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BACHELOR THESIS

Phonetic Analysis of Glen Hansard's Accent in Speech and When Singing

Fonetická analýza přízvuku Glena Hansarda v mluvené řeči a při zpěvu

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I hereby declare that this bachelor thesis "Phonetic analysis of Glen Hansard's accent in speech and when singing" is my original work and no other sources than those listed on the Works cited page were used in its compilation. I further declare that this thesis was not used to obtain another academic title.

Prague, April 2024

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ABSTRACT

This bachelor thesis deals with the difference between Glen Hansard's accent when he speaks and when he sings. The aim is to provide general characteristics of Glen's speech and singing and to determine to what extent they differ. The theoretical part focuses on the description of Irish English, including its history, and its selected varieties. Dublin English and its characteristic features receive the most attention due to Hansard's roots in the city. The second section touches upon the phenomenon of style shifting in singing which has been researched in productions by artists such as the Beatles and Adele. Both sociolinguistic and phonological perspectives are examined to provide a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon that has been researched since the 1980s. The practical part presents the qualitative perceptual analysis of recordings consisting of two interviews and six songs representing Hansard´s speech and the singing accent respectively. The focus of the analysis is on the singer's use of five selected Dublin English features, such as rhoticity. The changes in the frequency of the features show the extent of the difference between his speaking and singing style. The final section discusses the potential reasons for Hansard's style shift, taking into account research to date.

KEYWORDS

ABSTRAKT

Tato bakalářská práce se zabývá rozdílem mezi přízvukem zpěváka Glena Hansarda při mluvené řeči a při zpěvu. Cílem fonetické analýzy je charakterizovat rysy Glenovy řeči a zpěvu a zjistit, do jaké míry se liší. Největší pozornost je věnována Dublinské angličtině, kvůli zpěvákovu původu. Teoretická část se zaměřuje na popis Irského přízvuku, včetně jeho historie a vybraných variant zejména v segmentální rovině. V další části je představen fenomén změny přízvuku při zpěvu, zkoumaný například u britské kapely Beatles nebo britské zpěvačky Adele. Na fenomén je pohlíženo jak ze sociolingvistického, tak z fonologické hlediska. Praktická část představuje percepční analýzu dvou nahrávek rozhovorů a šesti písní, které reprezentují Hansardův přízvuk při mluvené řeči a při zpěvu. Hlavní důraz je kladen na zpěvákovo používání pěti vybraných rysů dublinské angličtiny, např. roticity. Analýza vybraných rysů ukáže míru rozdílu mezi mluveným a zpívaným projevem. Závěrečná část se zabývá možnými důvody Hansardovy změny přízvuku při zpěvu.

KLÍČOVÁ SLOVA

Irský přízvuk, Glen Hansard, výslovnost při zpěvu, řeč

Contents

Introduction

The difference between singing and speaking style has been studied since the 80s when Trudgill (1983) pointed out the style shift in the songs of *The Beatles*. Since then, many different theories have arisen and countless studies on artists including *Adele* and *Arctic Monkeys* have been conducted. Most of them have focused on performers with British vernacular accents. This inspired me to create a study on style shifting of a singer born outside of the United Kingdom. The protagonist of the thesis Glen Hansard was born in the capital city of Ireland, Dublin, and is known for his distinctive style that sets him apart from the mainstream. A busker by day and an Oscar winner by night, Glen makes an interesting subject for a style shifting research.

The aim of the study is to determine to what extent Glen Hansard's singing style differs from his speaking style. The focus is on the era of Hansard's career peak in 2008. A set of five features was selected and examined both in his songs and interviews. It includes raising and/or rounding of the STRUT vowel, fronting of /aʊ/, centralisation of /aɪ/, the use of alveolar stops for dental fricatives and rhoticity. These features can be indexed as local Dublin English and were chosen because of Glen's origin and social background.

In the theoretical part, there are two main chapters. The first one discusses the development of the English language in Ireland. Its history may not be long but because of the influence of "planters", the language in Ireland is not linguistically homogenous. A whole scale of varieties of Irish English exists and the most widely used ones are introduced in the chapter *Accents in Ireland*. Most attention is paid to Dublin English and its characteristic features because of Hansard's roots in the city. The second chapter scrutinizes the phenomenon of style shifting. At first, the differences between singing and speaking are briefly discussed. However, the main part of *Style shifting in singing* is devoted to research to date. The majority of the researchers look at the problem from a sociolinguistic point of view. The pioneering study by Trudgill (1983) applies Le Page's *Acts of Identity* to the specific environment of pop music culture. In response to Trudgill (1983), many studies have emerged - both studies that develop Trudgill's theory and studies that refute it. Apart from the sociolinguistic studies, Morrissey's phonological research (2008) dealing with the technological characteristics/aspects of speech and singing is brought in.

The practical part consists of three main chapters. In *Methodology*, the main protagonist of the thesis Glen Hansard is introduced. When discussing style shifting, information such as the genre of the singer's music, childhood, and career need to be stated as they are possible influences of his vernacular accent. Then the data selection and analysis are described. In the second section, the results of the perceptual qualitative analysis of Hansard's songs and interviews are carried out. Glen's use of five salient Dublin English features in speech and when singing is examined. Subsequently, his speaking and singing style are contrasted and the extent to which they differ is rendered. The last section concerns with the reasoning behind the differences between Hansard's speech and singing. In this part, the theories discussed in the theoretical part are considered, especially Morrissey's sonority research (2008).

Theoretical part

1 Irish English

In this chapter, I discuss the history of English in Ireland and Irish accent including its non-vernacular form and its variants. The description of Irish English is particularly important because the protagonist of my thesis, Glen Hansard, was born and raised in the capital city, Dublin (O'Toole, 2021).

The general term Irish English in this thesis is used as a cover term, which can be more closely specified when needed, and not as a reference to a specific variety of English on the island of Ireland (Hickey, 2005, p. 2).

1.1 History

The development of English in Ireland started in the 12th century when the Anglo-Norman invasion happened. However, the history of the language is more complex than Irish being simply substituted by English and the development of the language was everything but constant (Hickey, 2002, pp. 8-10). Due to political and religious reasons from the 14th to 16th century, the influence of English declined (Hickey, 2007, pp. 32-33) and in 1600 was almost extinct in Ireland (Wells, 1982, p. 417). At the onset of the 17th century came a big break – the impacts of the battle of Kinsale in which Ireland was defeated by English forces with the subsequent departure of native leaders - The Flight of the Earls - in 1607 created a perfect environment for English to attain a dominant position (Hickey, 2007, p. 37).

Even though colonial plantations were already carried out in the 16th century, consisting mostly of the English upper class, it was the Plantation of Ulster, containing mostly farmers, artisans, and tradesmen (Protestants from Scottish Lowlands) that was language-wise successful (Hickey, 2002). As Wells states: "Present-day Irish English owes its characteristics overwhelmingly to the English spoken by the *planters* installed as colonists in the seventeenth century." (1982, p. 418).

Between the 17th and 19th centuries, in an era of both the oppression by the English and periods of relative liberty, a language shift happened. The advancing anglicization came

hand in hand with a decrease in the usage of Irish: Firstly, it was caused by the Penal Laws excluding the Catholic Irish-speaking citizens from education and any form of public office, from political and social life. Secondly, a large part of the native population switched to English by choice for the social advantages gained by knowing the language (Hickey, 2002, p. 14). Another factor causing Irish to decline was the Great Famine in the 1840s which most badly affected those areas where the native language had been the strongest - one million people died, while another million emigrated (Filppula, 1999, p. 9). During the 19th century, English started to be seen as the dominant and not just the second language, and a large-scale language shift got going (Hindley, 1990, p. 11).

By now both English and Irish are acknowledged as official languages by the Republic of Ireland. Irish is widely taught in schools and English prevails as the official language for the majority of five million population. Even now there are parts where Irish dominates, mostly in Gaeltacht areas in which the culture thus language conservation is economically supported by the government (Wells, 1982, p. 417). A publication entitled *The Irish Language in a Changing Society* concludes that in the Republic there are only between five and ten per cent of "currently active users", however, about one-third regard themselves as having "at least moderate bilingual competence" (The Irish Language in a Changing Society: 23) (Filppula, 1999, p. 11).

1.2   Accents in Ireland

When reading about the Irish accent of English, one realises what important role it plays. The accent allows people to identify with each other and helps them to feel as part of the ethnic group of the Irish. Owing to the phonetic features it bears, its speakers are unlikely to be confused with speakers of other English varieties (Hickey, 2012, p. 98).

There is not a specific name for accents used in Ireland, such as Cockney in London or Brummie in Birmingham. The reason for this is that English is not perceived as the language of Irish cultural heritage although it has been the native language of the majority of the Irish population for over two centuries (Hickey, 2007, pp. 22-23). The strong linguistic identity of Irish people is now expressed by the forms of Irish English they speak, instead of the Irish language itself. In connection with the history, and social and

educational factors, a whole scale of varieties exists, with the educated middle classes speaking the least vernacular form (Hickey, 2012, p. 98).

Due to the lack of linguistic homogeneity in Ireland, it is challenging to compile a list of the most salient phonological features that are representative of the entire country. For this reason, the chapter starts with non-vernacular Irish English which is in its function the equivalent to Standard Southern British English (SSBE), and it exists, similarly to SSBE, in certain variants (Hickey, 2012, p. 98). Then varieties in three regions are discussed – Dublin English, Ulster English, and West and South-West Irish English (see **Map 1**).

Map 1

Linguistic map of Ireland
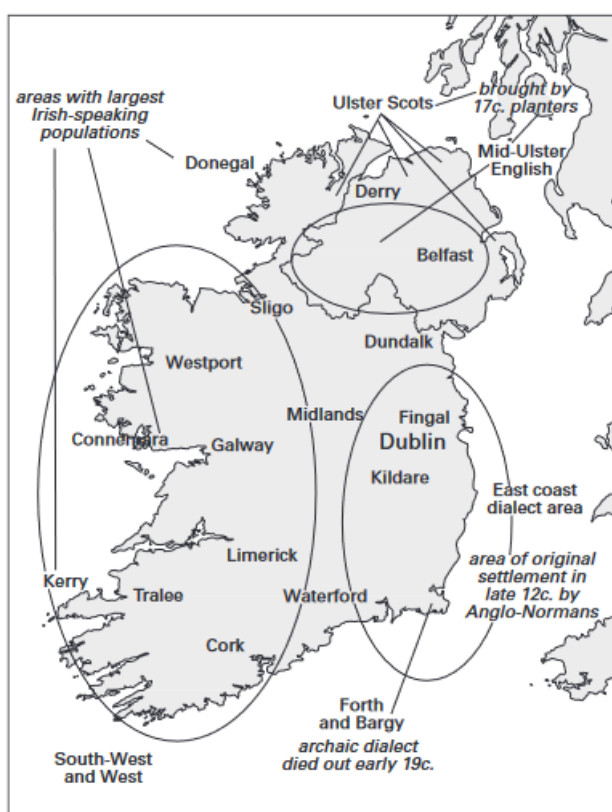
Note: (Hickey, 2007, p. 439)

To provide a complex description of the accents, I have consulted Well's *Accents of English 2: The British Isles* from which the table of keywords is used (Table 1). Well's keywords correspond to Received Pronunciation (RP), however, in the thesis, an

alternative name Standard Southern British English (SSBE) is used instead of RP. For a more recent insight, Hickey's publications from the years 2007, 2009 and 2012 are considered. The features are described by the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) symbols.

