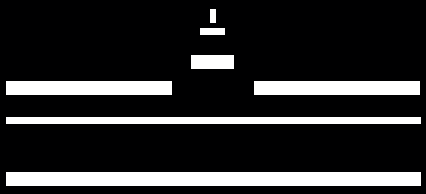

Westfälische
Wilhelms-Universität
Münster

The Sociolinguistics of Singing

Dialect and style in classical choral singing in Trinidad

Guyanne Wilson

Englische Philologie

The Sociolinguistics of Singing:

Dialect and Style in Classical Choral Singing in Trinidad

Inaugural-Dissertation

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

At the 2010 Biennial Music Festival in Trinidad and Tobago, American adjudicator Dr Jan Harrington faced public criticism after remarking that singers in South Trinidad had not been able to "handle the vowels properly during their delivery" (Asson 2010: n.pag.). Harrington stressed that, "despite the dialect of a country, words must always be pronounced the way the composer meant them to sound" (ibid.). Likewise in the north, Harrington's fellow American commented that young singers often made "incorrect choices with their vowels" (Trinidad Express: March 2nd 2010). What exactly did the adjudicators mean by their comments? Underlying their remarks seems to be the assumption that there is a preferred accent for choral singing, which the young singers in Trinidad had not mastered. The adjudicators never state, in the newspapers or elsewhere, what exactly that accent is, but that this accent is not the regular speaking accent of the singers is clearly implied. The aim of this study is to discern this accent, and to determine why singers in Trinidad[1] may find it difficult to consistently produce it.

The study of pronunciation in singing may not seem at first like an obvious concern of sociolinguistics. However, since the early 1980's, sociolinguists have busied themselves with the study of accents in pop and rock singing. Studies in this area have determined that there is a definitive preference for American-influenced English pronunciations in commercially successful pop singing, regardless of the country of origin of the performer (see Chapter 2), and have also shown how performers' rejection of American-influenced English pronunciations, or negotiations of American-influenced English with their own local varieties of English can be interpreted as "acts of identity" (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985). More recently, sociolinguistic studies interested in style have turned their attention to what Coupland (2007) calls "high performance"- performance that is presented to a public audience through a specially designated medium, such as radio or television, or in a designated public space, such as a theatre or concert hall. These studies

[1] The biennial Music Festival in Trinidad and Tobago is a national event with competitions occurring on both islands over a three-week period. This study, however, focuses only on choirs in Trinidad.

have been especially useful in attuning us to the dynamic nature of language style, and, in paying particular attention to stylised or exaggerated language use, the complexities of language ideologies in contemporary society.

Choral singing in Trinidad has been called an "adopted art form" by commentators because of its colonial origins and its sustained association with non-Caribbean, particularly European, musical forms. Many artistic forms associated with Europe, such as orchestral music, have not survived in the Caribbean with the same lustre that singing has, and choral music often bears the marks of its Caribbean performance space, particularly with regard to instrumentation. However, singing is peculiar in that it is not solely musical, but also linguistic and, though scholars writing about the use of language in singing maintain that standard pronunciations should be used in choral singing, except in the case of the performance of folk music, they do not consider the complexities that sociolinguists must with regard to standard languages, and especially standard English(es). Thus choral singing, too, becomes a sociolinguistic concern, and its cultural otherness in the Caribbean makes it an intriguing site for the study of language in formerly colonial, independent settings.

Despite the many insights of previous studies, there still exist a number of gaps in our knowledge of language and style with reference to high performance. Firstly, with particular reference to singing, studies have focussed on popular genres such as pop, rock, and hip-hop, but little attention has been given to classical choral music. How far do the conclusions made for performers of popular genres hold in classical music? Moreover, although Leung (2009) does look at ragga-soca singing in Trinidad, there are few studies on the use of language in singing in the English-speaking Caribbean. Furthermore, Leung's study looks at language use in a local genre that has not spread to more international audiences, and thus there are no Caribbean-based studies that consider language use in singing in a genre whose performance and linguistic norms are neither indigenous nor limited to the Caribbean. Are findings that link national varieties to specific performance styles regardless of geographical location also relevant for classical choral singing in Trinidad? Another shortcoming of previous studies is their focus on completed performances. Earlier scholars have tended to focus on recordings of performances in

progress, or else on studio recordings made widely accessible on CD. The analytic focus, then, has been on the product, and the results of their study tell us a great deal about performance as artefact. Earlier studies can only deduce linguistic characteristics that are especially important to performance on the basis of whatever else they know about the performers themselves, and they can at most only hypothesize, since they do not have access to the rehearsals preceding the performance, where linguistic and other aspects of performance are deliberated, negotiated, repeated, and, perhaps, perfected. Finally, with the notable exception of Gibson and Bell (2012), previous studies do not use the performers themselves as a source of primary data. Some works do include statements and interviews given to the press as data, but otherwise earlier work assumes that, for example, performers' language use reflects a particular language ideology without the performers ever actually saying this. However, sociolinguistics has long acknowledged the agentive nature of language use, continuously reinforcing that speakers can make quite deliberate changes to their language use (cf. accommodation theory, Giles and Coupland 1991, or crossing, Rampton 1995). High performance involves the pre-meditated creative exploitation of language, and it is important that we engage with those involved in this enterprise in order to gain insight into the thought processes that direct their language choices. This thesis aims to fill the gaps in previous research by looking at classical music instead of pop music, focussing on the Caribbean rather than on North America or Great Britain, and privileging process over product, paying particular attention to what takes place in the rehearsal itself, and giving voice to the ideologies that the performers express.

The work contained herein is therefore premised on the assumption that classical choral singing, like pop singing, pantomime, and hip-hop, can tell us a great deal about language. Specifically, classical choral singing can be used a source of information about the phonological features of different dialects of English, language attitudes and ideologies, and of course language style in performance. The basic research questions guiding this study are:

1) What is the preferred accent for classical choral singing in Trinidad?
2) How successful are choral singers in secondary schools in Trinidad in attaining this accent? Specifically:

   a. What phonological features of the target accent do stakeholders in classical choral singing (conductors, singers, audience members) perceive as difficult for choral singers to produce?

   b. What phonological features of the target accent do school-aged choral singers actually find difficult to produce? Are there any differences to be found between: choirs in the north versus the south of Trinidad; all-male versus all-female choirs; choirs of younger singers (between 11 and 14 years old) and choirs of older singers (between 14 and 18 years old)?

3) What are the repercussions of unsuccessful attempts at producing the target language, viz. corrections singers receive during rehearsals, listener reactions to performances?

Answering these questions will allow us to address the following more general concerns:

4) What can looking at language use in choral singing add to more general discussions of language style in performance?

5) What can looking at language use in choral singing in Trinidad reveal about:

   a. the specific phonological features of the variety of English spoken there and

   b. the language attitudes and ideologies prevalent in Trinidadian society?

6) What can looking at language use in choral singing in Trinidad contribute to discussions of postcolonial Englishes?

7) What can findings regarding language use in choral singing reveal about orders of indexicality that exist in Trinidad?

The purpose of this study is to provide answers to these questions, and thereby to contribute to discussions about style in performance and the forms and functions of English in the Caribbean.

This thesis will proceed as follows. **Chapter 2** lays the theoretical foundations of this study. It provides a description of the sociolinguistic

situation in Trinidad and Tobago and reports on previous studies describing the phonological features of the English-based Creole spoken in Trinidad. The second half of that chapter reviews the relevant literature on language and style, paying particular attention to studies of performance. **Chapter 3** describes the methodology used in this thesis. It details the interviews, questionnaires, and observations through which data were collected, gives relevant information about the participants, and provides a general overview of the data analysis tools and techniques that were applied, though these are discussed in greater detail in subsequent chapters. The next three chapters present the findings of the study. The results presented in the first half of **Chapter 4** address the question of the preferred accent for choral singing, while the second half of that chapter details the difficulties singers are purported to have in realising this accent. **Chapter 5** switches from abstract discussions of language use to actual language use, and focuses on the singers' actual realisations of target accent features in the course of the choral rehearsal. In **Chapter 6,** the focus shifts from the singers to the conductors and adjudicators, looking at the corrections they give singers as they lead them towards the preferred accent. **Chapter 7** is divided into two parts. The first part is a discussion of phonological features of the English used in Trinidad, using evidence gathered from chapter 5 and discussed in light of those studies presented in Chapter 2. It then goes on to discuss language attitudes and ideologies that emerge in chapters 4 and 6, and, considering all these things together, attempts to locate English in Trinidad within Schneider's Dynamic model of postcolonial Englishes. The second half of Chapter 7 situates this work into larger discussions of language and style in performance. The chapter ends by looking at how we can use the theory of indexicality to synthesize our understanding of dialect on one hand and style on the other. The final chapter, **Chapter 8,** summarises the results and analysis, and gives suggestions for future work in this area of study.

CHAPTER 2: BACKGROUND

2.0 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide a theoretical and historical background for this study. It begins by looking at the sociolinguistic situation in Trinidad, reporting what is known about the phonological features of the English/Creole spoken there, and also looking at language attitudes. It will also look at Trinidad English/ Creole in light of two major approaches to the study of varieties of English in the world, namely Kachru's World Englishes model and Schneider's later Dynamic model. From there, it goes on to explore the development of choral singing in Trinidad. In that section, owing to a lack of secondary sources, the information reported is taken from interviews with established musicians in Trinidad and Tobago. The attention then shifts to more general theories of language style, with particular attention being paid to studies of style and stylisation, and especially to the more recent studies of language use in performance. Lastly, this section will look at the theory of indexicality, exploring how it can be applied to what we already know about Trinidad English/ Creole.

2.1 The Sociolinguistic Situation of Trinidad

2.1.1 Creole and English in Trinidad

Trinidad and Tobago are the southernmost islands in the Caribbean archipelago. A British colony until 1962, the islands became a union in 1886. Their histories prior to the latter date however, are different, with the attendant result that the two islands remain demographically distinct, in spite of being one nation. Since the focus of this thesis is on language in Trinidad, and the histories of the two islands are so divergent, only historical information on Trinidad will be provided.

Trinidad, the larger of the two islands, has a linguistically and ethnically diverse history. The virtual extermination of the original Kalinago inhabitants following the arrival of the Spanish at the end of fifteenth century resulted in the loss of their languages, except in the names of flora and fauna and in a

handful of place names, and established Spanish as the main language of the under-populated island. The Cedula of Population in 1783 opened the island to large numbers French speaking settlers, mostly planters and enslaved people from islands in the French-controlled West Indies. They brought with them French and French Creole, the latter persisting today among small pockets of the population who speak Trinidad French Creole, locally called Patois (Brereton 1996).

The British first arrived in 1797, and the island would eventually become home to English and English Creole speaking people from the United Kingdom and from other British colonies in the West Indies (Brereton 1996). Nevertheless, during the first half century of British colonisation, the island would remain largely French-Creole speaking. Indeed, Campbell notes that, "when emancipation came, Trinidad was still a patently un-English colony" (1996: 2), with large numbers of people speaking French and French Creole or Spanish. It was only after emancipation in 1834 that administrators set themselves the task of anglicising the island. The work of Anglicisation was left to education and its faithful ally, English since, as London notes, "school was English and English was school" (2003: 277). Under the rule of Governor Lord Harris, from 1846 onwards, secular government schools with instruction solely in English and with the mandate to inculcate English values were established around Trinidad. It was in these schools that many of the island's majority French Creole speakers had their first contact with English. The post-emancipation period also saw the movement of the newly freed people away from the plantations, and workers were subsequently recruited from West Africa and other British colonies in the Eastern Caribbean (Campbell 2003). Thus this wave of immigrants increased the island's English-speaking and English-creole speaking population. At this time, too, workers were also recruited as indentured laborers from a number of different locations, including China, Madeira, Syria and Lebanon, who came in small, but not entirely insignificant, numbers. From 1845 to 1917, large numbers of indentured immigrants were brought from India.

These patterns of immigration have had several effects on the linguistic situation in Trinidad and Tobago. Robertson (2010) reports considerable linguistic diversity for the islands. The majority first language (L1) is listed as

Trinidad Creole English or Tobago Creole English, respective of island, with sizable populations of Trinidad and Tobago Standard English L1 speakers also present. Linguistic diversity is further enriched by pockets of French Lexicon Creole (Patois), Hindi, Arabic, Spanish, Yoruba, and Trinidad and Tobago Sign Language users. Critically, his list omits Madeiran Portuguese, and Cantonese Chinese, which Youssef and Ferreira include in their (2011) list of minority and endangered languages. The latter pair further lists the country's minority and endangered languages by vitality, with TTSL, French Creole, Hindi and Spanish appearing to enjoy greater strength than Cantonese, Arabic, Madeiran and Yoruba. Despite the range of languages spoken, most of these languages are spoken by a minority of speakers. In reality, Creole and English predominate linguistically.

Though Robertson (2010) provides some attempt to define the roles played by the different languages in Trinidadian society, his tabular presentation belies the intricacies and complexities of the situation. English and English-lexicon Creole in Trinidad are often described in terms of De Camp's (1971) theory of the post-creole continuum. Creole continua are by and large contact phenomena, arising in situations where creoles co-exist with their lexical source languages (Holm 2000). Using this approach, language varieties are placed along the continuum dictated largely by their similarity to, or difference from, a metropolitan, or less frequently local, standard. Those varieties with fewest features resembling the standard varieties, labelled basilects, are placed on one end of the continuum, and those sharing the majority of features with the standard varieties (Shields-Brodber 1997), called acrolects, are placed on the other end. Halfway between the two extremes are mesolects. Theoretically, and indeed in real-life language situations, there exists the possibility for any given number of intervening lects between these three points, though Rickford (1987) stresses De Camp's earlier argument that this number is not infinite, if only because there is a finite number of speakers. Moreover, the differences between the lects are not clearly demarcated; in Creole continua situations we do not find ourselves dealing with discrete boundaries, and so it is both impossible and useless to attempt to "describe the system in terms of two or three or six or any other manageable number of discrete social dialects" (De Camp 1971: 354). Further to this, Rickford (1987)

also notes that an important criterion of a continuum is the ordering of variables along a single dimension, in this case '"creoleness" or "standardness"' (23), a process that requires the type of linguistic analysis which focuses on language form with little attention being paid to linguistic function, a point that Shields (1989) notes. Rickford, too, highlights the limitations of a unidimensional continuum in providing a single dimension along which variables can be ordered, in adequately accounting for speakers' broad competencies, and in explaining speakers' motivation to move along the continuum. However, he does not abandon unidimensional approaches completely, possibly because he seems to agree with De Camp's insinuation (1971) about the relative simplicity of unidimensional approaches versus multidimensional ones, and instead suggests that multidimensional analyses be re-presented in unidimensional terms.

The multifariousness of Caribbean Sociolinguistic Complexes (Carrington 1993) duly noted, researchers have nevertheless persisted in the task of providing descriptions of the varieties that occur along the creole continuum. The greatest attention is often to the basilect and mesolect varieties. This is possibly a side-effect of non-linguists' insistence that local standards (i.e. acrolects) do not exist so that the acrolect is often equated with metropolitan, often British, standards, at least syntactically (see Irvine 2004 for discussion of this); or possibly because the early work of Caribbean linguists was largely, and rightly, social justice work, interested in giving dignity not only to Creole languages in the region, but also to their speakers. With regard to the first likelihood, Youssef and Ferreira (2011) argue that a local standard of Trinidadian English clearly exists, but Deuber (2009) reports that non-linguist speakers do not recognise the existence of local standards, propagating a belief in a local form that is only Creole. In subsequent work, Deuber (2013) critically found that, among university-level respondents in Trinidad and Jamaica, there persisted a belief in the standard as a British or foreign variety, and the Creole as local. Where standards, or perhaps more accurately consensus, are acknowledged, little has been done by way of codification, elaboration and status planning, particularly in Trinidad.

