptional side of each grammatical form. What I would like to propose in this thesis is thus that quantitative analysis is equally important to qualitative analysis.

8.3.3 Musical genres

Musical genres are an important consideration (see Chapter 2) because according to sociological studies (see Chapter 3), the development of musical genres and genre norms can affect the realization of styles in British popular music. However, in linguistic studies on non-American popular music, the factor is only occasionally mentioned. There are a few exceptions like O'Hanlon (2006) and Gibson (2019, 2023), but those studies looked at popular music in Australian and New Zealand popular music. No systematic attempts were conducted for the effect of musical genres in British popular music.

In order to fill the research gap, this study investigated the effect of this factor by coding each song in the PMCE-UK, according to genre categories of *Discogs*. The study revealed that the grammatical variation is affected by a factor of musical genres. Overall, the tendency was similar to that found in sociological variables. Among genres that have norms related to personal authenticity, genres that received much popularity (electronic, rock) were less likely to follow styles of American popular music than genres that were not successful (hip hop). Genres that have norms related to commercialism followed styles of American popular music, regardless of popularity (pop).

While the investigation on the effect of musical genres in the present study was limited to selected genres, the results suggest that musical genres are an important factor in the stylistic choice. A further investigation on musical genres by adding more genres (see below) would be an interesting area for research.

8.3.4 Diachronic patterns

In previous studies, the factor of the period of music chart was also considered as effective on the variation in British popular music because the stylistic preference is affected by the change of popularity of British acts and later developments of music. There were some previous attempts to look at styles with a diachronic perspective, finding that depending on which period a song was released, the degree of "Americanness" was different (e.g., Trudgill 1983; Carlsson 2001; Konert-Panek 2017a, 2017b, 2018; Flanagan 2019). However, the scale of research in those studies is relatively small, either because the time span is short or because the number of singers included in their dataset is small.

In order to understand a more comprehensive diachronic picture of Americanization, this study coded each song in the PMCE-UK according to the six periods between the 1950s and the 2000s and conducted a descriptive and logistic regression analysis. The study revealed that in British popular music, singers changed their styles depending on the period. Overall, the present study provided support to the previous findings from sociology and phonology, although compared to other factors investigated, the effect of the factor on the grammatical variation was relatively small.

Therefore, like previous studies, the present study also revealed that the period of music is an important consideration in research on Americanization in British popular music. Although as sociolinguistic approaches suggest, the period of music should be considered within the context of each genre due to a different history of each genre, the consideration of the period in British popular music still provided insights on Americanization. Therefore, research on diachronic tendencies should be included in studies on Americanization in British popular music.

8.3.5 Referee designs

In this study, Bell's (1984, 2001) referee design was used to explain linguistic variation in British popular music. The theory holds that when people recognize the value of a social group, people use linguistic features associated with the social group (referee) (cf. indexicality, see Chapter 4). This means that linguistic similarities (e.g., the frequency patterns, variable rule) between the speaker and a particular social group can be evidence of linguistic influence even if the social group is not physically present in conversation.

Like previous studies (Trudgill 1983; Simpson 1999; Morrissey 2008; Beal 2009b), this study also used referee design theory. The comparison between British popular music and possible American referees allowed us to identify which social groups may or may not affect linguistic patterns in British popular music. For example, similarities between American and British popular music (the frequency ranking of grammatical variables, genre variation) showed the possibility that the former influences the latter. Also, by

extending the notion of referees to non-human referees and using non-linguistic data, this study also found similar patterns (genre patterns, diachronic patterns) between British popular music and popularity of American acts. Such a comparison not only helped us to identify American referees, but also British referees. As seen in Chapter 7, the singer's and the British songwriter's grammatical patterns are similar to those in British English speech, meaning that British regional communities may also work as a referee on the language of British popular music.

The identification of possible referees also helped us to understand why British popular music uses "American" or "British" English features. By considering the function of linguistic forms, this study argued that the reasons why "American" English features are that they are associated with indexes such as "cultural authenticity" and "coolness" and that the reason why "British" English features are used is that the singer and the songwriter wish to follow "personal authenticity" (i.e., self-image). The analysis based on referee design theory thus revealed that American and British styles co-exist in British popular music and that they are used to meet various stylistic purposes, providing a deep discussion on Americanization in British popular music.