1.2.1 Standard Irish English

Vowels

Vowel quality with rhoticity

Irish vowels have a more monophthongal quality than SSBE, e.g. FACE [fɛːs], FLEECE [fliːs]. The vowel in GOAT varies depending on the variety, i.e. [goʊt̪], [goːt̪] (Wells), or among younger speakers [gəʊt̪]. (Hickey, 2012, p. 99)

The STRUT vowel

It is more retracted and slightly rounded, transcribed as [ä], e.g. *cup* [käp].

NORTH-FORCE distinction

There is a difference between the lexical sets NORTH and FORCE with the vowels transcribed /ɒːr/ and /oːr/ respectively (Hickey, 2007, p. 316)

Vowel reduction

In weak syllables /ə/ is neutralised with unstressed /ɪ/ and phonologically there is only one reduction vowel /ə/, e.g. *abbot* and *rabbit* are both pronounced with final [-æbət] thus rhyme perfectly (Wells, 1982, p. 427).

MOUTH vowel

Wells states that the commonest realization is [ʌʊ] (Wells, 1982, p. 427), while Hickey claims in his more recent description that the pronunciation is with a low starting point [aʊ] (Hickey, 2007, p. 329).

Table 1

Lexical sets of vowels in SSBE and Standard Irish English Accent (SIEA)

Keyword	SSBE	SIEA
KIT	ɪ	ɪ
DRESS	e	ɛ
TRAP	æ	æ
LOT	ɒ	ɒ
STRUT	ʌ	Ӟ
FOOT	ʊ	ʊ
BATH	ɑː	æ, aː
CLOTH	ɒ	ɒ, ɔː
NURSE	ɜː	ʌr, ɛr
FLEECE	iː	iː
FACE	eɪ	ɛː
PALM	ɑː	aː
THOUGHT	ɔː	ɔː
GOAT	əʊ	oː
GOOSE	uː	uː
PRICE	aɪ	aɪ
CHOICE	ɔɪ	ɔɪ
MOUTH	aʊ	aʊ
NEAR	ɪə	iːr
SQUARE	ɛə	eːr
START	ɑː	aːr
NORTH	ɔː	ɒːr
FORCE	ɔː	oːr
CURE	ʊə	uːr
*happ*Y	ɪ	iː
*lett*ER	ə	ər
*comm*A	ə	ə

Note: (Wells, 1982, p. 419) (Hickey, 2007)

Consonants

TH-stopping

The dental fricatives as exemplified in the THIN and THIS lexical sets are realised as dental stops, i.e. [t̪] and [d̪] respectively (Wells, 1982, p. 429) (Hickey, 2012, p. 99).

Lenition of /t/ and /d/

/t/ or /d/ is realised as a fricative whenever it appears in syllable coda after a vowel and immediately before a further vowel or when it is in the word-final position. The produced sound is an apico-alveolar fricative transcribed as [t̞] and [d̞] respectively, e.g. *bottom* [ˈbɑt̞əm], *but* [bʌt̞] and *wood* [wud̞]. (Hickey, 2009, pp. 125-126)

Epenthesis

An unstressed central vowel is inserted in /lm/ clusters, e.g. *film* [ˈfiləm], *helm* [ˈhɛləm] (Hickey, 2012, p. 99).

Rhoticity

/r/ occurs both syllable-initially and syllable-finally - neither the 'linking-r' nor the 'intrusive-r' is to be found (Hickey, 2007, p. 320). Hickey states the mainstream pronunciation is velarised alveolar continuant [ɹˠ], e. g. *core* [koː ɹˠ].

Clear /l/

/l/ is in general clear in all environments, e.g. *feel* [fiːl], *milk* [mɪlk] (Wells, 1982, p. 431)

WHICH-WITCH distinction

In most cases, whenever there is <wh> in the orthography the voiceless labiovelar glide [ʍ] occurs, e.g. *which* [ʍɪtʃ], *witch* [wɪtʃ] (Hickey, 2007, p. 319).

1.2.2 Dublin English

English in the capital of Ireland, Dublin, is together with accents in Belfast, Colerain, and Derry one of the most used varieties of Irish English (Hickey, 2007, p. 345). In the thesis, the Dublin variety is described in the most detail because of Glen Hansard's roots in the

city. The singer grew up in Ballymun (O'Toole, 2021), a suburb in Dublin notorious for its high-rise flats and difficult social conditions (Hickey, 2007, p. 351).

Irish accents spoken in Dublin can be divided into two main varieties: *local* Dublin English and *non-local* Dublin English which consists of *mainstream* Dublin English, and *new* Dublin English (Hickey, 2005, p. 28). The speakers of the *local* one identify with traditional conservative Dublin life in which the popular accent plays a substantial role (2005, p. 7). Whereas speakers of the *non-local* varieties reject to be narrowly connected with it.

Reflecting on the contemporary Dublin English, the *new* Dublin English (formerly 'fashionable') is the most dynamic. It has characteristics that were not present in Dublin English until 25 years ago. The reason behind the change is an increase in wealth and international position over the last three decades. As a result, many young people tend to isolate themselves from the strongly local low-prestige Dublin life, part of which is the vernacular accent. In terms of linguistics, such behaviour is called 'dissociation' (Hickey, 2007, p. 354).

The following list presents the pronunciation of vowels and consonants typical for the oldest variety, *local* Dublin English, which is relevant for the thesis.

Vowels

Fronting of /aʊ/: a general fronting of the /au/-diphthong which results in realisations like *house* [hæʊs] for [haʊs], *down* [dæʊn] – [dɛʊn]

STRUT vowel: short /ʊ/ as in *Dublin* [ˈdʊblən]

Over-long realisation of phonemically long vowels: extension of vowel often results in disyllabification, a process after which a word consists of two syllables, for example in words like *school* [skuːl] – [skuːəl] – [skuːwəl], *mean* [miːn] – [miːən] – [miːjən]

*Centralisation of /*aɪ*/: time* [təɪm] – [təʲəm]

(Hickey, 2005, p. 35)

Table 2

Vowel differences between Standard Irish English and Dublin English

Keyword	SIEA	DE
LOT	ɒ	a
STRUT	ʌ̈	ʊ
BATH	æ, aː	æː
NURSE	ʌr, ɛr	ʊː
FLEECE	iː	iː(jə)
PALM	aː	æː
THOUGHT	ɔː	ɔː, aː
GOAT	oː	ʌo
PRICE	aɪ	əɪ
CHOICE	ɔɪ	aɪ
MOUTH	aʊ	æʊ, ɛʊ
NEAR	iːr	iɐ
SQUARE	eːr	ɛɐ
NORTH	ɒːr	aː
FORCE	oːr	ʌo
CURE	uːr	ʊɐ

Note. (Hickey, 2005, pp. 35-37)

Consonants

"In the area of consonants there are equally clear features. Some are unique to local Dublin English and others are extensions of features found in more mainstream varieties." (Hickey, 2007, p. 352).

Alveolar stops for dental fricatives

Local Dublin English, with the conservative varieties of English outside Dublin to the east and south, shows alveolar stops in the THIN and THIS lexical sets as in *thinker*, *tinker* [tɪŋkɚ] or *breathe, breed* [bɹiːd]. It is an archaic feature, typical of low-prestige speech (Hickey, 2007, pp. 352-3).

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Cluster reduction

The simplification of consonantal syllable codas, particularly of stops after fricatives or sonorants, is typical for Dublin English. Intermediate registers may have a glottal stop as a trace of the stop in question. This feature is noticeable after /n, l, s/: *pound* [pɛʊn(ʔ)], *belt* [bɛl(ʔ)], *last* [læ:s(ʔ)] (Hickey, 2007, p. 352).

Further reduction of lenited /t/

"The lenition of /t/ to [t̞] is not continued in non-local Dublin English beyond the initial stage with one or two lexicalised exceptions (see discussion in section 5.4.3). The extension beyond the apico-alveolar fricative is characteristic of local Dublin English" (Hickey, 2007, p. 354).

1.2.3   Other Important Accent Varieties in Ireland

Ulster English

The north has a complex linguistic landscape of its own and can be divided into three main subtypes: *Ulster Scots*, *mid Ulster English,* and *south Ulster English.* Ulster Scots does not share many similarities with the rest of the varieties of Irish English, but it does with the ones in western and lowland Scotland – that is caused by the influence of seventeenth-century Scottish immigrants (Hickey, 2007, p. 96). It reflects early settler English and is not the outcome of the language shift process which lasted well into the nineteenth century (Hickey, 2007, p. 279). Mid Ulster English is, similarly, a result of migration, especially during the Plantation of Ulster and the linked settlements (Adams, 1967) (Maguire, 2020, pp. 1-2). It is spoken across much of Ulster, including in the two largest cities in the region, Belfast and (London)Derry (Maguire, 2020, p. 1). *"South Ulster English consists of transitional varieties between the north and south of Ireland"* states Hickey although there has been a debate about it not being an independent variety because of its profile being unclear in comparison with the first two varieties (Hickey, 2007, p. 93).

To demonstrate how Ulster English differs from those previously mentioned, I have selected several features from Hickey's (2007) *Irish English: history and present-day forms*.

Regarding vowels, in Ulster /ʊ/ and /uː/ have high centralised realisations /ʉ/: *book* [bʉk], *soon* [sʉn] (Hickey, 2007, p. 116). Another characteristic is the closer vowel quality of /ɒː/ and /ɒ/: *horse* [hoɻs], *pot* [pɔt] (pp. 117-118). Then, an unstressed /i/ lowers to a value approaching /e/: *tricky* [trëke], *happy* [hɑpe] (p. 118). Lastly, mid vowels in a stressed position tend to develop offglides, particularly clearly before the following consonant: *save* [seəv], *toes* [toəz] (p. 117).

When it comes to consonants, in contrast to the majority of Ireland, in Ulster /θ, ð/ are not realised as dental stops but as fricatives: *thick* [θëk], *that* [ðat]. Voiced dental fricatives in intervocalic position tend to be lost: *brother* [brʌəɹ] (Hickey, 2007, p. 114). Secondly, in Ulster English, a palatalisation of /g/ and /k/ to /gj/ and /kj/ respectively happens: *cat* [kjæt], *gap* [gjæp] (p. 115). It is most noticeable before low vowels and may be accompanied by a [j]-like glide (Maguire, 2020, p. 48). Another, areal feature of the whole Ulster is the retroflex [ɻ]: *bar* [bɑːɻ], *hard* [hɑːɻ d] (p. 115).