Writing about linguists' approaches to language in Jamaica, Irvine (2004) notes that socially, the acrolect has been described in terms of its speakers,

their education and occupation, their typically urban residence, and their use of this near-standard in formal settings. Linguistically, she points out that the acrolect is given the de facto definition of "maximal divergence from the basilect" (42), or else assumed to be only "trivially" (Wells 1982: 564) different from other varieties of Standard English. Thus Irvine argues that features are labelled basilectal (and by extension mesolectal) in comparison to metropolitan Standard Englishes, since there seem "to be no Jamaica-based structural criteria for singling out features attested in all lects as particularly 'basilectal'" (Irvine 2004: 43). This "selective erasure" (Irvine 2004: 43) of the viability of the acrolect is very likely not peculiar to Jamaica. In Trinidad, a mesolectal creole, which is "fairly uniform […and] used both in rural and urban areas" (Winford 1997: 236) is attested, and Devonish (2006) proposes that there may also be a basilectal creole which has restricted use, but other than Youssef and Ferreira's (2011) insistence that there is also a local standard, description and discussion of this standard based on local norms has been somewhat restricted. Youssef and James' review article (2008) reaffirms the notion that Trinidad phonology has acrolectal and mesolectal varieties, with the latter having changed so much over time that the upper mesolect appears to have merged with the Standard forming what they call a pseudo-acrolect, and making it difficult to distinguish the features of one from the other. It is not clear what the differences are between this pseudo-acrolect and the genuine-acrolect, and crucially, the pair does not specify whether they mean the local standard or a metropolitan standard, though it seems that the latter is the case. If, however, we accept Youssef and James' claims, then understanding this apparent merger of mesolect and Standard could be critical for the further description of the local emerging standard. Somewhat similarly, Deuber (2010) sets about the corpus-based task of describing features of Standard English in Trinidad. The basis for her comparison is Standard British English, so that she concludes that the grammatical features she reports are "not necessarily Standard English but [remain], overall, closer to the English than to the Creole pole of the available continuum," (35). She follows Allsopp (1996) in labelling such forms as "creolised English" (ibid.). Thus it is quite possible that this "creolised English" is nearly equivalent to

Youssef and James' mesolect-Standard merger, and that perhaps these forms are part of the local standard.

It is therefore critical that the terms are defined as they shall be used in this study. Except where other authors specifically employ terms such as basilect, mesolect and acrolect, and as far as is possible without causing obfuscation, these terms will be avoided. Instead, the term Trinidad English/ Creole (TE/C) will be used to refer to all features that are reported in the previous literature to belong to any of the aforementioned categories. This form was adopted following Winer's use of the form in her *Dictionary of the English/ Creole of Trinidad and Tobago* (2008). Labelling in this way was desirable for a number of reasons. Firstly, it was felt that using the label Trinidad English/ Creole would resist the trend of associating Trinidadian forms only with the Creole, and acknowledge the fact that a local variety of English also exists. Furthermore, it has already been demonstrated that in reality the boundaries between what counts as Creole and Standard are blurred, if not fluid (Winford 1997). Youssef (2004, 2005, 2010) has also noted that it is very rarely the case that speakers make exclusive use of a single code, and argues that sociolinguistic competence in Trinidad is dependent on an unmarked, normative form of code-mixing which she calls varilingualism or varilingual competence. This competence is characterised by "partial or full knowledge [of both Creole and Standard English] with the capacity for ultimate full competence in both or fossilization in one or both as constrained by circumstances " (2010:6). Further to this, varilingualism involves the ability to mix or switch between the codes. Youssef claims that this mixing is different from more traditional notions of code-mixing or code-switching since the switch does not involve a complete shift in the code being used but instead "the production of different proportions of features from the two codes, dictated by the [speaker's] exposure" (ibid.). However, the idea that speakers may have two fossilised language varieties is somewhat disconcerting, as is Youssef's concern that speakers may lose the capacity to unmix. Youssef's data is based on the language acquisition of three children, but her conclusions are applied to "larger society as a whole" (Youssef 2010: 8). One implication of her conclusion may be that large groups of speakers in the same society fail to fully acquire a language, something that cannot be

psycholinguistically supported. It may be, then, that what appears to be fossilisation or the inability to unmix is instead the very thing that Youssef herself notes that creolists have avoided: a mixed language (Youssef 2010: 9). Thus it becomes difficult to separate what is Creole from what is not Creole in anything more than an ad hoc fashion. Nevertheless, varilingualism remains a useful concept and, if Youssef is indeed right in her claim that Trinidadian speakers systematically mix Creole with Standard, "producing a blended variety which captures the appropriate level for specific situations" (2004: 44), then labelling all features used by Trinidadian speakers as TE/C seems warranted. Finally, in light of Winer's (2008) concessionary use of the term English/ Creole to "encompass all those varieties of language spoken in [Trinidad and Tobago] by Trinidadians and Tobagonians (Trinbagonians) that can be considered forms of English and forms of [English Creole]" (2008: xiii), and Mufwene's (2001) argument that the criteria for labelling so-called new Englishes and Creoles are often social and political, there seems to be an emerging practice of viewing the wide variety of possibilities as unitary, and thus called here TE/C.

One of the aims of this thesis is to further identify the features of the local emerging variety of Standard English in Trinidad. However, as Irvine (2004, discussed above) notes, reference to the Standard in Caribbean Creole contexts is often a reference to a metropolitan Standard English. Moreover, as Youssef notes, Caribbean Creole speakers have traditionally regarded the Standard as belonging to Britain or America, a by-product of their colonial history (2004: 43). These two situations are unfortunate, given that "local Standards have evolved that are Caribbean just as much as the Creole" (ibid.). In general, features that are in other works labelled as Standard will here be labelled Standard British English (SBE). This is on account of Trinidad's history as a former British colony, whereby varieties of British English served historically as the models of Standard English, but also to acknowledge the possibility for the existence of different varieties of Standard English, that may or may not resemble the British standard. The label British is not meant to imply that one homogeneous variety of English is spoken throughout the United Kingdom, and arguably the label Received Pronunciation (RP) may be more suitable. However, RP is a distinct social accent and that label was felt to

be too restrictive. Moreover, many of the participants in this study, when referring to non-Trinidadian accents of English, referred to them using gross categories such as British or American, and frequently seemed to equate "proper English" with British English, though they could not be expected to be very specific about which variety of British English they meant, since they were neither British nor linguists. Therefore, the use of the label Standard British English is, in this instance, the most accurate.

2.1.2 Phonological features of TE/C

There are several studies which report on the phonological features of mesolectal and acrolectal features of Trinidad English/ Creole (hereinafter TE/C). The most recent presentation appears in Youssef and James' 2008 article, which draws on several findings published prior to their work. Rather than provide a chronological account of each study, an overview of the features of TE/C phonology will be reported in three main sections: consonants, vowels, and word stress.

2.1.2.1 TE/C Consonants

Wells' (1982) ambitious survey of accents of English around the world asserts that T/EC shares a number of features with other forms of English in the Caribbean. The most well-reported feature of these is TH stopping or, as Youssef and James phrase it, "the shift to representation of [θ] as [t] and [ð] as [d]" (2008: 329), which Solomon (1993) also confirms as a major defining feature of TE/C. This conflation of [t] and [θ], and of [d] and [ð] results in words like <thin> and <tin> or <though> and <dough> being pronounced identically. Wells highlights speakers' alternations between the plosive and fricative variants, and Winford (1978) attributes this fluctuation not to mere inconsistency, as Wells would have it, but to style, with the Creole variant occurring with less frequency in more formal speaking styles, but with greater frequency in more casual speaking styles. It is noteworthy that in Winford's data there never appears to be a case in which speakers never use either of the two variants, but rather cases in which one variant is used more frequently than the other. Winford attributes the trends he reports to speakers' sensitivity to stigmatised, i.e. Creole, variants. However, Youssef

and James claim that by the early twentieth century, [t] and [d] are less stigmatised, and even accepted as "pseudo-acrolectal speech" (2008: 329), though they do not provide evidence to substantiate this claim. In Jamaica, however, Irvine (2004, 2008) suggests that while voiceless TH-stopping continues to be stigmatised, this does not appear to be the case for voiced TH-stopping, the latter occurring quite frequently in the speech of workers hired to work in jobs which require "a good command of the English language." Whether this is also the case for Trinidad, however, remains to be explored.

Another feature of the TE/C consonant system that it shares with other Creoles is the simplification or reduction of consonant clusters (Jenkins 2003). Most consonant cluster reduction in Caribbean Creoles involves clusters where the second element is an alveolar stop. Wells (1982) notes that Caribbean Creoles generally do not have consonant clusters comprising an obstruent followed by /t/, and do not allow clusters where /d/ is the second element. Solomon (1993) elaborates this, noting that /t/ is lost when it follows a consonant except /l/ or /n/, and /d/ is always lost when it comes after a consonant (22).Further, Wells proposes that in Creoles, clusters that have an underlying form of /ft, st, kt/ in Standard varieties, contain only the first element, i.e. are essentially not clusters in their underlying forms. Phonological realisations of clusters are further constrained by morphological rules. Wells (1982) and later James and Youssef (2008) note that past tense is not always marked morphologically. The result of this, says Wells, is that clusters such as /θt, ʃt, pt, ʧt, kt/, which occur when a voiceless obstruent is succeeded by the past tense allomorph [t] in some varieties of English, are blocked morphosyntactically and phonotactically (566) for many speakers in many situations. That being said, Youssef and James (2008) cite Winford's earlier conclusion that /st/ clusters are more likely to be retained as clusters when they are marking grammatical meaning than when they are not, citing the homophones <passed> and <past> as an example (330). Clusters involving past tense allomorph /d/ such as /ðd, bd, gd, vd/ should be blocked for reasons similar to their voiceless counterparts. Wells (1982) and Youssef and James (2008) also report that /sk/ and /sp/ clusters also do not occur. Both clusters undergo metathesis in words like <ask> and <crisp> therefore being

realised as [aks] and [kɪps][1]. The clusters /ks/ as in <vex> [vɛks] and /ps/ as in <vaps> [vaps] (a local word meaning "whim", (Winer 2008)) are, however, allowed. This metathesis, however, seems to be specific to these lexical items. Allsopp's (1996) inclusion of <aks> as an entry in the *Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage*, lends greater support to the idea that while earlier metathesis may have indeed been responsible for the current realisation of this lexical item, it is likely thus stored and retrieved by Creole speakers. However, it is does not seem to be the case that metathesis is a regular feature of these clusters, since there is no evidence forthcoming for the pronunciation of words like <desk> as [dɛks], or of <gasp> as [gaps]. Indeed, Wells (1982) notes that /sk/ clusters are normally reduced to, or have non-complex underlying form of, /s/, so that <desk>*k* is usually realised as [dɛs]. In this way, it behaves much like its alveolar fricative plus alveolar stop counterpart /st/, which is often realised as [s] in words such as <test>. Other than <crisp>, no information is available on words involving /sp/ clusters, though my native speaker intuition seems to reject [gas] as a possible realisation for <gasp>.

Wells (1982) also reports the presence of simplification in initial consonant clusters involving /pɹ/ and /fɹ/, but this is not reported by any other observers such as Winford (1978, 1979, 1997), Solomon (1993), or Youssef and James (2008), all of whom have had greater contact with native speakers. The lattermost do report <crisp> being realised as [kips], but their focus is the metathesis of /s/ and /p/, and they do not explain the reduction of /kr/ to [k], which in any case is not one of the clusters Wells finds noteworthy. Anecdotally, however, the pronunciation [fɛʤɪk] has been heard for the word <Frederick>. In this case, it is worth pointing out that the cluster /dɹ/ is realised as [ʤ], since this anecdotal observation is in keeping with Youssef and James' (2008) claim that /tɹ/ is often palatalised and produced as [ʧ], so that *tree* is pronounced [ʧɹi] (330) or, as an informant in Wilson (2006) produced it, [ʧi:].

Nevertheless, there are several consonant clusters that are permitted in TE/C. The only consonant clusters involving alveolar stops that appear to be allowed are /lt/ in words like <pelt> and /nt/ in words like <cement>.

[1] The reduction of the first consonant cluster element will be discussed below.

Consonant clusters ending in an voiced or voiceless alveolar fricative /z, s/, also appear to be generally acceptable, as in <vex> and <vaps> above, though this seems to come with the proviso that /s/ must be present in the root morpheme of the word, since TE/C, like other Caribbean Creoles, allows neither the inflectional morpheme plural –s nor the inflectional morpheme third person –s. Clusters involving a nasal and a voiceless consonant, as in <cement> above, but also in words like <imp> and <bank> which involve [mp] and [ŋk] respectively, are also allowed. Finally, where the definition of clusters is expanded to include those groups of consonants that occur across syllable boundaries, clusters that occur in this environment are usually, but not always, allowed. For instance,<commitment> might be realised as [kəmɪtmɛnt], but <government> might be realised as [gəvəmɛnt], even in careful speech[2]. However, no research currently exists on these types of clusters, and though they are mentioned perfunctorily in later phases of this thesis, they are not a major focus of this work.

The other consonantal features of TE/C reported in Youssef and James' (2008) paper include [v] and [b] variation, aspiration of voiced stops by older speakers of East Indian descent, /ɹ/ being realised as [w] by French Creole influenced speakers or as a retroflex flap by Bhojpuri influenced speakers, and the palatalisation of velar consonants so that /k/ becomes [kj], and /g/ becomes [gj], especially if they are followed by [a]. These features are restricted to older speakers of East Indian descent, rural East Indian speakers, and speakers whose language is influenced by French Creole, who live in high-relief rural settlements, i.e. rural speakers. As such, these speakers do not fit the social criteria for acrolectal and mesolectal speakers that is implicit in Youssef and James' survey, and it seems likely that these features are not part of the acrolect or the mesolect, but instead may be part of the restricted basilectal Creole which Devonish (2006) allows for Trinidad.

The table below is a summary of the consonant sounds found in TE/C. An effort has been made to distinguish simple consonant sounds (i.e. those occurring singly), from two apparently different types of composite sounds:

[2] Stress has not been marked on these items, since the issue of stress placement in TE/C is quite complex and will be dealt with below.

complex sounds like affricates and velar-palatal sounds, and what are more traditionally regarded as consonant clusters. The table is not without shortcomings. Firstly, because the table aims to capture those consonants that are specifically regarded as features of TE/C, it fails to capture those features that may be more traditionally regarded as Standard features that may be variably present in the speech of, say, acrolectal speakers, for instance the voiced and voiceless dental fricatives [ð] and [θ], or consonant clusters that occur in careful or formal speech, such as [nd]. This variation is a key aspect of language use in Trinidad, as Youssef's account of varilingual competence (above) highlights. Furthermore, the table aims to capture the range of TE/C consonants reported previously, and does not claim that all speakers make use of all consonants in all situations. This is especially true of the palatalised velars [kj] and [gj], which Solomon (1993) argues may be restricted to certain lexical items.

Features	Possible realisations	
Simple Consonants	Stops	p, b, t, d, k, g
	Nasals	m, n, ŋ
	Fricatives	f, v, s, z, ʃ, ʒ, h
	Approximants	l, ɹ, w, j
Complex Consonants	Affricates	ʧ, ʤ
	Velar-palatal	kj, gj
Consonant Clusters	Stop+ fricative	ks, ps,
	Nasal+ stop	mp, nt, ŋk
	Approximant+ stop	lt

Table 2.1: An inventory of the consonants of TE/C

2.1.2.2 TE/C Vowels

It is in its vowel inventory, however, that TE/C truly emerges as a variety distinct from other varieties of English. Characteristic features associated with

TE/C vowels include: variable vowel length, the use of full vowels where other English varieties may use reduced forms, the neutralisation of complex vowels, including the use of monophthongs where other English varieties use diphthongs, and the merger of several British vowels. Few systematic studies of TE/C vowels exist, the exception to this being Winford (1978), which looks at the emergence of the vowel system in Trinidad. Other attempts to describe the TE/C vowel system use this work as a starting point, and attempt to build on the inventory Winford develops, though they usually lack the systematicity of his approach, relying on casual observations rather than systematically collected data (cf. Allsopp 1993) or else a single individual's native speaker competence (as Youssef and James 2008 draw on Ferreira's competence). In this section, the findings from Winford's ground breaking work will first be discussed. Additions and specifications to this early work will then be presented.

