Identity Performance in British Rock and Indie Music:

Authenticity, Stylization, and Glocalization

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Abstract

This master's thesis, departing from the work done by Peter Trudgill and Paul Simpson, aims at widening the scope of research on the identity performance of British rock and indie musicians by taking into account the influences and intersections of local and global social contexts. It not only analyzes the musicians' accents but also focuses on their lyrics, music videos and statements in interviews. The different types of data are analyzed for references of place in relation to theories of discourse, stylization and authenticity. The thesis applies the concept of glocalization, which has been widely used in studies of hip hop music, to the genres rock and indie in order to explain how local and global forces influence discursive identity production, particularly in relation to popular culture. The first phase of the study is a lyrical analysis of five British bands. Based on the results of the first phase, three bands were chosen for in-depth multimodal discourse analysis in a second phase. Results show how the bands' identity performances were changed and (re)shaped over the course of their careers. The study reveals three different profiles of the approach to and the development of identity performance, highlighting the importance of individuality in the face of mass media. In all, with respect to methodology, the study illustrates the benefit of discourse-analytic case study for the investigation of identity performance by musical artists.

Table of Contents

List of tables

1. Introduction

"[I]t is hard to see how we can proceed with any study of language, culture, globalization and engagement without dealing comprehensively with popular culture" (Pennycook, 2007a, p. 81).

1.1. Sociolinguistics and the Study of Popular Music

Popular music and popular culture has been gaining scholarly attention recently. In sociolinguistics, this is partly due to the fact that performers take part in a process of mediation between their local identities and the global phenomenon of mass-media. This means that different cultures interact with each other in different ways and often create what in hip-hop literature is called 'glocalization' (Alim, 2009; Alim & Pennycook, 2007b; Lee, 2010). Glocalization implies that local cultural features are exported into a global context and vice versa. This is a process that is almost inevitable in the post-modern globalized world, as "cultural reproduction is nowadays linked to mass-mediated representations and performances" (Coupland, 2001, p. 351), which gives the way actors in mass media perform culture substantial weight. Numerous studies have been conducted on this topic, especially in the world of global hip hop (e.g. Androutsopoulous, 2010b; Pennycook, 2003).

A large variety of mass-mediated forms of popular culture would fit under the rubric of glocalization. As Androutsopoulos (2010a) describes it: "Semiotic mobility and local adaptation involve, by definition, a (usually complex and extensive) process of mediation, and they are situated within some form of popular culture such as radio talk, popular music, or lifestyle magazines" (p. 205). The present study focuses on one of these varieties of popular culture, namely rock and indie music. In this variety, it seeks to build on what was started by Trudgill (1984), who studied British musicians' tendency to adapt their accent to a stereotypical role model of an American pronunciation. This was at a time when the study of

language variety was still mainly concerned with the study of regional varieties. As sociolinguistics developed further, more layers were added to what variety of language means and these developments increasingly asked for studying it in a social as well as regional context. It is in this framework that the present study will operate. Popular music has many facets that make it a useful focus of study in sociolinguistics:

> Ordinariness and vernacularity, voicing and performance, are established themes in sociolinguistics, and research on the role of mass media in circulating and reconstructing ideologies of language, class and community is accelerating.
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> [...] In this context popular song, even loosely defined, merits sociolinguistic attention. (Coupland, 2011, p. 578)

In the face of globalization, popular music, as well as other forms of popular culture, spreads over the world faster than ever before. Performers in this field therefore have to adapt to this condition and choose to adapt to an international culture or carry out their local culture onto an international market. This is what makes their identity discourse especially intriguing. "The global music industry is now experiencing increasing hybridization in visual, aural and lyrical dimensions of music production and performance, which is an interesting outcome of glocalization" (Lee, 2010, p. 140). The present study tries to analyze this hybridization, by focusing on a British rock and indie music perspective on processes of identity formation in the context of global popular culture.

Forces of globalization such as the increased exchange between people from different language backgrounds have been said to lead to increased dialect leveling. Johnstone (2010) however, suggests that globalization also sparks a new attention to local variety. "Dialect leveling and dialect awareness in fact have the same origins - namely social and geographical mobility and the discursive practices that arise in its wake" (p. 386). The noticing of linguistic

2

differences and the engagement with these differences, in this sense, does not only lead to their disappearance, but also to a wish for them to be retained. This is then a case in which local forms are made global, a form of glocalization. Hence, regional identity will still be one of the main focuses of this study, although in a broad sense, not only focusing on dialect but on other ways to make place semiotically meaningful and put local culture into the context of global culture. Nevertheless, the study of regional variety of language deserves attention in this study.

The wish to retain a local dialect in the face of globalization coincides with Heller's (2010) discussion of global markets in general. The global economy gives its participants reasons to both standardize their products and to regionalize them. Generally, competing on a global market means standardization, however "the saturation of industrial markets for standardized products has led to an increasing focus on niche markets and on adding value to standardized goods, often in the form of symbolic value" (p. 350). When applying the concept of economy to language, standardization of language varieties might be a trend on a global market. However, using regional forms can also add social value to the performance and therefore appeal to niche markets, and more specifically in popular music, local audiences.

To explore how these forces work, the present study analyzes linguistic and video material from different British bands in order to build on Trudgill's (1984) findings and incorporate and expanding body of sociolinguistic principles. The study will not try to speak for British artists in general, although an aim is to find patterns in the processes of identity formation that different performers might share. However, as Johnstone and Mattson Bean (1997) have argued, the study of regional variation not only went away from the unimodal analysis of phonological features but also increasingly gave a higher value to the individual:

"Individuality mediates between social facts and linguistic ones; and though it is the least tractable variable of all (not quantifiable, very hard to describe), it is an essential part of how details of variation come to be" (p. 236). This stresses the importance of case studies, a position that Leeuwen and Suleiman (2010) also take, when they state that the interaction of the global and the local is highly complex and in the need of being explored case by case instead of generalized. This study aims to add to the amount of case studies made in the field of popular music because every artist has a different heritage, sociocultural and linguistic background that could influence the outcome of glocalization, therefore calling for an individual assessment of these factors. The following section will shortly outline the chapters to come.

1.2. Summary of Chapters

Chapter 2 is a literature review that will introduce earlier studies done particularly on regional variation in British music by Trudgill (1984) and P. Simpson (1999) and then present more inclusive studies of research into popular music. It puts the focus on research in the areas of voice, place, performance and genre, mainly by Coupland (2011). This overview is followed by an introduction to studies of global hip hop, for example by Pennycook (2003, 2007b) and Alim (2009). Topics used here, such as authenticity and glocalization, deeply influence the current study.

Chapter 3 presents the research questions of the study and introduces the theoretical foundation. It offers an overview of practices of discourse analysis used in the present study as well as theories of identity formation and instances of place as semiotic resources. The chapter then introduces the methodology employed in the study, introducing the bands that have been chosen for investigation. Finally, procedures of data collection and analysis are set forth.

4

Chapter 4 then presents the findings and analysis. The study consists of four types of data. Five bands are globally analyzed for place references in their lyrics. After this, three bands are selected, for which a detailed analysis of all types of data is carried out. A more in-depth place reference analysis of the lyrics of the three bands and a phonological analysis determine whether processes Trudgill (1984) found are still visible for British bands today. Then, similar place references as those isolated from the lyrics will be analyzed in the bands' music videos, adding a layer of multimodality to the study. The last data source is interview articles, collected from online magazines, that are analyzed according to self-reflexive statements of the bands.

Finally, Chapter 5 wraps up the analysis by isolating the processes of identity formation in which the different bands engage and summarizing how they mediate the global and the local in the face of mass media. Connections between the bands are drawn and differences highlighted to determine whether processes of identity performance across bands are similar or not.

2. Localization and Identity in Musical Performance

This chapter presents an overview over previous research that has been done in the area of music and performance. Studies which focus on the language used in music are readily available and their number has increased over time, as popular culture became an increasingly globalized phenomenon. This review of literature begins with a chronological overview over studies that have focused on British rock and pop music. It starts out by recounting Trudgill's (1984) work on the modification of local British accents towards an Americanized stereotype and ends with more recent research, which factors in multiple sources of identity formation other than accent in favor of an analysis of identity performance as a whole. A genre of music in which this has already been achieved to a higher degree is hip hop, where multiple studies are available that cover place references on a lexical level, influences of globalization, code-switching and other sources of identity formation. Some of these studies are reviewed in the second part of this chapter.

2.1. From Trudgill to Coupland: Progression of Popular Music Research

In the 1980's, Peter Trudgill conducted a study in which he claims that the modification of accent of British singers was especially noticeable since "the late 1950's with the advent of rock-and-roll and the pop-music revolution" (Trudgill, 1984, p. 141). He analyzed the pronunciation used by British pop singers of the time and came to the conclusion that there are six rules or tendencies which are followed when modifying the spoken accent of a British dialect. These tendencies are:

1. Realization of intervocalic /t/ as the British variants [t] and [ʔ] is not permitted.

2. Words such as 'dance', 'last' and 'can't' are not permitted to be realized with the vowel /aː/

3. Non-prevocalic /r/ is generally pronounced

4. Words such as 'life' and 'my' are pronounced with a vowel like [aˑ] instead of a diphthong.

5. Words such as 'love' and 'done' are pronounced with a vowel like [əˑ] instead of a British variant.

6. Words such as 'body' or 'top' are pronounced with an unrounded vowel [ɑ] instead of the British variant [ɒ].

Trying to explain these tendencies, Trudgill offers that both accommodation theory and appropriateness go some way but not all the way. He uses a definition adapted from Giles and Smith (1979) and explains that accommodation theory

> attempts to explain temporary or long-term adjustments in pronunciation and other aspects of linguistic behaviour in terms of a drive to approximate one's language to that of one's interlocutors, if they are regarded as socially desirable and/or if the speaker wishes to identify with them and/or demonstrate good will towards them. (Trudgill, 1984, p. 143)

The opposite, where language is used to distance oneself from the interlocutor, is also a possibility. However, this theory is aimed primarily at explaining behavior in dialogues between conversation partners. Musicians are not always aware of the social background of the whole of their audience. Where they are not confronted with a home audience, their linguistic behavior does also not reflect that of their audiences. Therefore accommodation theory can only be part of the explanation.

Appropriateness theory assumes that "different situations, different topics, different genres require different linguistic styles and registers" (Trudgill, 1984, p. 143). This, according to Trudgill, also clearly plays a role in explaining the tendencies he found in pop-music pronunciation. It could be argued to be a register that requires a certain set of linguistic features, just like other registers do. Nevertheless, appropriateness does not explain why it is these tendencies that can be observed in particularly this type of singing.

7

The theory Trudgill does employ, then, is LePage's theory of linguistic behavior. LePage's theory says that a general motive for the modification of linguistic behavior is to "resemble as closely as possible those of the group or groups with which from time to time we [speakers] wish to identify" (as cited in Trudgill, 1984, p. 144).

The group with which British singers try to identify, was defined by Trudgill loosely as the 'Americans', as the six tendencies that have been outlined above can all be found in American accents. Trudgill (1984) also claims they are "stereotypically associated by the British with American pronunciation" (p.144). Additionally, to further strengthen his theory of the American role model, he found that on a lexical level, the tendency is also to exchange British words with Americanisms used by British speakers. The reason as to why, according to Trudgill, British singers would want to do identify with Americans as a role model is the following:

> Americans have dominated the field, and cultural domination leads to imitation: it is appropriate to sound like and American when performing in what is predominantly and American activity; and one attempts to model one's singing style on that of those who do it best and who one admires most. (Trudgill, 1984, p. 144)

In spite of this, Trudgill has found some restraints on this modification towards American English. The use of the above rules is often irregular and inconsistent. It is also, for example, unclear which specific American accent is targeted by the British singers and features such as non-prevocalic /r/ tend to be overused, even in positions where they do not belong. Additionally, Trudgill found that it seems British singers are sometimes not able to pronounce the features consequently the American way during the whole course of singing. Nevertheless, the usage of the features identified as stereotypically American, along with the use of Americanisms suggest the role model is American, even if the outcome is variable.

In his study of mostly the Beatles and the Rolling Stones, Trudgill then goes on to describe the decline of American features after 1964. This change in motivation to sound American was associated by Trudgill with a change in the type of music the Beatles made and the general tendency of British music, at least for a while, to dominate the field (1984, p. 153). Even later, the rise of punk-rock music came with an even stronger decline of American features and an increase of features associated with low-prestige south of England accents.

Trudgill claims that at that time a new motivation had arisen and this motivation was to sound uniquely un-American. The intended audience of punk music seemed to be British urban working-class youth and linguistic features were used to appeal to and identify with this group (Trudgill, 1984, p. 155). Here, Trudgill claims accommodation theory might be more applicable. However, the old motivation to sound American did not disappear but as Trudgill states, stayed in conflict with the new motivation for several bands such as The Clash or Sham '69.

2.1.1. Building on Trudgill. In 1999, P. Simpson built on Trudgill's work and analyzed music from the late 70's, the 80's and the early 90's. He used Trudgill's research and isolated the tendencies he found into the "USA-5 model" (P. Simpson, 1999, p. 345), which in short includes the following features:

1. the tapping or flapping of intervocalic /t/;

2. the modification of long [ɑː] in words such as 'dance';

3. pronunciation of non-prevocalic /r/;

4. the modification of the /aɪ/ glide in words such as 'life', resulting in [laˑf] and

5. pronouncing words such as body with [ɑ] rather than the British variant [ɒ].

Further expanding on Trudgill's work, P. Simpson puts forward some ideas in accordance to developments in sociolinguistics at the time. Drawing on Halliday, P. Simpson

9

introduces three contextual determinants of register: tenor, field and mode. The tenor of a discourse, in this case the performance of a song, describes the participants of said discourse and their relationships to each other. As such, tenor "acts as a significant influence on the selection of linguistic forms" (P. Simpson, 1999, p. 351). However, this determinant is less applicable in terms of music because, as mentioned before, rock and pop singers' vocal styles do not necessarily reflect that of their immediate audience.

Mode of discourse refers to the physical medium of language. The importance of this becomes clear, when distinguishing between parts of a song where singers deliver in a mode which is rather spoken than sung. Some data has suggested "the less a singer 'sings', so to speak, the weaker the influence of the external code and the stronger the approximation to the singer's own vernacular usage" (P. Simpson, 1999, p. 360).

The third determinant, field, is more extensively focused on by P. Simpson. Field of discourse refers to such areas as topic of the discourse and the purpose of the language event. P. Simpson argues that field has great importance for the linguistic behavior of singers, as for example in the Dire Strait's song *Money for Nothing*, where the singing style seems to be influenced by the topic of the song (P. Simpson, 1999, p. 352). *Money for Nothing* is about a drunk man from New York, commenting on the television program in a bar and it seems the singer is adapting his style to the speech of this man, the main topic of the song.

In other instances, P. Simpson describes, it is difficult to determine whether it is field, i.e. topic of the song or the context of the situation, for example the audience, that influences the singing style. However, the possibility that topic plays as much a role as context is undeniable, which leads P. Simpson to speak for a dualism of motivation: "Basically, singers can respond primarily to the constraints of genre and situation (who you are singing to and for) or the constraints of topic and field (what you are singing about)" (P. Simpson, 1999, p.

354). The former is somewhat related to tenor, while the latter refers to field.

P. Simpson further explains that the influence of the social and political situation in the UK after the punk movement seems to have influenced music insofar as the USA-5 model was reinstated and mixed with more prestige-carrying RP forms of British English. However, this is not the only possible reason for a style shift. P. Simpson argues instead that, as well as being able to react to outside forces, such as political changes, singers have the ability to "reinvent" (P. Simpson, 1999, p. 357) themselves at a particular stage in their career. This he calls an "initiative" style shift (P. Simpson, 1999, p. 357), which can, for example, be brought about by a singer wanting to project a different identity, not out of concern for political or cultural changes, but a greater identification with different social values. This was the case for Van Morrison, who in his early career was influenced by the American model, while he later reinvented himself by aspiring to identify himself with his Irish roots. This self-initiated change, which influenced different aspects of his music such as singing style and use of instruments "is very much tied up to a sense of place and identity" but not so much a political or social shift in the country (P. Simpson, 1999, p. 359).

The 1990's, P. Simpson goes on, again saw a revival of the USA-5 and Americanized pronunciation in British rock and pop music in an ever more globalized world. However, it seems that the motivation then, was not to sound American, but rather to sound like bands that at a much earlier time tried to sound American. "Modern 'Britpop' bands like Oasis are now assessed in terms of how they resemble older bands in the British popular music tradition" (P. Simpson, 1999, p. 363). Taking up the example of Oasis, it seems that they mix American features with features of English from Liverpool, which is where the Beatles, not Oasis stem from. It seems, therefore, to P. Simpson that the use of American features starts to come to full circle in the 1990's.

In sum, P. Simpson goes one step further than Trudgill, in that he leaves the more traditional dialectal analysis of music behind and takes into account factors such as field and mode, the personal background of the bands involved and the wider social and political context in which the targeted audience exists.

A study on a specific British band was done by Beal (2009), who researched the background and music of the Sheffield-based band Arctic Monkeys. Beal reviews both Trudgill's and P. Simpson's work and sets it in contrast to a band that specifically targets a northern British identity. She sees the validity of the former research but argues for a language-ideological perspective instead, concluding that there has been a shift in motivation for using the USA-5 model because "within the language-ideological framework linguistic features are seen to become associated with social values so that they acquire indexical meaning" (Beal, 2009, p. 229). While the USA-5 were used earlier to aspire to sounding more American, they were later associated not with Americanness but rather with mainstream-pop in general. This is what the Arctic Monkeys seem to not want to associate themselves with.

The Arctic Monkeys, instead of aspiring to be part of the mainstream popular culture, make great use of features that associate them with the Sheffield area in England. The USA-5 features are completely absent from the singer's accent. Alex Turner instead uses very traditional features of Yorkshire English and lexical items associated with his heritage. Beal also compared Turner's sung accent to his spoken accent in an interview and found both to be very similar, suggesting, as she puts it, the singer is "consistently projecting a local identity" (Beal, 2009, p. 235).

Beal discusses these findings with reference to authenticity, a somewhat elusive concept. Beal says that "in both folk and indie music, local and regional accent and dialect features index authenticity, but perhaps for different reasons, which relate to different

definitions of authenticity" (Beal, 2009, p. 237). Coupland (2003, 2007) for example, has suggested that authenticity involves five qualities, two of which play a stronger role in music. One of them is "historicity", which is often aspired to by folk artists. For things to have the quality of "historicity", they have to have "longevity; they have survived. They resist human agentive interference and are in that sense durable and even timeless" (Coupland, 2003, p. 418). A second important quality of authenticity is that of "ontology". Things having "ontology" means that they have "real existence, as opposed to a spurious or derived existence" (Coupland, 2003, p. 418). This second quality can rather be connected to indie music, where authenticity is achieved by describing things as existing in a real world, things that the audience can relate to. Authenticity is also a recurring topic in studies on other music genres, such as especially hip hop. Here the notion of 'keepin' it real' is often referred to, as for example by Pennycook (2007b). 'Keepin' it real' can easily be associated to the quality of "ontology" (Coupland, 2007) and I will come back to this concept in the section on hip hop research below.