West and South-West Irish English

Raising of /ɛ/ to /ɪ/ before nasals in the southwest is an important areal feature (Hickey, 2004, p. 74). In Cork, the stereotypical pronunciation of its name [kaɹk] shows a very open realisation of the vowels in the LOT and THOUGHT lexical sets (p. 75). What makes the accent in West different from the East and South vernacular varieties is the use of dental stops of /θ/ and /ð/ (p. 76). However, in this area, suprasegmental features are more notable than the segmental ones – for example a noticeable drop in pitch on stressed syllables in South-West (p. 74).

2   Style Shifting in Singing

In this chapter the difference between speaking and singing is briefly described, followed by a summary of the style shifting research to date.

The term style will be used. Both dialect and accent define the speaker (in terms of social standing, ethnicity, regional origin etc.) whereas style refers to a distinctive way of speaking that is chosen by the speaker and is connected to a specific context, for example when singing (Swann et al., 2004). It is used in relation to other people (Bell, 1984, p. 139).

2.1   Difference between Singing and Speaking

The aim of this chapter is to briefly describe the difference between these two forms of communication. Speaking is what we learn first, and everyone can do it (unless the person suffers from a disorder), whereas singing is regarded as a kind of artistry that not everybody can perform. The goal of singing is not only to communicate but also to entertain (Bell & Gibson, 2011, p. 557).

From the technical point of view, neither vocal register, vibration patterns of vocal folds, nor vocal range (soprano, mezzo-soprano, etc.) help us to distinguish the two forms (Large, 1972). The pitch could be considered one of the differences - during singing, the pitch level of voice changes more frequently and dramatically, making the pronunciation far more difficult (Morrissey, 2008). Nevertheless, Tierney, Dick, Deutsch, & Sereno's study (2012) suggests the difference is neurological and lies in our interpretation of the sounds rather than in the technical production of them.

Singing is an unnatural planned performance, and its form is expected to be linguistically stylised. Speaking is the opposite, a spontaneous act with the priority of conveying a message (Morrissey, 2008, p.197) (Bell & Gibson, 2011, p. 557). However, an opposing opinion about "naturality" is brought in by the musicologist Simon Frith (1996). He claims that singing is in a way more natural than speaking. During a performance, a singer can reveal the things that are hard to communicate through plain words by speaking. According to Frith, singing is a relevant way of communication.

It has been argued that a communicative level of singing is lowered as opposed to speaking and its form is stylised, and unnatural, and thus singing is ineligible to be compared to speaking.

2.2 Previous Studies on Style Shifting

The researched area of the studies below is mostly British popular music. The analysed singer Glen Hansard is not British, nevertheless, the tendencies and reasoning behind them can be applied here as the theories are broadly relevant in the context of singing style-shifting.

2.2.1 Trudgill: Acts of Conflicting Identity

The phenomenon of modification of accent in singing has been current in popular music since the 1920s and, with the arrival of rock-and-roll and the pop music revolution, became particularly widespread and noticeable in the 1950s (p. 251). Peter Trudgill's *Acts of Conflicting Identity* (1983) represents a pioneering contribution to the field of sociolinguistics and addresses the issue of style shifting in singing. In the study, he identifies a set of features in the pronunciation used by British pop singers, for example by the Rolling Stones, the Beatles or Supertramp, which Simpson later labels as the "USA-5" model (1999, p. 345).

1) The pronunciation of intervocalic /t/ in words like *better* is realised as [d] or [ɾ] rather than [tʰ] or [ʔ] which are the pronunciations used by most British speakers. The same applies for /t/ occurring before a lateral approximant as in *little*.

2) The SSBE long open vowel [ɑː] in words like *dance*, *last* is realised by [a]. Performers from the North of England who would use [a] in these contexts in speech, words such as *half*, which would have [ɑː] in their spoken usage, us the same realisation.

3) Words such as *girl*, *farm* tend to be pronounced with an /r/ even when the performers' normal speech patterns are manifestly non-rhotic.

4) The /aɪ/ glide in words such as *life* is realised, not as [aɪ], but as [a]. Most British speakers pronounce the glide with a closing diphthong [aɪ~ɑɪ~ʌɪ].

5) Words such as *body*, *top* are pronounced with unrounded vowel [ɑ] rather than rounded widespread British English [ɒ]. This process results in words like *bomb* and *balm* becoming homophones.

Trudgill also adds (1983, p. 142) that British pop singers tend to pronounce words such as *love* with [ə] instead of the [ʌ] used in the south of England or the [ʊ] typical of the north.

He also raises the question as to why this phenomenon occurs and provides three possible explanations.

The first proposed reason is *accommodation theory* which explains adjustments in pronunciation as an approximation of one's language to that of one's interlocutors. The problem with the theory is that it applies to conversational speech (with multiple participants). And even if we perceived the audience as the interlocutors, it still does not explain the "USA-5" model features being used since the audience is not always American.

Another explanation is the sociolinguistic notion of *appropriateness* - different genres require different linguistic styles and registers. It is a relevant factor here – naturally, singers of pop music will not be using BBC English. What it does not say, however, is why it is characterised by this particular set of tendencies rather than some other. (Trudgill, 1983, p. 253)

According to Trudgill the best explanation (1983, p. 253) is the *Acts of Identity* framework by Le Page (1985). The motive for the speakers' linguistic behaviour is to closely resemble those of the group or groups with which the speakers sometimes wish to identify. In the context of accent modification in singing this means British pop singers wish to identify with a group we can label "Americans": the features listed above are all found in American accents and are seen as stereotypical by the British (a further confirmation is the use of Americanisms such as *guy* for a chap or *call* for a phone) (p. 253). The question is why it is the American accent that singers imitated. The reason behind it is rather intuitive - most genres of popular music in the 20th century originated in the USA, the country dominated the field thus British singers attempted to model those who do it best (Trudgill, 1983, p. 254).

Trudgill proves his point by analysing The Beatles' songs from 1963 to 1969 with a focus on the use of [a] instead of [ɑː] (second feature of the "USA-5" model) and non-prevocalic /r/. His findings show a sharp decline in the motivation to sound American as the band gained popularity, British popular music became valid and America's influence in the field weakened. However, he states "British singers were indeed trying *less hard* to sound like Americans; but it cannot be said that they were actually trying to sound *more British*." (1983, pp. 259-261).

In the second half of 1970's, while British still dominated the field, emerged a conflicting motivation. A new genre with themes such as rejection or underprivilege called punk has arisen. The singers of the "new wave" wanted to be distinct and create their own identity which is the opposite of what popular music does. Their primary audience was the British working-class youth thus the features associated with low prestige south of England accents were asserted and the American ones reduced. The employed features include for example the use of wide diphthongs, as /eɪ/ = [æi] *face*, and /ou/ = [æu] *go* and vocalization of /l/, as in *milk* [mɪʊk]. This combination of British and American features in the performance of the punk artists, depicted on the band Clash, is evidence of what Trudgill calls "conflict of identities." (Trudgill, 1983, pp. 261-264).

Trudgill's study brings up many questions and certainly does not answer all of them. Nevertheless, it has been a strong foundation for other researchers to dive into the topic of style shifting in singing.

2.2.2   Simpson: "USA-5" model, tenor, field, and mode of the discourse

Sixteen years later, in reaction to Trudgill's paper, a revival of this topic came and *Language, culture and identity: With (another) look at accents in pop and rock singing* by Simpson was published. His main contribution to the field of style shifting in singing is the establishment of the "USA-5" model and the extension of Trudgill's study by phonetic analysis of bands of the 1980s and 1990s – the era of "Britpop" defined as a movement of British pop music in the 1990s, influenced mostly by the Beatles (Silverton, 2023).

After the initial popularity of Beatles waned and punk declined, Simpson observed the tendency of singers to return to the American features which they mixed with the British features. In some cases, the features of Standard Southern British English (SSBE), a high-

status variety, occurred. This suggests emerging of to some extent a new type of style shift reflecting the sociopolitical situation in 1980s Britain. He illustrates it with the song "Smooth Operator" by the British singer Sade. In the chorus, she sings "No need to *ask* [ɑːsk], he's a smooth *operator* [ɒpəˌrɛɪdə]". The third syllable stress and t-voicing in *operator* both prove the presence of the American model. In opposition to the "USA-5" model, Sade uses an SSBE realization of /a/ as an open [ɑː] vowel in *ask*. (1999, p. 355)

Three elements that Simpson suggests influence the modification of accent in singing are *tenor*, participants in discourse and their relationships, *field*, the theme or setting, and *mode*, the physical medium of the language, of discourse (1999, p. 351). For example, in Dire Straits' song "Money for Nothing", the lead singer Knopfler uses features typical of the New York City vernacular. The main source of lyrics for this song is an overheard conversation of two drunk men in a bar in New York. Knopfler adopts a "linguistic persona" when performing the song and the *field* triggers the style shift (1999, p. 352). When it comes to the *mode* of the discourse, Simpson points out that "the less a singer 'sings' … the weaker the influence of the external code and the stronger the approximation to the singer's own vernacular usage" (1999, p. 360).

In conclusion, Simpson states that "A study of influences on singing styles needs to focus on three interrelated factors: 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" (1999, p. 364) and recommends adaptations of Trudgill's study (1983) to account for subsequent developments in the area.

2.2.3   Beal: Mainstream popular music and its neglect

Beal's qualitative analysis *You're Not from New York City, You're from Rotherham* published in 2009 studies the pronunciation of Alex Turner, the lead singer of indie band Arctic Monkeys from Sheffield. In his songs, the singer maintains his local accent including the features typical for the older generation in Sheffield.

Like her two predecessors, Beal focuses on variables from the "USA-5" model. However, she considers the features of the model to be a default in pop mainstream and not just

"American" as they were seen by Simpson and Trudgill. Thus, when the study shows that Turner maintains features of his Sheffield accent and defies the ones of the American model it means the band is trying to dissociate from mainstream pop music and not from Americans (2009, p. 238). To put this view in general terms, the aspiration to be seen as authentic and anticommercial is indexed by the use of one's local accent in singing. This shifts the view regarding identity – it is the use of non-American accent features which requires a wilful act of identity.

Arctic Monkey's stance on style shifting is also determined by the genre of their music – indie – artists of which try to be unique and "'independent' of the global marketing machine" as Beal describes (2009, p. 230). This attitude is very similar to that of punk music in the late 1970s. The band's northern English working class values are not always compatible with the global ones of commercial music. If Simpson's (1999) factors (tenor, mode, and field) are taken into account, the theory also favours Turner's performing in his own accent and points to him attaining a "Sheffield persona".

Beal's study is the first one of its kind, extensively dealing with an opposite tendency in style shifting. The author illustrates the phenomena of British singers neglecting American influence on pop music and sing in their vernacular accent on only one subject.

2.2.4   Gibson: Perception of mainstream popular music

In 2010, Gibson created a quantitative study called *Production and Perception of Vowels in New Zealand Popular Music*. Eight variables, different from the "USA-5" model, are analysed on three singers from New Zealand and their speech (recited lyrics of their songs and interviews) is compared to their singing style. The findings of the study are that even though the singers intend to use phonetic variables typical of New Zealand, vowels in their performances are primarily American.