Winford's study looks largely at variation in the TE/C vowel system based on several classic sociolinguistic variables: region (urban versus rural), ethnicity (East Indian descended versus African descended), age (for rural speakers), and level of formality. Winford's findings regarding patterns of variation as they relate to issues of prestige formation will be discussed in greater detail in the section on language attitudes in Trinidad (below). However, the overall findings regarding the phoneme inventory of TE/C will be discussed here. Following but expanding on Warner-Lewis' (1967 in Winford 1978) work, Winford divides his findings into five distinct vowel systems: a prestige norm, an urban vernacular, a rural vernacular shared by young speakers regardless of race, a rural vernacular shared by older speakers regardless of race, and a rural vernacular spoken only by persons of East Indian descent whose first language is an Indic language, perhaps Bhojpuri. These systems are labelled A to E respectively, and for ease of reference will be referred to thus. Overall, Winford isolates seventeen vowel phonemes in A, fourteen pure vowels and three diphthongs. This number is reduced in subsequent systems, largely through the merger of vowels in the open and open-mid central vowel space. Thus fifteen vowels are identified for B, since B merges A's /a/ and /ə/ to /a/, and realises A's /ɜː/ as /oː/. This number is reduced to fourteen in C, where speakers further merge /ʌ/ and /ɔ/ in /ɔ/. D

contains two fewer phonemes, with the phonemic difference between /u/ and /ʊ/ being lost and only /u/ being realised, and the distinction between /i/ and /ɪ/ also being lost. Finally, Winford identifies ten phonemes in E, with a further merger of the previous systems' /a/ and /ɔ/ in /a/, though /ɔ/ is retained phonemically elsewhere with A's /ɜː/ being realised not as /oː/ as in B to D but as /ɔ/, /ɔː/ and /aː/ merged in /aː/, and /ai/ and /ɔi/ merged in /ai/. Though subsequent descriptions have reported a greater phoneme inventory of TE/C in general, Winford's formulation remains important since it strives to capture very detailed differences between speakers that others do not. Moreover, it allows comparison among speakers with reference to a local prestige norm, something that is not usually facilitated in the literature. The table below is a summary of Winford's vowel system.

	Feature	i	ɪ	e	ɛ	a	ə	ʌ	ɔ	ɜː	oː	ɔː	aː	ʊ	u	ai	ɔi	ië
Dialect	A	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	B	x	x	x	x	x	--	x	x	--	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	C	x	x	x	x	x	--	--	x	--	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	D	x	--	x	x	x	--	--	x	--	x	x	x	--	x	x	x	x
	E	x	--	x	x	x	--	--	x	--	x	--	x	--	x	x	--	x

Table 2.2: Distribution of vowel phonemes in TE/C (adapted from Winford 1978), where (x) indicates phoneme presence and (--) indicates absence

Youssef and James (2008) present an extended version of previous work they had done with Ferreira (Youssef, James and Ferreira 2001). In it, they present "the vowel system of the normative national Trinidadian and Tobagonian variety" (ibid.: 328), based on Allsopp's observations and further native speaker verification. The table is important since it builds on Winford's previous work, updates some of his earlier observations, and provides a foundation from which more detailed work can be done. With regard to Winford's work, Youssef and James list twenty-two phonemes for acrolectal and mesolectal varieties in Trinidad, five more than those listed in Winford's dialect A. The five include: a lengthened open-mid front vowel,/ɛː/, phonologically distinct from the DRESS vowel, and which occurs in words in

the NEAR-SQUARE set; the inclusion of the open back rounded vowel [ɒ] in the LOT, STRUT and THOUGHT sets where Winford's description allowed only the open-mid back rounded vowel [ɔ] and a lengthened, phonemically distinct variant [ɔː]; the MOUTH diphthong, which they represent as [ɔʊ], though Wells (1982), writing generally of Caribbean English Creoles, suggests that this may also be [ɒʊ]; and the FIRE and CURE triphthongs, [aiə] and [juɜ].

One widely reported instance of variable vowel length involves the vowels in the TRAP and START lexical sets, as well as those in the PALM and BATH sets. Youssef and James (2008) argue that the open-mid front to open front vowel /æ/ is often realised as [a]. However, Deuber and Leung's (2013) exploration of newscasters' accents showed the possibility for [a] to be slightly raised to [a̟] or even more so to [æ]. Where the TRAP vowel is realised as [a], Youssef and James (2008) note that it may further merge with the START vowel, normally represented as [aː], but with the possibility of being realised without length, so that *heart* and *hat* become homophones in [hat]. They represent the vowel in the PALM, BATH, START set as [aː], paying attention primarily to length, at the expense of backness. However, when they later go on to consider vowel mergers, they argue that Standard (British?) English [ɑ] and [a] are merged in [a], and that "the vowels in *harm* and *ham*" (329) become homophonous with the use of [a]. They highlight that the mergers do not hold for all speakers, and this perhaps suggests that backness is also a feature of the START and PALM vowels for some Trinidadian speakers, even though their table of acrolect and mesolect varieties does not show this. As a result, in this thesis, /ɑː/ will be used to represent the START and PALM vowels, with possible allophones [ɑ], [ɑː], [aː], and [a]. Furthermore, /a/ will be used to represent the TRAP vowel, with possible allophones [a], [æ], [a̟], and [aː]. This system of representation allows for the TRAP-START merger described by Youssef and James as well as the more raised variants of the TRAP vowel reported in Deuber and Leung (2013), and for the backness in the START and PALM lexical sets.

Another important set of mergers involves several open-mid vowels and the open back vowel [ɒ]. Youssef and James (ibid.: 329) assert that for some mesolectal speakers, the STRUT, LOT, THOUGHT and NURSE vowels are merged, so that <hut>, <hot>, <haughty>, and <hurt> are pronounced with the

same initial vowel. More specifically, [ɒ] and [ʌ] merge in [ʌ], rendering <stomp> and <stump> homophones. The LOT vowel, [ɒ], further mergers with [ɔː], so that <cough> may be pronounced [kɔːf]. Finally, the NURSE and STRUT vowels may also merge, in [ʌ], so that <purse> and <pus> are potentially synonyms. Similarly, the KIT and FLEECE vowels are also classed a major neutralisation by Youssef and James. In this merger, [ɪ] and [i] merge in [i], so that <sheep> and <ship> are both pronounced [ʃip].

For Wells the most salient characteristic of the West Indian vowel system is what he calls "the tendency to avoid central [ə]-like qualities in favour of peripheral (unreduced) vowels" (1982: 570). For the LETTER and COMMA lexical sets, he points to a tendency in Jamaican speech to pronounce the final vowel as [a~ɐ], arguing for the use of the same phoneme as the TRAP set, [a], in its representation. Though Wells insists that there is insufficient reason to regard /a/ and /ə/ as separate phonemes in West Indian speech, he concedes that schwa is regarded as a hallmark of educated speech. Winford's earlier work contradicts Wells' proposals somewhat. Critically, he does not appear to merge the COMMA and LETTER lexical sets in his treatment, as Wells does. For the COMMA lexical set, he identifies a similar trend for the rural speakers in his study, and proposes that the open front unrounded [a] is a stigmatised variant, with [ə] firmly established as the prestige variant, even in very casual urban speech. Less attention is paid to the LETTER lexical set, though he argues against Warner's (1967 in Winford 1978) inclusion of /ʌ/ and /ə/ as separate phonemes, on the grounds that [ə] is more central than [ʌ], but otherwise the two are quite similar. Youssef and James (2008) manage to incorporate both these approaches into their inventory. In the COMMA lexical set, they allow for all three possibilities, [a>ə>ʌ], and in the LETTER lexical set allow for Winford's two disputed variants [ə>ʌ]. Theoretically, this is perhaps a sound compromise, especially since it captures the variation that exists among speakers. Perceived preference for unreduced vowels is not limited to the COMMA and LETTER lexical sets, however. Wells (1982) points out that [ɛ] and [ʌ] may not be reduced to schwa in the final syllable of words like <government> and <purpose>. Furthermore, where West Indian speech does have reduction, Wells argues that there is a preference for [ɪ] where other

varieties use [ə]. However, these final claims do not appear to be attested anywhere else in the literature.

Another way in which TE/C differs from other varieties of English is with regard to diphthongs. Commentators (Wells 1982, Winford 1978, Youssef and James 2008) agree TE/C speakers apply monophthongs with cardinal vowel qualities for the FACE and GOAT vowels, producing [e] and [o] respectively where other accents may have a diphthong. Furthermore, where diphthongs are realised, they are distinct from diphthongs in other varieties. For example, the MOUTH diphthong, which in RP is [aʊ], is reported in TE/C as [ɔʊ], with Wells advocating an even more open [ɒʊ]. The CURE vowel, realised as [jʊə] in RP, is represented as [jʊɜ] for TE/C speakers. Here, it should also be noted that Winford (1978) highlights that the TE/C open-mid central unrounded vowel [ɜː] is slightly higher than its RP realisation, and further argues that [ɜː] is reinterpreted as [ɔ] by several speakers, especially in rural areas. Thus, it may be possible to make an argument for the CURE vowel being realised as [jʊɔ]. However, this latter suggestion is, at this point, wholly speculation.

Furthermore, Wells (1982) argues that the NEAR and SQUARE diphthongs, in RP [iə] and [ɛə] respectively, are merged in [ɛə], but Youssef and James (2008) argue that there is a tendency to neutralise complex vowel sounds ending in schwa, and so, while agreeing that NEAR and SQUARE are indeed merged, they believe it is towards a lengthened open-mid central unrounded vowel [ɛː]. They go on to add another set to Wells' lexical sets, BARE, and claim that it mergers with BEER (and indeed NEAR and SQUARE) in [ɛː], at least for some speakers, in addition to the possibility for BARE and BEER being realised as [iɛ], which is in keeping with Winford's findings for all groups of speakers. Interestingly, the similarity of this to Jamaican Creole onglide [ia] goes unremarked. Regarding the same set of diphthongs, Solomon (1993) also suggests that either [i] or [ɛ] may occur before schwa in acrolectal speech, in a sort of complementary distribution controlled by speakers. He seems to suggest that [ɛə] is the prestige norm, being employed by women and on the radio, though he also reports increased usage of [iə] for speakers of both sexes. Youssef and James (2008) further note that the mesolectal realisation of the NEAR- SQUARE-BARE-BEAR set is [ɛː], and believe it is increasingly present in the acrolect. In terms of everyday language usage,

then, it means that lexical items such as <hear>, <hare>, <here>, and <hair> are often homophones distinguishable only by context. For the analyst, the task of choosing the most appropriate form of the written representation for speakers producing lexical items in these sets is particularly difficult, considering the extensive variation that has been previously reported. At the same time, the differences between words in the BEER and NEAR sets on one hand and the BARE and SQUARE sets on the other are not immediately clear, and the introduction of the additional pair seems therefore to lead to greater obfuscation than is desirable. Therefore, this thesis reverts to the earlier practice of using only the NEAR and SQUARE lexical sets.

There has not always been consistency with the IPA symbols used to represent TE/C vowels, no doubt a side effect of changes within the IPA itself. Because this thesis will not make use of all of the symbols above, the table below illustrates the possible IPA symbols that will be used to represent speech and singing in this thesis, based on the literature. There is no particular reason for choosing one set of symbols over another, except where they are more in keeping with the most recent version of the IPA, though preference will be given to symbols used by Youssef and James. Further, it should be noted that these represent only what one expects would be used, since what is actually used might differ depending on the results. It uses Wells' lexical sets and lists mergers jointly.

Lexical set	**Expected range of IPA symbols used to represent TE/C**
KIT	ɪ, i
DRESS	ɛ
TRAP	a, æ
LOT	ɒ, ʌ
STRUT	ʌ
FOOT	ʊ
BATH, PALM, START	ɑ, ɑː, a, aː
CLOTH	ɒ, ɔː
NURSE	ɜː, ɔ
FLEECE	iː
FACE	e
THOUGHT/NORTH	ɔː
GOAT	oː
GOOSE	uː
PRICE	aɪ
CHOICE	ɔɪ
MOUTH	ɔʊ, ɒʊ
NEAR	eə, ɛː, iɛ, eː
SQUARE	eə, ɛː, iɛ, eː
CURE	jʊɜ
happY	i
lettER/ commA	a, ʌ, ə

Table 2.3: IPA symbols for TE/C vowels that may occur in this thesis

2.1.3 TE/C and World Englishes

It is important to attempt to place the above description of TE/C within a larger framework of World Englishes. From a theoretical standpoint, such an attempt can enrich our understanding of the relevant theories, helping us to

see how widely they can be applied, and perhaps refine them if areas of their non-application are discovered.

There are two main models of World Englishes (WE) that will be considered in this thesis: Kachru's Concentric Circles Model (1985, 1988, 1992, 1996), and Schneider's Dynamic Model (2007). At the time of its initial unveiling, the former model was, no doubt, something revolutionary. Here, Kachru was attempting to capture the "pluricentricity of the [English] language" (Kachru 1988: 3), by defining the varieties of English around the world not merely on the two-way distinction of native versus non-native speakers, but "with reference to historical, sociolinguistic and literary contexts" (Kachru 1992: 3). Thereby Kachru proceeds to divide the varieties of the English around the world into three concentric circles-- an inner circle, an outer circle and an expanding circle—and three corresponding "English-using fellowships" (ibid.: 5)—norm providing, norm developing and norm dependent—which correspond with each of the circles respectively. For each of the circles, except perhaps the inner, norm providing circle, Kachru provides an incomplete list of the countries which make up the English-using fellowship. Countries in the Inner Circle "[represent] the traditional bases of English, dominated by the 'mother tongue' varieties of the language" (ibid.: 3). This group comprises the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The next group, the Outer Circle, includes those countries where English is spoken as an additional language but is not necessarily spoken as a native language. The group includes several countries that were once former British colonies in Africa and South east Asia such as Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and India, where "English has been retained in the post-colonial period for a range of uses in government, law and education, and has also developed a range of intranational uses in such other domains as business, media, creative writing and the personal life of the community" (Bolton and Kachru 2006: 1). Among the speakers of Outer Circle varieties of English, Kachru notes that attitudes to the local norm may differ, and further that there may be "confusion between linguistic norm and linguistic performance" (1992: 5), though at the same time there is resistance to identification with speakers in the Inner Circle, as well as the development of linguistic and cultural conventions locally (Kachru 1988: 6). The final circle,

the Expanding Circle, comprises countries where English is learned as a foreign language, such as China, Syria and Russia. Speakers of English whose countries lie in the Expanding Circle are dependent on the Inner Circle for models and norms.

The differentiation between the indigenized varieties of English and native varieties is also important in the framework of this discussion, though Mufwene (1994) argues that this distinction is arbitrary. Native Englishes, which correspond to Inner Circle Englishes, are the native tongue and the primary means of communication of speakers (ibid.: 57) while indigenized Englishes, corresponding with Outer Circle Englishes, "co-exist and compete with indigenous languages" and "are acquired through the school system though they have a small minority of native speakers" (ibid.). By these definitions, acrolectal TE/C (where it equates with the local standard) seems to be an indigenized variety, especially since it is accessible largely through the school system, but mesolectal TE/C is a native variety, since it is the first language of the vast majority of Trinidadians. TE/C therefore upsets this demarcation, and highlights Mufwene's argument for arbitrariness since, as Youssef's explanation of vari-lingual competence (above) has shown, both these varieties belong to one system.