8.3.6 Interdisciplinary approaches

Studies such as Bucholtz (2015) revealed that styles consist of multiple semiotic variables. Semiotic variables may not necessarily be linguistic variables only, but may be other variables (e.g., fashion, behaviors), and they may or may not have the same role in a style. In other words, a holistic view by investigating all semiotic variables and their roles is required for an understanding of styles. However, as seen in many previous linguistic attempts on British popular music, their focus is largely linguistic, and other variables are mentioned occasionally. In sociological studies, a more comprehensive approach tends to be taken by considering many variables at the same time, but their approaches to semiotic variables still lack details of how each variable plays a role in a style.

As seen in the previous chapters, styles of British popular music consist of multiple semiotic variables, e.g., accents, grammar, the lyrical content, fashion, music structure, on- or off-stage performance. Although the present study took a linguistic approach, an attempt was made to compare grammatical variation with phonological and non-linguistic variation by drawing on previous studies. The comparison revealed that the same factors (musical genres, the period of music chart) seem to affect these variables.

However, the comparison also revealed a difference between grammatical and other semiotic variables. "American" features are more commonly found with grammatical variables than phonological and other semiotic variables. As stated in the previous section, the difference may be caused by musical structures, but it is also possible that it reflects the songwriter's stylistic strategy. Grammatical variables are usually indexically non-salient, meaning that the audience are less likely to evaluate songs based

on the features. Thus, even if songwriters stylize British popular music in an American way by showing a similar pattern to American referees, the audience do not notice their attempt. As seen in Chapter 3, cultural authenticity is an important concern in non-American popular music, because American popular music is widely considered as original and culturally and economically successful. This means that it is difficult for songwriters not to follow cultural authenticity models (i.e., American popular music) and that songwriters need to find a way to follow American styles. Since using indexically salient items to follow American styles is more likely to cause criticisms from the audience, songwriters may use indexically less salient variables to follow American styles.

Thus, the approaches to multiple variables revealed in more details what music producers do with semiotic variables. I am fully aware that in order to have a deeper engagement with styles, I should conduct a more fined-grained analysis on non-linguistic variables, but the present study still suggests that we should take a holistic view by looking at not only one domain of linguistic variables but also other domains of linguistic variables as well as sociological variables.

8.3.7 Attitudes towards Americanization

As seen in Chapter 2, in most previous studies, Americanization is understood as a perceivable phenomenon on both sides of the singer and the listener. Therefore, by observing variables including consciously salient American forms, scholars (e.g., Trudgill 1983; Simpson 1999; Morrisey 2008) have measured the degree of Americanization mainly in qualitative ways. It is also important to recognize that the way that American and British forms are compared implies a competition between American and British styles, and that in many cases, British forms are considered as a reaction against dominant American forms that are widely considered as "mainstream" (Beal 2009b; Gibson and Bell 2012). Even the coexistence of both American and British forms is considered as a transit stage from American styles to local styles and often described as a "conflict" (Trudgill 1983:158) of identities, which is obviously an emotionally loaded negative description that expresses hardships of removing an American cultural power by a British cultural force. Although previous studies do not explicitly state their views on Americanization, it would seem from the terms such as "conflict" that previous scholars see Americanization as a case of cultural imperialism (see Chapter 2), a view that sees Americanization as an invasion to local culture. As seen in previous chapters, at first, my research on grammatical variables also started from the assumption of cultural imperialism by looking at variation between "American" forms and "non-American" forms. Like phonological and other semiotic cases, grammatical evidence of localization may indicate that it is a negative reaction against dominant Americanization, but a careful observation on the data in the present study seem to indicate that there is an alternative reading for Americanization, i.e., the songwriter's positive and initiative choice of American styles.