Gibson conducted an experiment examining the reasoning behind the results. The research question was if the listener's perception of a word differs according to whether or not it is expected to be spoken or sung. Words ranging between *bed* and *bad* were played and participants responded by circling the word they heard on a response sheet. The results were found to differ significantly based on the listener's expectations of the context. Gibson states that the difference arises due to "context-specific activation of phonetically

detailed memories" (2010, p. x). The mainstream popular music has been tightly linked with American variables for so long that the majority cannot imagine the music without it. One of Gibson's study subjects admits this by saying it is easier for him to sing an American accent and adding it would not sound right if he sang his mainstream pop songs in the local accent (Gibson, 2010, pp. 60-61).

In conclusion, the concept of *acts of conflicting identity* is still relevant but Gibson applies it differently. "It is the American-influenced singing style which should be viewed as normative and automatic" he says (2010, p. 167), which implies that acts of identity occur in the opposite direction than Trudgill (1983) wrote about. For singers, following the mainstream pronunciation is an unwritten rule and not a statement regarding their identity. On the contrary, it requires attention and a conscious act to perform in the singer's vernacular.

2.2.5 Morrissey: Sonority

The approach of previous studies primarily focuses on sociolinguistic theories, whereas Morrissey's (2008) *Liverpool to Louisiana in One Lyrical Line: Style Choice in British Rock, Pop and Folk Singing* is more "impressionistic", as he himself calls it, and includes phonological considerations, which had been somewhat neglected until Morrisey's article was published (2008, p. 196).

The main contribution of the study lies in approaching the technical characteristic of singing and introducing a new factor of choosing particular phonological features – sonority. The greater the "carrying power" of the speech sound, the higher the sonority it has and the more easily it is produced (Morrissey, 2008). The quality of carrying the tune "corresponds in articulatory terms to the freedom of passage of air through the vocal tract" describes Hawkins (1984, p. 98). Vowels and consonants exist along a sonority scale created by Burquest and Payne (1993, p. 101), a diagram ranking them from least to most sonorous:

Figure 1

Sonority scale

Most sonorous → low (open) vowels
mid vowels
high (close) vowels
glides
flaps
laterals
nasals
voiced fricatives
voiceless fricatives
voiced plosives
voiceless plosives
Least sonorous — complex plosives /affricates
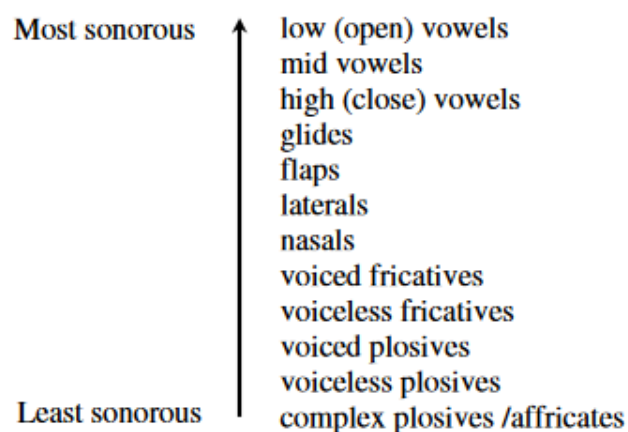
Note. From *Phonological Analysis: A Functional Approach*, by Burquest & Payne, 1993, Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

When the scale is taken into account, a new pattern emerges. Morrissey analyses the "USA-5" model features and searches for the links between the sets of features and sonority. First, and the most thoroughly studied, is the intervocalic /t/ which has far more sonorous American realisation (alveolar flap [ɾ]) than voiceless plosives and glottal stops typical for the SSBE. In the next feature, British rounded [ɒ] and [ɔː] are outstripped by the "USA-5" unrounded vowel [ɑ] because the lip-rounding causes the passage for air to be narrower thus the sonority is lower (p. 210). Regarding rhoticity, in singing the r-full variant is far less appropriate than the r-less variant which leaves more space for vowels. However, both British and American varieties can be r-less, which makes the point indeterminate. A similar problem concerns the British diphthong [aɪ], in the "USA-5" model, realised as monophthong [a] or [aː]. Generally, because of the movement from an open to a less sonorous vowel during the production of diphthongs, they are less suitable for singing. Finally, the General American vowel [æ] and its British alternative [ɑː] are observed to be the only determiner of the singer's adherence to American or British reference style. Morrissey defines them both as open vowels (p. 212), therefore when the singer chooses one of the options, they simultaneously choose their reference style (the rest of the "USA-5" model features are chosen because of their sonority) (2008).

However, Dudáková (2016) makes a good point - [ɑː] is placed more in the back compared with [æ] thus the sonority is not entirely the same. Resulting in [ɑː] being the only British variable more sonorous than its "USA-5" model realization. She suggests a new hypothesis in which the question is modified to whether the variable is used for identifying with Americans (as in Trudgill's study) or because of the singer's effort to choose more convenient option.

Morrissey's approach to see sonority as a factor is partially successful and some evidence of relation is found. However, the topic is concluded with the acknowledgement that sonority is only a partial explanation, and the style shifting is mostly caused by social and stylistic motivations (2008).

2.2.6 Konert-Panek: Overshooting Americanisation

In her work, *Overshooting Americanisation. Accent Stylisation in Pop Singing – Acoustic Properties of the Bath and Trap Vowels in Focus,* Konert-Panek addresses overshoot, a phenomenon tightly connected to style shifting. It is studied based on the comparison of the singer Adele's singing and speaking accent.

Overshoot can be characterised as when a feature has an exaggerated phonetic quality or greater frequency (Bell and Gibson 2011, 568). In a staged performance, which sometimes tends to have a theatrical nature, an overshoot can occur (Konert-Panek, 2017, p. 373). It has been studied before – Trudgill (1983) presents the overuse of non-prevocalic /r/ and its insertion where it does not belong (usually without considering orthography). One of the given examples of rhoticity overshoot is the production of *"...Ma and Pa"* as /maːr ən paːr/ by the band Kinks (p. 257). Gibson (2010) also mentions a qualitative overshoot when Dylan Storey, a singer from New Zealand, wants to move away from American features so eagerly that he produces DANCE vowel as [ɑ] instead of the less retracted New Zealand [a] (p. 121). However, in neither of the studies it has not been researched in greater detail.

Konert-Panek analyses Adele's use of five chosen features indexed as American when singing. The focus is on the lack of BATH-TRAP split. It is compared to the singer's speaking style which is in no way Americanised and could be labelled as Cockney. In her singing style, the American features are present along with British forms which shows

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inherent inconsistency, which is common in style shifting (Trudgill, 1983). However, there is a contrast between the two styles. On the BATH-TRAP split a change in the singer's style can be seen – in her debut album there is a hundred per cent occurrence of the split, whereas just two years later, in the next album, its lack appears in the majority of possible cases. The shift can be attributed to the rise of her popularity while becoming a global star (Konert-Panek, 2017, pp. 380-382). This is the complete opposite of what Trudgill spotted when studying the career of the Beatles (1983). Apart from substituting the BATH vowel with the TRAP vowel, a qualitative overshoot occurs. When Adele sings, the TRAP vowel is more fronted compared to the British variant with the aim to imitate the American variety. Hence the notion of the conflict between identities is still present.

In conclusion, if the studies above should be summarised, the style shift can be affected by numerous factors. Either it is the urge to identify with the target audience or to follow the rules of the mainstream. It can be the opposite; the singer may want to rebel and go against the norm (for example the punk movement). The style can be influenced by the context of the songs, the genre of the performer's music or the performer's popularity. The modifications can occur due to higher sonority or simply because the accent is the most natural for the performer when singing. Whichever of these motivations it is, the performer tries to follow the phonological rules of the targeted style. The attempts often fail and result in an imperfect imitation, such as over or undershoot.

The listed theories also differ in their perspective on the "USA-5" model. It had been indexed as "American" until Beal (2009) began to approach it as the default accent in the pop mainstream. This changed the direction of the research on style shifting. Nonetheless, what all of the studies share in common is the theme of the conflict of identities caused by all the influencing factors.

Practical part

In the practical part, a qualitative perceptual analysis of Glen Hansard's songs and interviews is carried out to determine the extent to which the selected features of Dublin English (DE) (from the chapter *Dublin English*) are used. The speech and song analyses are followed by their comparison. As a result, it is resolved how much Glen's singing style differs from his spoken accent. Finally, a discussion is held based on the previous studies about the reasoning behind the differences.

The aim of the study is twofold: 1) to provide general characteristics of Glen's singing and speaking style, and 2) to determine to what extent they differ.

3   Methodology

In this chapter, the main protagonist and the only participant of the analysis Glen Hansard is introduced. Then, the data selection and analysis are described. Lastly, the methods and the difficulties found throughout the process are listed as well as their solutions.

The analysis of both Glen Hansard's speech and singing style is purely auditory and qualitative. However, the reliability of the perception of the author cannot be flawless, therefore in multiple cases, the results were consulted with a second person.

The main focus of the analysis is on five features that can be indexed as *local Dublin English*: 1) raising and/or rounding of the STRUT vowel, 2) fronting of /aʊ/, 3) centralisation of /aɪ/, 4) [t] and [d] for [θ] and [ð] and 5) rhoticity. This set of features was chosen considering Glen's origin and social background.

3.1   Glen Hansard's Profile

Glen James Hansard is an Irish singer and songwriter born in 1970. He grew up in Ballymun, a suburb in Dublin notorious for its socially challenging conditions. Glen's childhood spent in government housing was accompanied by difficulties in the family- his relatives struggled with alcohol, drugs, and homelessness. Life in such conditions shaped his worldview and inspired him to become an activist. Hansard participated in campaigns supporting people who are homeless in Dublin. Also, growing up in the 1970s in such an area as Ballymun and being surrounded by working class people influenced Hansard's

accent. Both the time and the lower-class environment are typical for the local Dublin English variety (Glen Hansard, 2022) (O'Toole, 2021).

At the age of thirteen, Glen quit school and started busking. Seven years later, he formed "The Frames", a band that slowly gained its own fan base and his career as a singer started. In 2007, the film *Once* was released, and the singer's life changed. He was given the main role of a Dublin busker who meets an immigrant girl from the Czech Republic played by singer Markéta Irglová. Preceded by plenty of nominations and awards, Glen and Markéta won the Oscar for the song *Falling Slowly* from the movie soundtrack. In 2009, the couple started a band "The Swell Season". Sadly, their debut album *Strict Joy* is at the same time the only one due to their separation. The iconic duo found its way back together sixteen years after *Once* was launched and has been active since. After the Oscar, Hansard became a well-known artist, toured the world multiple times, and released six more albums as a solo artist (Glen Hansard, 2022).

When studying style shifting, it is also important to comment on the genre of Glen Hansard's music. Some of his recordings can be labelled as rock while some of them more resemble folk. He describes the nature of his music as "noisy, meditative, sprawling and hypnotic" and for one of the albums he even uses the term "meditative rock" (Glen Hansard, 2022). During his career, Hansard has not feared experimenting which makes his music different from the mainstream. In his songs, he explores topics such as existentialism, politics, and fear of the future, but also love and heartbreak.