In developing his model, Kachru lends a number of important insights into the relationships between the varieties of English. In its earliest conceptions, Kachru believes his model is egalitarian, allowing scholars, at least, to move away from "them and us" dichotomies that privilege native speakers over non-native speakers and allow innovations in the Outer Circle to be viewed as abuses to "our" (the native speakers') language. By 1996, however, Kachru is forced to deal with the important power dynamic at play among World Englishes, one that gives speakers in the Inner Circle the ability to "authenticate the uses and users of English in the Outer Circle" (Kachru 1996: 146). Some Englishes, it turns out, are more equal than others. This Orwellian observation does not damper Kachru's spirits, and he goes on to list a number of fallacies regarding the forms and functions of world Englishes, some of which are very important to the discussion of TE/C here. Firstly, Kachru argues that English is not learned primarily for interaction with native speakers, and notes that much of the time, English is used as a lingua franca in

interactions where it is an additional language for all those involved. Thus, argues Kachru, the goal of teaching English is not to adopt British or American models, especially since native speakers do not contribute a great deal by way of English teaching and policy formation (particularly in the Outer Circle), and have not done so since the end of colonialism. Similarly, English is not taught or learned to promote American and British values, as was the case in colonial times, but, in the Outer Circle at least, English is used to "create and embody local cultural values" (Kachru 1996: 148). Kachru may be right in proposing that learners do not necessarily learn English for communication with native speakers, but his view of (post)colonialism is somewhat limited. Pennycook (1998) makes an instructive distinction between post-coloniality and post-colonialism. The former refers to "a material state after the end of colonialism" (Pennycook 1998: 39), while the latter refers to "a political and cultural movement that seeks to challenge the received histories and ideologies of former colonial nations and to open space for insurgent knowledges to emerge" (ibid.). It is clear from his discussion that Kachru is dealing with post-coloniality, that for him the end of colonialism is understood only in terms of political independence. If, however, one takes a more expansive view, and bears in mind that colonialism was not simply a system of economic and political rule but also of cultural and psychological violence, then we must accept that "the practice of colonialism produced ways of thinking, saying and doing that permeated back into the cultures and discourses of the colonial nations[...and that] have lasting effects even today" (Pennycook 1998: 2).

While Kachru's model is useful, it is incomplete. Schneider (2007) criticizes the model (perhaps too harshly) for not attempting to list all the varieties in each circle, and opting instead to list only examples. It is, however, a shortcoming that Kachru himself acknowledges (1992), highlighting that countries like South Africa and Jamaica are not included in the model, on the grounds that the complex sociolinguistic situations in these countries make it difficult to place them. By Kachru's own admission, then, the Concentric Circle model is oversimplified; it cannot deal with situations of language contact, namely Jamaica, and by extension other Creole language situations, for these purposes Trinidad and Tobago. One wonders, though, how Kachru was able to

place other countries with complex language situations, e.g. Kenya, India, with such confidence. Further, Kachru does not appear to account for countries in South and Central America, or Europe (outside the former USSR) in the Expanding Circle. Is it to be taken for granted that these countries are indeed a part of the Expanding Circle, or is it that increased contact with English and English speakers, admittedly in the years that followed Kachru's model, makes the delineation between Outer and Expanding Circles less clear than Kachru had initially envisaged, especially given his argument that Inner Circle norms do not serve as the model in English language teaching (1996).

The Dynamic Model of the evolution of Post Colonial Englishes (PCEs) developed by Schneider (2007) comes two decades after Kachru's model. Schneider's overall claim is that, in spite of the evident differences among the PCEs, they all developed following "a fundamentally uniform process, shaped by consistent socio-linguistic and language contact conditions" (Schneider 2007: 9). His approach is determinedly holistic, linking structural linguistic features, historical and political factors, issues of language and national identity, and sociolinguistic aspects to each phase of his five-phase model, though he adds that PCEs need not experience all the features associated with a particular phase simultaneously, or indeed at all, and further notes that countries do not spend equal lengths of time at each phase. Schneider also dedicates a considerable portion of his work to tracing the development of several PCEs along his model. Among these, he looks at what many see as the two extremes of Caribbean Creole language situations, Jamaica and Barbados, but does not include Trinidad and Tobago. In what follows, Schneider's five phase model will be discussed with particular attention being paid to the merits and problems of its application to TE/C. Later on, in the Discussion section of this thesis, a second attempt will be made to apply this model to TE/C, this time in light of the results of the study.

Schneider's model is premised on the existence of at least two groups or strands, the settler (STL) and indigenous (IDG) groups, with provisions for a third strand, adstrate (ADS), at later stages of the PCE's development. The STL group comprises speakers for whom English is a native language-- in the historical context of the model inevitably from the United Kingdom-- who during the period of the expansion of the British Empire settled throughout

the Americas, Africa and Asia, and whose variety is regarded as the superstrate source of the PCEs. The IDG group comprises indigenous populations, speakers for whom English is (or historically was) not a native language, who had their lands taken away from them in the pursuit of "God, Gold and Glory", and whose languages are regarded as substrate sources to the PCEs. The ADS strand comprises populations who lived alongside the STL and IDG groups, but whose language is not taken to be primary in the creation of the PCEs. This lack of influence is attributed to their later arrival via the Founder Principle (Mufwene 2001), which in turn is based on Levinsky (1973, 1992 in Mufwene 2001). Effectively the language scholars' version of the proverbial early bird catches the worm, the Founder Principle predicts that the "structural features of creoles have been predetermined to a large extent (though not exclusively) by characteristics of the vernaculars spoken by the populations that founded the colonies in which they developed" (ibid.: 29).

The first phase of the Dynamic Model is the Foundation phase. At this phase, English speaking STL groups make primary inroads into areas where English has not previously been spoken. The STL and IDG groups identify themselves as full members of separate groups, with relationships between them limited perhaps to trade. The STL group is usually multi-dialectal, with the result that koineisation takes place within this group to facilitate communication among STL speakers. Since intra-group communication at this stage is limited, and because the STL group is socially more powerful than the IDG group, the STL speakers do not learn the indigenous language, although a few IDG speakers do learn the STL language, so that a marginal bilingualism develops (Schneider 2007: 34-35). Phase two, the phase of exonormative stabilisation, coincides with the political stabilisation of the IDG land as a colony, with the attendant officialdoms of English duly recognised. This political stabilisation is also accompanied by an increased presence of expatriate STL speakers, who provide a British norm as the model for English in the community. There is furthermore increased contact between the two groups, leading to bilingualism developing more within the IDG community, and lexical borrowing of places, flora, fauna and ceremony names associated with the IDG group into the STL's English. This bilingualism and borrowing are very important for the development of identities during this phase. For the

British settlers, it is part of their identity as British people who are also expatriates in the colony. For indigenous groups, and particularly for the new race of STL-IDG children, this bilingualism is a part of their identity as "local-plus-British" (ibid.: 56), seen as a great privilege, and indeed the "beginnings of segregational elitism that characterises English in some PCE-speaking countries to the present day" (Schneider 2007: 37). It is particularly important to pay attention to Schneider's proposal that, at this stage, phonological transfer and grammatical innovations are undoubtedly features of the English of the IDG groups, even if they go unnoticed by STL groups. Indeed, one might suppose that these "errors" going unnoticed and uncorrected by STL groups is important if a new dialect of English is to eventually emerge.

Nativisation is the third phase of the Dynamic Model. This phase is characterised by weakening of political links with England, usually ending in independence. STL groups no longer view their presence as transitory or expatriate, as at earlier phases, and both groups begin to view the other as resident and the space as shared. Moreover, social changes, such as increased numbers of the STL group being born in the new community or the movement towards independence, force the two groups to begin to understand themselves as a single entity (e.g. a nation), fertile conditions for the beginning of the emergence of a new variety. Linguistically, the third stage is characterised by restructuring of the original STL language, marked by the adoption of localised forms, usually from the IDG group. Phonologically, the speech of IDG strand speakers at this stage is marked by accent, which in time may be seen as the local phonological norm, though it is not necessarily accepted in the most formal contexts, especially not by the STL group, who may be resistant to and intolerant of some of the IDG-influenced changes, preferring and indeed relying on old norms. The fourth stage, endonormative stabilisation, is usually preceded by independence. During this phase, local norms which developed in the previous stage become markers of national identity, and are increasingly regarded as more acceptable in formal situations. This acceptance is not guaranteed, however, and there may be reticence on the part of some STL and elite IDG speakers. Furthermore, until standardisation takes place, acceptance is usually limited to spoken contexts. Critically, although language at this stage "is perceived to be homogeneous

[…] it is unlikely that heterogeneity has disappeared" (Schneider 2007: 51). The final stage of Schneider's Dynamic Model is called Differentiation. At this point, the young nation is politically stable, and there is now room for further differentiation of social groups within the society, so that dialects of the new variety arise. While differentiation in Phase 1 was between STL and IDG groups, such distinctions cease to exist at this stage, and the differentiations that take place correspond to sub-groups within the nation e.g. religious groups, gender.

It is possible to argue that the Dynamic Model is a more appropriate model for categorising PCEs than is Kachru's earlier model. Indeed, Schneider applies this model to PCEs in both Barbados and Jamaica and elegantly shows how, despite their different historical trajectories and structural features, both islands seemed to have been at the endonormative phase since the early 1960s. He is even able to account for Jamaica's minority Indian, Syrian and Chinese populations as ADS group speakers, and projects that Jamaica may already be showing signs of the diversification typical of phase five. One shortcoming of Schneider's analysis, however, seems to be that he privileges the Creole when he speaks of locally established norms, and so the standard in both cases remains largely exonormative. Regrettably, Schneider does not attempt to apply his model with any great detail to Trinidad, where special consideration would have to be given to the ADS group. Indeed, with regards to Jamaica, Schneider declares, "[a]part from rather incidental contributions to the local lexicon and some cultural retention especially on the side of the Indians these groups have largely joined the cultural and linguistic mainstream today, unlike in Trinidad or Guyana" (230-231). It is not necessarily the case, however, that Indian groups in Trinidad remain outside the cultural and linguistic mainstream. Indeed, as Schneider himself notes, "the presence of such groups […as Indians in Trinidad] typically changes the bipolar relationship of STL and IDG strands into a triangular (or even multilateral) constellation, with the ADS strand to be added and considered in its own right" (Schneider 2007: 59). He further points out that even if ADS groups retain separate linguistic practices for a long time, they contribute meaningfully to the linguistic ecology once it is established that the groups are there permanently.

The specific ways in which ADS groups have contributed to TE/C in Trinidad, beyond lexical items, is an area for further exploration.

2.1.4 Language Attitudes in Trinidad

Based on Schneider's model, one would expect to observe several changes in the attitudes towards TE/C and the relationship between TE/C and metropolitan standard Englishes since the introduction of English to Trinidad at the end of the eighteenth century. This, indeed, appears to be the case, though reports on these changes, where they have occurred, are sometimes conflicting. One side of the argument highlights the lack of linguistic self-confidence exhibited by speakers of Caribbean Creole languages. Taylor, writing for the Caribbean in general, claims that the region's past "has made its people reluctant to acknowledge their own worth[...and t]his has resulted in a 'safe' dependence on the norms of the coloniser for validation and status" (Taylor 2001: 109). Her arguments are supported by Allsopp's earlier view that "demographic inferiority, economic and cultural insecurity (when compared with America, Canada and Britain), are strongly reflected in a lack of confidence in all territories in the validity of Caribbean English" (Allsopp 1983: 189 in Taylor 2001: 115).

Whether or not they accept their validity, it is perhaps undeniable that Creole languages have a greater presence in all spheres of life than they previously did. Carrington's survey article (2001) gives examples of the expanded presence of Creoles in formal domains that are generally felt to require more formal, equated with Standard, language such as government and politics, journalism, education, and literary styles of writing. The percolation of Creole into these domains is often attributed to change in language attitudes, particularly towards the Creole. Indeed, Youssef (2010) traces a change in language attitudes from the pre-Independent era, where TE/C was regarded as a degraded form of English, to post-Independence, to the full recognition of TE/C as a language in 1975, to an education policy of that year in which teachers were encouraged to accept the use of TE/C by children in the earliest stages of their school careers, which led to greater acceptance of TE/C in general. Moreover, rather than linguistic uncertainty, Youssef argues that Trinbagonians claim the mesolectal varieties as "we own"

(2005: 217), though the standard is still perceived to belong to the former colonial power. Following Youssef and James (2004 in Deuber 2010), Deuber also argues that this increased use of Creole in public contexts has meant that speakers are less motivated to use a pure standard, since the majority of speakers "balance out their use of standard and creole in relation to the demands of each situation" (Youssef and James 2008: 326), noting that Standard English remains the language of power. In this way, her observations are in keeping with Craig's (2001) remark that Creole's identity and solidarity associations do not mean that speakers view it as the language of social mobility.

Education is the locus of most of the research activity into Creole languages, and it is here that the attitudes, often reflected in the policies and practices of the major stakeholders, are most varied. Craig notes that, in spite of greater acceptance of Creole in other spheres, parents view Standard English as a highly desirable social goal, bringing opportunities that Creole cannot bring. Or, as one Jamaican parent in Craig's study puts it, "aafta yu laan dem fi riid an rait dem Kriiyol, den wa muo?" And, despite political rhetoric acknowledging the value of Creoles, policy makers are either unaware of "the vernacular problem" (Craig 2001), or else do not accept the legitimacy of Caribbean Standard Englishes (Taylor 2001). With specific reference to Trinidad and Tobago, Robertson (2010) notes that Standard English has been viewed favourably in education, serving as the de facto language of both instruction and assessment, and being a central requirement for employment. Conversely, he notes that TE/C, and Tobago Creole, have been treated as nuisances to the education system. Previously, Youssef (2005) argued that since the Ministry of Education's recognition of Creole as a language in 1975, there has been greater mixing of Standard and Creole in classroom settings, by both teachers and pupils. More recently she argues that the mixing of the two codes in general is not highly stigmatised but rather the unmarked language choice in the Trinidad language situation (Youssef 2010). Deuber's (2009) work on English in classroom settings consolidates these claims. She reports that teachers generally had a positive attitude towards Creole, although they believed it was in a complementary relationship with English. She also reports a high incidence of Creole use among students, particularly younger students,

with teachers exhibiting an overall tendency towards the use of language that could be aligned more closely with the Standard than with Creole. Nevertheless, she reports teachers also make use of the Creole in class, usually for some specific purpose such as explaining a difficult point, or because of the effects of the Creole on the still emerging local Standard English. At the same time, Robertson (2010) reports that this switching between English and Creole is discouraged by administrators. Robertson also suggests that teachers in the past may also not have operated solely in Standard English, but may not have admitted it, and so it is difficult to gauge whether Creole use is more common now than in previous times. All the same, that teachers in contemporary times are willing to admit that they do switch into Creole suggests that there is, at least, an overall increase in awareness of different language attitudes, and some attrition in the negative attitudes held towards Creoles in previous decades.

With the exception of Deuber's (2009) corpus-based study, the above scholars have reported on language attitudes in Trinidad based largely on their impressions as informed observers of Trinidadian sociolinguistic life. There do exist more systematic studies of language attitudes in Trinidad, and the focus of the discussion will now turn to these. Winford (1976) carried out a survey to determine the attitudes of trainee teachers towards TE/C (which was labelled as both "Trinidadianese" and "bad English"), and Standard English (which was labelled "correct English" in his questions). The sociolinguistic variables that Winford looked at were race/ethnicity (Indian versus African descended Trinidadians), and region (urban versus rural residents). Winford found an overall ambivalence in attitudes of all groups towards both English and TE/C, but was able to divide his respondents into three groups: those with largely negative attitudes towards TE/C; those with negative attitudes towards Standard English (a minority); and the majority group of those occupying the middle ground, who felt that the use of either code was constrained largely by domain or by interlocutors, although there was no consensus as to which domains and which interlocutors best suited either variety. A number of points particularly relevant to this study were raised. Firstly, an overwhelming majority of Winford's respondents identified accent/pronunciation as the main distinguishing feature of TE/C. When asked to list features of TE/C, the

main pronunciation-related features they listed were TH-stopping, zero past tense marking using the inflectional morpheme /-ed/[3], [ɪŋ] reduced to [ɪn], the NURSE vowel being merged with the THOUGHT or LOT vowels, and words like <down> being pronounced [dɒŋ]. Rural Indian speakers also listed the pronunciation of <water> as <wahta> (perhaps [wa:ta]) and <gi> for <give>. That speakers list these features without prompting is important, since it gives us some idea of how sociolinguistic indicators, markers and stereotypes (following Labov 1972) or orders of indexicality (following Silverstein 2003) function in TE/C. With regard to this study, these responses allow us to compare and determine whether any shifts have occurred since the time of Winford's study. Furthermore, respondents in Winford's study associate more standard uses of English with urban speakers than with rural speakers. Another important finding in Winford's study is the sense of annoyance speakers expressed over the use, or the hyper-use, of "correct English", and the associations respondents made between this and "being from England or being white" (71). Equally important, Winford's study finds that speakers make links between individuals' speech and their occupation, and show awareness of a link between language use and social status.