  2.1.2. Voice, place, performance and genre. Coupland (2011) himself takes up the topic of musical performance and begins by criticizing Trudgill and P. Simpson's work for taking a "'territorial indexical' understanding of place" (p. 574). Place should, in his opinion, be interpreted rather on a cultural than a regional level. Additionally, he argues that Trudgill and P. Simpson do not sufficiently consider the difference between speaking and singing as "distinct communicative modes" (Coupland, 2011, p. 575) and criticizes the absence of the performance aspect of popular music. In his own study, Coupland takes a different stance on these issues, addressing mostly voice and place, genre and performance.

  According to Coupland (2011), place in music performance has four respects. The first respect includes the use of dialect as a place index, as well the possibility of whole

13

genres of popular music being felt to belong to a certain space. An example would be the affiliation of country music with the cultural space of cowboys and the countryside. Secondly, lyrics can very directly position their characters in certain places, for example "inner-city streets, dance-halls, schoolyards, airports, country roads, doctor's surgeries, back seats of cars, and so on" (Coupland, 2011, p. 581). A third respect of place is where the performance itself is staged and the fourth where it is experienced, including the audience as being in a certain place as well.

Voice can also be understood on different levels. Frith has identified four categories of voice, which Coupland (2011) takes up: Voice as musical instrument, body, person and character (p. 579). The first refers to vocal instrumentalization and the second refers to body language. The latter two categories are especially important, as they have interpretative functions for the audience. The singer can either be perceived as singing about him- or herself or about a certain character, a protagonist in the song. This opens possibilities for the audience to identify with the performer him- or herself as an individual of a certain heritage, which would possibly enable a more emotional connection to the singer: "[T]here is a crucial relational dynamic between a performer and the individuated audience member, who may align with or even feel transcendently drawn into the performer's own identity" (Coupland, 2011, p. 580).

Performance is defined by Coupland through citing Bauman, who is influential in this field:

> [P]erformance rests on an assumption of responsibility to an audience for a display of communicative virtuosity, highlighting the way in which the act of discursive production is accomplished, above and beyond the additional multiple functions the communicative act may serve. In this sense of performance, then, the act of

14

expression itself is framed as display: objectified, lifted out to a degree from its contextual surroundings, and opened up to interpretive and evaluative scrutiny by an audience, both in terms of its intrinsic qualities and its associational resonances. (Bauman, 2004, as cited in Coupland, 2011, p. 582)

Coupland goes on to explain that performance in this sense has the potential to both, "decontextualize", as suggested in the quote, but also to "entextualize". The decontextualization implies that popular music has the potential to transform cultural scenes and social identities through stylization. A "stylized utterance" according to Coupland (2007) is, put shortly, one that can project personas, identities and genres that are beyond the immediate context, always assuming a knowing audience which will receive and interpret the utterance (p. 154). That way the performer's identity can be interpreted above the immediate context.

Entextualization, on the other hand, has to do with genre and a certain form of intertextuality. Building further on Bauman's findings, Coupland explains that a performance is in most cases a "re-enactment (or recontextualization) of some earlier versions of 'the same' performance" (Coupland, 2011, p. 582). Therefore a performance usually invokes a certain genre, connecting the performance with others, creating "intertextual" connections. Performers can then keep to genre-specific norms or aim their performance to innovate away from them, creating "intertextual gaps" (Coupland, 2011, p. 582). For example, when a live version varies considerably from the recorded version of a song, there is a gap between performances. Additionally, when sung performances are supported by spoken performances, the artist may be "actively seeking to build new interpretive contexts around their material" (Coupland, 2011, p. 583). All this acts to bring additional information into the immediate context.

Genre itself is a rather open concept and there are no completely straightforward genre classifications. Genre can therefore be seen rather as an orientation. This entails for one that audiences have expectations of music of a certain genre, but also that stylistic features can have different meanings according to in which genre they are used. Male high-pitching for example can have a different social readings according to genre. In indie rock it is "likely to connote emotional vulnerability", while in sweet soul it "indexes a 'lady's man' type of masculinity" (Coupland, 2011, p. 583-584).

In addition to his considerations of voice, place, genre and performance, Coupland offers some thoughts on vernacularity in popular music. Voice, as mentioned before, has the potential to not only talk about place by being used in a dialect but in other ways as well. Therefore, the term vernacular should equally be adapted to other forms of voice. The vernacular experience is described as not only a form existing next to the norm, but also as "experience located on boundaries between social exclusion and inclusion, between oppression and freedom, between the culturally normative and the culturally progressive" (Coupland, 2011, p. 595). The use of vernacular dialects is an important identity resource here but the aforementioned concepts of recontextualization, genre and intertextuality imply that performance of popular music also has the potential to give a 'home' to marginalized cultures by voicing pre-modern values as for example "timeless rural spaces" (Coupland, 2011, p. 595) in the face of globalization and urbanity.

2.1.3. The progression of British music research in a nutshell. To sum up, Trudgill began the progression of research on British music by using a more traditional dialectal analysis and drawing direct conclusions from the use of regional dialectal features by using LePage's acts of identity theory. P. Simpson took these findings and added the importance of topic, context and political and social circumstances to the analysis. He follows the

16

development of the use of American features into the 1990's, where a revival of usage can be assumed by the orientation towards formerly famous bands such as the Beatles. Beal then presents a counter argument to the trend towards Americanness, postulating that in terms of a language-ideological framework, not Americanness but mainstream-pop is the target of language modification. He argues for a trend in indie music to go against mainstream in any aspect to perform an authentic regional identity instead. Coupland, again, seeks to take the analysis of popular music further away from a centralized view on dialectal features according to regional space and open the path to studying music in terms of other outlooks on place, voice, performance and genre.

2.2. Research into Global Hip Hop

In another genre that is musically entirely different from indie and rock music, namely hip hop, extensive research has been done with respect to identity performance. Multiple studies on hip hop music are available that do not only cover regional accent but take into account the effects of globalization and the projection of local identity on multiple levels. The next section will deal with some of these studies.

In the field of hip hop music, a variety of studies has been conducted that link the use of language with features of identity. These are not necessarily situated in an English-speaking setting or even take the use of accent into account; however, they still offer important implications on features important in researching popular music sociolinguistically.

Global hip hop has been the centre of quite some scholarly concern. In 2010, Terkourafi published a book with several contributions on sociolinguistic topics about hip hop around the world. These topics include multilingualism, ethnicity, symbolic language use, regional lexicology and minority cultures, among others. This shows that hip hop research has gone some way to cover topics much more in depth than the rather

17

unidirectional study of regional accents done by Trudgill. Hip hop is a significant genre of music also, because it, just as rock music, has a long history and changed from a local phenomenon, over phases of dance music and gangster rap to finally becoming a mainstream cultural phenomenon. Hip hop artists often comment on social inadequacies and problems in their region, while being fundamentally concerned with authenticity (Terkourafi, 2010, p. 5).

According to Terkourafi (2010), hip hop artists achieve authenticity on different levels. For one, they act on a local level, where music as well as language are used as indicators. Artists use national languages, different varieties and code-switching, as well as topicality and other instances of locality in hip hop to establish indexes of place and to maintain an in-group relationship with a local audience (Terkourafi, 2010, p. 8). Another level of authenticity in hip hop is achieved through references to hip hop culture itself, where the origin is said to lie in African American urban cultures, to which it is important to orient towards by, for example, adopting features of African American English. We will see later that this distinction between the two levels is not as straightforward as Terkourafi makes it seem.

The notion of authenticity has already been mentioned above. Alastair Pennycook is one of the main scholars who has done research in the field of hip hop. He often refers to the authenticity of hip hop artists around the world and how this authenticity is connected to both the use of English as a global language and the perceived history of the genre of hip hop itself. According to Pennycook (2007b), authenticity in hip hop underlies a certain tension between

> on the one hand the spread of a cultural dictate to adhere to certain principles of what
> it means to be authentic, and on the other, a process of localization that makes such an
> expression of staying true to oneself dependent on local contexts, languages, cultures,

and understandings of the real. (p. 103)

In other words authenticity or 'keepin' it real' requires a fine balance between negotiating the principles of global hip hop, like for example the above mentioned use of African American English and the expression of a local culture. "Global real talk, which, while easily glossed as keepin' it real, is better understood as a global ideology that is always pulled into local ways of being" (Pennycook, 2007b, p. 112).

The use of English plays an important role here. Using the global language of English is often too easily claimed to be for the benefit of an international market, greater understandability and therefore greater commercial success, while local languages are used to express a local identity and a more personal culture. In Pennycook's view, this distinction is too simple because the use of English in hip hop is often tainted by local features, while aspects of US hip hop, specifically gangster rap, are openly rejected. "Too Phat may be using a global language, but they are also using a particular register that is local, generational, cultural, and distinctive. They are both participating in and rejecting aspects of the global" (Pennycook, 2007b, p. 105). This would mean that the fact that an artist is using a language that is not their 'own', does not mean that they are aspiring to a certain culture. Other instances of place may well shape a different picture.

Another example of this mix of local and global language features is the rapper Rip Slyme from Japan:

> In a sense, then, this use of Japanese and English – Japanese which may locate these rappers as decidedly local (from Kinshichoo) or which may signal their sense of cultural mixing, and English that at times explicitly echoes African American English while at other times seems more Japanese in its usage – seems to constantly pull back and forth, to flow itself across the boundaries of identity. (Pennycook, 2003, p. 527)

19

In all, Pennycook claims that it is not the language that one is born into that forms the identity of the speaker but what he or she does with different aspects of different languages throughout the performance, thus establishing identity not according to given features but through the use of languages and how they flow into each other (Pennycook, 2003, p. 528). This again speaks for the fact that regional and territorial analysis of language features is not sufficient anymore in a globalized world but rather the question of how different languages and place instances are used throughout the whole performance, taking into consideration the background of the performer.

In addition to this, even for non-native English speakers, English may well become a local language. New varieties of English are no exceptions but a song performed in English can also be made local by the use of other features such as melody or instruments:

A local English has emerged when it bears significant and regular differences from other varieties. Yet the discussion here raises other issues; language may become local by dint of background music or local themes. Localization may be as much about a language being in the world in particular ways as about changes to that language. (Pennycook, 2007b, p. 110)

As well as the use of English or a local language not being a black and white issue, neither is the often claimed fact that hip hop in most cases orientates itself towards its origins in African American subcultures in the United States. On the contrary, Pennycook and Mitchell (2009) give important insights into local histories of hip hop by comparing the spread of global hip hop with the spread of global English. Both, they claim, cannot be seen as unidirectional just because certain similarities are visible: "The echoes around the world of new Hip Hop cultures may be understood not so much as subvarieties of global Hip Hop, but rather as local traditions being pulled toward global cultural forms while those traditions are

simultaneously reinvented" (p. 30).

Hip hop around the world has been incorporated in already existing cultures, reviving features such as indigenous dance, clothing, vocal styles, etc.. The origins of hip hop may lie in Africa and were reintroduced in North America but at the same time, Australian hip hop often seeks its roots in Australian Aboriginal culture: "Hip Hop becomes not merely a cultural formation that has spread and been locally taken up, nor even one that has its origins in Africa and has returned, but rather one that has always been local" (Pennycook & Mitchell, 2009, p. 35). This connects back to Coupland's ideas about popular music and vernacular cultures above. Performances recontextualizing these pre-modern local cultures, not only refer to them but give them a new outlet in a globalized world.

Another researcher who did influential research on hip hop culture is Alim, who much in accordance with Pennycook looks to describe hip hop as a genre that pays attention to both the local and the global, or glocalization, a term which points to the multiple layers of identity in hip hop communities:

> [A] global style community, such as the Global Hip Hop Nation, is better thought of as a network of overlapping and intersecting translocal style communitites, with members in particular localities "making a choice to be connected across recognized boundaries" (cooke and Lawrence 2005): 1) and negotiating their identities and memberships in the simultaneously localizing and globalizing imagined world of Hip Hop. (Alim, 2009, p. 107)

Again the focus of Alim's work is the negotiation between the global hip hop world and local cultures and values, in this case expressed by different styles. These styles can be interpreted to express multiple belongings of the music in the "Global Hip Hop Nation", as well as in a local setting. Language choice plays an important role here but so do topics,

21

rhyming styles and other cultural features. Language cannot be seen in isolation but rather in the context of the overall style a performer is making use of and this can at the same time convey multiple different identities by entextualizing different cultures the knowing audience can identify.

This relates back to Coupland's (2007) description of performance above, as well as his thoughts on contextualization and genre. Hip hop as well as any other performance of popular music was described as high performance instances and these always lead to a certain form of identity projection:

> Performers' projected identities are constructed and read relative to prevailing meanings for the social categories invoked. I think we can therefore say that acts of identity in high performance events encourage a critical dialogue about the real versus the projected content of identity categories, such as maleness and femaleness, Welshness or other forms of localness or ethnicity, and so on. (p. 149)

It would be possible to add 'realness' or global hip hop style to this list. No matter whether we think about accent use, code-switching, effects of place and voice indexes, it always seems to come back to the fact that everything has to be looked at in the bigger picture of the overall performance. P. Simpson was already starting to reach this conclusion in his earlier research on British music:

> the nature of the perceptual linguistic model aspired to, the nature of the pop and rock bands who adopt it and the nature of the bands' targeted audience. Such a study also needs to take into account those aspects of the wider sociopolitical and cultural context which act as determinants on particular singing styles. (P. Simpson, 1999, p. 364)

More recent research in popular music and performance in general suggests not to

focus too much on regional differences or the use of accent or even a certain language but the identity the musician seeks to perform relative to social and cultural phenomena above the immediate context. Hip hop research has gone a long way to incorporate these factors and very detailed studies of specific artists and their backgrounds are available. For the case of British music that Trudgill opened in the 1980's more work in this direction is needed. In the next chapter, I present the methodology and conceptual foundation used in the present study, which aims to examine British performers in this way.

3. Theory and Methods

The previous chapter has given an overview over studies in the field of popular music with a focus on studies of the Americanization of British dialects, performance and hip hop. Studies of hip hop went a lot further to incorporate considerations of local and global culture, as well as individual takes on glocalization and the use of place. In this respect, more work is needed to build on what Trudgill started out with in the 1980's, to move away from a centralized study of regional variation and incorporate knowledge gained from studies of hip hop and advances in sociolinguistics to the study of how rock and indie bands project identities in the face of globalization. Accordingly, the current study, focusing on British bands, explores multiple data sources and gives a more wholesome view of several bands' identity performance.

With this aim, the study widens the scope of earlier studies by Trudgill (1984) and P. Simpson (1999) by including sources of data that do not exclusively deal with phonology but, like hip hop studies, also with identity projection through lyrics, the imagery in music videos and statements in interviews. The focus here is on how the bands construct their identities by making use of place instances in the different types of data and how they, through this, position themselves as both local and global participants in popular culture and shape their performance as a whole.

The study is guided by two main and one subordinate research question that steer the analysis of the data. The first research question is of a more quantitative nature: What references of place do bands make use of in different aspects of performance? The second research question, which is twofold, builds on the first one and is of a more qualitative nature: How do the different references to place in different aspects of performance fit together and how are they used to shape a band's identity as a whole? The subordinate research question

24

adds a chronological perspective to the study by asking: Do references to place change over time and how does this influence the band's projected identity? The aim is then to combine all the information to see whether it is possible to see an overarching pattern for all the bands.

Considering the nature of these research questions, a discourse analytic approach is taken in this study. The next section gives the theoretical foundation for achieving this, by introducing theories of discourse analysis and identity construction through discourse and performance. Additionally, an introduction is given to theories of place as an identity constructing feature and the concept of authenticity.

3.1. Theoretical Background

3.1.1. Discourse theory. The overall approach to this study is a discourse analytical one. Discourse, in Blommaert's (2005) words, is "a general mode of semiosis, i.e. meaningful symbolic behaviour" (p. 2). The main idea is to think of it as language-in-action. Language can be used to perform activities bearing high semiotic potential, by means of employing structural features of it. These semiotic potentials need to be "seen in connection with social, cultural and historical patterns and developments of use" (Blommart, 2005, p. 3).

Blommaert (2007) additionally instructs us that in the realm of language variation, traditional discourse analysis has mainly focused on discourse being in a specific language. A more inclusive approach, however, also needs to take into account types of sociolinguistic variation on a smaller scale, including for example style and register shifts. These sources of indexical meaning can connect "discourses to contexts and induce categories, similarities and differences within frames, and thus suggest identities, tones, styles and genres that appear to belong or to deviate from expected types" (p. 115) and ultimately language to globalization. This is a very important point to make in relation to the present study, as the area of mass-media is increasingly influenced by globalization and bands that act in this multicultural

environment are subjects to global, as well as local forces, which they have to mediate between.

Bearing all this in mind, Blommaert (2005, p. 14-15) identifies five principles of discourse analysis. The first principle has to do with the assumption that language users invest in language and that it matters to them. The question therefore is always <u>how</u> language matters to people. The second principle highlights the importance of context in order to see how language works differently in different environments, conditions and for different purposes. The third of the five principles states that one has to think of language not as a distinctly specified entity, but as the "*actual and densely contextualized forms in which language occurs in society*" (p. 15). This implies that the focus needs to be on variety in language as "such variation is at the core of what makes language and meaning social" (p. 15). The fourth principle focuses on the individual language user, who is constrained in his language choices by his or her sociolinguistic background. This background is therefore important to take into account. The fifth principle puts the other four principles under the influence of globalization by introducing the need to take into account "the relationships between different societies and the effect of these relationships on repertoires of language users" (p.15).

In order to do this kind of analysis, Gee (2011) provides us with a toolkit that consists of 27 tools that guide discourse analysis. Like Blommaert, Gee also stresses the importance of context when doing discourse analysis and urges us to ask what information needs to be "filled in", in order to achieve an understanding of a discourse situation (p. 12). This includes who the listener is and what this listener is expected to know, even though it is not explicitly stated. This expectation is what Gee calls "situated meaning" (p. 153). Words can have general meanings as well as situated meanings, that depend entirely on the contexts. Isolating

26

these situated meanings can be a way to find very subtle indexes: "interpretative leads between what is said and the social occasion in which it is being produced" (Blommaert, 2005, p.11).

The importance of context leads us to consider what Gee (2011) calls the "frame problem". This means that we can increasingly learn more that can influence the assumption or hypothesis about a situated meaning. This will become clear in Chapter 4 as we constantly add to the big picture by going through the different layers of data. To add to these context dependent factors, there is also the idea to consider that language not only depends on context but also helps create it. Gee (2011) calls this the "reflexive" property of language (p. 85). Speech creates contexts, reproduces already existing contexts (intertextuality) and can also transform existing contexts.

Apart from the importance of context, another helpful tool that Gee (2011) proposes is "the relationship building tool" (p. 114), which advises the discourse analyst to keep in mind that language has the ability to build and maintain relationships between the speaker and other people, groups and institutions. It is helpful to consider this as the interaction between performer and audience is of particular importance to the present study.

Additionally, discourse always has a political property to it. Politics in terms of language does not necessarily have to do with government but instead with values that are attached to certain things in a society (Gee, 2011, p. 118). Properties that have value in one context, might not have the same value in a different context. This is important when performers negotiate identities in very different cultural settings.