3.2   Data Selection

For the speech analysis, two interviews recorded in the years 2006 and 2009 were used. The time range corresponds with the peak of Glen's career, which was in 2008 when he received the Oscar. The first, twenty minute long interview features only the singer and is done in response to the album *The Cost* (2006) by The Frames. In the 2009 ten minute long interview, Hansard is accompanied by Irglová as they released their first album *Strict Joy* as the band The Swell Season that year. Interesting research could be conducted by comparing interviews from all three decades of Hansard's career. However, for the purposes of this thesis, all available material from the 1990s was found inappropriate because of its length and quality.

To analyse Hansard's singing style, three songs from each of the albums named above, from 2006 and 2009, were chosen. The songs were selected based on the presence of the five chosen features occurring with sufficient frequency. Those with an insufficient amount of text or songs missing the target feature were eliminated. Also, there was an effort to select three songs with different content and "mood" to maintain variability and create a representative sample.

3.3   Data Analysis

As for the process, the interviews were initially converted into text using a Microsoft Word tool. For the songs, corresponding lyrics were found on the internet. All the possible occurrences of the five features were found and highlighted in the text using five different colours symbolising each feature. The total number of occurrences of the five features was narrowed down due to several reasons. Firstly, the parts of interviews where the singer imitated different accents or used vulgar expressions were found irrelevant and inappropriate. Secondly, due to the repetitive nature of songs, the parts that occurred multiple times (most often choruses) were counted only once because Glen's pronunciation did not differ in them. Thirdly, in both interviews and songs inaudible words were excluded from the analysis. Also, the word *just* was eliminated from the analysis because it was used over hundred times primarily in its weak form. This resulted in the number of occurrences in songs being smaller than initially planned, especially with [aʊ] diphthong in the 2006 album. However, the presence of the diphthong in the 2009 album is greater thanks to which a representative sample was created. The highest number of possible occurrences was with [aɪ] because of the frequent use of the personal pronoun *I* and the possessive pronoun *my*.

Then, the recordings were listened to thoroughly and repeatedly to determine if the DE feature was present by the author of the thesis. When uncertainty occurred a second assessor, Marek Maxa, was consulted. The result was written down into brackets following the keyword. In the case of the STRUT vowel, fronting of /aʊ/, and centralisation of /aɪ/ the phonetic transcription was marked in the Excel table. Lastly, tables with the gathered results were created and can be found in the appendix. Due to the large number of different words containing final and/or post-vocalic /r/, rhoticity is not indicated by a table which

would list all occurrences. With this feature, only the final numbers of possible and found occurrences are given in Chapter 4.

During the analysis, some complications arose. One of them was the STRUT vowel and its realizations. According to Hickey (2005, p. 35), in Dublin the Standard Southern British /ʌ/ is realised as short /ʊ/. However, in Glen's production, STRUT is pronounced as vowels ranging from the sound /ɔ/ (in Glen's case pronounced more in the back) to /ʊ/, or longer /ə/. To identification turned out to be very challenging thus in multiple cases the recordings had to be consulted with a second person. In the end, the initial idea of providing an exact STRUT realization for each occurrence was abandoned and, in some cases, the closest-sounding realization had to be used instead. Therefore, the data's accuracy is not unchallengeable but rather indicates tendencies, such as the rounding of the vowel in Glen's speech and singing.

4 Results

In this section, the results of the perceptual analysis of the songs and interviews are presented and compared.

4.1 Glen's Speaking Style

In this chapter, Glen's speaking style is analysed to find out what his neutral vernacular accent is. The pronunciation is examined by comparing the phonetic variables he displays in the interviews with the variables of Standard Southern British English (SSBE). Since there were only minimal differences between the results of the two interviews, they are presented together as a sample of Glen's speech.

As mentioned above, the singer grew up in the Dublin area thus his accent should resemble one of the varieties on the local – new – mainstream Dublin English (DE) continuum. Given that Glen Hansard is 53 years old, it was expected that he would use the features typical for the local Dublin English variety, most common for the older generation.

STRUT vowel

The first feature is the production of the STRUT vowel. As previously mentioned in the chapter *Data Analysis*, Glen's STRUT is realised in multiple ways. In over 30% of possible occurrences in the interviews, it is realised as the typical local Dublin English rounded vowel [ʊ**].**

      a.   [ʌ] → [ʊ]

      i.   Or maybe in the *countryside* (2006)

      ii.   I woke up in *Dublin* (2006)

      iii.   I was a *busker* (2009)

The second realisation of /ʌ/ that occurs in Glen's production is the rounded open-mid back vowel [ɔ]. However, in some cases, the quality slightly approaches the mid or is centralised. Wells (1982, p. 422) describes the process of centralising and rising to happen in Irish English. Since the deviations from [ɔ] quality are very small and measuring them in such large amount (there are over 60 occurrences) would be difficult, in this analysis they are simply referred to as [ɔ].

b. [ʌ] → [ɔ]
    i.   Bicycle with a *hub* (2006)
    ii.   She would give me *money* (2009)

The most frequent realisation is [ə]. According to Wells (1982, p. 422), the schwa can be present in Irish English. In the interviews, schwa is mostly used in parts when Glen speaks very fast or with words that do not have primary stress placed on the STRUT (as in the example cii).

c. [ʌ] → [ə]
    i.   I've ever *done* an interview (2006)
    ii.   I do know that being *unhappy* (2009)

According to Roach (1983, p. 127), it has been suggested that the contrast between /ʌ/ and /ə/ is not clear and there has been a debate about the extent of the difference between the two vowels. Nevertheless, in this thesis schwa is perceived as a separate realisation different from [ʌ] and is present in 38% of the possible occurrences.

Figure 2

STRUT vowel in speech
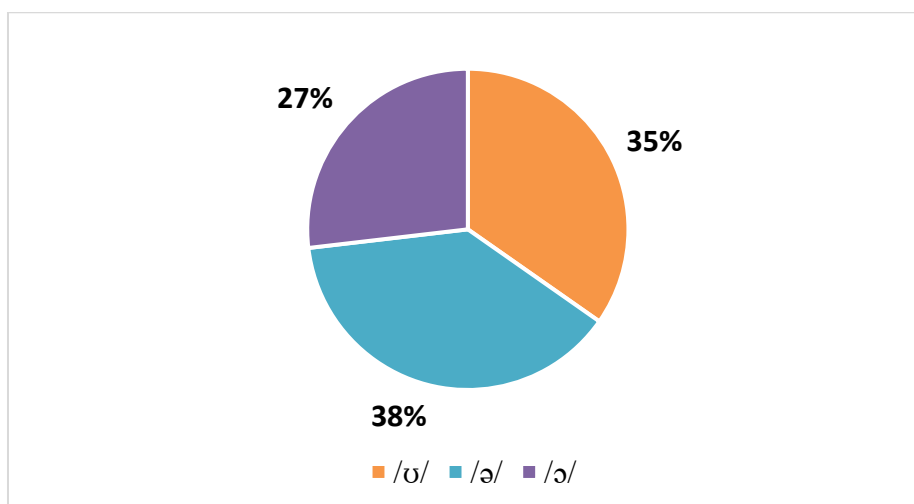
Fronting of /aʊ/

The second feature is the fronting of the closing diphthong /aʊ/ which becomes pronounced as [æʊ] or [ɛʊ], which placed even higher. Only 12% of the possible occurrences are realised as [æʊ], which shows the great extent to which Glen performs the fronting and raising of the initial vowel in the diphthong. In neither of the interviews is the SSBE [aʊ] used.

    a.   [aʊ] → [æʊ]

    i.   I don't know *how* long (2006)

    ii.   If you want to come *out* (2009)

    b.   [aʊ] → [ɛʊ]

    i.   Used to push it up and *down* (2006)

    ii.   I went out to the *house* (2009)

Alveolar stops for dental fricatives

The next studied feature is the pronunciation of the dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ as /t/ and /d/ respectively. Out of 518 possible occurrences, 463 were pronounced as alveolar stops. In Glen's speech, the shift is present in all possible word positions. The word-initial position is the most frequent due to the use of the definite article, which is realised as [d] in 95% of cases. Both personal (e.g. *they*) and demonstrative pronouns (e.g. *this*, *that*, *these)* are pronounced with alveolar stop in over 80%. The frequently used verb *think* is realised with /t/ in 100% of cases.

    a.   [ð] → [d]

    i.   *That*'s a good question (2006)

    ii.   He took *this* bicycle (2006)

The feature seems to be least present in the word-internal position. For example, in the words *Catholic, rather, nothing*, <th> is realised as /θ/ or /ð/.

    b.   [θ] → [t]

    i.   I would like to *think* (2006)

    ii.   I'm getting *something* (2009)

However, even though *something* is pronounced with [t] (as in bii. example), no clear tendency can be inferred for all the words containing -thing. *Nothing* and *anything* are in all cases pronounced with the SSBE [θ] realisation, whereas *everything* and *something* Glen always realises with alveolar stop [t]. The word *thing* itself is produced with [t] in two-thirds of cases.

Centralisation of /aɪ/

A centralisation of /aɪ/ diphthong is also present in Hansard's speech. The number of possible occurrences of the SSBE [aɪ] or its alternative Dublin English diphthong [əɪ] is the highest of all features. However, with its occurrence in 27% of the 635 cases, it is also the least represented feature. It could be argued that the statistics is influenced by the fact that nearly half of the occurrences is the personal pronoun *I*, which Glen realises as [a] or [aɪ]. If the personal pronoun were excluded, the centralised diphthong would be present in 53% of cases.

a. [aɪ] → [əɪ]
i. The last *time* I fixed a bike (2006)
ii. I went *outside* (2009)

In three words, there is a different realisation used. In *slightly*, the diphthong is more open and resembles [æɪ]. And in *my, myself*, Glen replaces the diphthong with [ɪ].

Rhoticity

The last examined feature – rhoticity - is typical for all varieties of Irish English. In the interviews, Glen realises /r/ in all 208 possible occurrences which confirms that his vernacular accent is rhotic. In six cases, the function word *for* is realised in the weak form as f[ə]. In contrast to other rhotic accents, Hansard's /r/ appears to be velarized [ɹˠ]. According to Hickey (2007), the velarized realisation is common in conservative Irish English varieties such as local Dublin English.

Apart from the five listed features, other noticeable differences were revealed in the interview. For example, epenthesis occurs in multiple cases such as "I introduced it at a ['filəm] Festival" (Interview 2006). Also, the realisation of BATH lexical set is in multiple cases fronted as in "the better ch[æ:]nce" (Interview 2006).

Altogether, the initial assumption is confirmed, and Glen's accent can be identified as local Dublin English. The analysis shows that the STRUT vowel, fronting of /aʊ/ and rhoticity features are consistently realised as in Dublin English in all possible environments. The dental fricatives are replaced by alveolar stops in almost 90% of cases. Regarding the centralisation of /aɪ/, one-third of occurrences of the diphthong is the Dublin English [əɪ] variable. The overall characteristics of Glen's speech with reference to the SSBE are summarised in **Table 3** below.