Two decades after Winford's original study, Mühleisen did a subsequent study, this time with school teachers at primary and secondary schools in Tunapuna, a town located about twenty-five kilometres from Port-of-Spain. Overall, Mühleisen reports increased language awareness of the structural differences between the language varieties in Trinidad, which Mühleisen equates with ameliorated language attitudes towards the Creole at times. However, she concedes that this may not always be the case, since the domains of usage that people report for Creole and English use in the two studies are similar. Still, she maintains that changing language attitudes in Trinidad are in keeping with changes in language attitudes observed throughout the Caribbean, which have led to a change in language use and the increased legitimacy of Creole forms (Mühleisen 2001: 75). And, though she does not believe that Standard English functions will eventually be undertaken by TE/C, she does believe that "the negative evaluation of TE/C on grounds of

[3] This may also be considered a morpho-phonological feature. However, Winford lists it as phonological.

false notions of "correctness" and "incorrectness" as well as on aesthetic value judgments" (ibid.) are no longer in the main. As in the previous study, Mühleisen's respondents were able to identify phonological characteristics of TE/C, consistent with the responses of their predecessors. Mühleisen's respondents exhibit greater linguistic self-confidence in their own speech than their predecessors, though this may be due to their age and social status. The informants of the latter study, like the previous group, also showed very favourable attitudes towards urban varieties of Trinidadian speech, with less favourable responses towards rural varieties.

As with Winford, there are a number of findings particular to Mühleisen's study that may be of particular importance herein. The first is that respondents were more likely to judge grammatical features unacceptable than they were to judge lexical or phonological features thus, and her observation that some Creole lexical and phonological features also form part of the local standard. This observation is useful for this study since this study is interested in determining at which points along the Creole continuum speakers (or rather singers) place different phonological features in Trinidadians' speech. Another important point that Mühleisen raises is that, despite there being more positive attitudes towards TE/C, it is not fully accepted in many public spheres, leading to very delicate domain consciousness, and causing Mühleisen to conclude that control of Standard English is more highly desirable in contemporary times than it was previously. This notion of domain consciousness and the accompanying expectation of competent language use may be very critical for young singers undertaking the performance of Western classical choral music.

While both Winford and Mühleisen's studies are important, they both share one critical weakness: the way in which the data was collected. While questionnaire studies are important for eliciting large amounts of data, direct questioning in the manner described in both studies can yield misleading results, especially because people may be tempted to respond in the way they believe the researcher would like, or in a manner that presents them in a positive light. Thus, for example, Mühleisen's responses on whether speakers judge the speech of the other race as better than their own may be misleading. It is very unlikely that any of the respondents would like to be

judged as racist, especially in a country where racial tensions run deep and fissures between racial groups are all too easily identified in other aspects of social life such as politics and education. Therefore, this type of data may have been better elicited by observation or through match-guised techniques. Furthermore, although they give a diachronic perspective, the studies in some ways lack historicity in that they do not take adequate consideration of major discourses in society when data is collected, and cannot fully account for the responses that are produced. Thus, although Winford's study is published one year after the Ministry of Education in Trinidad and Tobago recognises TE/C as a language, he does not take into account the Ministry's ambivalence to the language and how it affects the education of its major agents- school teachers. Similarly, Mühleisen does not consider how this change in policy at a national level could have affected what the teachers have been told in their training, and the answers they may feel obliged to give regarding notions such as "bad English".

While Mühleisen's work shows how attitudes towards Creole have improved, the same cannot be said of attitudes towards the local standard. Indeed, Deuber (2009) notes that "[o]vert recognition of this variety seems to be lagging behind its development as de facto standard" (101). This is seen when one looks at discussions of language in non-academic public forums, such as newspapers and internet groups. For instance, one regular columnist in a local newspaper, a lawyer, laments that, "[a]problem arises however when a person purports to speak Standard English on a formal occasion and relapses into what would be termed mispronunciations and bad grammar in Standard English. The situation is less than funny when the person is seemingly blissfully unaware that there is anything wrong with his speech" (Seetahal 2012). Further, she chastises speakers for their lack of proficiency, saying "English is the one international language that most of our citizens can speak. At least get it right" (ibid.). Her views are endorsed by participants in the newspaper's online forum, whose comments reveal a bizarre longing for named, retired, and even deceased media personalities, and who apportion blame for "falling standards" to the Ministry of Education's acknowledgement of Creole as a language in 1975 (*http://www.trinidadexpress.com/commentaries/Where_are_those__ths___-144058816.html*). Another online discussion

in the same newspaper arises as a reaction to a linguist's contribution about the autonomy of Trinbagonian English (James 2012). Sentiments here seem to echo Deuber's (2012, see above) finding that people associated the Creole with local and Standard with external norms, so that one contributor, with online name BarryKnight, comments,

"There is standard English. There is Tobagonian. There is Trinidadian. But there is neither Trinbagonain, nor Trinidadian English, nor Tobagonian English. Tobagonians should decide what is acceptable in Tobagonian. And the same courtesy should be extended to Trinidadians concerning their language. Trinbagonian is a very rare variety and is practically non-existent. When using Standard English, we should stick to the standard" (*http://www.trinidadexpress.com/commentaries/Licensed_to_speak_Trinbagonian-142723945.html*).

Though these are limited examples, they serve as an illustration of the idea that knowledge about the local standard remains limited, and that attitudes to it are, at best, conservative. They also go to show how data collected from different sources might enrich results. In this study, therefore, a more qualitative approach to language attitudes will be taken. Although questionnaires will also be administered, these will be complemented by observations and interviews, in order to gain a more holistic view of attitudes towards Trinidad English/ Creole.

2.2 Choral singing in Trinidad

2.2.1 Historical development

Very little historical documentation exists about the development of choral music in Trinidad and Tobago. However, this type of information is important if we are to understand the social context in which choral singing takes place, and in turn the sociolinguistic issues surrounding what is not often taken to be a linguistic activity. In lieu of more standard forms of documentation, it is not infrequent in other fields, such as anthropology, to draw on the experiences of those who have witnessed or partaken in events. Following these traditions, in order to gain insight into choral music in

Trinidad, interviews were conducted with several Trinidadians who are societally regarded as stalwarts within the Trinidadian classical music community. Their stalwart status is often evidenced by their receipt of national awards and accolades. They were: Pat Bishop (now deceased), musical director[4] of the community choir, the Lydian Singers; Joy Caesar, musical director and conductor of The Southernaires Chorale; Susan Dore, assistant musical director of The Marionettes Chorale from 1974-2012; Sr. Jean Devonish Huggins, musical director/conductor of The Helen Chorale, retired school music teacher and principal; Joanne Mendes, secretary of The Marionettes Chorale; June Nathaniel, principal of the Key Academy of Music and musical director of the Classical Music Development Foundation of Trinidad and Tobago; Jocelyn Sealey, retired organiser of the Trinidad and Tobago Music Festival and retired conductor of the Bishop Anstey High School Choir; Bernadette Scott, conductor of The Love Movement choir; and Gretta Taylor, musical director/conductor of The Marionettes Chorale, and retired school music teacher and conductor of the St Joseph's Convent, Port-of-Spain choir. Several of these women also participated in other parts of the study. In this section, only their insights into the development of choral singing will be discussed. Firstly, we will look closely at the main participants in choral singing in Trinidad. Then, we will turn to the repertoires they sing. Relevant information gathered from participants will also be included here as necessary.

Joanne Mendes (2011) calls choral singing "an adopted art form." Though several others, notably Sealey and Devonish-Huggins, do not accept this label, they do concede that Western classical choral music in Trinidad is a part of Trinidad's colonial inheritance. Choral music exists as part of a larger hegemonic framework, so that Jocelyn Sealey admits, "I've never really thought about the origins of it, but I know from the time I was a child it was always there". Specifically, choral music in the Western classical tradition, what in this thesis is referred to as classical choral singing, is felt to have arrived on the island via the Christian church, and its major instrument, the school, though Joy Caesar notes that classical music development in South Trinidad was due in no small part to the philanthropy and enthusiasm first of

[4] Ms Bishop rejected the title conductor in her interview.

Denis and Gay Carr and then of Richard and Margaret Ffrench, both expatriate couples who settled in Point-a-Pierre. The informants say very little about choral music in the church in the late 1940's and 1950's, though Sealey notes that "we had singing in churches" and later laments that "church choirs are really dying." June Nathaniel also notes that the St Joseph's Convent Port-of-Spain (SJC POS) choir of the 1950's "always prepared for the Catholic year […] because [they] sang in the chapel a lot". In La Brea, the Reverend John Sewell is credited with the formation of a choir in the parish in which he served as vicar.

Of music in the schools, however, the informants provide a great deal more information. This is particularly true of the girls' schools. The earliest memory of a choir is at SJC POS under the baton of Sr Helen De Verteuil. The choir had definitely been formed by 1948, when the first Music Festival took place. Here again it is important to note the implicit ties between classical choral singing and colonialism. At the 1948 Music Festival, recalls Sr Jean Devonish-Huggins, "every single one of the choir members […] shook the hand of the Governor who was giving [the trophy]". By the early 1950's, there was also a choir at Bishop Anstey High School (BAHS), led by May Johnstone, who was British. All those interviewed recall the rivalry that existed between these two choirs at the Music Festival. Informants also report the presence of choirs at Holy Name Convent in Port-of-Spain, at least in the early 1960's but possibly earlier, under the direction of June Williams-Thorne. Among the boys' schools in North Trinidad, choral singing was a well-established activity at St Mary's College of the Immaculate Conception (CIC) and Fatima College, with both schools definitely having active choirs by the early 1960's. Collaboration with girls' schools was common. Sealey reveals that, CIC and BAHS formed a combined choir, the Dorian Singers, to compete at the Music Festival and to stage other productions. Similarly, Taylor notes that the SJC POS and CIC choirs collaborated with The Marionettes Chorale in the production of Gabrieli's "Magnificat". Less is said about singing in schools in San Fernando, although Devonish-Huggins reports the production of operettas at St Joseph's Convent San Fernando in the 1960's and 1970's. School choirs were often linked to community choirs. Susan Dore notes that, eventually, "what started to emerge was choral entities arising out of school", a belief confirmed by

other participants. Taylor and Dore note that The Marionettes Chorale drew its earliest membership from former pupils of St Joseph's Convent and Holy Name Convent, where the two founding musical directors were teachers, and from Fatima College. Likewise, The Lydian Singers was formed by Joyce Spence, who was also the music teacher at BAHS. Joy Caesar also notes the popularity of alumnae and alumni choirs in San Fernando.

The most striking feature of the school choirs is their composition. All the choirs that enjoy public esteem from the late 1940's onwards come from an elite group of faith-based secondary schools in Trinidad known widely as "prestige schools" or "first-choice schools", where only ten percent of the nation's students are educated (Mills, n. date). More startling is the fact that there does not appear to have been an overall shift in participation in choral singing and Music Festival classes in choral singing. In 2010, when the data for this study was collected, the schools that competed in the classical choral singing classes were, among the girls, BAHS, St Joseph's Convent San Fernando, Naparima Girls' College, and Holy Name Convent, with SJC POS opting not to enter due to preparations for a choir tour to Italy, but returning to competition in 2012. Among the boys, participation was limited to choirs from Presentation College and Fatima College. This exclusivity is something festival organisers have acknowledged and tried to address. "We have problems in the secondary school where music is not seen as so important […] not the secondary schools like Bishop's and Convent [i.e. the prestige schools] and so on, they always have music, but the government secondary schools," shares Sealey with regards to participation. The solution to this was to establish two separate classes, an X class which is for schools "like Bishop's and Convent, people who've won three four five times [and they are] set a more difficult piece" and a secondary school class "for the schools where there's not much tradition" and where the music is "closer to pop" (Sealey 2011). While it is commendable that efforts are made to include students from non-traditional singing backgrounds in the Music Festival, it can be argued that this separation in some ways continues to limit the access that the majority of young people have to the art form, reinforcing the status of classical choral singing as an elite art form. This may be seen by looking at the composition of community choirs. Even though the community choirs are

open to all, Sealey's overall impression is that former students of government secondary schools do not go on to join these groups "because they may not like all the formal stuff that the Lydians is doing and Marionettes auditions you […] before you get in." On the other hand, of the students at the traditional choir schools, she says, "once they leave they will do and join Lydians or go and join Marionettes […] and some of them will go and do music or […] other degrees but they still sing you know".

Within the school communities where choral singing is practised, it is reserved for an elite few, especially at those schools where there are more singers than there are choir places available. Singers at BAHS in 2011 describe the selection practices there. Dana explains, "from form one everybody is auditioned and Miss just picks who she wants and then […] you go into junior choir and what happens is from the Christmas concerts that we have every year Miss sees how people work and their eagerness and stuff and then she says okay you're a good candidate for senior choir […]Not everybody makes it to the senior choir."

At SJC POS in 2011, the audition process had been relaxed, but the influx of new members was judged as undesirable to one of the singers. In her interview, Celeste shares, "You sign up and then miss says okay auditions are this time. But the auditions are not really to get in it's just to place you. [But recently] miss is kinda letting in any old hee-hoo […] When we first started the term we had about twenty people and a choir needs to be at least forty people so miss just let in like all the Form twos".

The inclusion of people felt to be unfit, however, is a major change, particularly for SJC POS. In earlier times, the school's choir was notoriously selective. "Well, I suppose you wanted the best singers" offers Devonish-Huggins as an explanation for the choir's selectivity. Taylor, who later becomes the conductor both of the SJC choir and of the offshoot Marionettes chorale, says that she "didn't really make the convent choir I wasn't good enough", though later she is asked to sing with the Marionettes "because they realised I had sung abroad in the choir and therefore I could sing in choirs even though I couldn't sing here". More contentious than divisions based on talent are accusations of divisions based on race. One woman, who asked to

remain anonymous, but who attended SJC POS in the 1960's and sang in the choir, said simply, "The back line was the black line," with white singers being preferred for the front rows of the choir and singers of other races being relegated to the back rows, or even being asked to sing from off-stage positions. Devonish-Huggins confirms this, explaining that "the sisters, they came for the planters' children so it had to take a little time to evolve and it is quite true what you're saying" [that in the past children of a certain race had not been allowed to perform on stage with the choir at SJC POS]. Now, she says, "I am amazed and grateful that it was changed".

2.2.2 Choral Repertoire in Trinidad

The earliest choirs reported by the respondents are La Petite Musicale under the direction of Olive Walke and The San Fernando chorale under the direction of Norbert Brown. Unlike the other community choirs, both these choirs pre-date Independence in 1962, and have exclusively folk repertoires, performing choral arrangements of folk songs. The establishment of the Trinidad and Tobago Music Association in 1947, and subsequently the Music Festival in 1948, however, resulted in a shift in the repertoires of the school and community choirs that are the focus of this study. Sealey explains that the festival was started by people of English extract-- Helen May Johnstone, Charles Sydney Espinet, and Dr. Vernon Evans (*http://www.ttmusicassociation.com/historyoffestival.htm*)-- who also selected what Sealey describes as a very British syllabus. Dore further explains that the Music Festival became the lifeblood of classical music in Trinidad, its colonial foundations resulting in what she describes as a "very European, very white," repertoire and extending beyond the festival itself, so that Mendes notes that early choral repertoire in general comprised "art song of a very British persuasion," including works by English composers Elgar and Parry. Further evidence of the Euro-centricity of the early choirs exists in the practice of staging Gilbert and Sullivan operettas reported by June Nathaniel, Jean Devenish-Huggins, Susan Dore, and Jocelyn Sealey at SJC POS, SJC San Fernando, St Theresa's Intermediate, and BAHS respectively. Indeed, Devonish-Huggins shares that when she was at SJC POS in the 1940's and 1950's, "they didn't teach us any kind of folk songs so it had to be a certain

kind of song […] that dealt with temperate climates". Moreover, BAHS had a tradition of Advent Lessons and Carols at the Trinity Cathedral, which Sealey reports began with the singing of "Once in Royal David's City" and ended with "O Come All Ye Faithful," so that the tradition, which persists today, is something of a reproduction of the Lessons and Carols that takes place at King's College, Cambridge.