As mentioned earlier, the grammatical variables used in the present study are not perceptually decisive in terms of nationality. This means that even if the songwriter chooses to stylize British popular music by adjusting the frequency and the frequency order of the four grammatical variables to the same patterns in spoken British English, e.g., keeping the frequency of less than 50%, making the frequency of the grammatical variables in the order of intensifier variable, third person *don't* variable, *ain't* variable and multiple negation variable, it does not completely exclude "Americanness" from styles. The use of grammatical items (e.g., *ain't*, multiple negation) may still mean "American" to some extent.

This means that it would not seem necessary that the songwriter stylizes song lyrics in an American way by changing the frequency and order of the grammatical variables. However, as we have seen in Chapter 7, British popular music largely follows the American models (e.g., American popular music) by making the frequency order close to the pattern of American referees. This might mean that the songwriter in British popular music may feel that they would like to, rather than feel forced to follow the American model in order to follow cultural authenticity. Since there does not seem to be pressure to use American styles, this also means that this is radically different from a cultural imperialism reading, where attempts are interpreted as an inevitable pressure from American models.

In fact, this view is not entirely new but much in line with some sociological approaches to Americanization. By reflecting on sociological attempts regarding Americanization, van Elteren (2006:346) criticized earlier researchers by saying that they "have a tendency that can led to its own form of bias and distortion, a proclivity to deflate the whole phenomenon." According to van Elteren (2006), without giving evidence, previous researchers put too much emphasis on the cultural or economic power of America on non-American countries by assuming that recipients are largely passive "colonized people" under its influence. Instead of such passive views, van Elteren (2006:345) emphasizes "active recipients of American culture" by paying close attention to each case. Although like cultural imperialism reading, her view sees America as a main source of cultural influence, her view on Americanization is different from a cultural imperialism reading in that she emphasizes that American cultural influences are caused by a soft power influence (see Chapter 2). That is, she argues that cultural acceptance is motivated by attractiveness of a US culture.

Although the present study needs more research on attitudes towards Americanization, the results from the present study may suggest that we should take into consideration attitudes towards American styles to understand the mechanism of Americanization.

8.4 For future research

As in all research projects, restrictions, accessibility, and time constraints leave room for improvement. One of the problems with this thesis is the lack of diachronic spoken

corpora, especially of American English, which prevented me from giving more support to views on the indexicality of each grammatical variable (see Chapter 6) and from evaluating the predictions of the referee (the speech of American consumers) (see Chapter 7). Also, as stated in Chapter 6, while the questionnaire survey showed some facts about the salience of each linguistic form (i.e., grammatical variables are not as salient as phonological variables), the survey design did not look into the influence of contexts or co-occurrence of linguistic features and was heavily skewed towards participants aged 18-30. Therefore, for future research, by using diachronic corpora of American English (once they have become available) and by considering the participants' demographics and the design of the questionnaire survey that allows for the investigation of the influence of contexts and co-occurrence of linguistic features, I would like to give more empirical support to the current model or establish a new model that reflects many aspects of the indexical reality.

Despite such methodological issues, I still believe that my research made an important contribution to understanding the mechanism of Americanization in British popular music. Based on the above methodological and theoretical suggestions in §8.3, I would like to introduce three specific areas that would provide interesting directions for further research.

First, although this study mainly focused on four genres (i.e., hip hop, rock, pop, and electronic) due to the low frequency of the variable tokens of other genres, it is possible to extend the repertoire of music genres by creating different corpora of different music charts, probably based on album rankings. Particular interests lie in the following three genres that recorded some tokens of the grammatical variables in this thesis: jazz, funk, and reggae. These genres are similar to hip hop, rock, and electronic in that they are all influenced by American music. These three genres have already been studied from the perspective of sociology in relation to national identity, and these studies have revealed that jazz and funk are often described as more "American" (see Toynbee 2013; Strachan 2016) whereas reggae is considered as a style that is more "Briticized" (see Borthwick and Moy 2004; Bousquet 2019; Jachimiak 2021). If sociological variation corresponds to linguistic variation just as seen in hip hop, rock, pop, and electronic, from previous studies it is possible to predict that the order of "Americanness" is higher in jazz and funk than in reggae. If we have enough data, we can replicate the same analysis with these genres and evaluate this hypothesis. It is also worthy of note that authenticity issues are complicated with some of these genres. Reggae and to lesser extent, funk have musical roots with Caribbean, meaning that there is a possibility that multiple musical roots could affect their identity construction with these genres.