Table 3

Comparison of Glen Hansard's speech features with Standard Southern British English variables

Feature	Total number of items	SSBE	IE realization	IE in %
STRUT vowel	217	0	217	100%
Fronting of /aʊ/	105	0	105	100%
Alveolar stops for dental fricatives	518	55	463	89%
Centralisation of /aɪ/	635	462	173	27%
Rhoticity	208	0	208	100%

4.2 Glen's Singing Style

In this section, Glen's singing style is analysed on 6 songs. As opposed to the interview, multiple occurrences of words with the target features are described separately due to the different nature of the songs. However, the analysis does not aim to characterise the differences between the songs, but rather to draw a complete picture of Hansard's singing style.

STRUT vowel

In Glen's songs, the STRUT vowel is realised by 4 different vowels. More than half of the possible occurrences of /ʌ/ are realised as [ə]. It is produced not only in function words (example ai.) but mostly in content words (example a.ii.). The tendency for the STRUT vowel to be realised as schwa instead of [ʌ] or [ʊ] is one of the features that Trudgill (1983, p. 142) observes in British pop singing. This is therefore seen as a style shift in the analysis of Glen Hansard's songs.

    a. [ʌ] → [ə]

    i.   Only tears *us* both apart (True, 2006)

    ii.   There caring *somewhere* (The Verb, 2009)

The second most frequent realisation of /ʌ/ that occurs in the songs is the rounded open-mid back vowel [ɔ]. Here, we observe a similar trend to that discussed in Glen's speech above – sometimes the quality is slightly raised or centralised. This realisation occurs mostly in words containing -one (example b.i.).

    b. [ʌ] → [ɔ]

    i.   You're just like *everyone* (When Your Mind's Made Up, 2006)

    ii.   All in all, then just *enough* to (The Verb, 2009)

The third vowel most closely resembles the Standard Southern British [ʌ]. Its centralised realisation [ʌ̈] occurs in 17% of the possible cases. Although not typical for local Dublin English, this realisation is typical for the non-vernacular form of Irish English (Hickey, 2007).

    c. [ʌ] → [ʌ̈]

    i.   When there's *nothing* worth (When Your Mind's Made Up, 2006)

   ii.   Paper *cup* (Paper Cup, 2009)

Lastly, in one case the local Dublin English vowel [ʊ] occurs.

    d. [ʌ] → [ʊ]

    i.   On *breadcrumb* trails no more (Paper Cup, 2009)

The STRUT vowel remains consistent throughout the songs, indicating that the ratios of its various realisations do not differ significantly. The only major inconsistency occurs in the

song *Paper Cup*, where there are only two possible occurrences, and Glen realises each of them differently. The STRUT is produced once as [ɐ̈] (example c.ii.) and once as [ʊ] (example d.i.). The centralised [ɐ̈] realisation occurs in a part of the song where the word *cup* is pronounced clearly, and with stress. It could be argued that it carries more meaning since it is a part of the song's title. On the other hand, *breadcrumb* is pronounced without an emphasis, so a listener may not pay much attention to it. The function and importance of the words could at least partially explain why Glen uses such different realisations within one song.

Figure 3

STRUT vowel in singing
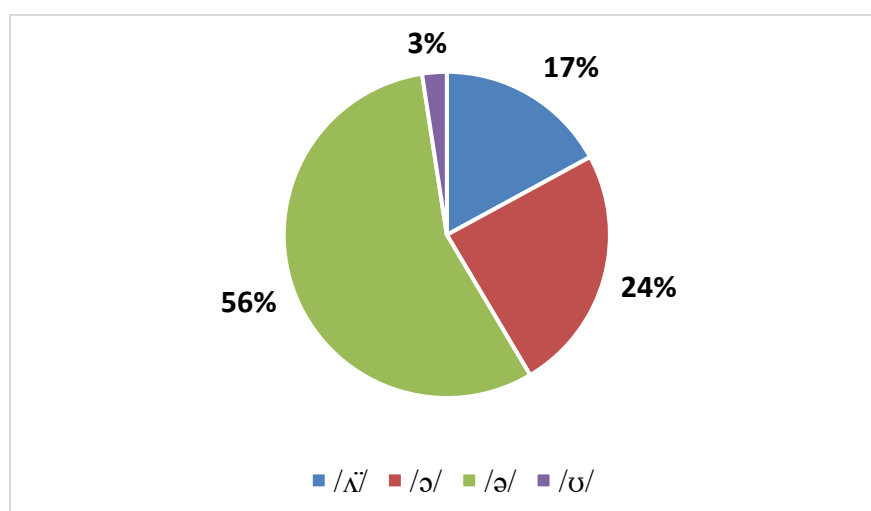
Fronting of /aʊ/

In Glen Hansard's songs, the closing diphthong /aʊ/ is produced in the local Dublin English variant in 90% of possible occurrences. However, the fronted realisation is always [æʊ] and no cases with the more raised [ɛʊ] occur. Glen's production remains consistent throughout the songs and the only two words that are pronounced similarly as in SSBE are *our* and *doubt*. An interesting shift appears in the song *Two Tongues* where the words *now* (example a.i.) and *doubt* (example b.i.) occur in rhyming positions. Even though it could be expected of Glen to either shift both or neither of the diphthongs, Glen realises them differently despite the possible rhyme. Instead, a near-rhyme is created.

a. [aʊ] → [æʊ]

i.   Who's talking *now*? (Two Tongues, 2009)

b. [aʊ] → [aʊ]

i.   Well, I guess I'm starting to *doubt* (Two Tongues, 2009)

Alveolar stops for dental fricatives

The realisation of [t] and [d] instead of the dental fricatives in the THIN/THIS lexical set is the third feature examined. In Glen's singing style, the alveolar stop occurs in 70% of the possible environments. Despite the high occurrence, the feature appears mostly in the word-initial position and affects the definite article, demonstrative pronouns (*this, these, that*) and adverbs (*there, then*). The only case of an alveolar stop in the word-final position is in the word *breath* (example a.i.). Depending on the number of words with <th> in the word-initial position, the occurrence of the feature ranges from 44% to 100%.

a.   [θ] → [t]

i.   Underneath your *breath* it's killing me (Two Tongues, 2009)

Centralisation of /aɪ/

The least represented local Dublin English feature is the centralisation of the closing diphthong /aɪ/, which occurs in 22% of the 105 possible environments. In the songs, there are 5 realisations used. In 70% of the cases, the diphthong reduces to the initial vowel [a] (examples ai.,aii.,) or [a:] (example a.iii.). The [a] realisation of the /aɪ/ glide is one of the "USA-5" features that are likely to happen in singing style.

a.   [aɪ] → [a]/[a:]

i.   And *hide* all by yourself (When Your Mind's Made Up, 2006)

ii.   I'm stuck here kidding *myself* (The Verb, 2009)

iii.   I *find* it so hard to be true (True, 2006)

In 17% of the occurrences, /aɪ/ is realised as the centralised diphthong [əɪ] (example b.i.). In one case, schwa replaces the diphthong (example b.ii.).

b. [aɪ] → [əɪ]/[ə]

i.   Is *alive*, is *alive* (The Side You Never Get To See, 2006)

ii.   But *myself* to blame (True, 2006)

Finally, in 10% of the environments, [aɪ] is realised in its SSBE form and does not undergo any shift.

    c. [aɪ] → [aɪ]

      i.   I'll come running to *fight* (When Your Mind's Made Up, 2006)

      ii.   I'm *tired* of fighting (The Verb, 2009)

Figure 4

*The production of the /*aɪ*/ diphthong in Glen's songs*
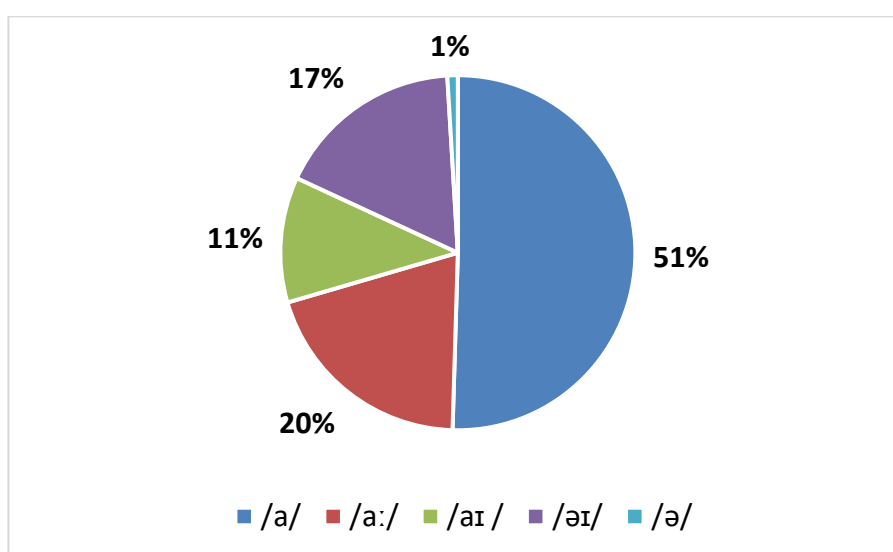
Rhoticity

Lastly, rhoticity is examined in the songs. Glen's singing style can be regarded as non-rhotic since he produces /r/ only in 8% of the 118 possible occurrences. In the songs, there are six cases in which /r/ is followed by a vowel, therefore the linking-r is used. For example, in "Now all the hurt is *here* again" (True, 2006). The linking-r is not considered in the rhoticity analysis because it is present in the SSBE thus no comparison can be done. In the ten cases in which /r/ is realised, Glen pronounces it as the post-alveolar [ɹ] (example a.i.). In comparison with the local Dublin English [ɹˠ], in Glen's singing style the /r/ is not velarized.

    a. [ɹ]

      i.   Will *disappear* before too long (True, 2006)

In conclusion, apart from rhoticity, Glen Hansard's singing style exhibits features typical for Irish English as well as the "USA-5" variables. The rounding and/or raising of /ʌ/ is present in 44% of cases, produced either as [ʊ], [ɔ] or as the Standard Irish centralized [ɤ̈]. More than half of the cases are realised with [ə], which is considered to be one of the features described by Trudgill (1983). The fronting of /aʊ/ is present in most cases. The least represented feature is, again, the centralisation of /aɪ/ with 19 centralised realisations out of 105 possible environments. However, due to the high amount of the /aɪ/ diphthong in the songs, its centralisation is noticeable despite the 18% occurrence. The summarised characteristics of Glen's style can be seen in **Table 4** below.

Table 4

Dublin English features in Glen Hansard's singing style

Feature	Total number of items	DE	DE in %
Fronting of /aʊ/	31	28	90%
Alveolar stops for dental fricatives	73	51	70%
Centralisation of /aɪ/	105	19	18%
Rhoticity	118	10	8%

Note: The STRUT vowel is not included in the table and is discussed in the chapter below

4.3 Comparison of Glen's Speaking and Singing Style

As both Glen's speech and singing were described, their comparison can be made. In this chapter, the styles are compared purely from the phonetic point of view. Further examination of the possible reasons for the extent of the style shift is carried out in the following chapter *Discussion*.