Over time, the repertoire of both the festival and the choirs more generally has expanded. In terms of the festival, Sealey explains that music selected for what she calls formal choral music categories is no longer necessarily British but rather chosen for its technical standard, in addition to the aforementioned categories where the music is closer to popular music forms. It also now includes folk music categories, and more recently categories for parang and calypso chorale since she felt that "we could sing our calypsos in choral form." More generally, Mendes notes that choral repertoire has changed because of "the emphasis that a lot of people place on their heritage so that you've got some Indian influence and we've got a lot of African influence [though] lesser so Spanish and other European influence". This change, explains Caesar, can be seen mostly in the instrumentation used as accompaniment, which often includes the use of tassa and African drums, the guitar, and the steel pan. Both Dore and Mendes also report an increased American presence in the choral music landscape in Trinidad, particularly black American music in the form of choral arrangements of African American Spirituals and gospel songs.

Despite these changes, choral music in Trinidad remains outward looking. Dore reports the existence of local composers composing in the Western Classical tradition in the years immediately following Independence, but choral music that is decidedly Trinidadian tends to be limited to choral arrangements of local calypsos. Sealey reports that the major community choirs retain a clear focus on the works of Western Classical composers, though some also include "music from musical plays" (Devonish-Huggins 2011). These musical forms, however, are retained within great caution. On one hand, notes Devonish-Huggins, "you can't put aside things that are good." On the other, she finds that there are songs that fall within the classical

repertoire that she wouldn't teach to her choir since they are "too non-us, non-me, non-the people".

2.2.3 The Music Festival Adjudicators

It is worthwhile to pause at this point and briefly describe the adjudicators at the Trinidad and Tobago Music Festival. Since its establishment, the Music Festival has employed judges who are not normally resident in Trinidad and Tobago. This is seen as a great benefit since, as Joy Caesar explains, "you get a professional adjudication of the voice, the quality of the music […] the kind of help you want to get better". However, the source of the adjudicators has changed over time. Initially, explains Jocelyn Sealey, adjudicators came from Britain or Ireland, due no doubt to the colonial links at the time. In later years, perhaps from the late 1990's, the adjudicators also came from Canada, and from the 2000's, the United States. In 2010, two of the three adjudicators came from the United States. The third, born in Venezuela, studied and worked in the United States at the time of the festival. Before 2012, there were only two occasions on which adjudicators from other Caribbean islands were used, one from Guyana (year unknown) and one from Jamaica (possibly in 2006). In 2012, the two main adjudicators for the festival were Trinidadians who had both previously participated in the festival, and who had subsequently gone on to study music to doctoral level in the United States, where they both reside. In addition to these, the growth of the festival over time has led to the introduction of preliminary rounds before its official start, which are judged by local musicians at least since the late 1990's. Joy Caesar, Jocelyn Sealey, and Gretta Taylor were interviewed in their capacity as preliminary adjudicators, and information with regard to this will be discussed in subsequent sections.

2.2.4 Repercussions for the study of language

This historical overview of choral singing in Trinidad provides us with a number of points for consideration with regard to language. Firstly, as the section on indexicality will show, there are very often linguistic features that come to index certain elite activities and participation within them. As a practice rooted in colonial history and still limited to a small sub-section of

society, what are the linguistic features associated with choral singing in Trinidad? How are they distinct from other forms in speakers' linguistic repertoires? Moreover, how do these linguistic features interact with changes in the repertoire, and the society in general, over time? One may hypothesise that, as an activity initially associated with Englishness and indeed introduced by English settlers, early choral pronunciation, like early choral repertoire, was also based on Standard British English models. However, now that the art form has been adopted and indigenised, that those who teach it are no longer British, that the festival is organised solely by Trinidadian people, and that the adjudication process includes local people, one might also expect to see changes in the language models used that are in keeping with the changes reported for the repertoire more generally. This is what this study hopes to uncover.

2.3 Approaches to the study of language variation

2.3.1 Dialect, Register and Genre

"Variability is an integral part of the linguistic system" (Labov 2006: 3). Over time, sociolinguistics has devoted itself to the study of this variability, with particular attention being paid to concepts such as dialects, registers, genre, and style. These terms are well known and perhaps easily taken for granted, but it is worth the while to stop and re-present them, and to illuminate the understanding of them that influences this thesis.

The term *dialect* is applied to any one of several possible varieties of a single language (Meyerhoff 2006). Trudgill (2004) identifies two major types of dialects: social and regional. The former is applied to language varieties associated with participation or membership in social groups, which may be quite broadly defined groups such as ethnicity (see, for example, Labov's 1972 work on language in urban African American communities, and the plethora of subsequent work in that field), or gender (for example Coates 2004 on the differences between women's and men's speech). Regional dialects refer to language varieties that are explained via geographical boundaries. These can be quite large scale, as in the case of nationally identified dialects of English, or else can refer to differences on a more local scale, looking at the dialectal

differences between towns, for example, (see Trudgill 1974 on the dialectal features of Norwich, which led the way for a tradition of village and town level dialectal studies in British sociolinguistics). Dialects differ chiefly with regards to their grammars and lexicons, with phonological features not always being regarded a part of dialectal variation (Trudgill 2004), instead being linked to the notion of accent. Thus, it is possible to speak Standard English, a dialect, with any accent. A major shortcoming of this view is that it does not fully account for the formal differences in Standard English spoken in different locations i.e. does not allow for the existence of multiple dialects of Standard English, for example, as well as multiple dialects of non-Standard English, that differ not only in terms of accent but in terms of grammatical and lexical features, too. There are two important points to be made here. Firstly, though phonological differences among speakers are attributed to accent, these are not entirely precluded from all discussions of dialect. Yaeger-Dror's (2001) discussion of dialect style, for instance, includes "phonetic, phonological, morphological and lexical variables" (2001: 175). Likewise, Meyerhoff notes that many linguists treat dialect as an all-encompassing term "for a variety that differs systematically from others on the basis of pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary" (2006: 28). Secondly, although Standard English(es) may be spoken with any accent, not all accents are valued equally, and the potential for speakers speaking Standard English with an accent viewed as less prestigious to have their speech stigmatised is very real. Coupland and Bishop (2007) report the findings of a British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) survey conducted to discover the different attitudes people held towards different accents of English. They found, for example, that Birmingham, Black Country and Asian-accented English received the lowest scores both in terms of their perceived prestige and social attractiveness, and also found that respondents typically favoured a "standard accent of English" (Coupland and Bishop 2007: 80) or an accent similar to their own both for their prestige and social attractiveness. This thesis will align itself with the understanding of dialect presented in Yaeger-Dror (2001) and Meyerhoff (2006). Dialect here will include phonetic and phonological features, so that accent here is treated as one aspect of dialect, along with grammatical and lexical features. In addition, the term *dialect* as it is used here refers both to

regional of (standard) English, i.e. British or Trinidadian, as well varieties of Trinidad English/ Creole, i.e. mesolect or acrolect.[5]

Another term that deserves some attention is *register*. Irvine notes a tendency in American linguistics to equate register with style (2001: 27), so that is important to understand the intended differences between the two. Trudgill defines register as "kinds of language that reflect the subject being talked or written about" (2004: 12), noting that it is often necessary to learn the vocabulary of a particular topic (in his approach, football) in order to talk about it successfully. Thus, he argues that registers do not only serve a linguistic function, but also a social one, separating group members from others. Agha (1999) and Finegan and Biber (2001) extend this notion of register considerably. Firstly, in Agha's view, register is not limited to lexical items, but involves an entire linguistic repertoire including finer details such as prosody and sentence collocations (Agha 1999: 216). As such, mastery of a register requires not only knowledge of its lexical aspects, but the ability to apply them fluently. Finegan and Biber extend register beyond the spoken, advocating the increased inclusion of written language in studies of register, and in sociolinguistics more generally. Moreover, Agha notes that access to registers is uneven within a given community, it being impossible for all speakers in a community to acquire all that community's registers, especially given the fact that registers are developed in specific contexts, and so can only be learned when access to those contexts is attained. In addition to the production of registers, Agha pays some attention to how they are received and evaluated. On one level, members of a community assess others' performances of register in both verbal and non-verbal meta-linguistic ways. This relates very closely to Coupland's observation that how dialects are received is negotiated partly in terms of "listeners' personal experiences and normative expectations" (Coupland 2001: 202). On another level, Agha notes that speakers may often be able to identify registers in their language without being able to fully employ and understand them. These remarks are of potentially great import to this thesis, where the audiences' and adjudicators' reactions to choral performances will be considered, alongside participants' knowledge of the elements of the linguistic features used in choral singing,

[5] In as far as it is possible to separate these features (see 2.2.1 above).

and their ability to reproduce these elements. Silverstein's (2003) study of wine-talk is a good illustration of the forms and functions of register. In it, he shows how wine connoisseurs exploit several lexical items and other linguistic features as means of showing not only that they are knowledgeable about wine, but also that they belong to a group elite enough to consume a costly commodity as a leisure pursuit.

Finegan and Biber (2001) look at the relationship between registers and social dialects, with a focus on written registers. Their work is premised on the notion that "[a]ny linguistic feature can serve communicative and indexical functions" (Finegan and Biber 2001: 240), but also on the idea that a single linguistic feature can be simultaneously a feature of a register and of a social dialect. Focusing on register and dialect variation within the British National Corpus, the pair finds that there are grammatical features that exhibit differential distribution across registers that do not do so across social dialects, so that when different social groups are using the same register, register variation occurs without variation in social dialects. For them, then, register is central to language variation, constraining sources of variation (e.g. social group membership) normally assumed to exert greater influence. This leads them propose the Register Axiom, which states that:

"If a linguistic feature is distributed across social groups and communicative situations or registers, then social groups with greater access to the situations and registers in which the features occur more frequently will exhibit more frequent use of those in their social dialects" (Finegan and Biber 2001: 265).

Although Finegan and Biber's work addresses mostly written registers, it is nonetheless important as it enriches our understanding of the tension underlying the separation of dialect from register, especially when viewed alongside Irvine and Coupland's work on the same topic. Irvine (2001) questions the usefulness of separating register from dialect. She notes that while traditionally dialect use has been linked to social group identification, particularly with reference to place of origin, register use is more closely connected to the language requirements of a particular situation or activity. She, like Agha (1999) underscores the fact that there are multiple registers available to speakers, but notes that "linguists' conception of dialects[…] has

not necessarily implied user-awareness of a system of alternative varieties" (Irvine 2001: 28). However, she notes that, in an attempt to separate different situations from one another or to show their attitudes towards certain speakers or events, individuals may strategically employ others' "voices", or at least their notions of what those voices are. These ideas are echoed by Coupland (2001) in his discussion of dialect style. Dialect style involves variation in which linguistic features symbolically linked to the language of specific social groups are drawn on as part of stylistic practice. Coupland illustrates this by looking at the linguistic behaviour of a Cardiff radio presenter whose popular radio programme is "*constituted dialectally*" (Coupland 2001: 206, italics in text), which means that the presenter intentionally exploits features of the Cardiff dialect, such as phonetic variables and idiomatic expressions, in creating an on-air atmosphere that promotes local Cardiff culture. The ability of speakers to draw on dialects other than their own therefore contradicts linguists' implicit supposition of people's general unawareness of dialects. Moreover, when dialects are used to create social situations in this way, they come to bear an uncanny resemblance to registers. Indeed, Irvine notes that while registers may arise out of particular situations, they also draw upon "cultural images of persons" (2001: 31), so that when Coupland says that "to speak "in" a dialect is very much to speak "through" a dialect" (Coupland 2001: 204), the understanding of dialect that is conjured is not simply one of social groups with whom the dialect is typically associated, but rather one in which the dialect creates a social and cultural situation. Thus, concludes Irvine, dialect and register are quite closely related. Subsequent chapters of this thesis highlight the close relationship between dialect and register. Indeed, in Chapter 4 we will see that participants associate a regional dialect, SBE, with a specific activity, choral singing. Accordingly, I make no attempt to separate dialectal features from register requirements, other than to consider register in its most general sense, i.e. formal versus informal contexts. Furthermore, while I acknowledge that dialect may be drawn on in the creation of style, I wish to uphold the distinction between dialect on one hand and style on the other (see below for discussions of style).

Another notion worth exploring in some detail is genre. Coupland (2007) points out that, while the notion of genre is fairly well-established in sociolinguistics, variationist approaches to the field have not paid it very much attention. Bauman (2001: 58) defines genre as "a speech style oriented to the production and reception of particular kinds of texts", while Coupland (2007: 15) highlights that genres are "culturally recognised, patterned ways of speaking, or structured cognitive frameworks for engaging in discourse." Both these definitions aim to capture the idea that genre is, to some extent, a mental representation, stored in speakers' minds as it were. Indeed, Bax (2011) treats genre as a type of schema, sets of mental concepts that speakers draw on in their interpretation of language and the world. Bax differentiates genre schemas from texts, the former being ideals and the latter the actual realisations of these ideals. It is perhaps an important distinction, though it is not clear to what extent speakers are consciously aware of the genre schemas in the day to day business of producing texts. Rampton's (2006) approach is decidedly more social, defining genre as "a set of conventionalised expectations that members of a social group use to shape and construe the communicative activity that they are engaged in," (2006:30), and further highlighting that genres represent "an encapsulated vision of the social world tuned to practical action in recurrent situations, projecting particular kinds of conduct and relationship, promising participants particular types of personhood" (ibid.). Rampton also highlights the stability and recursive nature of genres, at the same time underlining the fact that all participants may not have the same expectations of the genre. Indeed Macaulay (2001) calls us to assess whether, and indeed how, genres are recognised by speakers themselves, and how much of genre is constructed by researchers. He suggests that there is a relationship between people's ability to name and identify a genre and the its constituent structures , a suggestion Coupland (2007: 15) endorses when he distinguishes institutionalised communicative genres as having clearly identifiable features. Where a genre and its features can be identified, and often named, it is important to note that these features may or may not include language (Bax, 2011). Where language is included, all levels of linguistic analysis- phonology, lexis, grammar and discourse- are possible. For example, Bauman's (2001) ethnography of calls and spiels in a

Mexican market highlights the generic differences between the two texts, focussing particularly on the discourse features of each text type and how this is related to the functions of each. But the ability to identify features of a genre should not be equated with uniformity. For example, Rampton's work underscores the cleavages that exist between policy makers' expectations of how the easily named genre "classroom lesson" is structured, teachers' expectations of the genre, and the expectations, and practices, of students themselves, create what Bauman calls intertextual gaps. Successful communication, therefore, relies not simply on people having shared ideas about the elements of the genre, but rather in manipulation of these elements with some degree of consensus. Further, as part of people's "cultural and communicative competence" (Coupland, 2007: 15), there is tacit agreement on the features of a genre, and being tacit means that they are not necessarily fixed, so that, as Bauman (2001: 59) notes, "generic frameworks never provide fully sufficient means and bases for discursive production and reception." As a result, other elements of the context in which the particular text is created enter it, and a specific text may not necessarily meet any one individual's mental expectations of the genre. This intertextual gap is particularly important in discussing choral singing in Trinidad. Young performers' expectations of the genre are based largely on their previous experience in it and on their world experience, both of which are necessarily relatively limited given their age. It is enhanced by their conductors' own previous experience and world knowledge, which in turn may or may not overlap with adjudicators' expectations of the genre. Moreover, the existence of the intertextual gap means that genre is not fixed, that genres can not only change over time, but that new genres can emerge and others cease to exist. Further, genres, and the contexts in which they are produced, are fluid, and can come into contact with one another, so that texts arising out of such contexts bear the marks of generic hybridity. The possibility for change and hybridity are obviously important when looking at performances of Western classical music in the Trinidadian context.