Another tool that Gee (2011) offers is what he calls "the big 'D' discourse tool". This tool reminds the user to go beyond language and also take into account "ways of acting, interacting, believing, valuing, dressing and using various objects, tools and technologies in

certain sorts of environments" (p. 181). All of these factors can be important in terms of building identity and it is inherently because of this that this study includes more than one or two types of data. More data always adds information to a given context and can change the previous assessment, thus more data gives a broader picture (Gee, 2011, p. 31).

      3.1.2. Identity and place in discourse. A major aim of this study is to isolate certain ways in which different bands present their identity to audiences. The literature on identity formation through language is extensive and it is important to mention some meaningful processes here.

      The first important assumption that has to be made in order to understand what type of identity we are looking for here, is to make it clear that people do not inherently have an identity but that identities "are constructed in practices that *produce, enact,* or *perform* identity -- identity is identification, an outcome of socially conditioned semiotic work" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 205). Just because a performer is from a certain place, it cannot be assumed that the identity he or she seeks to perform is inherently linked to that place. It is within discourse that it will become clear what kind of identity is being enacting in a certain moment.

      This, of course, implies that a speaker does not only have one identity. Gee (2011) puts it in very practical terms: "We build an identity here and now as we speak. We each act out different identities in our lives in different contexts" (p. 106). It is the task of the discourse analyst to investigate what kinds of identities are performed through discourse. These are always constrained by factors such as social groups, roles, institutions, relationships and culture. Each of these can influence which identity is appropriate and which is chosen from the "repertoire" of identity features that a speaker has at his or her disposal (Blommaert, 2005, p. 232).

One way to act out identity with language is to use different regional or social languages. The use of regional language is of particular importance here, as phonology and place indexing though lexical usage will play a prominent role in the analysis. Irvine and Gal write that "linguistic forms, including whole languages, can index social groups [and] can become a pointer to (index of) the social identities and the typical activities of speakers" (as cited in Cutler, 2010, p. 226). Speaking a certain dialect and using certain lexical features, indexes social group meanings. In times of globalization, it cannot be assumed anymore that where one comes from automatically implies an identity; using a local dialect consciously can therefore help establish this local identity:

> Work on 'style' [...] has showed how social identities can be evoked or created through the use of particular linguistic forms and has suggested that, at least for some people and in some ways, regional forms could serve such purposes. (Johnstone, 2010, p. 389)

Part of this study deals with this fact. There is the potential to consciously use a local dialect that one 'owns' in order to establish identity but there is also the potential to modify a dialect by making use of what Coupland (2001) calls "dialect stylization" which "is best understood in these terms: as a means of deploying normative community speech forms at one remove, without overtly subscribing to the norms of tradition and cultural continuity, but also without discrediting their cultural value" (p. 372).

In this sense, it is important to state that dialect has to be seen as a part of performance and not inherent behavior and also as social practice instead of variation (Coupland, 2001, p. 348). In this way, using dialect can be both authenticating and deauthenticating and its conscious use in performance can give important clues about embracing or rejecting a certain identity.

29

Before we turn to the present study, some remarks should also be made about the theory behind the notion of place. A large part of the study focuses on how instances of place are used to shape identities that adhere to certain places. Place can be seen as "a culturally defined category, and indeed as a social meaning amenable to being styled" (Coupland, 2007, p. 121). In this sense, the use of place indexes is a conscious process of styling and making use of meaningful features and local dialect can be one of these indexes.

> For the moment, we can suffice by saying that the attributive qualities of spaces, projected onto speech varieties, allow for an enormous semiotic potential through which people can articulate far more different identities, subjectivities, and speaker positions than previously assumed. (Blommaert, 2005, p. 223)

This establishes that place is a highly important feature of identity projection, which grants it the important role that it has been given in the present study, both in terms of dialect and lexical usage, but also in terms of imagery and indexing of very specific places in the real world. A study of place and identity expression of this sort calls for a methodology that includes several sources of data which can shed light on the underlying processes. The next section introduces the methodology used for analyzing and interpreting these data sources.

3.2. Methodology

This section begins with a short description of the bands that were chosen for this study and then describes the kind of data that were collected for them and how. I then explain how the data were analyzed.

3.2.1. The bands. Five bands were selected for the first phase of the analysis. The data consist of all released albums of the five bands Biffy Clyro, Arctic Monkeys, Maximo Park, Kaiser Chiefs and Snow Patrol. These bands were chosen, for one, because of their British heritage, where none of them come from exactly the same place to ensure some

variation in heritage culture and dialect. One band is from Scotland, three from England (Sheffield, Newcastle and Leeds) and one with members from both Northern Ireland and Scotland. The bands all come from the genres of either rock or indie music and have released a substantial amount of music, providing a large amount of data to choose from. For this study it was also important that all the bands have reached a certain level of recognition to ensure that interview material would be readily available and for reasons of comparability. I will now give a short introduction to each of the five bands.

3.2.1.1. Biffy Clyro. All three members of Biffy Clyro originate from Ayrshire in Scotland and have been making music together since the mid 1990's. They released their first album in 2002 on an independent label and have since released another five albums, three of which on a major label, and two live albums. Since their fourth album *Puzzle,* which went up to number 2 of the charts in Britain (Llewellyn Smith, 2013), Biffy Clyro have achieved a higher level of recognition, especially in Great Britain but also in other parts of Europe and increasingly in the United States. It is in the US that the band has recorded their last three albums.

3.2.1.2. Arctic Monkeys. The Arctic Monkeys are a four piece band from Sheffield in the north of England. They started out as a band in 2005 and released their first album in 2006. *To date Whatever People Say I am, That's What I'm Not* still hold the record of the fastest-selling debut album in British history (Day, 2013). The band has released five albums through spring 2014, the newest of them being *AM* in 2013. They enjoy international success and have moved their base to LA, where they record their albums and also live. The album *AM* is their greatest success overseas to date (Holpuch, 2014) and it seems they are now an international contender.

3.2.1.3. Maximo Park. The band Maximo Park consists of five members from

different cities from the north of England but all of the members have lived in Newcastle upon Tyne for over a decade. They have existed in their current configuration since 2000, when frontman Paul Smith joined the band. Since then, they have released five albums, the newest being *Too Much Information* released in early 2014. Their first two albums have gold status in the UK[1]. The band now also tours outside of Europe in Asia and the United States. However, in contrast to the other analyzed bands, they still record in Great Britain and have their own studio in Newcastle, where they reside.

    3.2.1.4. Kaiser Chiefs. The Kaiser Chiefs are a five piece band from the English city of Leeds and were formed in 2000. They have achieved fame through songs such as *Oh My God* and *Everyday I Love You Less And Less.* They have been one of Britain's more successful bands of the last decade, having sold records with platinum status[2] and winning three Brit Awards. They have as of spring 2014 released five albums, and after the departure of their main songwriter in 2012, the band released their first album written by remaining members in 2014.

    3.2.1.5. Snow Patrol. The band Snow Patrol was founded in 1994 in Dundee, Scotland, however singer Gary Lightbody stems from Northern Ireland. They have released seven albums and were signed to a major record label as early as 2002. The band has enjoyed wider international success for many years. Especially successful was their 2006 album *Eyes Open* with the hit single *Chasing Cars*. The album reached number 1 in the UK and ultimately sold over 6 million times.

    3.2.2. Data collection. Data about these five bands were collected from four types of data sources. The first two types both draw from a sample of all the bands' recorded albums.

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1   A total number of at 100,000 sold copies (The British Recorded Music Industry (n.d.) *Certified Awards - Certification Levels.* Retrieved from http://www.bpi.co.uk/certification-levels.aspx)
2   A total number of at 300,000 sold copies (The British Recorded Music Industry (n.d.) *Certified Awards - Certification Levels.* Retrieved from http://www.bpi.co.uk/certification-levels.aspx)

Of these, the lyrics were analyzed as well as the recordings examined phonologically. The source data amounts to 26 albums, with about 12 songs per album. The third type of data was drawn from the music videos of three of the five bands and the fourth from interview articles gathered online.

    3.2.2.1. Lyrical data. The first type of data consists of parts of the lyrics of all the songs on all the albums the bands have published until the time of data collection in January 2014. The lyrics were listened to, or where possible read on the official homepages of the different bands while listening, in order to find instances of place according to different categories, which are described below. Instances of place were considered because of the importance of place for identity construction addressed earlier. Lyrics are also especially important because of their high stylization:

> [S]ong lyrics may originate in spontaneous improvisation, but they subsequently go through several stages of editing, in which artists use literacy to optimize the rhyme and other properties of their lyrics and to tailor them to rhythmic constraints, thereby taking into account genre conventions and audience expectations. (Androutsopoulos, 2010, p. 20)

    To collect these place instances, a method was used that is similar to that employed by Cramer and Hallett (2010) to analyze regional identity markers in American hip hop. Cramer and Hallett collected the lyrics of a number of artists and analyzed them according to place instances divided into seven categories: Cities/states, explicit regional reference, specific local reference, other regional references, sports/school, foods and people (2010, p. 264). For the current study, the categories were adapted and shaped to fit the data and consequently five categories were identified: place, person, concept, movie/literature and lexical choices. All five categories were, on a higher level, divided by either being of a local,

national or international scope. This is a difference to Cramer and Hallett's (2010) study because they looked exclusively for local references. I am also interested in place instances that indicate not only the specific region where the band comes from but also the wider region of Great Britain and international references outside of Great Britain.

The category 'place', in my definition, refers to explicit references to specific cities, countries, streets, etc. but also to more abstract places such as 'home town', foreign travel or urban settings. 'Person' refers to specific people mentioned but also indirectly referenced by covering certain other artists, where a person is intertextually implied. 'Concepts' involve such references made to specific magazines, transportation companies, food items or currencies. 'Movie/literature' refers not to authors but to specific movies, books or characters in any media. Lastly, 'lexical choices' is an additional category including slang, change of language, idioms or regional variants of English words.

The references were collected in tables indicating the scope and category, as well as name of the song, the exact wording of the reference and the time stamp in the song, resulting in one table per album for each band. For the first phase of the study, the references were counted according to category and scope and the numbers were gathered (see Table 4.1. in Chapter 4).

3.2.2.2. Phonological data. The phonological data collection method builds on methods of earlier research in the area of British music, namely that of Trudgill (1984) and P. Simpson (1999). The accents of the bands were analyzed contrasting American and British variants of different variables. These variables are the USA-5 identified by P. Simpson (1999) in adaptation from Trudgill (1984), which I introduced in Chapter 2. The British variables listened for, were, where necessary, adapted to the regional origin of the specific bands. This was done for the three bands that were chosen for closer analysis after the first phase of the

study, namely Biffy Clyro, the Arctic Monkeys and Maximo Park. The variables are listed below, in a similar fashion as O'Hanlon (2007) has done in her accent analysis of Australian hip hop artists (p. 196), for both for the English and the Scottish variables. The American variants are taken from Trudgill (1984) where possible. Otherwise the variants are taken from Melchers and Shaw (2003). The variables in Table 3.1. are used for both the Arctic Monkeys and Maximo Park as both bands come from the north of England.

For Biffy Clyro (Table 3.2.) the third variable was taken out, Scottish English being a rhotic variety. Additionally three other features were added, as the major identifying feature of ScotE is its vowel system. Especially noticeable here is the monophthongization of certain diphthongs. These were added according to Melchers and Shaw (2003, p. 65 - 67).

The data covers 32 songs as a whole, two songs per album, per band. The 32 songs were chosen at random from all those songs on the 16 available albums that have been released as singles with music videos. This approach covers the whole of the published music of the bands, which is important for the chronological aspect of the third research question above. The reason for using specifically songs that were released in this form is that they usually are subject to greater circulation due to their appearance on radio and TV. Therefore, it could be argued that these songs are chosen by the bands to gain a greater audience and for being particularly good or important.

To collect the data, the lyrics of the selected songs were searched for words that contain a specific variant from Table 3.1. and 3.2. Then, the songs were listened to and the words marked according to which variant was used. The total number of instances for each variant per variety is counted for each album and noted in tables, which will be presented in Chapter 4. Obviously, this method is prone to a certain level of interpretation, as technological phonetic analysis is not possible due to the background music in recordings,

which is why this manual form of analysis was chosen.

Table 3.1. Phonological Variables in Northern English English and American English

Variable	Variants
[t] as in better, write	/t/ or /ʕ/ NoEngEng
	/d/ AmE
[a] as in bath	/a/ NoEngEng
	/æ/ AmE
[r] as in girl	/ø/ NoEngEng
	/r/ AmE
[i] as in life	/aɪ/ NoEngEng but Shef right = /eɪ/
	/aˑ/ AmE
[o] as in body	/ɒ/ NoEngEng
	/ɑ/ AmE
[o] as in love	/ʊ/ NoEngEng
	/ɑ/ AmE

Table 3.2. Phonological Variables in Scottish English and American English

Variable	Variants
[t] as in better	/t/ or /ʕ/ ScotE
	/d/ AmE
[a] as in bath	/a/ or /ɑ/ ScotE
	/æ/ AmE
[i] as in life	/ae/ or /ʌi/ ScotE
	/aˑ/ AmE
[o] as in body	/ɔ/ - /ɑ/ ScotE
	/ɑ/ AmE
[a] as in face	/e/ ScotE
	/eɪ/ AmE
[oa] as in goat	/o/ ScotE
	/oʊ/ AmE
[ou] as in mouth	/ʌu/ ScotE
	/aʊ/ AmE

3.2.2.3. Music video data. Music videos are included in the data in order to add an additional layer to the scope that includes not only linguistic but also image material. This

coincides with what Gee (2011) states about the importance of Discourse with a capital 'D' (p. 177), where the analysis should go beyond language and include other forms of communication as well. This may well include imagery.

To gather data from the music videos, I employed a method of closely watching all the videos for the three further analyzed bands that are available on their websites. This amounted to a total of 66 music videos. As with the lyrical analysis, the videos were scanned for instances of place of the same categories with the exception of slang usage. Examples of place indexes in music videos are flags, logos, textual clues, stereotypes and also more subtle hints, such as on which side the steering wheel of a car is visible. These instances were gathered in lists, according to whether they are local, national or international.

3.2.2.4. Interview data. The interview data was added first and foremost in order to add a layer of information to the data that is self-reflexive of the band. This is important because the interaction with cultures is a highly self-reflexive process (Coupland, 2001).

The data from interviews were drawn from a total of twelve publications. Eleven of these were taken from the music section of the online archive of The Guardian UK, the twelfth from the online version of The Daily Mail UK. Two of the articles for Maximo Park are different from the rest because they are not actually articles but blog entries written by singer Paul Smith himself. The other articles are written after interviews with the different bands and include both direct statements of the bands and meta-commentary of the journalists. This set of texts was chosen after scanning different British online magazines that had published interview articles on all bands to find a common source. The Guardian UK had the highest number of these, which is why most of the articles are taken from there. The online archive of The Guardian also made it possible to find articles that cover a wide timespan. They were released over roughly the last ten years, making it possible to see

attitude changes, if there were any.

To gather important data from these articles, they were color coded according to different categories of statements: Local/national reference in meta-commentary; international reference in meta-commentary; local/national reference in band statement; international reference in band statement and lyrics reference in band statement. This method can be termed as what Saldaña (2013) calls "descriptive coding" (p. 88). This refers to coding according to "topic of a passage of qualitative data" (p.88). The categories stated above serve as topics here and each was highlighted with a different color to ensure an "easy 'at a glance' manual reference" (p. 68). The reference passages coded do not only include the mentioning of specific places, but also commentary on them. Statements by the band relating to personal history were marked as local references. Lyrics references are those where the band describes influences for song writing.

The meta-commentary statements were gathered and counted, the band statements were collected and analyzed. The place references in the meta-commentary were gathered because identity work is often not done by a speaker him- or herself but by others (Blommaert, 2005, p. 205). The way in which the journalists present the band is an important indicator of how the band is perceived by others that have the possibility to assign identities to them by ways of mass-media.

3.2.3. Data analysis. After the data were collected they were discursively analyzed in order to see which identities are used by the bands in different contexts.

3.2.3.1. Analysis of place in lyrics. The count of place references in lyrics was used in order to make a first assessment of which place indexes were used by the five bands. From this conclusions were drawn as to how the band presumably tries to present itself according to place on the whole and they were grouped according to this tendency. Three tendencies

were isolated. One band was oriented the most locally according to the count, two bands most nationally and two most internationally. International orientation, however, was not indicated by a large number of international references, but by the absence of place references, keeping the content open to all audiences. Of each tendency one band was chosen for further analysis.

For those three bands, the place references are examined in more detail, examples are highlighted and analyzed in relation to the other data sources, as well as the bands' heritage and their relation to global culture. Specifically, lyrics are examined with respect to why certain choices are made instead of other possible choices (Gee, 2011, p. 52-55) and what situated meanings certain audiences can determine from certain choices (p. 153). Because of the highly intentional content of lyrics, it is possible to analyze what type of relationship the artist is trying to build and sustain with what kind of audience (Gee, 2011, p. 113) and by that what kind of identity they are trying to build for that audience.

3.2.3.2. Analysis of the phonological data. The phonological data was analyzed according to whether a more local or more American accent is used by the different bands. Which variants are affected by stylization, if any at all, and whether this modification of accent is regular or irregular was considered. Inferences were drawn as to what this means in terms of identity and authenticity on a global music market.

In addition to the general analysis of what kinds of modifications are made to the local variety or not, whether the accent stays stable over the course of time by presenting the variant for all the different albums was also taken into account. This gives us the opportunity to see whether an identity that is affiliated with accent changes over time.

3.2.3.3. Analysis of music video data. According to Gee (2011), visual images can be analyzed much in the same way as conversations and texts can. All elements of an image can be read in terms of their situated meanings, i.e. what the image means in context of the video

as a whole and in terms of the background of the band. "Go on from situated meanings to ask yourself how the elements you have found fit together - form a pattern - that creates a certain sort of style for the whole image. This is the equivalent of a 'social language'" (Gee, 2011, p. 188). The aim of the video analysis was therefore to identify the social language implied in the images and whether this language is of a more local or a more international nature or whether it mixes features. Gee (2011) argues that mixing of features is very common especially in modern media (p. 189). Additionally, text can be mixed into the image, communicating facts that would not have been as obvious without certain textual clues. These were also analyzed with respect to place.

    3.2.3.4. Analysis of interview data. The way that a person acts and performs in the eye of the public shapes their perceived identities (Blommaert, 2005). When doing interviews, these people have the chance to influence these perceptions directly by carefully choosing their words and by the way they act around a journalist. How the journalist perceives the band is how he or she will "group", that is, socially categorize them (Blommaert, 2005, p. 205). Therefore, the number of place references made by the journalist in the meta-commentary were taken as an index of how the band presents itself. Additionally, the statements of the bands themselves were analyzed according to the categories stated above. What they have to say on topics such as home, music, foreign countries and other possibly relevant details can help shape the identity the band tries to perform.

    Obviously, it is important to keep in mind that especially in articles written after an interview, the journalist chooses which answers to print and what focus to give the article. The article itself usually has a certain topic, which influences which statements of the band end up in the article. If an article is about a band's success internationally, international references can naturally be more frequent.