The first compared feature is the STRUT vowel. In Glen's singing style, there is a sharp decline in the use of the local Dublin English [ʊ] and an increase in the use of schwa realisations. The replacement of [ʌ] or [ʊ] by schwa is described by Trudgill to happen when singing. However, in Glen's speech, he produces the schwa sound in 38% of the

possible [ʌ] occurrences. The presence of [ə] in Irish English thus in Glen's speech makes it difficult to determine the extent of the style shift. Furthermore, the rounded open-mid back vowel [ɔ] is used with equal frequency in both styles. Finally, the centralised STRUT [ӓ], which is indexed as a Standard Irish English vowel, is realised in 17% of the occurrences in the songs. It can be argued that Hansard's singing style realisation of the STRUT deviates from the local Dublin English accent and a slight style shift towards the pop mainstream can be observed.

Regarding the second feature, the initial vowel in the closing diphthong /aʊ/ undergoes fronting in most of the cases, in both Hansard's speech and singing. The sole distinction lies in the degree of raising. In speech, Hansard pronounces 88% of the cases as [εʊ]. In his songs, the more raised realisation is absent and [æʊ] is used instead. The data shows that the quality of the diphthong is less raised and occurs in 90% of cases, indicating a slight shift towards the SSBE variant.

Similarly to the feature mentioned above, alveolar stops are used instead of dental fricatives in most of the possible occurrences. In Hansard's speech, the Dublin realisation occurs in all possible word positions. In singing style, in all but one of the cases, the dental fricative is substituted in word-initial position as in the words *there, then*. Only one case of the word-final alveolar stop occurrence is found in the word *breath*. However, the prevalence of words such as *the*, *this*, and *that* and the realisations with [ð] in the sample makes it difficult to investigate the tendency in more detail.

Compared to Glen's speech, the centralisation of /aɪ/ in singing style decreases to 18% of the total. In the interviews, the production is either the local DE [əɪ], more fronted [æɪ], or the SSBE [aɪ]. Whereas in songs, [əɪ] occurs in 17% of the possible environments and the majority is realised as monophthong [a]/[a:]. The use of the monophthong is one of the "USA-5" features, which is later considered as the pop mainstream model (Beal, 2009). A style shift is evidenced by the 70% occurrence of the [a]/[a:] vowels in Glen's songs.

The largest shift happens with the presence of the /r/ sound. Glen's rhotic speech shifts to a non-rhotic when singing. The strong auditory impression of the shift is enhanced by the absence of the Irish velarized [ɹˠ] in the singing style.

To conclude, the analysis shows that the fronting of /aʊ/ stays consistent in both speech and singing. The dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ are, despite the decline, realised as [t] and [d]

in the majority of cases in both styles. However, the environment in which the feature occurs is shifted to the word-initial position only. The centralisation of [aɪ] in Hansard's singing style declines due to the shift to 18% of the total and the American realisation is used instead. The most significant difference between the singing and speaking style is present in rhoticity and a complete style shift is observed. Additionally, in the cases where the /r/ sound is produced (the linking-r), its quality is different from the one in speech (it is not velarized). The comparison of the STRUT vowel is the most complicated due to the ambiguity of the style shift. In Glen's speech, [ə] is present in 38% of the cases while in singing it occurs in more than half of environments. A style shift can be regarded as a possible factor causing the higher occurrence of the mainstream variable [ə] in Glen's singing style. However, a complete style shift towards the American model is out of the question. For the summarised comparison of the occurrence of the Irish variables in the analysed songs and interviews, see **Table 5**.

Table 5

Comparison of Glen's speaking and singing style

Feature	Occurrence of DE in speech	Occurrence of DE in singing
Fronting of /aʊ/	100%	90%
Alveolar stops for dental fricatives	89%	70%
Centralisation of /aɪ/	27%	18%
Rhoticity	100%	8%

Note: The STRUT vowel is not included in the table due to the ambiguity of the results

5 Discussion

In this chapter, the previous studies on style shifting are discussed in relation to Glen's singing and speaking style. The phonetic analysis revealed that the biggest style shift in Hansard's production concerns rhoticity, while the style shift of the four remaining features is not significant. The extent of the style shift can be attributed to multiple factors including sonority and the genre of Glen's music.

The initial theory to consider is that of Trudgill (1983). The model of the American features, also perceived as the pop mainstream, can be applied to three variables from the analysis. In Glen's singing style, both the STRUT vowel and centralisation of /aɪ/ correspond to some extent to what the "USA-5" model describes. The STRUT vowel is more frequently realised as schwa and /aɪ/ mostly as the monophthong [a]/[a:]. However, the third feature does not adhere to the tendency. According to Trudgill (1983), singers tend to have a rhotic singing style which is not Hansard's case. It cannot be concluded that the reason for the differences between Hansard's speech and singing is due to his desire to adopt an American persona. The correlation between Glen's style shift and the American pop music culture is disproven below when describing the genre of Hansard's music.

What could be regarded as a possible reason for the differences between the two styles is sonority. In Glen's case, the most significant difference is that his rhotic speech shifts to non-rhotic when singing. Regarding the sonority, the r-less variant which leaves more space for vowels is far more suitable for singing than the r-full variant. Another shift that could be caused by a higher sonority is Glen's realisation of /aɪ/ as [a] or [a:]. Diphthongs, particularly closing ones, are generally less suitable for singing due to their movement from an open to a less sonorous vowel. However, this is contradicted by the insignificant style shift of /aʊ/ diphthong which Glen realises as [æʊ] or [aʊ] diphthongs when singing. If a higher level of sonority is desired, /aʊ/ should be pronounced as the monophthong [a], which is not Hansard's case. A feature whose shift could be also attributed to sonority is the use of alveolar stops instead of dental fricatives. In his singing style, the occurrence of the alveolar plosives decreases, especially in word-internal and word-final positions. The plosives are replaced by the dental fricatives which have a higher sonority value. This makes them easier to produce. There is also possibility of influence of sonority on the

STRUT vowel shift. In Glen's speech, the most frequent vowels are the near-close [ʊ] and mid [ə], whereas in the songs, the most frequent vowels are schwa and open-mid [ɔ]. This suggests that in his singing style, Glen favours the more open vowels which are more sonorous. Altogether, in four out of five features, the sonority aligns with the style shift, thus it may contribute to the differences between Hansard's speech and singing style.

The nature and genre of Glen's music may also play a major role in why the singer does not entirely shift his style when singing. Beal's reasoning for the insignificant style shift of Arctic Monkeys could be applied here. Glen Hansard began his career as an artist on the streets of Dublin. His aim was not to become a well-known performer but to earn money to improve his difficult financial situation (O'Toole, 2021). Hansard's path to success was much longer than the one of Adele or the Beatles. After forming the band The Frames, his popularity gradually increased and reached its peak when he won an Oscar. Despite his fame, he remained independent of American pop culture and attained his Irish persona. To this day, Glen experiments with his music and does not seem to follow the current trends which sets him apart from mainstream pop music. This attitude is very similar to that of Arctic Monkeys or punk music in the late 1970s.

Conclusion

Style shifting is a phenomenon that is commonly observed in the pop music industry. It has been studied for the past forty years, but there are still differing viewpoints and unknown reasons behind the phenomenon. Trudgill (1983) and Simpson (1999) provide useful starting points for further research. They established the "USA-5" model, a set of features typical for singing style that has been used for the analysis of pop singers, such as Jessie-J, Supertramp or Rolling Stones. Later it became perceived as the default model in the pop mainstream and not just "American". Most of the sociolinguistic studies of the phenomenon deal with the performer's identity, the desired perceptual linguistic model, and the bands' targeted audience. Besides the language-ideological approach, Morrissey (2008) provides a technical phonological explanation for the tendency. This thesis uses both approaches to style shift in singing, the technical and the sociolinguistic. The chosen subject and protagonist of the study is Glen Hansard, an Irish singer-songwriter.

In this thesis, I analysed a sample of Glen Hansard's interviews and songs in order to determine the extent to which the singer's singing and speaking style differ. The results show that the extent of Hansard's style shift is not comparable to that of Adele (Konert-Panek, 2017), who entirely shifts her style to American, or Turner (Beal, 2009), who attains his "Sheffield persona". In Glen's case, there is a tendency to follow the "USA-5" model with two features, nonetheless, it cannot be said that there is a greater shift towards the mainstream popular music accent. Hansard's persona is not intended to be "American" or that of a "mainstream pop singer". This is supported by the genre of his music (Glen Hansard, 2022), and his sympathies with the Dublin working class (O'Toole, 2021).

Although Glen Hansard retains some of his Irish accent when singing, the style shift is noticeable. Morrissey's theory (2008) is more applicable in this case. It suggests that the primary factor behind a style shift is sonority. The comparative analysis reveals that the singer inclines to more sonorous vowels and consonants when singing. The only case where the less sonorous variant is used is with /aʊ/ diphthong. In conclusion, Glen's singing style combines the features of his vernacular accent with the ones that are more sonorous and thus more suitable for singing.

The difference between one's singing style and one's speaking style depends on various factors, such as the degree of influence of the pop music culture, the form and content of the singer's music, their audience, and career direction. There may always be a conflict between the singing and speaking styles, and the extent of the shift may vary among artists, which makes it an interesting field for further research.

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Appendices

The appendix contains data used for the analysis of Glen Hansard's accent in speech and when singing. Two interviews and six songs were used. The tables show contents of the charts in practical part in full length. Each analysed feature (apart from rhoticity) has its table listing all the possible occurrences along with their phonological realization in the interview or song.