2.3.2 From Style to Stylisation: Approaches to the study of style

Broadly speaking, concern with the phonological resources individuals draw upon while singing is by and large a concern with linguistic style. Here, Coupland's succinct definition of style as "ways of speaking" (Coupland, 2007: 2) will be adopted. The different "ways of speaking" are often associated with observable differences among speakers (e.g. region of origin, ethnic group, gender, socio-economic class), the activities in which they are involved (e.g. job interviews, gossip, story-telling, news casting), and the contexts in which their language is produced.

Several different approaches to the study of style may be identified. The first, associated with Labov, can be best described as the attention-to-speech school of thought. Labov (1984) identifies five "methodological axioms" for the study of style. The first axiom is that "[t]here are no single style speakers" (Labov 1984: 29). Style shifting, what other authors may call code switching, refers to "any consistent change in the linguistic forms used by a speaker, qualitative or quantitative, that can be associated with change in topics, participants, channel or the broader social context" (Labov 1984: 29). In other words, all speakers continuously change the way they speak in accordance with what is being discussed, with whom, via what media and in what location. Moreover, these changes are regular and observable. The second axiom states that "styles can be arranged along a single dimension, measured by the amount of attention paid to speech" (Labov 1984: 29). Though several commentators have criticised this one-dimensionality, Labov (2001b) reports systematic differences between careful speech, where greater attention is paid to form, and casual speech, where speakers do not pay as close attention to their language. For example, Labov found that, for English speakers in Philadelphia ranging in age from eight to fifty-plus, the (DH) variable, i.e. "the alternation of stops, fricatives, and affricates in initial position" (2001b:93), exhibited less alternation in careful speech styles than in casual speech styles. Critically, Labov notes that style-shifting relies on speakers' awareness of the existence of a linguistic variable in a community, and further on their ability to draw on that variable for their stylistic advantage. In this way, style is closely linked to Silverstein's notion of indexicality (see below), which is perhaps unsurprising, given that this is a development of Labov's marker-indicator-

stereotype trichotomy. The remaining three axioms are more directly concerned with data collection. The third highlights the importance of obtaining vernacular samples for linguistic analysis; the fourth contends that any instance of speaker observation will necessarily yield more formal speech than similar instances in which no observer is present; and the fifth argues that face-to-face interviews are the only way in which suitable quantities of data may be obtained for sociolinguistic analysis.

Another approach to the study of style is the style-as-distinctiveness approach, as explored by Judith Irvine (2001). As "system[s] of distinction" (Irvine 2001: 22), styles are defined largely in relation to other styles, and derive their meanings in comparison and contrast with others. Moreover, Irvine notes that "the relationship among styles is ideologically mediated" (ibid.), and further talk is affected firstly by people's understandings of the contexts and practices in which talk occurs, and secondly by participants access to these practices. Additionally, style is associated with aesthetics, which Irvine interprets not only as distinctive but also as consistent, so that the linguistic features of a style can be considered to be stable. Irvine reports the ideological biases underlying the description of two purportedly distinct speaking styles -griot speech and noble speech- in the Wolof community in Senegal. On one hand, she reports specific linguistic features of both styles, and reports that participants attributed these differences to largely essentialised qualities of the different speakers' characters, so that linguistic features are ideologically linked to aspects of identity. For example, individuals exhibiting the griot's garrulousness were felt to be "fast-moving, emotionally volatile, and changeable" (Irvine 2001: 38). On the other hand, she notes that speech among the Wolof people cannot be divided neatly into griot or noble speech, but instead finds that speakers' actual practice is ordered along a continuum, and comprises a mixture of features associated with both styles.

Bell's (1984, 2001) theory of audience design provides yet another possibility for the study of style. At the heart of Bell's theory is the idea that "[s]peakers design their style primarily for and in response to their audience" (Bell 2001: 143).Typically, then, shifts in style are responsive, occurring when speakers change their style to be more, or indeed less, in line with the speech of their interlocutors, similarly to Giles and Coupland's (1991) notions of

convergence and divergence within accommodation theory. Such shifts occur at any level of the language system, with speakers drawing upon "the range of linguistic resources available in their speech community to respond to different kinds of audiences" (Bell 2001: 145). Thus style-shifts dictated by attention to audience may involve code-switching in its most traditional sense, i.e. between one language and another, or else more subtle switches involving features along social and stylistic planes. Style-shifting is meaningful, and the meaning is derived from context and direction of the switch. Audience design holds that speakers are able to make quite intricate stylistic moves, and equally that addressees appreciate how nuanced the speech is. For example, the discourse particle "eh" is a tag that has come to be associated with male gender and Maori ethnicity in New Zealand (Bell 2001: 153). However, in interview settings, Bell found that one of his informants, a Pakeha male, had zero instances of "eh" uses when interviewing another Pakeha male, but exhibited markedly increased usage of the token while interviewing a Maori male. Similarly, he found that the Maori male's overall use of "eh" decreased significantly when speaking with the Pakeha male interviewer. This is the crux of audience design. In this example, the interviewer adapts his speech to be in line with the expected styles of his respective interviewees. His use of "eh" with his Maori male interviewee "marks [his] degree of sensitivity to Maori [linguistic features] as an important ethnic and cultural matter," (Bell 2001: 160), and is triggered by his Maori interlocutor's presence, as evidenced by the fact that he does not use it when speaking with the Pakeha man, for whom it is not a central feature of ethnic identity.

Style shifting need not only be responsive, however. It may also be initiative. When this is the case, "*the style-shift* initiates *a change in the situation rather than* resulting *from such a change"* (Bell 2001: 146, italics in original). While responsive style-shifting draws on linguistic resources available in the community, initiative style-shifting makes use of "resources often from beyond the immediate speech community, such as distant dialects, or stretches those resources in novel directions" (Bell 2001: 147). Initiative style-shifts are the focus of referee design (Bell 1992). Referee design involves style-shifting "away from the style appropriate [to the] addressee and towards that of a third party, reference group or model" (Bell 1992:328) who is

typically absent from the physical situation but nevertheless influential enough to continue to exert an influence over the language choices made in that context. The referee's physical absence means that they are, critically, not part of the immediate audience, and therefore not able to provide feedback. Bell identifies two major categories of referee design: ingroup and outgroup. The former may involve speakers interacting with addressees who are either members of the same group or another group, with speakers making quite dramatic shifts to their own group style. Where the addressee and the speaker are from the same group, such a stylistic move may be seen as an appeal to solidarity, whereas where they are from different groups, it may be viewed as an attempt to distance the speaker from the addressee. In outgroup referee design, "speakers lay claim to a speech [style] and identity which is not their own but which holds prestige for them" (Bell 1992: 329), diverging from their usual speech towards "an outgroup with whom they wish to identify" (Bell 1992: 330). In these instances, the speaker and the addressee share an overt or tacit agreement on the prestige enjoyed by the outgroup speech style, and the subsequent appropriateness of its use in the given context. Bell further notes that outgroup referee design can be long term or institutionalised, citing classic diglossia as an example of this. He highlights the fact that in the original conception of diglossia, the prestige or H variety is not viewed as the native variety of any group in the speech community, with speakers nevertheless orienting towards this variety because the referee culture and society are deemed in some way superior (Bell 1992 :330). Bell demonstrates his theory by focussing on the use of non-New Zealand English dialects in New Zealand television advertising. He found that, most often, voice-over artistes exploited phonological features of working class London and General American accents. However, he observed that, although vowels are the greatest source of inter-dialectal difference, voice-over artistes exploited a limited set of consonantal features when emulating the foreign accents, which he attributes to the general difficulty in mastering a foreign vowel system. Although the productions are not accurate, the New Zealanders, themselves not speakers of the target varieties, are sufficiently convinced that these are what they hear. Referee design, then, relies not an the accurate reproduction of the (outgroup) referee, but rather on the

exploitation of stereotypical features, or (n+1)+1th indexes in Silverstein's scheme, of the target variety. When Bell speaks of ingroups and outgroups, it is apparent that he is referring to language varieties and speech communities on quite a large scale: regional language varieties, or even entire languages. Since Bell's theory first appeared, there has been an increased thrust towards an understanding of speech communities as more complex, more diverse. Nevertheless, referee design remains an important theory for understanding the mechanics of and motivations for style shifting.

Like referee design, language crossing involves a style shift into an outgroup code, or, in Rampton's words, "the use of language varieties associated with social or ethnic groups that the speaker does not normally 'belong to'" (Rampton 1995: 14). Rampton's work explores young people's crossing into three different ethnic varieties in London: Creole, associated with speakers of Afro-Caribbean descent; Panjabi, associated with speakers of Indian and Pakistani descent; and what he calls Stylised Asian English, associated with youth of Bangladeshi, Pakistani, and Indian descent. There are a number of important comparisons to be made between crossing and referee design. Firstly, in both, the reproduction of the target variety is limited and imperfect. Non-heritage Panjabi speakers' repertoire, for example, is limited to whatever their Panjabi speaking friends are willing to share, while accent shifts in advertisements are limited by speakers' ability to identify and emulate the features of the prestige accents. Moreover, switching into a language variety not typically associated with one's ingroup can, in both instances, be regarded as a type of identity work. Thus in Bell's work, non-Maori heritage people used features associated with Maori speakers as a marker of solidarity, or else to index male machismo with which Maori speech is sometimes associated. Similarly, Rampton found that young people made use of Creole when they wanted to project a tough or cool image. However, where referee design, and particularly outgroup referee design, to which Bell pays greater attention, requires a distant target, this is not the case in crossing. In referee design, the outgroup variety is not generally the native variety of speakers in that speech community, but in crossing it is one of several varieties in the linguistic ecology of a far more heterogeneous speech community. As such, speakers to whom the target variety belongs are

potential addressees, either as ratified participants or as by-standers whose presence is perceived by ratified participants (Goffman 1981), so that the repercussions of the decision to participate in this type of style-shifting are possibly weightier than in the case of referee design. In Rampton's study, young Afro-Caribbean and Anglo use of Panjabi is acquired in interaction via friendships with young people with Indian and Pakistani roots, where informal language teaching was a feature of peer interactions. Furthermore, though Creole heritage speakers did not engage in similar language teaching activities, Creole was widely accessible in the popular cultural forms, and especially the music, that the young people participated in. In the New Zealand study, British and American forms were available from the media, but did not otherwise form part of the linguistic landscape. Critically, this meant that in the New Zealand situation, speakers of the referee dialect were not present to provide feedback, and successful production relied simply on creating the correct indexical relations, e.g. Received Pronunciation with luxury, through the use of a very limited range of linguistic features. For Rampton's youth, however, crossing can cause offence, with Panjabi and Bangladeshi heritage youth and Afro-Caribbean heritage youth being quite protective of their heritage varieties, and some Indian and Pakistani young people viewing "attempts to use Panjabi as intrusive and derisory" (Rampton 1995: 42).

Central to the understanding of crossing is an appreciation of the points in time at which switches into another language variety take place. To explore this, Rampton pays special attention to switching into what he calls Stylised Asian English (SAE), which involves speaking English with deliberately exaggerated Panjabi, Bangladeshi or Indian accents. This type of crossing was normally done by Asian descended youth, but can still be considered crossing since it was not the young people's normal way of speaking, but instead associated with previous generations of British Asians, whose mastery of English was often limited. Rampton's Asian-British informants switched to SAE in their interactions with usually white British figures of authority, especially at moments when the flow of the interaction is at risk of going awry. The young people exploit societal stereotypes of British Asians as polite and deferential, or in Irvine's terms, the ideologically mediated relationship between British-Asian English and politeness. They are not, however, necessarily styling

themselves as polite, or at least not only doing so, and Rampton notes that there is often an element of deception or comedy in their use of SAE. This is particularly important. In so far as style is able to index identity, and in so far as speakers are viewed as actively creating their identities through language style, the adoption of one way of speaking over another has been linked to the speaker's intent to identify with (elements of) the chosen style. The case of SAE crossing, however, is quite different. Speakers exploit the indexical potential of the style, but ironically so; indexical potential and speaker intent are not united.

Rampton's exploration of crossing looks at one specific use of stylised language, SAE. In subsequent work, he looks more closely at stylisation. Rampton's (2006) approach to stylisation builds on Bakhtin's earlier definition of stylisation as the production of "an artistic image of another's language" (Bakhtin 1981: 362 in Rampton 2006: 27), as well as on Ochs' work on accent stylisation and indexical valence (1996 in Rampton 2006). The notion of indexical valence is premised on the idea that we expect that "particular kinds of language will be used by particular types of person doing particular kinds of thing in particular types of situation" (Ochs 1996:417-419 in Rampton 2006), very much in keeping with Labov's definition of style-shifting as "consistent change in linguistic forms used by a speaker […] that can be associated with a change in topics, participants, channel or the broader social context" (1984:29). Stylisation takes this a bit further, however. Indeed, Rampton acknowledges the commonplaceness of alternation in speech, and differentiates stylisation from this ordinariness in its artful performance by exploring two types of stylisation in his data: what he calls "Deutsch", the stylised use of German outside the German classroom by his informants, and stylised uses of "posh" (RP or RP-like speech) and "Cockney". For instance, Rampton found that young people made stylistic moves into one or the other when they wanted to change the tenor of a situation. Thus, one young informant, Ninette, uses exaggerated posh forms to enliven ritualistic classroom tasks (Rampton 2006: 293-7). In some ways, this is perhaps unremarkable, since the formal classroom environment tends to require more formal, or "posher", linguistic forms, but Ninette's language use borders on the ludicrous, showing that she is not wholly aligned with the business of

teaching and learning. Contrastingly, high-achiever Hanif exhibits the stylised use of Cockney accents, not as Ninette does, to undermine classroom activity, but rather to encourage his peers to remain on task (Rampton 2006: 298-302). In both cases, the highly exaggerated instances of language use are different from the speaker's regular way of speaking and are also hyper-realisations of the ways these styles are normally used. Rampton argues that these stylisations, "fleeting-but-frequently-repeated" (2005: 11) as they are, underline a latent awareness of social class and social class struggles in post-modern British society.

While Rampton's focus is the occurrence of stylisation in everyday interaction, Coupland (2007) looks at instances of stylisation in high performance. High performance differs from everyday interaction, or what Coupland calls mundane performance, in several ways. High performances are thus bounded communicative events, separate from the ordinary flow of things firstly by the element of pre-planning and organisation, and secondly by their occurrence in designated, sometimes purpose-built, locations. Coupland identifies seven dimensions of focusing that are relevant to understanding high performance, and it is worth recapping these here. Firstly, Coupland says that high performance involves form focusing, in which the poetic and metalinguistic functions of language, language for its own sake, are given credence over more practical functions of language. High performance also involves meaning focusing, where audiences assume that there is profundity in performers' words and deeds. This is linked to the third type of focusing, situational focusing, where the nature of performance as a special type of event, for which participants are "not merely co-present but gathered" (Coupland 2007:147), is highlighted, and at which participants are aware of their different roles, and what they entail. Two distinct, and perhaps obvious, roles immediately emerge, the audience and the performer, and performance focusing involves the understanding that it is the performer who will hold the floor for most of the event's proceedings. Understanding of the differential roles of audience and performer further gives rise to relational focusing, in which performances are understood to be designed, in general, for quite specific audiences. The next type of focusing is achievement focusing, in which it is accepted that performances are liable to be commended, or condemned.

The final type of focusing is repertoire focusing, in which performances in high performance events "may be versions of known pieces, or at least known genres" (Coupland 2007: 148), though there is scope for innovation. The idea of "performance as virtuosic display" (Bauman 2011:709) means that "[r]ehearsal is relevant" (Coupland 2007: 148). Earlier sociolinguistic study within the variationist framework did not pay much attention to performance, its highly reflective nature and close planning perhaps the antithesis of the naturally occurring speech that was required. However, "[t]he sociolinguistic turn from *style* to *stylisation*, in which identity is the creative and emergent product of discursive practice, is especially well suited to the study of performance" (Bauman 2011: 713, italics in original).