All the data collected and analyzed was summarized for each band to give an overview over how the bands present themselves with their lyrics, their videos, their accents and in interviews all together. Each type of data added a new layer of information, presenting us with Gee's (2011) frame problem, where assumptions made before have to be reevaluated in terms of the new data, resulting in an overall conclusion. The following chapter presents the findings and their analysis, starting with summarizing the place findings in the first phase of the data and then going through all the different data sources for each band.

4. Analysis and Findings

The following analysis section consists of a detailed presentation of the different kinds of data gathered over the course of the study. In each subsection, the different kinds of data are related to processes of discourse analysis and evaluated especially in terms of the concepts of style, authenticity and glocalization discussed earlier.

The chapter begins with a general overview over instances of place found in the lyrics of five bands. Based on the lyrical analysis, three bands were selected for deep analysis. The analysis of each focal band will then follow in more detail, describing data from lyrical, phonological, music video and interview analysis, followed by a general discussion for each band.

4.1. Summary of Place Instances in the Lyrics

The first phase of the study was to analyze the lyrics of all albums of all five bands by listening and where possible reading the lyrics on the official band website. The lyrics were analyzed according to instances of place. Place is a semiotically rich category, which is often claimed to be an important feature in identity construction (Blommaert, 2005; Coupland, 2007). Specifically in music, which is a part of global popular culture, instances of place can be used to balance out the tension between a global phenomenon and the dependance on local features to achieve authenticity (Pennycook, 2007b). Localization, which Androutsopoulos (2010a) defines as "a discourse process by which globally available media content is modified in a (more or less salient) local manner, involving some linguistic transformation to a local code and an orientation to a specific audience, by means of language choice" (p. 205). Looking for place instances in lyrics is looking for rather salient language choices made to modify a global phenomenon such as popular music to fit local culture.

The place instances considered here were categorized according to whether the

reference was local, national or international. Local means they were tied to the concrete space where the band originates from. For example for the Arctic Monkeys this would mean a lexical reference to Sheffield and surroundings. By national is meant a reference, which indexes a place tied to the larger state of origin. For all our bands, this means England, Scotland or even larger the United Kingdom. An international reference is a reference to any place outside of these categories. Within those three categories, it was established whether the reference was to a place, person, concept (such as a train company, currency etc.), movie / literature or whether the reference was a lexical item e.g. slang. References to specific songs are counted as references to person according to the performer of the song referred to. Direct references to foreign travel were counted as international places.

Starting with a presentation of this place data as a whole is useful because the presence or absence of such regional identity markers can very directly index regional affiliation. This indicates in how far an artist identifies with regional heritage and social groups: "Local and regional affiliation establishes groups; cognitive competence in types of representation constitutes membership. Lexical items, syntax and phonology can contribute to the indexing of local stylistic variants" (Cramer & Hallet, 2010, p. 258). In this first phase of the study, we look at such lexical items to make an initial assumption as to how locally oriented the different bands are and whether it is possible to group several bands together this way. In the next step, more detailed case studies of three of the bands show whether the initial assumption holds across the other types of data collected.

The results are presented in Table 4.1. below according to band, category and sub-category. This preliminary count includes all references, also those to personal history (i.e. family members counted as local people) and made-up words or places[3]. Significant instances

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3 In their function as inventions of the artists themselves, these few instances can be counted as originating from their local surroundings.

are referred to in detail in the closer analysis below.

Table 4.1. Instances of Place Reference in Lyrics

Band	Scale	Place	Person	Concept	Movie/Lit	Lexical	Total
Biffy Clyro	Local	1	2	-	-	2	5
	National	1	1	-	-	1	3
	International	4	1	2	1	-	8
	Total						16
Snow Patrol	Local	2	-	-	-	-	2
	National	1	-	-	1	-	2
	International	5	3	-	1	-	9
	Total						13
Arctic Monkeys	Local	4	2	-	-	4	10
	National	4	3	6	4	15	32
	International	3	3	3	2	-	11
	Total						53
Maximo Park	Local	10	-	1	-	-	11
	National	19	1	4	4	2	30
	International	15	3	3	1	2	24
	Total						65
Kaiser Chiefs	Local	4	1	-	-	-	5
	National	10	-	10	1	7	28
	International	7	1	5	-	-	13
	Total						46

As Table 4.1. illustrates, the overall number of references is not very high. There are some significant indexes here though that can be used to shape further analysis. Neither Biffy Clyro nor Snow Patrol make many references to place at all. In Biffy Clyro's case, the local references to places and persons are also in some instances of a personal, not directly local, nature. This means, Biffy Clyro refer to friends or family members or self-named places anchored in personal history. Therefore, the themes of the songs do not usually include a specifically defined place, which would more readily cause an in-group feeling for a

homogenous audience by signifying shared culture and knowledge (Williams, 2010).

Biffy Clyro and Snow Patrol, with their overall low numbers of place references in all categories, can therefore be grouped together. Their lack of indexes towards any regional category indicates that they lyrically aim at a heterogenous audience, in which no particular group is favored or disfavored. This invites the assumption that both bands are globally oriented, when it comes to their intended audience and that their wish to identify with the wider whole of popular culture is stronger than the need to express a local identity. Of these two, Biffy Clyro was chosen for further analysis, to determine whether this assumption holds in the face of the frame problem, where additional data can serve to evaluate the initial hypothesis (Gee, 2011).

For the rest of the bands, where a significantly higher number of place reference has been found, the following can be said: The number of local references for the Arctic Monkeys and Maximo Park are almost equal, while the Kaiser Chiefs make use of a lower number. The Arctic Monkeys use the most specific local references by actually naming, for example, suburbs of Sheffield, their hometown, as in the line:

I said "It's High Green Mate, via Hillsborough please!"

As well as this, they are the only band that uses distinctively local slang, like the expression 'Mardy Bum', which refers to a person that complains excessively. The local references Maximo Park uses are more generic, such as 'my town' and 'hometown'.

With respect to national references, the numbers of all three bands are similar. The Arctic Monkeys make the most references and the Kaiser Chiefs the least. The Arctic Monkeys stand out because almost half of their national references are made through the use of slang and British variants of words, such as 'bottoms' for pants and 'copper' for policeman. For both the Kaiser Chiefs and Maximo Park the references are more often to specific places

such as 'London' or 'England'.

When it comes to international references, the Arctic Monkeys have the overall lowest number, again setting them apart somewhat. While Maximo Park have a significantly higher number here, their references are often made so that not the protagonist of a song himself is placed internationally, but is instead left behind. This indicates a tension between local and international tendencies in the references, grounding the protagonist to his place of origin. An example for this is:

Limassol, hold on I couldn't trap you

Having said this, the following analysis will include the Arctic Monkeys, as the numbers above set them somewhat apart from the other two bands. They are the only band that uses distinctively local slang and makes the greatest use of references to very specific local places, connected directly to their hometown. It could therefore be argued that this band has the highest inclination to identify with a distinctively local audience.

The local references of the other two bands are more general and spread over most categories. While Maximo Park, as stated above, have a higher number of international references, the national references of both bands are of almost equal number and on the whole, rather similar. The 'being left behind' notion that Maximo Park often use, additionally adds to the band's "speaking from" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 223) a national rather than international place. Because the number of national references for both bands are so high and the international references either significantly lower or of the 'being left behind' nature, both bands could be claimed to identify with a mostly national audience. Maximo Park's international aspect, interestingly captures the aforementioned tension between the local and the global and was therefore chosen for further analysis.

4.2. Analysis of Biffy Clyro

The following analysis will go deeper into the themes of Biffy Clyro's lyrics and combine that data with place references in videos, identity statements in interviews and also provide an insight into British / Scottish vs. American phonological features while singing.

The reason for including multiple sorts of data is to extract a more inclusive picture of the overall discourse of identity construction of the different bands. As Blommaert (2005) states, identity is not a stable category but should be seen as "*particular forms of semiotic potential, organised in a repertoire*" (p. 207). He goes on to explain that this view allows us to view identity as performed in a socially meaningful process, which is rather flexible. In sum, "every semiotic means can be used to construct such identities" (p. 208). If we use this as our point of departure, there is a strong reason to include multiple sources of data to get a fuller picture of the identity repertoire the bands are projecting.

4.2.1. Lyrical analysis. As could already be seen in Table 4.1., there are not many instances of place references of any category in the lyrics of Biffy Clyro. The overall topics of the songs do not usually include any specific places but cover such themes as love, relationships or personal struggle. According to Coupland (2011) this is usual for popular music: "Popular music is nowadays very largely a common currency. This is not to say that that it has lost its ideological associations with vernacular culture; rather that relationships between vernacular and establishment cultures have shifted" (p. 577). This goes against an earlier trend in rock music, where social criticism and working class images were strong themes. However, these more general topics, Coupland argues (2011), are no less significant, as they cover "fundamental human experiences, stances and emotions" (p. 577). These themes can travel over distance. They do not need to be anchored in a certain vernacular culture to become highly personal for individual listeners. This is where Biffy Clyro

47

evidently ground their lyrics. The topics of popular culture, which do not position the band in a specific place, like Great Britain, but rather bring them home to the individual audience members, no matter where they are from.

Nevertheless, there are lexical features in Biffy Clyro's lyrics that help shape their identity over time. The first album *Blackened Sky* has two songs which are named with numbers (*57* and *27*) the reason for which is not discernible from the lyrics. Songs such as *There's no Such Man as a Crasp* and *There's no Such Thing as a Jaggysnake*, which partly have the same lyrics invite the listener to ponder the meaning of words that do not actually exist but the songs clearly accuse someone (a crasp) of bad behavior. Songs such as these, which occur mostly on the first three albums are very ominous in their meanings and hard to understand, which might indicate the performers want to be understood as somewhat different from the norm and even mystical.

Nevertheless, there are also some very personal aspects to the lyrics, if background information is added. The album *Puzzle* was recorded shortly after the death of the singer's mother includes very dark and brooding songs about loss and decay. One song, *Folding Stars,* directly addresses the mother by name:

Eleanour, I would do anything for another minute with you

This is an instance I counted as a local reference to a person, where the person is a personal associate not of any character in the song but of the singer who becomes the protagonist himself. This invites the listener to directly identify with the performing artist and "fuses", as Coupland (2011) puts it, character and person (p. 580). "Fusing" in this sense means that the audience accepts that the performer is singing as himself. The character of the song and the performer of the song can either be seen as separate entities or as one and the same person. By including personal history into the lyrics, Biffy Clyro invite the audience to

48

identify, not only with the song but with the off-stage persona that experienced what the song is about.

The only instances of distinctly local or national place references occur in the title of one earlier song *The Kids from the Kibble and the Fist of Light*, if we assume that Kibble actually refers to the Glasgow based education center of the same name. The repeated mention of the 'son of Henry' in *That Golden Rule* on the album *Only Revolutions,* referring to lineage by taking the image of a former English king. A third and most significant instance is a line in the song *Born on a Horse* on the same album:

I pronounce it alumin - i - um cause there's an I next to the U and M.

Write it down slowly and read it out fast.

Even though the rest of the song does not seem to have much to do with this quote, as it has the character comparing himself and others in terms of horse-related themes, it very clearly establishes that the performer is aware of pronunciation differences between British and American English and claims his own pronunciation to be right. This is the only time the performer distinctly describes himself as a speaker of British English and therefore localizes himself to Britain by "using a register that is local, generational, cultural and distinctive" (Pennycook, 2007b, p. 105). This clearly happens here, establishing an allegiance with a national audience while somewhat alienating the out-group. The localization can in theoretical terms be said to be done by what Johnstone (2010) calls "talk about talk" (p. 391). This occurs when linguistic features of a certain region are associated with a certain culture and the difference is so significant that it ignites talk about the linguistic difference and the feature is then associated with the region.

This is, however, the rare exception in Biffy Clyro's lyrics. The most recent album uses broader place references to different cultures, referring for example to ancient Rome,

thematizing struggle and death:

Ancient Rome, we built that fucker stone by stone.

Our finger bled, our feet were worn.

But we stood strong and carried on.

The song *The Joke's on Us* makes references to both a 'Juggernaut', originating from Hindi mythology and 'California', as a place to move to and find a new world. The song *Spanish Radio* features a Mariachi band. All of these lexical choices and features indicate an array of different cultures and therefore go to show again that Biffy Clyro do not indicate close ties to any particular place or culture in their lyrics but, as with their topics, rather aim at the global discourse of popular culture, where culturally diverse references are useful. This is in line with Pennycook's (2003) view of globalization, which claims it "cannot be reduced to old arguments about homogeneity and heterogeneity, or nation states and imperialism, but instead needs to be viewed in terms of translocalizations and transcultural flows" (p. 524).

The reason for using these sorts of transcultural lyrics could be simply to not alienate any out-groups. When using an abundance of local referencing, there is always the danger of losing audiences, which would obviously decrease record sales. As Cramer and Hallet (2010) observe when studying American hip hop: "[A]rtists can only take their local identities so far before losing their audiences" (p. 271). It seems that apart from one exception, Biffy Clyro avoid this altogether. Instead of any local references, they therefore use the established themes of popular song "romantic love and love quests, relational angst and ecstasy, sexual jealousy and triumph, but also longing, loss, misery, home, travel, self-doubt, self-discovery and self-celebration; nowadays also ageing and mortality" (Coupland, 2011, p. 577). If taking into account a song title such as *Living is a Problem Cause Everything Dies,* it can be concluded that at least lyrically Biffy Clyro show their identity through very personal topics

of human nature that give a broad audience the chance to identify with them and the transcultural content of their music. This also establishes an authenticity linked to Coupland's (2007) notion of "ontology". Something that is authentic must have a real existence in the world. Biffy Clyro's topics of human nature are real and relatable for themselves, as well as for the audience.

4.2.2. Phonological analysis. This next section, which deals with phonological features in Biffy Clyro's music, examines whether the initial assumption that the band aims for a broad multicultural audience by making use of relatable themes of human nature, personal history and transcultural places holds for their use of accent or whether they project a more local identity linguistically.

The analysis is based on the differences between features of American English and Scottish English. A count of possible features is made and then divided into whether the American or the British variant was used. A total of seven variables were chosen to analyze. The list of features with the different variants can be found in Table 3.2. in the Chapter 3. If a word occurred more than once, only one instance is counted. The results of the analysis, first as an overall count and then per album, per year can be seen in Table 4.2., 4.3. and 4.5.

The analysis shows that overall, Biffy Clyro's pronunciation has a higher rate of Scottish variants than modifications towards an American role model, which bands aspired to in earlier research made by Trudgill (1984) and P. Simpson (1999). However, the percentage of Scottish feature use increases dramatically over the years. The first three albums still predominantly use the American variant of the variables, while from the album *Puzzle* in 2007 onwards, the predominant choice is made in favor of the Scottish pronunciation.

Table 4.2. Phonological Analysis of Biffy Clyro, Overall

Variable	ScotE variants	AmE variants
[t] as in better	13 (4x /t/ & 9 x /ʕ/)	3
[a] as in bath	-	11
[i] as in right	52	-
[o] as in body	7	2
[a] as in face	33	36
[oa] as in goat	18	23
[ou] as in mouth	16	3
Total	139 (64%)	78 (36%)

Table 4.3. Phonological Analysis of Biffy Clyro, 2002-2004

Variable	2002		2003		2004	
	ScotE	AmE	ScotE	AmE	ScotE	AmE
[t] as in better	-	-	-	-	1 /t/	2
[a] as in bath	-	1	-	3	-	1
[i] as in right	9	-	3	-	8	-
[o] as in body	-	1	2	1	1	-
[a] as in face	1	6	-	9	3	11
[oa] as in goat	2	7	-	2	-	4
[ou] as in mouth	-	1	-	1	-	4
Total	12 (43%)	16 (57%)	5 (24%)	16 (76%)	13 (37%)	22 (63%)

Table 4.4. Phonological Analysis of Biffy Clyro, 2007-2013

Variable	2007		2009		2013	
	ScotE	AmE	ScotE	AmE	ScotE	AmE
[t] as in better	3 /t/	1	4 /ʕ/	1	4 /ʕ/ 1 /t/	-
[a] as in bath	-	2	-	2	-	2
[i] as in right	13	-	9	-	10	-
[o] as in body	3	-	1	-	-	-
[a] as in face	1	6	18	3	10	1
[oa] as in goat	3	5	4	5	9	-
[ou] as in mouth	3	-	6	1	3	-
Total	26 (65%)	14 (35%)	42 (78%)	12 (22%)	37 (93%)	3 (7%)

The pronunciation of intervocalic [t] on the whole is Scottish rather than American but only in 2009 do Biffy Clyro start to use the more marked glottalized version of this variable /ʔ/, which does not occur at all before. This shows that there is a definite shift in the direction of a strong Scottish accent, setting it more apart also from other British dialects that would use /t/ intervocalically.

The [a] variable as in 'bath' is pronounced exclusively American /æ/ over the whole time period. Mostly they were found in the word 'can't' pronounced as /kænt/, which might be the standard pronunciation in this particular Scottish accent, considering all other features are pronounced Scottish in the later albums. The /æ/ variant does, in any case, exist in Scotland as well as America (Melchers & Shaw, 2003, p. 65). Therefore, it cannot be said that this feature indicates an orientation towards an American pronunciation.

[i] on the other hand is exclusively pronounced Scottish over the whole of the time period. Even if the first three albums favor American variants to a certain extent, this variant seems to not have been affected by this. The reason for this is not discernible, but it is in line with what Trudgill (1984) already found that if British performers aspire to an American role model, it is unclear "exactly which Americans they are trying to model their behaviour on" (p. 146). Therefore, if Biffy Clyro were actually trying to imitate a sort of American accent, they were not entirely consistent in the effort, which results in a mix of accent features. All other features are increasingly pronounced the Scottish way, especially diphthongs that are being monophthongized in Scottish English.

Changing an accent is subject to what Coupland (2001) calls dialect stylization. This involves "performing non-current-first-person personas by phonological and related means" (p. 345). There can be several reasons as to why Biffy Clyro made use of this in their earlier albums. For one, the band, not being as successful yet, possibly tried to identify with

American bands by which they were inspired in their youth, like Pearl Jam, who Biffy Clyro mention in an interview with Fitzpatrick in 2011 and say to have related to.

Additionally, there are always aspirations to international success to be considered. According to the theory of linguistic marketplaces, "favoured patterns of language (style, discourse, accents) are conceived of as symbolic assets which can receive different values depending on the market in which they are offered" (Mesthrie et al., 2009, p. 335). In this case, American English might be perceived as having a higher value on the international music market and therefore neutralizing Scottish pronunciation in order to sound more American would allow a band to orient to this international market linguistically.

This view can be supported by research conducted by Blommaert (2010), who found that an American accent is systematically "sold" to speakers of other languages and dialects by language service providers, claiming that "some European accents such as French, German and even British accents are seen as particularly prone to misunderstandings" (p. 52) and having an American accent promises higher professional success, as well as higher confidence. In his theory of audience design, Bell (1984) calls this an instance where the speaker switches towards to an out-group referee: "[S]peakers lay claim to a speech and identity which are not their own but which hold prestige for them on some dimension" (p. 188). In order for this to promise heightened success, the speaker and the addressee have to agree on the prestige of the out-group language. American English would have a higher prestige in this dimension than Scottish English does and dialect stylization is used to create "strategic in-authenticity" (Coupland, 2001, p. 350) in order to achieve this higher prestige.