Appendix A: Interviews

A.1 Interview, 2006

STRUT vowel					
up (6)	ɔ	drum (2)	ʊ	done (1)	ɔ
up (4)	ʊ	result (2)	ɔ	done (1)	ə
one (5)	ʊ	Brussels(2)	ʊ	suffer (1)	ɔ
one (2)	ə	us (3)	ə	lucky (1)	ʊ
love (4)	ɔ	us (1)	ɔ	nothing (1)	ʊ
love (3)	ʊ	but (18)	ə	countryside (1)	ʊ
other (7)	ɔ	some (9)	ə	money (1)	ʊ
come (6)	ʊ	hub (1)	ɔ	young (1)	ɔ
come (1)	ə	above (1)	ʊ	judge (2)	ʊ
much (5)	ʊ	rubber (1)	ʊ	crutch (1)	ʊ
must (5)	ʊ	hungry (1)	ɔ	budget (1)	ʊ
couple (4)	ʊ	plus (1)	ʊ	unhappy (1)	ə
bunch (4)	ɔ	comfortable (1)	ɔ	unwillingness (1)	ɔ
Dublin (4)	ʊ	summer (1)	o	justify (1)	ʊ

another (1)	ʊ	Republic (1)	ʊ	frustrated (1)	ə
another (1)	ə	months (1)	ɔ		
In total: 124 possible occurrences, 124/124, 100%					

Fronting of /aʊ/			
now (9)	ɛʊ	sound (2)	æʊ
down (4)	ɛʊ	how (2)	æʊ
down (1)	æʊ	proud (2)	ɛʊ
about (18)	ɛʊ	outskirts (1)	ɛʊ
out (7)	ɛʊ	outside (1)	ɛʊ
hour (3)	ɛʊ	house (1)	ɛʊ
our (5)	ɛʊ	amount (1)	æʊ
In total: 57 possible occurrences, 57/57, 100%			

Alveolar stops for dental fricatives			
the (123)	✓	think (15)	✓
the (5)	×	there (16)	✓
that (57)	✓	there (2)	×
that (3)	×	thought (3)	✓
three (1)	×	thought (1)	×
month (1)	✓	another (1)	✓
thing (10)	✓	another (1)	×

thing (5)	×	other (5)	✓
everything (3)	✓	other (2)	×
something (9)	✓	them (5)	✓
anything (2)	×	them (1)	×
nothing (1)	×	these (3)	✓
they (6)	✓	then (9)	✓
thorn (1)	×	within (1)	✓
this (23)	✓	than (3)	×
this (3)	×	than (1)	✓
weather (1)	×	rather (2)	×
together (1)	✓	rhythm (1)	✓
further (2)	✓	breathe (1)	✓
whether (2)	✓	death (1)	✓
with (15)	✓	thirty (1)	✓
with (6)	×	thank (2)	✓
In total: 357 possible occurrences, 317/357, 89%			

Centralisation of /aɪ/			
I (173)	aɪ	by (2)	aɪ
time (19)	əɪ	by (3)	əɪ
bike (6)	əɪ	try (1)	aɪ
bicycle (10)	əɪ	survive (1)	əɪ

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bicycle (2)	aɪ	lie (1)	aɪ
my (13)	aɪ	five (3)	əɪ
my (9)	əɪ	tired (1)	əɪ
right (7)	əɪ	idea (3)	aɪ
myself (3)	əɪ	microphone (1)	aɪ
myself (2)	aɪ	title (1)	əɪ
might (1)	aɪ	title (1)	aɪ
quite (4)	aɪ	realise (1)	aɪ
environment (2)	əɪ	realise (1)	əɪ
confined (1)	əɪ	price (1)	əɪ
sometimes (3)	əɪ	find (1)	aɪ
sometimes (3)	aɪ	fight (1)	əɪ
alive (1)	əɪ	night (1)	əɪ
side (4)	əɪ	fire (2)	əɪ
like (20)	əɪ	inspire (1)	əɪ
like (15)	aɪ	terrify (1)	əɪ
type (3)	aɪ	Irish (1)	əɪ
type (1)	əɪ	live (1)	əɪ
died (3)	əɪ	kind (33)	aɪ
nice (3)	aɪ	life (18)	əɪ
ironically (1)	aɪ	realisations (1)	əɪ
In total: 391 possible occurrences, 127/391, 32%			

A.2 Interview, 2009

STRUT vowel					
busker (2)	ʊ	some (1)	ʊ	much (2)	ʊ
busk (1)	ʊ	some (1)	ɔ	something (1)	ɔ
someone (4)	ə	anyone (1)	ə	something (1)	ə
some<u>one</u> (4)	ɔ	hungry (5)	ʊ	everyone (4)	ə
money (1)	ɔ	love (5)	ɔ	upstairs (2)	ɔ
loving (1)	ɔ	loving (1)	ɔ	enough (1)	ə
one (6)	ə	crushed (1)	ʊ	sun (1)	ɔ
one (5)	ɔ	crumbled (1)	ʊ	nothing (3)	ɔ
come (14)	ə	touchy (1)	ʊ	somehow (1)	ə
lovely (2)	ʊ	trust (1)	ʊ	another (2)	ə
country (2)	ɔ	up (2)	ʊ	another (1)	ʊ
somewhere (1)	ə	up (5)	ə	other (2)	ɔ
couple (1)	ʊ	but (3)	ə	loving (1)	ɔ
In total: 92 possible occurrences, 92/92, 100%					

Fronting of /aʊ/			
now (8)	ɛʊ	out (17)	ɛʊ
now (1)	ə	house (3)	ɛʊ
down (4)	ɛʊ	how (1)	ɛʊ
down (2)	æʊ	drowned (1)	æʊ
around (3)	æʊ	hour (1)	ɛʊ

outside (2)	ɛʊ	somehow (1)	ɛʊ
sound (1)	æʊ	powerful (1)	ɛʊ
mouth (2)	ɛʊ		
In total: 48 possible occurrences, 48/48, 100%			

Alveolar stops for dental fricatives			
the (64)	✓	they (3)	✓
the (3)	×	with (5)	✓
that (21)	✓	with (3)	×
than (2)	✓	Catholic (1)	×
thank (3)	✓	then (3)	✓
there (14)	✓	another (2)	✓
gathering (1)	✓	another (1)	×
this (6)	✓	thing (2)	✓
everything (1)	✓	thing (1)	×
something (2)	✓	forth (3)	✓
them (2)	✓	throat (1)	✓
nothing (3)	×	mouth (2)	✓
wavelength (1)	✓	these (1)	✓
either (1)	×	rhythm (2)	×
think (5)	✓	through (2)	✓

In total: 161 possible occurrences, 146/161, 91%

Centralisation of /aɪ/			
I (136)	aɪ/a	nineteen (2)	əɪ
sky (1)	əɪ	kind (10)	aɪ
time (4)	əɪ	kind (1)	əɪ
motorbike (2)	əɪ	inside (1)	əɪ
slightly (1)	æɪ	outside (2)	əɪ
invited (1)	əɪ	right (7)	əɪ
my (13)	aɪ/a	myself (2)	aɪ/ɪ
my (3)	ɪ/ə	sometimes (1)	əɪ
night (3)	əɪ	trying (1)	əɪ
night (1)	aɪ	eye (1)	əɪ
quiet (1)	aɪ	side (1)	əɪ
write (1)	əɪ	dialogue (1)	əɪ
quite (1)	əɪ	Irish (1)	əɪ
like (35)	aɪ	nice (4)	əɪ
like (3)	əɪ	style (2)	əɪ
by (1)	əɪ		
In total: 244 possible occurrences, 46/244, 19%			

Appendix B: Songs

B.1 Song "True", 2006

STRUT vowel			
us (2)	ə	up (1)	ɔ
cut (1)	ӓ	one (1)	ɔ
In total: 5 possible occurrences, 4/5, 80%			

Fronting of /aʊ/			
down (1)	æʊ	our (1)	aʊ
now (3)	æʊ		
In total: 5 possible occurrences, 4/5, 80%			

Alveolar stops for dental fricatives			
the (4)	✓	that (5)	✓
this (4)	✓	both (1)	×
these (1)	✓	there's (2)	✓
In total: 17, 16/17, 94%			

Centralisation of /aɪ/			
I (15)	a	myself (1)	ə
find (4)	a:	like (1)	a
lies (2)	əɪ	try (1)	a:
my (3)	a:	line (1)	a:

In total: 28 possible occurrences, 3/28, 11%

B.2 Song "When Your Mind's Made Up", 2006

STRUT vowel			
something (1)	ə	anyone (1)	ɔ
come (1)	ə	one (1)	ɔ
running (2)	ə	run (2)	ə
up (1)	ᴧ̈	nothing (1)	ᴧ̈
In total: 10 possible occurrences, 8/10, 80%			

Alveolar stops for dental fricatives			
the (1)	✓	something (1)	×
there's (3)	✓	nothing (1)	×
then (1)	✓	worth (1)	×
In total: 8 possible occurrences, 5/8, 63%			

Centralisation of /aɪ/			
like (1)	a	fight (1)	aɪ
mind (3)	a:	hide (1)	a
trying (1)	a:	by (1)	a
I (2)	a		
In total: 10 possible occurrences, 0/10, 0%			

B.3 Song "The Side You Never Get To See", 2006

STRUT vowel			
come (3)	ə	everyone (1)	ɔ
monkey (1)	ɔ	anyone (1)	ɔ
In total: 6 possible occurrences, 6/6, 100%			

Fronting of /aʊ/			
down (1)	æʊ		
In total: 1 possible occurrences, 1/1, 100%			

Alveolar stops for dental fricatives			
the (3)	✓	that (1)	✓
those (1)	✓		
In total: 5 possible occurrences, 5/5, 100%			

Centralisation of /aɪ/			
I (2)	a	myself (2)	a
I (1)	a:	tonight (1)	a:
lie (2)	aɪ	side (2)	aɪ
by (1)	aɪ	alive (4)	əɪ
right (1)	a		
In total: 16 possible occurrences, 4/16, 25%			

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B.4 Song "Two Tongues", 2009

STRUT vowel			
tongues (2)	ʌ̈	mumbling (1)	ɔ
underneath (2)	ə	nothing (1)	ɔ
In total: 6 possible occurrences, 4/6, 67%			

Fronting of /aʊ/			
down (1)	æʊ	around (2)	æʊ
doubt (1)	aʊ	counts (3)	æʊ
now (1)	æʊ	out (4)	æʊ
mouth (1)	æʊ		
In total: 13 possible occurrences, 12/13, 85%			

Alveolar stops for dental fricatives			
the (2)	✓	that (1)	✓
thing (2)	×	that (1)	×
both (1)	×	mouth (1)	×
this (4)	✓	breath (1)	✓
everything (1)	×	nothing (1)	×
with (1)	×	underneath (2)	×
In total: 18 possible occurrences, 8/18, 44%			

Centralisation of /aɪ/			
I (3)	a	strikes (2)	aɪ
like (2)	a:	tiring (1)	aɪ
In total: 8 possible occurrences, 0/8, 0%			

B.5 Song "Paper Cup", 2009

STRUT vowel			
cup (2)	̈ʌ	breadcrumbs (1)	ʊ
In total: 3 possible occurrences, 1/3, 33%			

Alveolar stops for dental fricatives			
the (3)	✓	strength (1)	×
this (5)	✓		
In total: 9 possible occurrences, 8/9, 89%			

Centralisation of /aɪ/			
fight (3)	əɪ	time (2)	əɪ
survive (1)	aɪ	provide (1)	əɪ
light (1)	aɪ	decide (2)	əɪ
In total: 10 possible occurrences, 8/10, 80%			

B.6 Song "The Verb", 2009

STRUT vowel			
cut (1)	ə	stuck (4)	ə
enough (1)	ɔ	somewhere (3)	ə
us (2)	ə		
In total: 11 possible occurrences, 11/11, 100%			

Fronting of /aʊ/			
now (2)	æʊ	out (9)	æʊ
our (1)	aʊ		
In total: 12 possible occurrences, 11/12, 92%			

Alveolar stops for dental fricatives			
the (2)	✓	that (1)	×
then (2)	✓	through (1)	×
there (4)	✓	anything (3)	×
with (1)	×	this (1)	✓
though (1)	×		
In total: 16 possible occurrences, 9/16, 80%			

Centralisation of /aɪ/			
I (17)	a	sliding (1)	a:
time (3)	əɪ	tired (1)	aɪ

aside (1)	aː	fighting (1)	aː
knife (1)	aː	my (3)	a
myself (4)	a	pious (1)	əɪ
In total: 33 possible occurrences, 4/33, 12%			