It is also possible to extend the present research by conducting sociolinguistic research on popular music in other non-American countries. Such cross-national views on Americanization are motivated by Craig, Douglas, and Bennett's (2009) research, which provides insightful ideas about differences of Americanization in different countries. So far, although there are some small-scale sociolinguistic studies on Americanization

which deal with other English speaking countries such as Australia (e.g., O'Hanlon 2006; Eberhardt and Freeman 2015; Duncan 2017; Yang 2018), Canada (e.g., Clarke and Hiscock 2009)[120] and New Zealand (Gibson and Bell 2012; Gibson 2019, 2023), and with non-English speaking countries in Europe (e.g., Androutsopoulos and Scholz 2002), Asia (e.g., Moody 2012), and Africa (e.g., Omoniyi 2006), only a few of them conduct large-scale research and often lack cross-national views on the phenomenon. Among these countries, popular music in Australia would seem most interesting, not only because there are many Australian singers on music charts (e.g., Olivia Newton-John, AC/DC), but also because unlike hip hop in UK, a phonological study on hip hop showed evidence of local English features (see O'Hanlon 2006). Therefore, from such results, we can hypothesize that a different mechanism of Americanization might work in Australian music. Also, such results further lead us to question how the country's historical and cultural relation with America and Britain affects the exhibition of "localness" ("Australianness"). On a related note, studies as seen in Craig, Douglas, and Bennett (2009) often lack views on differences between the UK and the British Commonwealth countries, assuming that they are mostly the same. Therefore, conducting research on Australian popular music and comparing it with the results of my research on British popular music would yield new insights on views on Americanization.

Finally, we can apply the linguistic methods used in the present research to studying other imported cultural styles. Although in imported cultures, American styles are not necessarily adopted even at the initial stage, radio is one of the few examples under influence of Americanization. While this area has not caught much attention of scholars, Morris (1999) reports a case where a radio personality uses American vocal styles (and program format). Given the relation between popular music and radio (transmitter of popular music), commonalities between the two media may not be very surprising. However, considering differences regarding the social profile of audience (i.e., global vs. local) and the roles of cultural practitioners (i.e., singer vs. radio personality), it would still be interesting to see how media differences may affect the realization of US stylization. Like cross-national comparison, cross-genre comparison would also provide insightful views on the mechanism of Americanization, which is also a lacuna in previous studies on Americanization.

8.5 Final words

Like many sociolinguistic works, inspired by Trudgill's (1983) paper, the present study embarked on an analysis of linguistic variables in British popular music. This study extended the scope of the original research to grammatical variables and systematically evaluated possible predictions of some referee designs. Like phonological variation, I found grammatical evidence of Americanization, but the phenomenon of grammatical realization seems to be more multilayered and complex than it has been originally

[120] See also: https://musiccanada.wordpress.com/2011/09/08/retaining-accents-and-self-respect/ (Accessed on 11 July 2022).

assumed. What can be seen from the present analysis is the possibility that variation is influenced by multiple referee designs (i.e., American popular music, the popularity of American acts, the singability of grammatical forms) and also interacts with other semiotic variables (e.g., phonological, visual, musical, and lyrical variables). Also, the analysis has revealed the co-existence of American and local (British) styles.