A later orientation away from this Americanized pattern can suggest both a growth musically and a stabilization of a personal identity. This fits very well with P. Simpson's suggestion that musicians often try to "reinvent" themselves at a certain stage in their career

(P. Simpson, 1999, p. 357). The change in pronunciation is also initiated at a time when the music in general changes from heavier and with occasional screaming parts to being lighter and including more ballads. *Puzzle* is additionally supposed to be a highly personal album (Peschek, 2007). As mentioned earlier, the very personal lyrics could establish authenticity with relation to human nature. This could go hand in hand with a more linguistically authentic dialect that is also connected more to the 'real' people Biffy Clyro than to their professional musical identity.

Rather than to deauthenticate themselves by using a different accent, it seems Biffy Clyro later orient towards a form of authenticity that goes in line with what in hip-hop research is often called 'keepin' it real'. In her research on white hip hoppers in America, Cutler (2003) establishes that central to this kind of authenticity is "the idea that people should present themselves for what they are and not 'front' with respect to class, race, and language use" (p. 215). Rather than adhering to market concerns, Biffy Clyro later use their local accent, which instead localizes them and shapes a social identity for them that is associated with a place, in this case Scotland (Johnstone, 2010).

As well as trying to authenticate themselves linguistically, there may also be an increased wish to identify with Scottish audiences, as accent is also an instance of place that can create and in-group feeling (Cramer & Hallet, 2010). The following section deals with Biffy Clyro's music videos, analyzing whether image material supports the claim the lyric analysis made about a highly globalized attitude or whether they go in line with the later more localized phonological tendencies that started with the album *Puzzle.*

4.2.3. Place instances in music videos. Biffy Clyro have produced 27 music videos since 2002. Gee (2011) instructs us that images can be read just like language in terms of how the creator of an image intended the audience to perceive the image (Gee, 2011, p. 187-193).

In this analysis we will look at certain features in the music videos that establish, for example, significance of certain symbols, identities or connections.

The first observation to make from Biffy Clyro's music videos is that in contrast to their phonological development, the videos decrease in place references to Scotland and Great Britain over time. The overall development is also towards more abstract, story-based videos generally and to a greater prominence of singer Simon Neil.

Localization on a national level is done extensively in the video for *Questions & Answers* on the second album *The Vertigo of Bliss*. Before this video, the videos are rather generic, showing performances, either live or in a setting staged for the videos. *Questions & Answers*, however, shows a small apartment the band shares, a suburb of London, the Union Jack on shop displays and the road sign of Dempster Road, probably in London Wandsworth. The band walks these streets, finally setting up a performance in a park. An article on the band explains that they used to live in a small flat above their record label at the time (Fitzpatrick, 2011), which is situated near Dempster Road in London.

Here the band styles their video in a distinctly local fashion. The in-group of Londoners will read the images and recognize familiar places. By this the band constructs meaning "based on inference drawn from the context and shared knowledge or experience" (Williams, 2010, p. 83). They position themselves as members of a social group, again "fusing" (Coupland, 2011, p. 580) the characters in the video with the performers by drawing on personal history, as well as wider known place references. This distinctive use of London themes, directly identifies the band as British but not as Scottish. This imagery therefore aims more broadly at a national audience, where the potential for identification is larger, as "references to well-known landmarks and cities aid in reaching out to a larger audience" (Cramer & Hallet, 2010, p. 263).

After this, the videos turn towards often displaying what can be called glocalization (Alim & Pennycook, 2007), as they mix local, national features with international ones. The third album has three videos, of which one displays this concept. *My Recovery Injection* at first glance seems very Americanized, and showing images of American high school movies and of the band performing in a garage with stereotypical characters such as cheerleaders and cowgirls. There is a soapbox race and a lemonade stand, all situated in what seems like an American suburb. However, the garage in which the band performs and prepares for the soapbox race has both the well-known Scottish flag and the Royal Standard of Scotland flag, with Scotland's coat of arms on it. Also, the band wins the soapbox race and celebrates wrapped in the Scottish flag.

What is the case here is that we see the band in an American, and therefore international, setting with the flags strongly indicating that they are not from this place. The stereotypical images are maybe even ridiculing American culture to some degree. This is an instance where allusions to different local and global cultures mix. A video that could be referred to as glocalized, an instance where performers "flex various styles to convey a sense of multiple belongings and allegiances" and through this achieve "imagining themselves as both local and global agents in the world" (Alim, 2009, p. 116).

Two of the five videos of the fourth album, *Puzzle*, carry this thought again. One of them (*Semi-Mental*) shows live footage as well as behind the scenes studio footage from the album recordings. Included are also pictures of Time Square and multiple flags, hung up in the studio. This video shows again the Scottish band in American surroundings, depicting them personally as fun and accessible but serious about their music and again display a "hybridity- that is, the fusion of global and local features" (Clarke & Hiscock, 2009, p. 244).

The video to the song *Saturday Superhouse* is also of a glocal nature but here the local

part is not indicated by flags but by what is referred to by Androutsopolos (2010b) as brackets: "[T]he short sequences at the beginning and the end of the song" (p. 27). Bracketing is a discourse analytic tool introduced by Goffman, marking off information from the rest of the event and can add context to the discourse. The video is set on a beach, which is supposedly Californian, with a performance at a beach house, initiated by a group of elderly running a pirate radio station. The video is therefore largely set in an American place; however, the subtitles at the very start of the video, when one of the old men announces the song on the radio, read: "Some nice fellas from Scotland", clearly again indicating the band as being in an international setting as a Scottish band, allowing them to flow between two different cultures.

From here on out, the videos become more artistic. On both the album *Only Revolutions* and the newest album *Opposites,* multiple videos are purely story-based and low in localizing features, although one video, *Biblical,* even has an entirely American social language with an American Motel, American dollars and other images adding to the Californian motel theme. References to Great Britain or Scotland are kept to videos containing live- or backstage footage, possibly indicating how important it is to play concerts at home and to show allegiance with the home audience. At the same time, though, they also have multiple videos not aiming at a specified audience, therefore, again, opening up the possibilities for widening the fan base without the risk of alienating out-groups. The glocal nature of the videos is therefore somewhat retained, if we view the localizing live videos with national references as one language and the 'neutral' or internationally oriented ones, as another. In this sense, the band would be switching between languages, "which can both widen audiences and maintain in-group identity" (Williams, 2010, p. 86).

On the whole, the references to Great Britain or Scotland through flags and other

symbols start out being used in both story- and performance-based videos but later only appear in videos featuring live- and backstage footage. This could indicate that the recording of live performances and semi-private recording sessions show the people Biffy Clyro as Scottish individuals, while the story-based videos depict them as characters set apart from their private identity. Before, no distinction of this sort was made. Here again the distinction between the character and the person plays a role. First, they are both expressed in one and the same video, while later they are separated, creating new forms of identity discourse. Again, individuals do not have one identity but shift between different identities in different contexts. Identity features are "converted into complex and subtle moment-to-moment speaking positions" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 232). In artistic videos, the band projects their professional and globally oriented "on-stage" identity, while in the other videos they project a more personal "off-stage" identity (Coupland, 2011, p. 580), which includes social features of nationality. This can also be connected to authenticity and 'keepin' it real'. Authentic identity is there bound to a global understanding of authenticity in hip hop that needs to be negotiated with local ways of being.

> Here is a perfect example of a tension between on the one hand the spread of a cultural dictate to adhere to certain principles of what it means to be authentic, and on the other, a process of localization that makes such an expression of staying true to oneself dependent on local contexts, languages, cultures, and understandings of the real. (Pennycook, 2007b, p. 103)

The next section deals with material taken from interviews conducted with the band. This data sheds light on how the band perceives itself and relates to themes of place and globalization. So far the data has indicated several identities for Biffy Clyro, which align with local features as well as culturally global ones. We will see whether the interviews support

this.

4.2.4. Data from interviews. As a first step, the meta-commentary in the articles was analyzed to see how the journalist perceives the band. This is important because, as Blommaert (2005) tells us, "in order for identity to be established, it has to be *recognized* by others. That means that a lot of what happens in the field of identity is done by others, not by oneself" (p. 205). Especially here, where the opinions of those others about an individual are made public, the perception of journalists can directly shape the identity of an artist.

A rough count shows that on 16 pages of articles on the whole, the words 'Scotland', 'Scottish', 'Ayrshire,' 'Kilmarnock', 'Scotsmen' and 'Glasgow' are mentioned 36 times by the journalists, which is a mean of roughly twice per page and seven times per article. These mentionings are of several natures including band history, personal description and location description. In contrast, words relating to England or Britain are only mentioned six times on the whole.

This high number of Scottish references in the article text shows that the band is perceived as distinctively Scottish by the journalists and the mentioning of this seems an important part of the band's description. Something in their behavior and performance during interviews must cause journalists to recognize this identity. One of the questions to be asked in discourse analysis according to Gee (2011) is why something is said or written a certain way and not another (p. 55). The fact that the band is repeatedly described as Scottish, not simply British or not at all, suggests the significance of a local identity built *by* the band and in consequence also *for* them by the journalists.

The statements of the band themselves as they appear as direct quotes in the article often topicalize the close relationship between the band members, two of whom are twins, struggles and success of the band's music, and personal crises. Statements that relate directly

60

to home or Scotland only occur about 12 times in the whole of the articles, however, the direct quotes are also a smaller part of the whole.

Many direct quotes relate directly to the importance of the music itself, establishing in part the professional identity of the band:

(1) "[W]e've been able to show them that we're sincere as a band, and we're not here to become rich or famous, we're here to play music" (Llewellyn Smith, 2013).

(2) "Groups like the Libertines just repulsed us, because they seemed to care more about the perception of who they were as people than the music" (Llewellyn Smith, 2013).

(3) "A lot of bands have a uniform and sometimes they're hiding behind that to a degree. But for us it was about stripping back and just being three guys on stage" (Mclean, 2013).

Statement (1) aims at the authenticity of the band as musicians in a global popular culture. In hip hop, this is also important, as a big part of 'keepin' it real' is adhering to the cultural constraints of the global hip hop nation (Alim, 2009; Terkourafi, 2010; Pennycook, 2007b). Biffy Clyro keep it real by putting the music and sincerity first in a global market that is ultimately profit oriented. Statement (2) supports this, by rejecting any connection to the genre of Britpop, which was popular in Britain at the time they started making music, because those artists violate what Biffy Clyro has established as their main source of authenticity. This shows that authenticity can be a highly individual process. As Pennycook (2007b) puts it:

[E]mphasis on being true to oneself might nevertheless be seen as the global spread of a particular individualist take on what counts as real. The notion of authenticity, however, can be understood not so much as an individualist obsession with the self

61

but rather as a dialogical engagement with the community. (p. 103)

Biffy Clyro want to be perceived by the community as genuine musicians first and foremost, creating this as a main identity feature because that is what seems to be real to them. They also project their image of sincerity by always playing shirtless, which is indicated in statement (3) above.

This connects to another set of statements, which can be related to an authenticity in the sense that we have encountered before, in both the phonological and the lyrics section. Biffy Clyro repeatedly try to create authenticity through relation to instances of human nature. This, they often do through connecting their music and performance with elements of personal history and the "fusion" (Coupland, 2011) of character and performer. The quotes below indicate the importance of this personal investment into the music.

(4) "We do sing about things that are very personal to me [...] I don't know if anyone will like them, but they have helped me so much. It's wonderful and weird to think these songs are helping others" (Fitzpatrick, 2011).

(5) "If you're writing music or doing any kind or art, you can only do what comes out of you" (Peschek, 2007).

(6) "We probably tried to be cool as teenagers, but we called our band Biffy Clyro and that's not cool, we make earnest music and that's not cool. We're not nonchalant, we care too much to be cool" (Llewellyn Smith, 2013).

Statement (4) directly relates to this naturalness of topics and personal investment. Together with statement (5), it also indicates how Biffy Clyro build a relationship with their audience. Gee (2011) explains that language is largely used to "build relationships with other people and with groups and institutions" (p. 114). Clearly the band is aware of their responsibility towards an audience, yet as said in statement (4), there is no possibility to make

62

music impersonal. Therefore the relationship that the audience establishes with the music, is always linked to the personal experiences of the band.

Apart from talking about music and the personal relationship they have with music, Biffy Clyro also make use of place instances in their interviews. As mentioned before, place is a feature with high semiotic potential that can easily index local identity (Cramer & Hallet, 2010). The word 'home', when used by the band, always refers to Scotland:

> (7) "We wouldn't be the band we are if we hadn't grown up where we did [...] There weren't any other bands around, so there was no one to influence us" (Llewellyn Smith, 2010).

> (8) "You're dying to get away from home when you're a teenager [...] but as soon as you're a wee bit older you realize nowhere's going to compete" (Llewellyn Smith, 2010).

Statement (7) highlights the importance of heritage for the identity of the band, and statement (8) additionally indexes the strong ties the band still has to their home. If we pair these statements with (9) and (10) below, we can see that a sense of locality is directly implied by the band.

> (9) "Drinking too much ... it's a funny thing for a Scotsman to worry about" (Llewellyn Smith, 2013).

> (10) "It's a very western Scottish attitude [...] We've always wanted to prove people wrong [...]" (Fitzpatrick, 2011).

Coupland (2007) writes that "even within local spaces, a sense of the local needs to be achieved - to be made socially meaningful" (p. 122) and Johnstone (2010) claims that "social effort is required to produce the identities that were once thought to be inherent" (p. 400). From this perspective, in a globalized world, it is no longer enough to be from a place.

Instead, an effort has to be made to express a local identity, if one wishes others to recognize it. By referring to the importance of home, as in (7) and (8) and directly aligning themselves with Scottish culture and values, as in (9) and (10), Biffy Clyro establish a clearly local identity, apart from that indicated in the earlier statements, where music was put first. Here we see how "identity work seemed to be thematically organized, with shifts in identity complementing thematic shifts" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 210).

Biffy Clyro seem to be very aware of these shifts of identity according to theme on a wider scale. Statement (11) shows that they are able to draw the line between their professional and their personal identity:

(11) "Hiring a mariachi band to record a song can feel a bit extraneous if you're thinking about when to pay your council tax [...] but in La-La Land you can do things that at home would feel completely ridiculous" (Llewellyn Smith, 2013).

This statement can be related to the value of certain social goods and the politics of discourse. "By 'politics' I mean, not government and political parties, but any situation where the distribution of social goods is at stake. By 'social goods' I mean anything a social group or society takes as a good worth having" (Gee, 2011, p. 118). To relate this to the current situation, we can use Blommaert (2005), who states that "society is full of niches in which highly particular identities can and need to be performed, using resources that have no such positive identity-performing values elsewhere" (p. 209). Clearly Biffy Clyro are aware that musical extravagance does not have the same value on a personal level as it does professionally. They make use of place reference to link the professional identity with an international place, in this case LA, while the personal identity stays tied to home, where it is valued to be part of a social community.

In sum, it is easy to see how Biffy Clyro make use of several identities when talking

about themselves in interviews. A professional identity, authenticated by putting the music before other concerns in the realm of global popular culture and a claim to sincerity and personal investment in this music. This professional identity is linked to international places in the last statement. Additionally, they project a very clear local identity by referring to their home and its importance as well as identifying with local culture and values.

4.2.5. Discussion. The four parts of the analysis show that Biffy Clyro project a somewhat mixed identity. The lyrical analysis suggests a highly global approach, making use of transcultural (Pennycook, 2003) topics that deal with "fundamental human experiences" (Coupland, 2011, p. 577). This gives them a worldly identity that at the same time reflects authenticity by using real and personal topics ("ontology": Coupland, 2007). The phonological analysis shows that initially the band made use of dialect stylization and somewhat deauthenticated themselves by using accent features that were not their own (Coupland, 2001). This approach reflects a conformity to standards used in British music earlier in time (Trudgill, 1984) and might be motivated by financial considerations due to the perceived higher value of American English (Bell, 1984; Blommaert, 2010). A return to Scottish pronunciation after the third album could indicate a reinvention of the performance and a stronger wish to identify with in-group audiences in Scotland (Cramer & Hallet, 2010) as well as a greater interest in authenticity on this personal level. Adhering to the principles of 'keepin' it real' in hip hop culture includes the idea that one is not supposed to "front" qualities that one does not own (Cutler, 2003).

Both the video and interview analysis also indicate several different identities. In earlier videos both a global, professional identity and a personal Scottish identity were mixed in all kinds of videos, while later Scottish place markers were only found in live- and backstage footage featuring videos, indicating the thematic organization of identity work

65

(Blommaert, 2005). This also comes through in interviews, where musical features are linked with international places and a professional identity, while talk about home is associated with cultural values and social practice.

Coupland (2001) argues that in a late-modern society "identities might necessarily be hybrid [...] but the cultural essence cannot be undervalued" (p. 269). This notion comes through very well in the analysis of Biffy Clyro. They do flex several different identities, which partly fit into a globalized view of popular culture but partly also pull back to very local, culturally distinctive features. This said, Biffy Clyro are a good example of glocalization, where "the global becomes localized and the local becomes globalized" (Lee, 2010, p. 140). To sum up with Pennycook's words: "[S]uch locally emerging scenes are neither a mere reflection of a global culture nor nationally bound local appropriations, but rather participants in a much more dynamic flow of linguistic and cultural influences" (Pennycook, 2009, p. 332). In a globalized world, cultural exchange is inevitable. The mix of features in Biffy Clyro's data shows this.

4.3. Analysis of the Arctic Monkeys

As with Biffy Clyro before, I begin the presentation of the Arctic Monkeys data with the lyrical analysis, followed by the analysis of phonological data, music videos and interviews. In this case, I will also compare my findings with Beal's (2009) earlier study of the band.

4.3.1. Lyrical analysis. The overall analysis of place instances in the lyrics of the Arctic Monkeys shows a high number of national references, most of which are lexical, meaning the use of slang and specifically British variants of words. Additionally, the Arctic Monkeys use region specific slang and name very specific places, which was not featured in Biffy Clyro's lyrics above.

There were four instances of local slang, all on the first album *Whatever People Say I am, That's What I'm Not*, which has the highest rate of local and national place indexes in general. On the album, both 'owt' and 'nowt' are used, meaning something/anything[4] and nothing[5] in the north of England. Additionally the term 'Mardy Bum', in the song with the same name is very specific for the north of England (Beal, 2009, p. 235). Beal also mentions the use of 'right' as an intensifier, 'got the face on' and 'can't be arsed' from the same song as region specific (my count only includes the last of these three).

In his study of multilingualism in German hip hop, Androutsopoulos (2010b) observes the following: "Language style in lyrics needs therefore to be studied as an outcome of strategic styling decisions within specific social and historical contexts" (p. 20). We can assume that it is not by accident that the Arctic Monkeys make use of a high number of localizations, especially in their early lyrics. The song *Fake Tales of San Francisco* is a case in point when it comes to naming specific places. The song refers to bands that sing about cultures and themes that are not their own, i.e. British bands singing about San Francisco. This is highly criticized in the song as lacking authenticity. 'Hunter's Bar', a suburb of Sheffield and 'Rotherham', a town right outside Sheffield are mentioned in the song:

He talks of San Francisco, he's from Hunter's Bar

I don't quite know the distance

But I'm sure that's far

You're not from New York City, you're from Rotherham

Obviously, international places are also mentioned here but only for comparison. The Sheffield suburbs 'High Green' and 'Hillsborough' are also mentioned on the album, as are British specific words such as 'truncheon', 'copper', 'crook' and 'trilby'. British culture is also

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4 Owt. (n.d.). In *Urban Dictionary*. Retrieved from http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=owt

5 Nowt. (n.d.). In *Urban Dictionary*. Retrieved from http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=nowt

referred to with the mention of 'Frank Spencer', a character in an old British sitcom, the character of 'Roxanne' from a song by The Police as well as 'Sherlock Holmes'.

All in all, this album is loaded with national and local references, clearly showing an affiliation to England and the Sheffield region in particular. Clearly, quite some of these appeal especially to an in-group audience and are highly localized. The band makes substantial use of signifying (Williams, 2010) and social contextualization. Coupland (2007, 2001) defines one process of social contextualization as voicing: "*Voicing* refers to how a speaker represents or implies *ownership* of an utterance or a way of speaking" (Coupland, 2007, p. 114). By using topics and language common of their own region, the Arctic Monkeys imply that they "own" their music, speak themselves as part of the community and therefore "from that particular place" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 223). The Arctic Monkeys style their lyrics on this album specifically for an audience that is familiar with the Sheffield region, a British and northern English lexicon and instances of British culture, projecting a highly localized identity and identification with their in-group audience.

The topics of the songs are described by a journalist as: "[D]irt-poor scrotes, goading the coppers, swigging and smoking their way through the days till the inevitable scuffle in the taxi queue and ride home to some godforsaken housing estate on the top of a rain-lashed moor" (Armitage, 2009). Even though journalistic style is used in this description, it is quite accurate and they are topics to which teenagers in and around Sheffield can relate. To some extent these topics prevail also in the next two albums with women and love becoming more serious subjects, as a part of growing up.

However, in the subsequent albums, the expression of Sheffield identity through lexical choices subsides significantly. Local place names disappear from the lyrics with the exception of probably made-up pub names in the song *Cornerstone* on the third album.

National lexical items such as 'bloke', 'reckon', 'bollocks' and 'gob' are still used, especially often on the second album *Favorite Worst Nightmare*. After that, slang use almost stops as well, with the exception of one or two quite specific words per album. Cultural references are also rare but if they are made, like on the fourth album *Suck it and See,* they are of both international ('Heartbreak Hotel', a song by Elvis Presley or the 'Sundance Kid', referencing an American Western movie) and national nature ('Dandelion & Burdock', a British softdrink or 'Black Treacle', a British cooking and baking product).

The fifth and newest album, as well as sounding very different from its predecessors, with influences from for example R'n'B and having more serious, romantic songs, also makes some international references, for example to the brand Lacoste, the DeNiro movie 'Mean Streets' and the 'Pacific Ocean' in itself. British culture is visible in the mention 'Tracy Island', a British science fiction series and the 'Stones', as well as a 'Ford Cortina', once Britain's most sold car. Nevertheless, there is no comparison to the abundance of local references, expression like the use of the word 'summat', Yorkshire slang for 'something' being the exception.

The question to ask is why the Arctic Monkeys so completely abandoned their lyrically local indexing from the first album until now. A possibility is commercial consideration. As already mentioned in the Biffy Clyro analysis, some language features carry higher value on an international music market than others. Lexical usage that strongly favors a local audience over an international one puts a constraint on the possibility of international success. As already mentioned, taking a local identity too far always bares the risk of losing audiences (Cramer & Hallet, 2010, p. 271). Cramer and Hallett observed that artists sometimes start out using a large number of local references but then widen the scope, once a certain level of fame is achieved. This could also be what is happening with the Arctic

Monkeys. While they do not completely abandon the use of local features, they considerably reduce it in order to not alienate audiences, as a professional existence is problematic with only a local audience. Heller (2010) observes that in a globalized world, there is a balance to be found between wanting to be authentic on a local level and staying intelligible (p. 357). Initially the style of the Arctic Monkeys is appealing, however, those unfamiliar with the Sheffield region and dialect will only follow so far before losing interest.

The described progression indicates that the Arctic Monkeys, at least lyrically, started positioning themselves closer to the mainstream, making greater use of the topics of "fundamental human experience" (Coupland, 2011, p. 577) mentioned in the Biffy Clyro analysis, than of local discourse. This goes strongly against the identity they created at the outset of their career, described by Beal (2009): "[F]rom the outset, Arctic Monkeys have made a point of stressing their independence from the mainstream, even at the risk of undermining their own commercial success" (p. 225). Beal exemplifies this by quoting from the lyrics of an Arctic Monkeys extended play that is not part of my data:

"But we'll stick to the guns

Don't care if it's marketing suicidal

Won't crack or compromise"

In the following data analysis, we examine whether anything else points to an abandonment of the early mainstream avoiding, locally oriented identity the Arctic Monkeys built for themselves through their lyrics and also their tendency to avoid award shows and being private about their history and personal life (Beal, 2009, p. 225)

4.3.2. Phonological analysis. The phonological analysis is again a comparison between the USA-5 features and the features used in the home accent of the Arctic Monkeys which is the north of England. The list of differences can be found in Table 3.1. in Chapter 3.

The count will be shown first overall and then per album year. Some other features that were not counted but mentioned by Beal in 2009, will also be dealt with.

Table 4.5. Phonological Analysis of the Arctic Monkeys, Overall

Variable	NoE variants	AmE variants
[t] as in better	33	4
[a] as in bath	13	2
[r] as in girl	142	-
[i] as in right	59	6
[o] as in body	20	3
[o] as in love	39	4
Total	302 (94%)	19 (6%)

Table 4.6. Phonological Analysis of the Arctic Monkeys, 2006-2009

Variable	2006		2007		2009	
	NoE	AmE	NoE	AmE	NoE	AmE
[t] as in better	6	-	8	-	6	-
[a] as in bath	4	-	3	-	2	1
[r] as in girl	22	-	37	-	28	-
[i] as in right	14	-	9	-	10	-
[o] as in body	4	-	3	-	5	1
[o] as in love	12	-	9	-	10	-
Total	62 (100%)	-	69 (100%)	-	60 (97%)	2 (3%)

Table 4.7. Phonological Analysis of the Arctic Monkeys, 2011-2013

Variable	2011		2013	
	NoE	AmE	NoE	AmE
[t] as in better	5	2	4	2
[a] as in bath	2	-	2	1
[r] as in girl	24	-	31	-
[i] as in right	13	-	13	6
[o] as in body	3	1	6	1
[o] as in love	5	2	3	2
Total	52 (91%)	5 (9%)	49 (69%)	12 (31%)

As can be seen in the overall count in Table 4.5., the Arctic Monkeys have a stable English accent. Especially when it comes to the non-rhoticity of their accent, there are no exceptions in the whole of the data. A few things are nonetheless important to mention.

For one, the first two albums and for the most part also the third have no instances of the USA-5 features whatsoever. This coincides with what Beal (2009) has already said about the Arctic Monkeys: "Alex Turner's performance in singing is characterized by the absence of 'American' features normally present in British pop singing and the presence of a number of local features of pronunciation and lexis" (p. 235). The Arctic Monkeys project a wholly northern English and in this case Sheffield identity by using a strongly marked accent. For example, in all possible locations the singer pronounces [u] consistently as /ʊ/, which has the strongest impact on the perception of the songs as sung by a northern English singer.

Beal (2009) additionally describes the use of glottal stops at the end of words and variations of dental fricatives, which are commonly used in the Sheffield area by some speaker groups, as well as frequent h-dropping, which I have not counted, in order to replicate USA-5 studies as closely as possible, but similarly observed (p. 232).

Even in the later two albums, English pronunciation features are still the strong majority. However, some American features can be observed, such as rare flapping of [t], occasional pronunciation of [i] as in 'right' leaning towards a more open /a/ and also some modification of [o]. The fact that these instances are quite rare, could indicate that there is no active attempt to modify pronunciation towards an American role model but merely modification due to melodic or lyrical constraints, which is always a possibility when analyzing music.

The presence of those rare non-British features however lessens the impact of the formerly strongly regionally influenced accent and makes the pronunciation less marked. I

propose that this is due to the fact that in quite a few instances an [o] that would in the earlier albums have been pronounced as /ʊ/ is pronounced with a less regionally specific, yet still British variant /ɒ/. This could indeed be an indicator of the singer trying to be perceived as British but not necessarily from a specific region. This view can be supported by the assumption Cramer and Hallett (2010) made that were already mentioned in the lyrical analysis. With increasing fame performers might turn to a wider scope of features and references, which lessens the in-group effect but invites wider audiences.

This shift coincides with the move of the band to America and the greater success of the band outside of Europe. This could indicate an intended audience that is less locally defined and more international. Financial concerns due to the possibly lower value of a very local accent on a linguistic marketplace of international music would be a factor in this case. Again, there is a tension between regional authenticity and intelligibility in the new economy of the globalized world (Heller, 2010, p. 357). On a higher level, there is also tension between standardization and local language. On a global market, a common thought is that products become standardized over time. However, precisely this opens up possibilities to establish niche markets in which to use local language attached to the value of local authenticity (Heller, 2010, p. 350-357), which in itself mirrors the thought behind 'keepin' it real'.

Therefore, using a local accent could be argued to have the value of authenticity and being true to oneself but at the same time market concerns are always pulling towards standardization and authenticity in terms of popular culture. In this sense, it is only reasonable for the Arctic Monkeys to stylize their accent towards a more standardized British accent under a process of glocalization. This way, they do not lose their British identity but give up on the distinctive association with the Sheffield area and possibly taking the local too far (Cramer & Hallett, 2010).

The downfall of this process might be the loss of parts of the local audience. A study conducted in Scotland by Abrams and Hogg (1987) showed that when confronted with recordings of different accents, teenagers would always attach the highest value to the accent of their own home town but still value a different Scottish accent higher than an English one. This means speakers of Sheffield English will possibly rate the 'new' Arctic Monkeys accent considerably lower.

Now that we have established that the Arctic Monkeys 'lost' their distinct local identity on both the lyrical and to some degree on the phonological level, we turn to analyzing their music videos to see if this trend continues even further.

4.3.3. Place instances in music videos. The Arctic Monkeys had recorded 23 music videos at the time of the data collection. Not surprisingly, when looking at the lyrical analysis of *Whatever People Say I am, That's What I'm Not,* the five videos from this album are also greatly Sheffield inspired. *Fake Tales of San Francisco* shows a small live concert and pictures of an urban setting that judging by a sign in the direction of Hunter's Bar were filmed in Sheffield. Additionally the word SHEF is visible, someone wears an 'I love London' t-shirt and a fake British police helmet. The next three videos for *Leave Before the Lights Come on, When the Sun Goes Down* and *The View From the Afternoon* are story-based and show the band only shortly or not at all. All three stories are definitely set in Sheffield, as places such as The Cremorne pub, the Red Tape Studios, the Horse & Lion and Sipelia Works are easily placed in the city through internet research, if one is not familiar with the surroundings. *The View From the Afternoon* was shot in Park Hill, Sheffield, a rather poor, working class neighborhood and shows the story of a drummer that undergoes a similar process as Buddha when he was seeking enlightenment.

The Arctic Monkeys obviously draw from local knowledge and contextualize their

74

Sheffield identity in yet another form. References to local culture and places establish, again, an in-group feeling (Cramer & Hallett, 2010). The band defines itself through place and they make this recognizable: "[P]lace defines people, both in their own eyes and in the eyes of others" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 223). By making use of all these distinctive place features, the Arctic Monkeys project a sense of belonging that is through and through attached to the Sheffield region in all aspects of their early career.

The second album already goes away from this trend. Local indexicals, if found at all in these videos, are of a solely national nature, reflecting what was said above about the value of standardization on a global market (Heller, 2010). The videos for the third album are without any localizations. This is in line with the trends already observed in both the lyrical and phonological analysis that the Arctic Monkeys are steering clear of their initially solely locally performed identity.

The videos of the fourth album *Suck it and See,* however, are loaded with local indexes. In the video to *Suck it and See*, the band is shown recording in Hollywood; however in the beginning a girl is listening to a vinyl of the song that has the Sheffield coat of arms on it. This use of "bracketing" (Androutsopoulos, 2010b), putting information in the start sequence of the video, was already observed in one of Biffy Clyro's lyrics. Even though the video is internationally placed, the introduction sequence gives the whole discourse a local context. A second video includes scenes of a game of the Sheffield local soccer club and one of the band members performing the V-sign, understood as a strong insult in Britain as well as an American Cadillac in the streets of possibly LA. The video to *The Hellcat Spangled Shalalala* shows live and backstage footage from LA, the American flag is visible on an Arctic Monkeys t-shirt and a motorcycle helmet and a band member is wearing a Raiders cap. An additional index for America in this video is the use of the stereotypical red plastic cups

usually used at parties in American movies and an LA street sign. These videos all mix American with British and Sheffield indexes or, in case of the last, entirely American indexes, creating a mixed discourse that now entirely breaks with the early exclusively local identity performance and globalizes local features.

Lee (2010) quotes from Shim, when he observes that "globalization, particularly in the realm of popular culture, breeds a creative form of hybridization that works towards sustaining local identities in the global context" (Shim, 2006, as cited in Lee, 2010, p. 140). This process of glocalization is exactly what happens in the Arctic Monkeys videos, as well as their lyrics and to some extent also their pronunciation. Local authenticity is interwoven with international references pointing to an identification with a global popular culture of music, what 'keepin' it real' is all about (Cutler, 2003).

The next three videos from the same album tell a continuous story with the drummer of the band as the main character. These three videos are especially significant because they exploit highly stereotypical images of America. The story includes criminal motorcycle gangs, guns, sex, American flags and orange prison jump suits. The setting is Californian and Las Vegas as well as Salt Lake City are also recognizable through textual additions. The only indexes of Britishness is the occasional visibility of a British flag, however in the first video, it is lying on the ground and the main characters are using it as a blanket upon which they seem to be about have sex with each other.

The possible reason for these highly stereotypical videos could be that the Arctic Monkeys were increasingly accused of becoming Americanized and betraying their heritage. In response, it seems they use a tactic described by Hill (1999, p. 552) as "hyperperformance". Apparently in order to escape criticism of being too American, they produced a hyper-American identity, ridiculing the culture they are drawing from and

therefore on a certain level aligning again with their British heritage by indexing superiority.

What they are making use of, is a highly stylized form of strategic in-authenticity that has to do with the concept of mocking: "[A]ttributing negative value to a mocked target" through "temporary embodiment of a ridiculed figure who thereby becomes the target of critical commentary" (Chun, 2009, p. 20). Hill explains this with the use of "Mock Spanish" in America: "Mock Spanish speakers seem to self-consciously produce 'hyperanglicized' (Hill 1993) tokens of Spanish, or absurd macaronic utterances like *Hasty lumbago* (mocking *hasta luego*), which I have argued has the purpose of clearly bounding a 'white' identity" (Hill, 1999, p. 552). This form of stylization can also be associated with parody, which Coupland (2001) describes as "actively discrediting the cultural forms being entextualized" (p. 371). Making use of hyperperformance in this way is still a process of glocalization, as the local clearly interacts with the global. The Arctic Monkeys exaggerate 'America' in order to highlight their British identity. They are able to "cue the targeted persona, but allow the voice of the performer to come across simultaneously" (Gibson, 2011, p. 606).

After this, the videos go back to the way they were stylized before, mixing global and local features without hyperperformances, indicating that the Americanized video sequence was a temporary identity performance, used to indicate that the Arctic Monkeys do not identify themselves with America in a serious way but value their own culture more highly.

On the whole the Arctic Monkeys make an easily observable development when it comes to their videos, which is quite similar to that of their lyrics. They start out with highly local Sheffield references and from there go towards more national references and even international American indexes with occasional Sheffield and British references, which is quite similar to the glocalized videos analyzed in the case of Biffy Clyro. They change from establishing authenticity on a very local level to forms of glocalized authenticity, adhering to

both local features and demands of global popular culture, with wider ranging topics and transcultural indexes (Pennycook, 2007b).

The most significant development is the interlude of hyperperformed American stereotypes, possibly in order to oppose accusations of becoming Americanized. This hints at the early identity projection of the Arctic Monkeys, where they opposed the mainstream in favor of doing things 'their own way' no matter what the reaction of the paying audience will be (Beal, 2009).

The next section sheds some light on how the Arctic Monkeys perceive of themselves as performers and whether the identity ascribed to them by the media and by the interpretation of their performance fits with their own image of self.

4.3.4. Data from interviews. The interview data consist of four articles between 2009 and 2014 taken from the online music section of The Guardian UK. As before with the Biffy Clyro data, the question is how the band presents itself and how they are portrayed by the journalist in terms of their heritage. In 21 pages of articles, words related to the UK, Britain, London, Sheffield or Yorkshire are mentioned 47 times, roughly twice per page and over ten times per article. Around 20 of these references are to Sheffield or suburbs of Sheffield, which indicates an obvious focus on that area in the perception of the band. However, a high proportion of these were found in the 2009 article, where the journalist describes a tour of the city that he took with the band, therefore naturally mentioning the city quite often.

The two newest articles have a strong focus on America, topicalizing first only the singer's and then the whole band's moving to LA and how they like life there. In the perception of the band therefore, it is made obvious that their heritage is British, specifically Sheffieldian; however, especially recently, there is a strong focus on the band's identity as a British band living and working primarily in the US, which strongly connects them to a

different culture.

As for the statements by the band themselves, the 2014 article has them focusing on the topic of the success of the Arctic Monkeys in the US where the most recent album *AM* has achieved some popularity and the band themselves thematize America to some extent:

(12) "For anyone, no matter what stage of your career you're at, it's still an amazing place to play" (Holpuch, 2014, referring to Madison Square Garden).

(13) "We've played here an awful lot. Most of our time in the last seven years or whatever has been spent touring the US, so I think that's built up this fanbase that's been bubbling, and I guess it's starting to spill over with this record" (Holpuch, 2014).

(14) "It seems like some sort of victory. I don't know why" (Holpuch, 2014).

All of the above statements indicate a high interest in trying to become recognized on the American market. For a band that started out opposing the mainstream and projecting a highly local identity, this seems a bit counter intuitive but on a professional level, it is a great achievement for a British band to be recognized in the United States. On the topic of styling space, Blommaert (2005) explains that language can be used as a "resource for styling a meaningful sense of place, or indeed places (plural) in meaningful contrast to each other" (p. 122). What the Arctic Monkeys do here is style America as one of their biggest successes professionally, aligning with the place not personally but professionally, as do Biffy Clyro. In the next few examples, we will see how they contrast this global perspective on success with their local identity:

(15) "Cook, 28, admits the first time he went to Los Angeles he thought 'it was a dump' these days he mainly likes the weather" (Day, 2013).