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Appendix

Appendix 1 Results of multiple comparison by genre

	Electronic	Pop	Rock	Hip Hop	Blues	Children	Classic
Pop	p > .05, 95% CI [0.01, 0.03]						
Rock	p > .05, 95% CI [0.00, 0.02]	p > .05, 95% CI [0.00, 0.02]					
Hip Hop	p < .05, 95% CI [0.04, 0.08]	p < .05, 95% CI [0.06, 0.10]	p <.05, 95% CI [0.05, 0.09]				
Blues	p > .05, 95% CI [-0.15, 0.17]	p > .05, 95% CI [-0.07, 0.15]	p > .05, 95% CI [-0.08, 0.14]	p > .05, 95% CI [-0.07, 0.15]			
Children	p > .05, 95% CI [0.10, 0.66]	p > .05, 95% CI [0.08, 0.64]	p > .05, 95% CI [0.09, 0.65]	p > .05, 95% CI [0.16, 0.72]	p > .05, 95% CI [0.10, 0.70]		
Classic	p > .05, 95% CI [0.10, 0.80]	p > .05, 95% CI [0.08, 0.78]	p > .05, 95% CI [0.09, 0.79]	p > .05, 95% CI [0.40, 0.62]	p > .05, 95% CI [0.11, 0.83]	p > .05, 95% CI [-0.37, 0.51]	
Folk	p > .05, 95% CI [-0.01, 0.13]	p > .05, 95% CI [0.01, 0.15]	p > .05, 95% CI [0.00, 0.14]	p > .05, 95% CI [-0.07, 0.07]	p > .05, 95% CI [-0.09, 0.17]	p > .05, 95% CI [0.16, 0.72]	p > .05, 95% CI [0.16, 0.86]
Funk	p > .05, 95% CI [-0.05, 0.09]	p > .05, 95% CI [0.02, 0.06]	p > .05, 95% CI [0.01, 0.05]	p > .05, 95% CI [0.01, 0.07]	p > .05, 95% CI [-0.11, 0.11]	p > .05, 95% CI [0.12, 0.68]	p > .05, 95% CI [0.12, 0.82]
Jazz	p > .05, 95% CI [0.01, 0.05]	p > .05, 95% CI [-0.02, 0.04]	p > .05, 95% CI [-0.01, 0.05]	p > .05, 95% CI [0.05, 0.13]	p > .05, 95% CI [-0.12, 0.12]	p > .05, 95% CI [0.07, 0.63]	p > .05, 95% CI [0.07, 0.77]
Non-Music	p > .05, 95% CI [-0.06, 0.26]	p > .05, 95% CI [-0.04, 0.28]	p > .05, 95% CI [-0.05, 0.27]	p > .05, 95% CI [-0.13, 0.21]	p > .05, 95% CI [-0.12, 0.28]	p > .05, 95% CI [0.16, 0.80]	p > .05, 95% CI [0.17, 0.93]
Reggae	p > .05, 95% CI [0.01, 0.07]	p > .05, 95% CI [0.03, 0.09]	p > .05, 95% CI [0.02, 0.08]	p > .05, 95% CI [-0.02, 0.06]	p > .05, 95% CI [-0.09, 0.13]	p > .05, 95% CI [0.10, 0.74]	p > .05, 95% CI [0.14, 0.84]
Stage & Screen	p > .05, 95% CI [0.13, 0.35]	p > .05, 95% CI [0.11, 0.33]	p > .05, 95% CI [0.12, 0.34]	p < .05, 95% CI [0.19, 0.41]	p > .05, 95% CI [0.10, 0.42]	p > .05, 95% CI [-0.16, 0.44]	p > .05, 95% CI [0.15, 0.57]

	Folk	Funk	Jazz	Non-Music	Reggae	Stage & Screen
Funk	p > .05, 95% CI [-0.03, 0.11]					
Jazz	p > .05, 95% CI [0.01, 0.17]	p > .05, 95% CI [0.01, 0.09]				
Non-Music	p > .05, 95% CI [-0.14, 0.22]	p > .05, 95% CI [-0.09, 0.25]	p > .05, 95% CI [-0.04, 0.30]			
Reggae	p > .05, 95% CI [-0.06, 0.10]	p > .05, 95% CI [-0.02, 0.06]	p > .05, 95% CI [0.02, 0.12]	p > .05, 95% CI [-0.04, 0.23]		
Stage & Screen	p > .05, 95% CI [0.17, 0.43]	p > .05, 95% CI [0.15, 0.37]	p > .05, 95% CI [0.09, 0.33]	p > .05, 95% CI [0.14, 0.54]	p < .05, 95% CI [0.17, 0.39]	

Blue: p <.05, White: p > .05

Appendix 2 Results of multiple comparison by period

	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s
1960s	p < .05, 95% CI [0.06, 0.10]				
1970s	p > .05, 95% CI [0.00, 0.04]	p < .05, 95% CI [0.05, 0.07]			
1980s	p > .05, 95% CI [-0.03, 0.03]	p < .05, 95% CI [0.08, 0.10]	p < .05, 95% CI [0.02, 0.04]		
1990s	p > .05, 95% CI [-0.01, 0.03]	p <.05, 95% CI [0.05, 0.07]	p > .05, 95% CI [-0.01, 0.01]	p < .05, 95% CI [0.02, 0.04]	
2000s	p < .05, 95% CI [0.03, 0.07]	p <.05, 95% CI [0.02, 0.04]	p < .05, 95% CI [0.02, 0.04]	p < .05, 95% CI [0.05, 0.07]	p < .05, 95% CI [0.02, 0.04]

Blue: p <.05, White: p > .05

Appendix 3

The frequency of variables including *ain't*, third person *don't*, multiple negation, and intensifiers (e.g., *so*, *real*) in the PMCE-US (%), by musical genre

	Pop			Rock		
Variable	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")
ain't (in *be* and *have* context)	54	42	**56**	428	119	**78**
third person *don't*	29	23	**56**	153	86	**64**
multiple negation	51	45	**53**	323	133	**71**
intensifiers	158	16	**91**	591	54	**92**
Total	292	126	**70**	1,495	392	**79**
	Electronic			Hip Hop		
Variable	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")
ain't (in *be* and *have* context)	350	37	**90**	718	30	**96**
third person *don't*	57	25	**70**	188	46	**80**
multiple negation	149	51	**75**	437	40	**92**
intensifiers	242	7	**97**	407	32	**93**
Total	798	120	**87**	1,750	148	**92**
	Funk			Reggae		
Variable	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")
ain't (in *be* and *have* context)	161	30	**84**	1	0	**100**
third person *don't*	75	38	**66**	0	0	**N/A**
multiple negation	269	59	**82**	0	0	**N/A**
intensifiers	434	25	**95**	0	0	**N/A**
Total	939	152	**86**	1	0	**100**

	Blues			Latin		
Variable	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")
ain't (in *be* and *have* context)	1	0	**100**	0	0	**N/A**
third person *don't*	0	0	**N/A**	0	0	**N/A**
multiple negation	0	0	**N/A**	0	0	**N/A**
intensifiers	1	0	**100**	1	0	**100.0**
Total	2	0	**100**	1	0	**100.0**

	Jazz			Folk		
Variable	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")
ain't (in *be* and *have* context)	11	7	**61**	20	6	**77**
third person *don't*	6	2	**75**	7	5	**58**
multiple negation	18	7	**72**	19	9	**68**
intensifiers	43	7	**86**	25	13	**66**
Total	78	23	**77**	71	33	**68**

	Non-music		
Variable	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")
ain't (in *be* and *have* context)	0	2	**0**
third person *don't*	0	2	**0**
multiple negation	2	0	**100**
intensifiers	1	0	**100**
Total	3	4	**43**

Appendix 4

The frequency of variables including *ain't*, third person *don't*, multiple negation, and intensifiers (e.g., *so*, *real*) in the PMCE-US (%), by decade

	1950s			1960s		
Variable	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")
ain't (in *be* and *have* context)	45	33	**58**	241	46	**84**
third person *don't*	21	10	**68**	74	49	**60**
multiple negation	56	18	**76**	209	64	**77**
intensifiers	136	13	**91**	403	43	**90**
Total	258	74	**78**	927	202	**82**
	1970s			1980s		
Variable	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")
ain't (in *be* and *have* context)	222	61	**78**	236	57	**81**
third person *don't*	79	40	**66**	75	40	**65**
multiple negation	184	48	**79**	187	83	**69**
intensifiers	266	24	**92**	339	20	**94**
Total	751	173	**81**	837	200	**81**
	1990s			2000s		
Variable	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")	"AE"	"non-AE"	% ("AE")
ain't (in *be* and *have* context)	370	38	**91**	630	38	**94**
third person *don't*	95	41	**70**	171	47	**78**
multiple negation	265	75	**78**	367	56	**87**
intensifiers	381	23	**94**	378	31	**92**
Total	1,111	177	**86**	1,546	172	**90**