(16) "Especially being over in the US. I guess we enjoy a certain level of anonymity that some days allows you to be [...] incognisant of the fact that people know who you

are" (Day, 2013).

(17) "Do you know what Henderson's Relish is? [...] It's like Worcester sauce but a million times better" (Day, 2013).

Day (2013) describes the band as "reassuringly un-LA", bringing back products from Britain and steering clear of the LA lifestyle. From statement (15), it becomes clear that while the band chose LA as their new home, they retain a certain distance from it. Blommaert (2005) writes that "the greater the distance, the more general and less precise our categories become. We tend to have extremely nuanced and fine-grained categories for that which is closest to us, but may have to revert to simple stereotypes" (p. 205). When comparing comment (15) with comment (17), where a British product is addressed that one of the band members frequently imports to the US, we can see the difference in precision very clearly. LA is exemplified by its stereotypically good weather, while Britain is contextualized with a very specific product. Statement (16) additionally stresses their relative novelty to being in LA. Blommaert (2005) also states that group membership is often determined by a "social categorization called *othering*" (p. 205). It seems the Arctic Monkeys are categorizing native Californians as others, establishing a British identity through contrast.

Authenticity is brought up in statements by the band in some way several times:

(18) "I guess where we'd come from, the fact we were a group of friends a long time before we were a rock-and-roll band, that (authenticity) was kind of built-in [...] When the first album came out it was and still is the antithesis of pop stars off television shows" (Day, 2013).

(19) "The main thing I learned is that whatever it is that makes us sound like us is built into the four of us" (Ellen, 2011).

(20) "I don't really know how to write about anything else, [...] I wouldn't want to

either. That's where I flourish... I think the best songs are longs really, aren't they?"
(Day, 2013).

Here we find two sorts of authenticity. One is addressed even directly in statement
(18) and can be associated with what Coupland (2007) calls authenticity's "historical" quality
(p. 180). Real things have to have longevity, therefore the Arctic Monkeys see themselves as
authentic already because they have existed as a band and before that as friends for a very
long time. The "where we come from" in the statement is not connected to a particular place
but to the friendship. Statement (19) supports this by establishing that the most significant
thing about the band is the combination of people in it. The Arctic Monkeys find authenticity
on a level that is even smaller than local, they find it in their social group. Here we also again
have a very individual perspective on what counts as real (Pennycook, 2007b).

The second sort of authenticity is that which was already mentioned in the analysis of
Biffy Clyro. In statement (20), Alex Turner says that he is best at writing about love, which is
one of the main lyrical tropes of popular music (Coupland, 2011). Like Biffy Clyro, the
Arctic Monkeys through this appeal to human nature which bears Coupland's (2007)
authenticity quality of "ontology".

The claims made by Beal (2009) that the band tried to stay out of the mainstream are
also to some degree addressed in the articles, as well as their initial unwillingness to talk to
the press:

(21) "In the early days, when we were getting asked questions, we were 18 or 19 and

you don't even talk that much to your friends. With lads it's, 'All right?' 'Yeah.'

There's lots of basic grunting. Now, once you get older, it gets a bit easier. We've all

developed our conversational skills" (Day, 2013).

(22) "a bit of a defence mechanism that kicked in. When the first album blew up, we

shut a lot of people out, just to try to keep some sort of control" (Ellen, 2011).

(23) "It's quite unusual to have all these people asking questions. Still now, talking about myself is strange. If you do it for a long time, it puts you in a weird place" (Ellen, 2011).

These statements show that the early assumption that the band was avoiding the press in an attempt to oppose the mainstream seem not to be how the band themselves perceived their hiding from the press. This supports the discourse analytic assumption that "a lot of what happens in the field of identity is done by others, not by oneself" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 205). While the Arctic Monkeys themselves tried to keep control of their adolescent lives and fought shyness and lack of communicative skills, the press assigned them a more aggressive identity. This also has to do with the "unpredictable mobility of linguistic resources in view of identity effects. At the same time, these resources display *different* effects, depending on their connections with particular - ordered - indexicalities" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 231/232). The young Arctic Monkeys could not predict their behavior towards the press would have the effect it had, but in hindsight, they understand the connection.

As for the change in lyrical direction that was mentioned in the lyrical analysis, the band also has their own perception of why they turned away from the highly localized language:

(24) "If only to prove that it weren't all about those 12 songs about the chip shop" (Ellen, 2011).

(25) "That lyric was just for a small circle of people, to make them laugh. It didn't occur to me that it would end up striking a chord with a larger circle" (Ellen, 2011).

(26) "I thought: what is this, can I keep this going? It was then I realised songwriting is a craft and I could work and get better at it. And hopefully I have" (Ellen, 2011).

82

(27) "It's just humour. I tried to get two Duran Duran references into every second song at one point, but couldn't manage it in the end" (Armitage, 2009).

These four statements show that the developing away from the topics of the first album is framed by the band as the development of skills as a songwriter (26). At the same time, though, it seems that the band does not take their 'extreme' Sheffield identity as seriously as it was perceived. Statement (24) clearly shows that the topics of the songs were more trivial to them than anything else and (25) and (27) equally hint at the local references, mostly being humorous and even inside jokes, rather than a rigorous performance of a local identity. Of course, this does make the early lyrics authentic in their own way, as Turner put his own humor and in-group references into them. However, it stresses not the identity of the band as local but as musicians that developed their skills over time.

As with the statements before, we witness how identity features are always perceived differently depending on the context in which they appear. Gee (2011) establishes that every individual has the capability to act out an identity as an everyday person by stating that, "when we talk and act as everyday people, we all talk and act differently depending on our own dialects and cultures" (p. 107). As everyday people, we talk about common things in vernacular style. To me, it seems that this was what the Arctic Monkeys were doing, especially in the beginning of their career: Acting as everyday people, in their vernacular, without giving it too much thought. In the wider context of popular culture, they, through this, globalized their local persona and were perceived as local to the extreme of opposing the mainstream.

Their moving away from this kind of behavior and actively towards more global and if we believe statement (24), more important, topics, is seen as a sort of betrayal of their local identity in the eyes of the public, while the band frames it as part of growing up and

developing professional skills (25).

4.3.5. Discussion. The analysis of the data concerning the Arctic Monkeys begins with very strong local ties and a multitude of local place indexes in lyrics, videos, accent and interviews. From the outset, the Arctic Monkeys were strongly connected to Sheffield and represented the youth of the town by speaking and acting like them and additionally singing about topics that concerned them. Their identity at the beginning was therefore strongly defined by place (Blommaert, 2005). In this context, authenticity was achieved through local ways of being and staying true to their heritage, in accordance with the local quality of 'keepin' it real' (Cutler, 2003; Terkourafi, 2010).

A later shift towards less local, more national and even international place indexes, shows a development of the band as contenders on the international music market, where increasing success seems to have influenced, in part, even the accent of the singer. This reflects what Cramer and Hallett (2010) have found with hip hop artists in America, who move away from highly local performance with increasing success to open up the discourse to wider audiences. Additionally, there is always a tension between standardization and local language, which has to be balanced out in order to maintain the product's value on the market (Heller, 2010). The same goes for glocalization, where local features are always pulled into global contexts. Higher success outside of Great Britain demanded the taking up of this problem for the Arctic Monkeys, who had to find a way to both exist as authentic members of a global culture and members of their society of heritage.

Additionally, it seems the band tries to neutralize their initial perception as highly regionally marked and greatly opposed to the mainstream by explaining their earlier behavior with youth and a lack of communicative skills, giving the impression they saw themselves more as everyday people (Gee, 2011) than as defenders of local values on the music market.

84

This underlines Blommaert's (2005) discourse analytic assumption that identity work is done by others and not only by oneself.

4.4. Analysis of Maximo Park

As with the two bands before, the following analysis will again examine in detail lyrics, phonology, videos and interviews, this time focusing on the Newcastle based band Maximo Park.

4.4.1. Lyrical analysis. The initial count of place references in Table 4.1. in Chapter 4 showed that Maximo Park have an almost equal number of national and international references. This is especially visible on the first album, *A Certain Trigger*. However, as already mentioned, references to foreign travel are often made to indicate someone else is leaving while the song's protagonist is staying behind:

Run along back to your new man

Limassol, hold on, I couldn't trap you

You've got to catch an early plane

And it's no surprise I'm standing still

Gee (2011) instructs us that utterances always have to be set in context. While Maximo Park's references are to international places, they are set in the context of the rest of the lyrics uttered by someone who is not himself going to those places. This is a different type of localization, where "semiotic material from 'elsewhere' is made to speak 'from here' and 'to here,' drawing on a range of semiotic resources for its new indexical grounding" (Androutsopoulos, 2010a, p. 205). Maximo Park localize themselves by drawing on contrasts with other places, a form of glocalization where the global is made local. References to industrial landscapes and to London on this album also point to a national point of referencing.

The second album sets a similar setting, mentioning the 'Trans-Pennine', a northern English train company, the 'North Sea' and again urban settings ('transportation lines in towns'). Public transport is often used as a place instance, conveying the picture of somebody in motion but always in a limited space, while others travel further. This adds to the above statement, where the global is made local through references of other people's travels. The protagonist may have a longing for foreign places but stays strongly grounded in a local context.

More instances of referencing foreign places are also made in later albums, as for example on *Too Much Information:*

I've never been to Mexico City, but I recognize the light

I've never been to Santiago - its history keeps me up at night

These references can be connected to the principle of voicing. The protagonist of the song does not claim "ownership" of these places in his utterances (Coupland, 2001) but instead claims knowledge of them through other sources. It can be "filled in" (Gee, 2011, p.12) from the context that he is a frequent reader. His investment into foreign places comes from literature. Again, localization is achieved through contrasting the real places with theoretical knowledge of them, making the global local. The literary interest and worldly outview of the band, can also be seen in references to international writers like Lydia Davis and song titles like *Russian Literature*.

Other references are, as said, mostly made on a national level. The album *Quicken the Heart* includes references to 'Sight & Sound', a magazine published by the British Film Institute, 'Brixton' and its famous 'roller disco' set in London, the 'metro' and 'Northwest bliss', possibly an allusion to the setting of northern England. On *The National Health*, where the title already proclaims a national orientation, references were found directly to England

86

and its council, stating even some social criticism:

England is ill and it is not alone

I heard it through the tiny speakers on a camera phone

In addressing England directly in this way and hinting at the fact that other nations face similar problems, Maximo Park show a concern for their country and its society. This is done by a very slight shift of place. Most place references to England seem to, very generally, index local belonging. These more concerned references however, index a larger context, reaching to critical views of politics and society. "People 'shift place' frequently and delicately, and each time, in very minimal ways, express different identities. Such identities consequently, can be seen as generated by particular topics or discursive moves" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 224).

Apart from the performance of a national English identity, Newcastle as place of origin is also expressed but sometimes in more subtle ways:

Standing by the Monument just waiting for the rain

I'm just passing my time with you on my mind

In the lyric section on the official homepage of the band, the word monument is capitalized and the comment section on a lyrics website shows that there is a monument in Newcastle, where people usually set their meeting points in the city[6]. This is a clear in-group reference, giving a local Newcastle audience a chance to read the situated meaning of the reference. Words and phrases can be "given situated meanings that are nuanced and quite specific to the speaker's worldview or values or to the special qualities of the context the speaker is assuming and helping to construe or create" (Gee, 2011, p. 154). Listeners that share the same background as the band will read the context differently than those that do not know Grey Monument in Newcastle. However, the reference is vague enough in this case to

6   *Note:* See http://songmeanings.com/songs/view/3530822107858651643/

not exclude out-group audiences, as would more specific references (Cramer & Hallett, 2010).

Apart from references to place directly, by naming them, Maximo Park do something that the other two bands do not make use of. They occasionally switch to other languages, which is a highly stylized tool of reference. Lyrics include for example the word 'banlieue', French for suburb with a negative connotation, and sentences in both Latin and German. These code-switches are of symbolic nature: "When these [languages] are non-base and their comprehension cannot be guaranteed, their meaning is sought not in their propositional content but in their groups of speakers" (Androutsopolous, 2010b, p. 25).

French is usually considered a romantic language, however the song *Banlieue* describes the dangerous and often violent conditions in poor neighborhoods, possibly using the language as a method of contrast. Latin, being a dead language indicates education and knowledge. German is an interesting example because of the "widespread commanding, stern, disciplined associative attributions of German (articulated, for example, through war movies)" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 209). These attributions give the translation of 'fear eats the soul' into German (even if wrongly translated) additional strength and associations. Discourse theory assumes that "different sign systems represent different views of knowledge and belief, different ways of knowing the world" (Gee, 2011, p. 136). The use of multiple languages in Maximo Park's lyrics therefore indicates an openness to different knowledge and belief systems, which shows their transcultural orientation.

In contrast, songs such as *Middlesbrough Man*, an ode to the northern English city, again, indicates close bounds to region, which they perform for local as well as international audiences. This is, again, an instance of the "increased circulation of cultural artefacts across national and ethnolinguistic borders" (Androutsopoulos, 2010a, p. 205), a common

phenomenon in cultural globalization, hence, glocalization.

On the whole, Maximo Park use little slang or British expressions but mention their home land several times, directly and indirectly, identifying themselves with England and even especially the north of England. Additionally, they use quite a few greater European and international references, often in connection with the travel of others and position themselves as criticizing the modern, highly technological society with the album *The National Health.* They therefore project an identity in their lyrics, firmly connected to England but with a very worldly outview, shaping this as Maximo Park's glocalized identity. The next section shows whether their use of phonological features demonstrate equally strong ties to nationality or whether they hint rather at a global perspective.

4.4.2. Phonological analysis. The phonological analysis was done with the same variables as that of the Arctic Monkeys, as both bands stem from the north of England. The following tables show the overall analysis and then a more detailed one of the last two albums, as the variants are exclusive pronounced the NoE way on the first three albums (save for one exception).

Table 4.8. Phonological Analysis of Maximo Park, Overall

Variable	NoE variants	AmE variants
[t] as in better	15	6
[a] as in bath	9	5
[r] as in girl	108	-
[i] as in right	67	-
[o] as in body	20	-
[o] as in love	48	-
Total	266 (96%)	11 (4%)

Table 4.9. Phonological Analysis of Maximo Park, 2012-2014

Variable	2012		2014	
	NoE	AmE	NoE	AmE
[t] as in better	3	3	5	3
[a] as in bath	1	2	-	3
[r] as in girl	20	-	25	-
[i] as in right	8	-	8	-
[o] as in body	4	-	3	-
[o] as in love	11	-	8	-
Total	47 (90%)	5 (10%)	49 (89%)	6 (11%)

As with the Arctic Monkeys before, the analysis of the ten Maximo Park songs indicates a very stable accent over the course of the nine years that passed since the first album. This suggests to a certain extent that frontman Paul Smith is singing in his own accent and has no aspirations to change this.

To speak in terms of processes of social contextualization, it could be said that Paul Smith is "voicing" himself and therefore claims ownership of his lyrics (Coupland, 2007, p. 114). He is making use of a self-conscious performance of dialect which can "serve to explicitly link speech forms that people think of as local with local places" (Johnstone, 2010, p. 392).

The few exceptions that were found almost exclusively in the last album seem to be due to the fact that the [a] variable in words such as 'ask', 'last', 'standing' and 'landing' is pronounced /æ/ generally in the accent of the singer. Especially with 'last' this seems plausible, as it is the only exception found in any of the first three albums. Additionally, the instances of [t] flapping observed, occur in places where constraints that are not associated with accent may play a role in pronunciation, namely the "general need to follow a melody line and a rhythm, prosodically" (Coupland, 2011, 575). The flapped pronunciation might fit

these constraints better than a stop sound. Also, no features are ever exclusively pronounced with the American variant. An active attempt at dialect stylization would result in greater consistency and a spread to more of the variables. Nevertheless, a beginning accent modification due to greater international exposure cannot be ruled out, and it remains to be seen whether this trend continues in coming recordings.

Another point to mention is that something that the data analysis does not include is the fact that Paul Smith also has a tendency to monophthongize diphthongs, as is common in Scottish English. Although instances of this have not been counted, it gives his overall accent an even stronger differentiation from American English. Thus far, both the lyrical and the phonological analysis have indicated the projection of a strong local affiliation of Maximo Park with England and their regional variety of speech. Next, we turn to their music videos to see whether they follow in this path.

4.4.3. Place instances in music videos. Maximo Park's videos have very few instances of place, neither national nor international and can therefore not be said to be aimed at a particular group of audience but could appeal to audiences generally. The band produced a whole of 16 music videos, four of which are from the first album, of which none give any indications of their place of origin or a will to localize the images.

The video for *Books from Boxes* on the second album shows a city by the water, industrial parts and a graveyard. The landscapes and architecture could point to an English city and in-groups familiar with the surroundings can possibly interpret a stronger local context into this video by means of reading "situated meanings" (Gee, 2011), which remain hidden for audiences without a local context.

The video for *Karaoke Plays,* however, shows a clearly English bus, with the driver on the left side as well as British coastal landscape. The sign on the bus reads both

'Amsterdam' and 'Paris' for a short amount of time, indicating, along with the lyrical analysis, a British setting combined with allusions to other places. This reflects, again, a mix of cultural indexes. As in the lyrics, foreign travel is indicated, but the bus stays firmly on English ground. This supports the assumption that Maximo Park make global material speak from and to a local place (Androutsopoulos, 2010a) and strategically localize features of other cultures by means of contrast.

Of the album *The National Health*, the video to *Hips and Lips* is one of the only videos that is oriented nationally and exclusively so. It shows only one room, which is full of Maximo Park paraphernalia, even blow up dolls with their faces on them. In the room, a clearly English fan with a strong English accent dances to the song and in the end has the singer locked in his wardrobe, taking up the theme of stalking. The actor here is Thomas Turgoose, an English actor from Lincolnshire, who is famous for the movie *This is England.* The choice of actor allows intertextual reference (Gee, 2011, p. 165) to other products of British popular culture.

Another video on this album is clearly set in Berlin, Germany, showing live footage from a concert the band played on a Berlin tram. While the former video indexes a British identity, this one leaves the context of Great Britain and shows the band as professional musicians playing concerts in other places. The existence of both types of videos indicates again the willingness of Maximo Park to engage with other cultures and the glocalizing nature of popular culture.

Of the two most recent videos, only one has place indexes. In the video *Leave this Island*, the view out of the window shows English suburban architecture. A picture is shown of a certificate from the 'East London Inventors Club'. The video is therefore set in England, but taking into consideration the storyline of the video and the lyrics, there is a wish of the

protagonist to leave his surroundings, showing the tension between staying at home and foreign travel that we have already encountered in the lyrical analysis.

On the whole, the video analysis resulted in few allusions to specific places. If they were made, they were in all but one video made to England or Great Britain. The video set in Germany and place names in greater Europe on a bus shows a mix of Britain and Europe, again underlining Maximo Park's awareness of transcultural processes in mass-media that we already encountered in the lyrical analysis. The relative lack of localization might indeed also indicate a bigger process. The very general, often performance-based videos are instances of what is expected from a market perspective. We see the effects of standardization, with the possibility of profiting from local features in niche markets (Heller, 2010).

4.4.4. Data from interviews. The interview data collected from Maximo Park is of a slightly different nature than that analyzed for the two other bands because material was not as readily available as for the other two bands. Also we have two shorter articles that singer Paul Smith has written himself, in addition to one article that is of the same nature as the ones analyzed for the other two bands.

Obviously, a count of how often the writer mentions local places is not as informative as for the other two bands. In the three pages of the 2005 article, the UK, Billingham (where Smith was born), Geordie (a person from Newcastle) and Newcastle are nonetheless mentioned 11 times. Places directly associated with the band, such as Newcastle, are mentioned far more than national places, giving the impression that the identity assigned to the band by others is strongly tied to the northern English city. Again an instance of how identity work is substantially done by others (Blommaert, 2005).

As for the statements of the band themselves, it is difficult to find interviews that cover statements of anyone in the band but the singer. This indicates that the frontman does

93

most of the press coverage work himself. The 2005 article is about the inspiration for the singer's song writing, giving us clues about how he himself interprets the songs:

(28) "Smith describes them as 'tales of woe and vodka'" (D. Simpson, 2005).

(29) "[H]e 'loses his head' and romances girls who, he tells me, 'usually leave the country'" (D. Simpson, 2005).

(30) "You can't explain self-expression, but when you write the songs, you know what sort of people will like them [...] Because you are that person" (D. Simpson, 2005).

(31) "Our songs are built primarily as a means of expressing ourselves live, so to play to ten thousand people in your hometown, while appearing on a bizarre bit of souvenir merchandise is a scenario we welcome" (Smith, 2007).

Statement (28) shows the type of authenticity Coupland (2011) describes for popular music that we have already encountered in Biffy Clyro's lyrics. Smith uses topics of human nature, as they are appropriate for the genre. In connection with statement (29), we can link this to something that was also true for Biffy Clyro. In the lyrics, there were several indications of the character of the songs being left behind, while others engaged in foreign travel. Smith's statement shows that this is also an instance of "fusing" (Coupland, 2011, p 580) character and performer. Smith also uses topics of personal history and makes it possible for the audience to establish a relationship directly with him as a person. Statement (30) underlines this very directly. Not only does Smith allow the audience to identify with him directly but he also identifies with the audience. Coupland (2007) stresses that self-identity can never be separated from audience design. To underline this, he uses the term "the relational self" (p. 80), indicating a constant relation of self to interlocutors, in this case the audience. Smith is clearly aware of this and the fact that discourse always shapes relationships (Gee, 2011). He seems to aim at creating a very personal relationship with the

audience. Statement (31) supports this further by adding importance to the notion of playing in front of live audiences, especially 'at home'. While stressing the importance of audience further, this statement also adds a dimension of localization to it that shows the band is part of this culture. Here we can see Smith himself creating cultural identity, showing that "living in a culture has to be a self-reflexive process" (Coupland, 2001, p. 371).

The songs are not only influenced by personal history but also by an orientation to places other than England. It is mentioned that Smith reads a book on the "postwar Parisian literary scene" (D. Simpson, 2005) and studied art history and linguistics. When talking about how 1970's France inspired one of his songs he says:

(32) "The thing about living in a small town with scant access to culture... you have to reinvent yourself and look for something more exciting" (D. Simpson, 2005).

This statement is fascinating because Smith himself voices the principles of glocalization, mediating a local identity in the face of a global culture that is infinitely larger. This is also an instance of cultural hybridity (Coupland, 2001), since what goes for the lyrics, which mix other cultures into the English 'base' culture, goes in the same way for Smith personally, who lived in a small town and only longed for other places. He thus claims ownership of his lyrics and performance (Coupland, 2007, p. 114).

The articles that Smith wrote himself have more to say about local affiliation than about the interest in other cultures, which also has to do with their topics. One is about Sunday League football in Stockton and the other is about the Maximo Park designed version of a Newcastle Brown Ale bottle. Here are some statements that reflect identity work:

(33) "I don't drink beer and I'm not a Geordie" (Smith, 2007).

(34) "I'm from a small town called Billingham, so I'm in a decent position to observe the pride attached to a humble bottle of Newcastle Brown Ale" (Smith, 2007).

(35) "As I mentioned we haven't really got a taste for beer, but at that point, after a few gulps, it tasted very sweet indeed. It tasted of home" (Smith, 2007).

In statement (33) Smith decidedly "others" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 205) people that are originally from Newcastle, who are often referred to as Geordie, which means he indicates that he is setting himself apart from them. Even though Smith has lived in Newcastle for over a decade, there is a sense of otherness, which is often an integral part of identity creation (Blommaert, 2005). However, the next two statements show that the personal distance from Geordie identity does not mean that Smith cannot appreciate it. He invests himself in Newcastle culture. This has to do with a process of social contextualization that is called "loading" (Coupland, 2007, p. 114) and refers to how invested a speaker is in an identity that is being negotiated. Precisely because Smith is not from Newcastle but can still associate 'pride' and 'home' with it, shows the salience of this identity act.

Maximo Park manage incredibly well to project a local private persona with international influences on a professional level, somewhat comparable to Biffy Clyro. This also hints at processes of globalization, where local features are reevaluated on a global market and the other way around and therefore to a certain degree glocalized. Smith even theorizes this himself. What we can see here is a process common to the entertainment industry, "an area in which we observe an intriguing interaction between globalization and location" (Lee, 2010, p. 140).

4.4.5. Discussion. In contrast to the other two bands, there is hardly any change in the persona that Maximo Park portray over the years. Their lyrics are a stable mix of local features, combined with references to international artists and places often in relation with being left behind in the home town. The same can be observed in interview data, where singer Paul Smith directly relates to this notion of being left behind and growing up in an

environment, where it was necessary to connect local identity to outside factors.

Their videos are almost exclusively free of local references, putting the music, not the band's heritage in the foreground. This is also a form of authenticity on the level of the popular culture the band acts in, the international component of 'keepin' it real' (Terkourafi, 2010; Cutler, 2003), while the phonological analysis shows a stable local accent adding the local component.

On the whole, Maximo Park present a picture of glocalization, where global aspects are made local insofar as they manage to make them "speak 'from here' and 'to here'" (Androutspoulos, 2010a, p. 205). The private persona somehow stays grounded in a local context, while reaching out to other cultures 'from home' is a common thread in most areas of analysis.

5. Conclusion

The main conclusion that can be drawn from the present study is that the effects of glocalization that have so intensely influenced the study of hip hop music are visible in the identity construction of the three analyzed British bands as well. In all three of the bands, tendencies have been found to mix global and local features and to form an identity that mediates between what is authentic on a local level as opposed to what is authentic in the field of the wider global culture of popular music. However, the ways in which these three bands do it and the ways in which the relationship between the global and the local develops over time is by no means the same for all of them.

5.1. Summary of the Analysis

The first research question that was asked was what kind of references of place the bands employ in the different aspects of their performance. For Biffy Clyro, it was established that their lyrics lack instances of place for the most part. On a local as well as national level, hardly any instances were found. On an international level, they were rare and transcultural; lyrics seem to be influenced rather by topics of human nature and personal history. The phonological analysis showed that Biffy Clyro initially seem to make use of dialect stylization, using several accent features that are not part of their local accent. This tendency, however, subsides over time, shifting towards more of a local accent. The music videos, on the other hand, initially had some national indexes of place in both story- and performance-based videos, often mixing national symbols like flags into an international / American discourse. The later videos only employed this cultural mixing in videos that feature live- and backstage footage, showing the band in a more personal manner, while story-based and artistic videos either used international references or none at all. The last aspect, the interview analysis showed a highly local affiliation with Scottish culture and

values on a personal level as well as a personal investment in the music and a tendency to orient globally on a professional level, where the music always comes first.

The lyrical analysis of the Arctic Monkeys showed that initially the lyrics were loaded with local and national references of place on both a level of direct indexing of certain places and the use of local and national lexical variants and slang. While international references were rare, the number of national and local references also subsided over time. The phonological analysis showed a similar picture, if not as extreme. Initially, a highly local accent dominated the analysis. Variants were produced locally in all instances and consistently. Only on the most recent, and especially on the newest album, were American variants audible and their number seemed to be increasing, here also showing a leaving behind of the local mode of performance. This is true for the video analysis as well, where the first videos were also highly locally inspired, which was followed by videos that mix local and international references, with an interlude of extremely Americanized, hyperperformed videos. The interview analysis gave a picture of a band that is professionally very internationally oriented but still seems to think of itself as differing from Americans. Additionally, the band finds its authenticity in a lifelong friendship and therefore long lasting professional partnership. The shift away from the highly local performance is addressed as influenced by personal growth and development.

In the case of Maximo Park, the lyrical analysis showed an again different interplay between national and international references. While the overall number of national references was higher, there was also a considerable number of international references, which most of the time were introduced within a local frame. The phonological analysis showed a very stable local accent with few indications of a trend to change that. The videos were mostly without place references; if they were present, they were often subtle. Some

99

exceptions occurred. The interview analysis here, which focused on statements of the singer, showed a local affiliation with a strong interest in transcultural themes thought of from a local point of view, similar to the lyrics.

5.2. Conclusions Drawn from the Analysis

The second research question asked what kind of identity the bands perform by making use of the kinds of place references described above. In addition, the subordinate research question adds a chronological aspect to these identity performance, to see how it changes over time. What we see in the data is that each of the bands has a different approach to authenticity and glocalization. The results of Biffy Clyro showed a strong association with non-local or even international topics in their music but with topics that Coupland (2011) calls "the lyrical tropes of popular music" (p. 577). These are not completely disconnected from vernacular culture but "popular in their own discourse" (p. 577) because they take up human nature as a main topic. Biffy Clyro's personal investment in their topics adds a layer of personal authenticity, making use of the concept of "ontology" (Coupland, 2007). Something that is authentic has a real existence in the world. In this case for both audience and performer. The same idea of authenticity is also expressed in the Biffy Clyro interviews, where they make their personal investment in the music even more clear.

Apart from this personal authenticity in relation to being authentic in terms of the genre of popular music, Biffy Clyro also engage directly with local and international places. The development of their music videos shows that while local and global features are at first merged, resulting in identity hybridity (Clarke & Hiscock, 2009) in all kinds of videos, the later ones only make use of instances of hybrid identity formation in videos showing live and backstage footage. Therefore, the "on-stage" and "off-stage" personas of the band are "fused" (Coupland, 2011), where the image material has a personal component and kept apart where

the videos are strictly professional and artistic. Here the local and the global only mix on a personal level, while on a professional level things are kept more global. This coincides with Coupland (2001) who says that "identities might necessarily be hybrid in the late-modern period but the cultural essence cannot be undervalued" (p. 369). Biffy Clyro may engage in the translocations and transcultural flows (Pennycook, 2003, p. 524) of globalization and, especially on a professional level, act more globally than locally, but they manage to maintain a local identity by engaging with local culture in interviews and putting their personal history into their music. This shows that what Pennycook (2007b) says is true: That what counts as real is subject to individual perception in "dialogical engagement with community" (p. 103).

The Arctic Monkeys displayed a highly local identity at the beginning of the career that stretched over all data sources. They made constant use of local references, indexing specific places and using distinctive slang, which showed a high identification with an in-group audience (Cramer & Hallett, 2010). Beal (2009), in her analysis of the band, claimed they also adhered to a principle of the indie music genre to avoid the mainstream completely by, for example, not talking to the press and not going to award ceremonies. According to Blommaert (2005) as well as Johnstone (2010), effort is required to make place socially meaningful. In times of globalization, being from a place alone is not enough anymore to produce local identity (Johnstone, 2010, p. 400). The Arctic Monkeys filled their space with a multitude of meaningful indexes at first and therefore resisted to adhere to any sort of global popular culture.

This attitude changed after the second album when the lyrics become more neutral in reference and slang use, and videos increasingly mix local and international features. Through this, the Arctic Monkeys begin to engage in a more glocal identity performance by making the local global (Lee, 2010). Distancing oneself from a very local identity can of

101

course widen the audience and increase the possibility of success on a global market through processes of standardization (Heller, 2010), while making use of local authenticity additionally satisfies niche markets. Additionally, Cramer and Hallett (2010) found that this opening up to bigger spaces is a common process for artists that achieve a higher level of fame because taking a local identity too far might risk the loss of audiences (p. 271) as well as straining the market tension between local authenticity and intelligibility (Heller, 2010, p. 357).

The trend to open up to the global continues by a slight increase also in phonological features that do not belong to the home accent of the band but occasionally to a more standardized British accent, adding to the statements above. Because of these tendencies, the Arctic Monkeys were criticized for becoming Americanized, which they countered by producing 'hyperamerican' videos, "mocking" (Chun, 2009) American culture and therefore projecting themselves as superior. Interviews also show that they strive for America on a professional level but keep a distance personally. Even though they live in LA, they want to be understood as British by making references to English products and indicating distance to American culture. At the same time, however, they are constantly increasing their professional presence in America, a process of glocalization and beginning identity hybridity.

Nevertheless, the Arctic Monkeys see themselves as authentic, drawing from the concept of "historicity" (Coupland, 2007), meaning something that is authentic has a history. They find this authenticity not in a place but in a lifelong friendship and long existence as the same band. There are also authenticity features similar to Biffy Clyro. The Arctic Monkeys increasingly use topics of human nature, fitting to the genre of popular music, staying true to a global culture (i.e. 'keepin' it real', Cutler, 2003). Here, on the whole, we have an example of a band that gradually grows into a hybrid identity that is subject to glocalization. Personal

statements support this, claiming that the early local approach and mainstream avoidance was mostly influenced by humor, in-group references directed at friends and a lack of communicative skills, showing that they acted more as "everyday people" (Gee, 2011) than messengers of mainstream avoiding indie rock.

Maximo Park are different from both the other bands insofar that they stay surprisingly stable over the whole of the analyzed time period. Lyrical, phonological and video features mostly give the same impressions over time. The lyrics show a local engagement with other cultures due to references and code-switching. Maximo Park manage to "voice" (Coupland, 2007) that these global features do not belong to them but still use them convincingly. Through this contrast, they make the global material speak "'from here' and 'to here'" (Androtsopoulos, 2010a, p. 205). They make the global local (Lee, 2010), all the while using a distinctly northern English accent and also making use of a number of local and national references.

In interviews, it becomes clear that singer Paul Smith is very much aware of this situation. Coming from a small town, he basically states that in order to advance the self, it is important to embrace foreign cultures. Here, as with Biffy Clyro, we also see personal investment in the lyrics, which is one way of staying true to oneself in a globalized culture, to keep it real and to "fuse" character and performer (Coupland, 2011). Paul Smith not only allows the audience to identify with him this way, but also makes statements that he identifies with the audience and makes music for people like himself, showing the importance of audience concerns in identity construction (Coupland, 2007).

Now that I have summarized the different identity-projection strategies and approaches to glocalization that the bands make use of, I will consider the question of whether there are any overarching patterns that became visible across the bands.

5.3. Similarities and Differences between the Bands

As already mentioned above, the three bands all have different approaches to identity projection and first and foremost to mediating their local identity with the forces of globalization that they inevitably meet as persons involved in mass-media and popular culture. There are certain tendencies that two or all the bands share, like personal investment in lyrics and music, topics that conform to regular trends in popular music and, to a certain extent, local phonological features of their respective home region, as well as the mix of local and global features on one level or another. However, they all do this in different ways. What we have encountered are three different trends of glocalization. First, Biffy Clyro seem to project a hybrid identity that is increasingly divided by context. Professionally, they display a rather international approach. Where personal matters are involved, they strongly identify with Scottish culture and values. Secondly, the Arctic Monkeys increasingly make use of international features but still constantly mix local features into videos, interviews and lyrics, as such, globalizing the local. Thirdly Maximo Park consistently make use of international features on a local level, making the global local instead.

The common threads that came up multiple times during the analysis are for one the personal investment in lyrics and music and additionally the trend to identify with global popular culture, by making use of the 'real' topics of "fundamental human experiences" (Coupland, 2011, p. 577). Biffy Clyro do this throughout their whole career. Their topics are those of love, loss and struggle, always influenced by personal experiences and history but rarely through local referencing in lyrics. The Arctic Monkeys increasingly make more serious use of these topics without the Sheffield references, which was what made their lyrics more personal in their early career. Later, rare references to the local are integrated into global topics, not the other way around. Maximo Park consistently make use of these kinds of

topics, also influenced by personal history, and integrate a number of local and international references that always speak from a local perspective, thus again, integrating the global into the local.

The use of local phonological features is the second common thread. All three bands make use of these. Biffy Clyro increasingly make accent one of their personal features, in which their Scottish identity is consistently visible, while topics stay global and music videos increasingly separate global and local. The Arctic Monkeys show a slight decrease in initially strongly local phonological ties. This indicates a process of standardization when it comes to accent but without losing the local affiliation completely and therefore carrying it out onto a global market. Maximo Park show basically no change in accent but put forward global topics with international references in a consistently local manner.

The third common thread is the mix of local and global features. Biffy Clyro, in their later output, mix local and global features only when personal matters are involved, like in backstage footage videos and interview statements. The professional level is reserved for international references. The Arctic Monkeys first do not mix features but stay local, while they later increasingly integrate local features into a global, in this case American context, especially by their 'hyperamerican' videos and their moving to LA. Here, we have a band that comes from a very local origin identity which they then toned down but didn't lose, which is why they can still make use of niche markets favoring local authenticity, while being a global contender (Heller, 2010). Maximo Park mix local and global mostly in their lyrics and interviews but consistently from a local perspective. They in this way perform very well according to how Pennycook (2007b) defines 'keepin it real' in a global context: "Keeping it real in the global context is about defining the local horizons of significance, while always understanding the relationship to a wider whole" (p. 104). As we can see, all three bands

engage with the same issues of glocalization but always in different ways, resulting in the three different trends in glocalization stated above.

5.4. Suggestions for Further Research

The present study has gone a considerable step further than Trudgill (1984) did when he analyzed the isolated factors of phonological behavior; however, there is still more that could be addressed. I have analyzed three general tendencies that the bands in this study seem to follow. Nevertheless, it remains to be seen whether these are single cases or general tendencies that more than just these bands make use of. Van Leeuwen and Suleiman (2010) stress the importance of case studies in the face of global media: "Case studies are needed rather than sweeping generalizations, studies of just what is global and what local in the media of countries and regions with different recent histories" (p. 232). Even though they focus more on a social and political perspective than this study did, the implication is still clear that it is impossible to generalize what impact globalization has on different forms of performance in mass media and especially individual performers. In order to see whether the three tendencies of engaging with the local and the global in popular music apply more generally, that is, to more than just the three bands analyzed in the present study further, similar case studies with other bands would be needed, where the same trends might be observed and isolated. On the other hand, if it turns out that analyses of other bands show even more individual trends in dealing with ever higher exposure to global culture, this would add to the importance of individuality in the face of mass media and to the assumption above that it is difficult, if not impossible, to make generalizations.

To get an even broader picture, it might be a suggestion to add even more layers of data, which was beyond the scope of the present study. It would, for example, be possible to analyze contrasts between live concerts and recorded music or even contrasts between live

concerts in different places to see whether they are differences in performance in the face of audiences from different cultures.

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