Stylisation in high performance is creative, and Coupland notes that it is also highly metaphorical, drawing heavily on "stereotyped semiotic and ideological values" (Coupland 2007: 154), requiring audiences to be knowledgeable about and even share in these values in order to make sense of the communication as it occurs. The reliance on the "semiotic and ideological values" further means that stylisation requires learning, presumably via engagement with the forms and in the contexts in which they arise. Like Rampton (2006), Coupland's view of stylisation stresses amplification for linguistic form, so that "stylised utterances will often be emphatic and hyperbolic realisations of their targeted styles and genres" (Coupland 2007:154). He further argues that by revealing the links between sociolinguistic practice and social meaning, stylisation in high performance causes us to question and reassess these links (171). The difference between the study of style and Coupland's approach to stylisation is the treatment of context. In traditional views of style, speaker style is closely related to speaker activity and situation, thus being shaped by and shaping social context. In stylisation, however, the exaggerated linguistic form distances the utterance from the context in which it is produced. Indeed, the prominence given to the metalinguistic function of language means that in high performance language stylisation, language is in some ways objectified and magnified beyond what it is in everyday interaction.

Coupland provides a number of examples of stylisation in high performance. One of the examples he explores is the presentation of

"institutionalised cross-dressers" (Coupland 2007: 170), focusing on two categories of men who portray female characters principally through their attire and speech style- drag-queens and pantomime dames. For both types of performances, stylisation is evident not only in the embellished use of linguistic practices stereotypically attributed to women, but also through flagrant lapses in authentic reproduction in the styles, where performers seem to be saying, "I'm not really a woman, I'm only acting. This is just a performance." The application of theories of style and stylisation to performance data will be discussed in subsequent sections. However, it is worth noting at this point that, although Coupland stresses the learned aspects of styling and the importance of rehearsal in stylisation, all the studies that have been done in this area look at the performance, the stylised product. This study is different because it looks at the rehearsal, and thus the process of styling.

2.3.3 Style, Stylisation and Singing

The main aim of this section is to discuss the major applications of the study of style to singing within sociolinguistics. Before this is done, however, and because sociolinguistic studies have focused largely on popular music styles, some attention will be given to studies from other fields that have looked more generally at the issues surrounding diction in singing.

There exists a small body of research that looks at pronunciation matters within music scholarship. Of especial interest to this study are Krieger's (2004) description of *Portuguese Diction in Brazilian Vocal Music* and De'Ath's discourse on singing in English. Krieger argues that "the main goal of any diction pattern adopted in singing should be clarity of communication, leaving regional and local accents for specific effects when called for in the text" (2004: 479). This seems somewhat contradictory, since it seems almost self-evident that the local accent would be the most effective for ensuring clear communication. Nevertheless, Krieger goes on to give a comprehensive overview of how Portuguese diction should be approached by speakers of Brazilian Portuguese. De'Ath (2004), writing about English, takes a slightly different approach. From the onset, he attacks previous literature on diction in singing as "one sided and ethnocentric" and laments that "[t]he question of

which standard to employ is presumed, and often not stated [and t]he reader is left with the impression that there is only one correct pronunciation for singing" (65). He highlights two opposing views for diction in singing. The first is the view that the main point of diction is for intelligibility, in which case the "most intelligible and natural sounding accent for any relatively linguistically homogeneous audience would be that of the audience itself" (67-68). For performances to singers' local audiences, this would suffice, but this approach seems to require immense dialectal dexterity from singers who perform to a wide range of audiences. The second view, what De'Ath calls the text doctrine, says that singers should change their diction as the text demands, though this brings the immediate problem of deciding which type of English diction certain texts demand. Although De'Ath is not able to arrive at an answer to the difficult question of what Standard for singing in Standard English, he does take into consideration the vast degree of variation that exists and attempts to reconcile these differences.

Within phonetic science, there have also been some studies into intelligibility in singing, and especially vowel intelligibility. Typically, formant frequency (and subsequently resonances) in the first two formants (F1, F2; R1, R2) are key to the identification of vowels in European languages. Fundamental frequency (f0) in adult speech typically lies between 100 and 300 Hz, with Hillenbrand et al (1995) reporting a range of approximately 300-1000 Hz F1 values and approximately 1000-2800 Hz F2 values for vowels in adult speech. Smith and Wolfe (2009) give typical R1 values as 300-800 Hz and R2 values as 800-2000 Hz. In singing, particularly in the case of soprano (female higher voices) singing, these values are upset. When f0 is less than R1, vowels' resonance is roughly constant (Joliveau et al 2004), so that identifiable formants (and identifiable words) are produced. This is generally the case for singing in men's and alto's (female lower voice) singing. Fundamental frequency for soprano singing, contrastingly, ranges between 250 and 1000 Hz (Smith and Wolfe 2009), and can even exceed the latter value. This can have particularly undesirable results for singing, namely reduced volume (since F1 no longer gives f0 the boost it did at lower frequencies), unstable and inefficient vocal fold vibrations, and "possible undesirable discontinuities in timbre" (Smith and Wolf 2009). Sopranos may compensate for these aesthetic

undesirables by practising resonance tuning, where they increase the frequency of R1 so that it is close to f0, typically by an action as simple as smiling or opening the mouth very widely. This generally results in increased volume and tonal uniformity (Joliveau et al 2004), though it increases the chance that vowels become unintelligible since the difference between the values of f0 and R1 in regular speech is greatly increased. Indeed, Smith and Wolfe (2009) note that there are pieces containing passages requiring high pitch for sopranos which are important not for the message in the text, but because they allow for a display of the singer's skill. Although this thesis will not generally focus on phonetic details such as these, the findings reported here are still very important. This is because since one of the aims of this thesis is to identify instances of the transfer of Creole language features when singers are required to sing in Standard English, it is important to be aware that instances that seem to represent cases of transfer may actually be instances of resonance tuning, particularly in soprano singing.

The overwhelming majority of sociolinguistic studies looking into phonological issues and singing have concerned popular music forms. Although this study will look at choral music, the findings from these previous works are nonetheless important. Trudgill (1983) provides the first look at accents in singing. His starting point is the layman's observation that British pop and rock singers use different accents when they speak and when they sing. Trudgill identifies specific phonological variables, the USA-5 model(intervocalic /t/, /ɑ:/, /aɪ/, non-prevocalic /ɹ/ and /ɒ/), which are particularly exploited in pop singing, where American variants are used instead of British ones. Trudgill attempts to account for this variation by drawing on Le Page's pre-"acts of identity" work, as well as "acts of identity" itself (Le Page and Tabouret Keller 1985), which states that speakers alter their linguistic behaviour to resemble the groups with which they wish to identify. For Trudgill's pop-singers, this group is purported to be Americans, which, given pop music's American antecedents and the United States' financial domination of the genre, is hardly surprising. One exception to this, however, is the British pop sensation, The Beatles. Trudgill notes that they use fewer American features in their singing as they mature as a band over time, and as the genre of music they perform shifts slightly from rock and roll to an

increasingly valid form of British pop, of which they are no doubt emissaries, and for which there is little need for American linguistic models.

Trudgill reports that British pop singers are not always successful in their appropriation of American phonological features when singing. Once more drawing on Le Page's work, Trudgill identifies four main constraints on linguistic modification, and these are worth paying some attention to. Firstly, people are able to modify their language based on how well they are able to identify their model. Trudgill argues that singers base their singing accents on a broad American accent, but are less clear about which American accent they use as a reference (and possibly the multiplicity of American accents that exist). This he attributes to singers' linguistic choices happening below the level of consciousness, though not in its very depths. American accents for pop and rock singing are based largely on Southern and Black varieties of American English, so that even American speakers who are not speakers of these varieties must modify their pronunciation in song. British singers, on the other hand, draw on more stereotypical models of (white, Mid-Western) American English, and so do not always make accurate linguistic modifications.

Singers are constrained not only by their ability to select the correct model, but also by the access they have to the model and their own ability to work out the linguistic rules governing the model. Inability to correctly work out the rules may lead to hypercorrection. In the case of British pop singers, Trudgill observed that while they had identified that American varieties of English are more r-ful than English varieties, they incorrectly applied the rule for r-insertion. Though Le Page's condition suggests that increased contact with the model may result in increased competence, Trudgill's findings suggest that "even close personal contact with speakers of American English seems in this instance to have relatively little corrective influence," (1983: 149).

The third constraint on singers', and speakers', ability to successfully modify their language is "the strength of various (possibly conflicting) motivations towards one or another model and towards retaining our own sense of our unique identity" (154). In other words, speakers may have more than one model available to them, and these models may be in competition

with one another, or at odds with the speakers' identity work. For example, Trudgill examines how punk rock singers draw on both American English features and non-standard English associated with British working class youth so extensively that a single phoneme may be realised with the General American, Standard British and non-Standard British allophones in one song. This hybridity is partly the result of the image the band wishes to present, and the intended audience they would like their music to attract.

Finally, some people are just better mimics than others and, while style-shifting, even in singing, is more than just mimicry, the individual's ability to modify their behaviour may affect how successful British pop singers are at adopting different accents, especially when age is taken into account (149). Thus, a singer might be able to produce a given phonological feature in isolation, but consistent sustained use of that variable for the duration of a song may be very difficult, so that singers get it right some of the time. It should be noted that these constraints have a great deal in common with Bell's (1992) notion of referee design (discussed above).

Simpson (1999) revisits the use of American accents in pop and rock singing. He, like Trudgill, notes singers' inconsistency in the application of the USA-5 model, noting that while it "is pervasive as a perceptual model […it] is rarely fully implemented in a given singer's repertoire" (Simpson 1999: 346). He further notes that, where elements of the USA-5 model are inserted, this is not always done accurately. For example, he notes the tendency of non-rhotic British speakers, when singing, to insert [ɹ] in the most marked environments. However, he points out that African American Vernacular English, the spoken variety that is historically the source of most rock and pop music, is non-rhotic, and he highlights the behaviour of non-AAVE, rhotic, American speakers, who lose their rhoticity when singing. Simpson also carefully considers the relationship between these forms of style-shifting and the singer's projected identity. Here, he looks at how punk music, which is socially linked to the white British working class, draws on features of the USA-5 model as well as features of working-class British English. He also looks at the popular band Oasis, who projects a strong Manchester identity, while employing elements both of the American model and of Liverpool English, the latter ostensibly in homage to Beatle John Lennon. He also considers the case

of cover versions, where one singer performs another singer's work. Here, he argues that a "self-presentational shift" (Simpson 1999: 354) is required if artistic verisimilitude is to be achieved. Simpson also considers how style shifts are linked to genre by looking at the various sub-genres of rock and pop music. For example, he notes that performances of heavy metal rock always employ the USA-5 model. Most importantly, Simpson notes that these shifts seem to be required for singing, and singers are not expected to draw on these features in their speech, even within the context of a musical performance. Thus, he observes that "variation in register can be realised by variation in dialect" (Simpson 1999:351), so that British pop and rock singers draw on American dialect features not necessarily as a claim to American-ness, but rather as a claim to their identity as proficient pop singers.

Another study that has looked at the use of accents in popular music performance is Leung's (2009) work on ragga soca. This genre, developed mostly in Trinidad, is a hybrid of Trinidad and Tobagonian soca music and Jamaican dancehall and reggae forms. Leung says that the genre arose out of Trinidad's black, urban, underclass, who in their youth listened to Jamaican dancehall, a musical form similarly associated with the disenfranchised. Consequently, the hybrid form borrows heavily from dancehall, both musically and linguistically in terms of drawing on certain features of Jamaican Creole English (JCE), which Leung notes is part of the accepted, and expected, norm for ragga soca performance. Like the singers in pop performance, however, Trinidadian ragga soca singers are not always accurate in their selection of JCE features and Leung identifies instances of overgeneralisation and hypercorrection among the Trinidadian singers, which she labels Perceived Jamaican Creole English (PJCE). This term refers to phonological features that are thought of by Trinidadian singers as Jamaican, and Leung says the singers in her corpus consistently made use of these features early in their careers. As the art form developed and was more widely received by an initially reticent Trinidadian public, there was less pressure to conform to the Jamaican model only, and so ragga soca artistes, both new and veteran practitioners, now use a mixture of sounds characteristic of the accents of both islands. The new mixture leads to one of two things for the PJCE features: they are either dropped, being replaced by Trinidadian English/Creole or JCE features, or they

are retained, and are not linked to either national variety, but instead become generic features of ragga soca.

These three studies are important for several reasons. They highlight that there is often an association between a musical genre and what are more strictly considered dialect or accent features. Indeed, in a footnote, Trudgill (1983) notes that there may be an expectation of the use of prestige British English accent features in choral singing. Singers draw on these dialect features not as a claim to place identification with the users whose speech these features typify, but rather to show that they identify with a set of social mores (e.g. oppression, rebellion) that these linguistic features have come to index, and equally as important to show that they are proficient performers of their craft. What then are the specific phonological features that are associated with choral singing, what social ideologies do they index, and how do singers manoeuvre their use and the use of the phonological variables associated with their more usual speech styles?

More recent work, particularly that appearing in the *Journal of Sociolinguistics* (November 2011) special issue on language and performance, has focused on the application of previous theories of genre, register, style, and stylisation to performance data. Bauman (2011) notes how earlier sociolinguistic work precluded the study of performance, which by its very nature required levels of reflexivity that go beyond the more usual notions of attention to speech in sociolinguistics. However, the change in focus from style to stylisation lends itself to the study of performance, and particularly to explorations of the relationship between performance and identity, which he argues will "enhance the study of language in performance more generally," (Bauman 2011: 713). Moreover, Bauman highlights that the study of performance allows greater attention to be paid to genre, and also that in manipulating form, performance intensifies experience (Bauman 2001: 711). With specific regard to linguistic performance, Johnstone (2011) notes that it draws attention both to communicative content and to communicative form, so that performers ask "not just 'What does it mean that I am saying these words? But 'What does it mean that I am saying these words in *this way*'" (Johnstone 2011: 676, italics in text). Thus, studies of language in performance extend the basic sociolinguistic question of "Why this now?" to "Why this now

in this way?" It is worth exploring, therefore, exactly how linguistic form is manipulated in performance.

Coupland (2011) sets about problematizing taken for granted notions of place, voice and genre while shifting his focus from the studio (audio) recordings studied in the works above to performances. He criticizes what he sees as a tendency in earlier work to regard place spatio-geographically, noting that, in an increasingly globalised world, artistes may not necessarily be drawing on Britishness or Americaness per se, but rather that features of the dialects may have come to be regarded as elements of the pop style (Gibson 2010 in Coupland 2011), a tendency that we also saw above with the attribution of quasi-JCE features to the ragga soca genre. Paying specific attention to one performance of Chuck Berry's "Maybellene" , he notes that there are dialect features that index more traditional notions of place- here Black and Southern origins- within the piece. But at the same time, he notes that to render a dialect-based account "over-privileges the territorial approach to place and neglects other dimensions of place as performed" (Coupland 2011: 586), such as the cultural space regarding gender relations in the United States in the 1950's. Coupland also revisits Bauman's notion of genre (discussed above), and of the intertextual gap with reference to performance. He notes that high performance events are typically organised according to genre, and reminds us of Briggs and Bauman's (1992) idea that the invocation of a genre brings all other instances of that genre to the fore, so that audiences assess performers' virtuosity in relation to what they know about the genre. In this framework, deviation away from generic norms increases intertextual gaps, while alignment with these norms reduces gaps, and establishes the performer as an authentic practitioner of the genre. Virtuosity in performance is held to be gained largely by minimising the occurrence of intertextual gaps. To examine these claims, Coupland looks at the Sex Pistols' Johnny Rotten's cover performance of Chuck Berry's song, "Johnny B. Goode". He finds that Rotten's cover runs against the expectation of self-presentational shift that Simpson (1999, above) says is required in the performance of covers. As such, it is an example of popular music "destabilising the performance culture in which it functions, and aligning with nothing in particular" (Coupland 2011: 597). While Rotten's performance of

"Johnny B. Goode" intentionally creates an intertextual gap, not all instances of such gaps are deliberate. At the same time, it is clear that such gaps have the potential to redefine our understanding of particular performance genres. This thesis explores the generic norms required for choral singing, and looks at how choral singers align with or diverge from these norms.

Gibson (2011) looks at the phonetics of stylisation, looking specifically at how the New Zealand folk-comedy act Flight of the Conchords (Jemaine and Bret) employs phonetic features in their parodies of popular music and other popular culture performances and personas. This study is particularly important for present purposes because it looks at how the performers' adoption of an accent that is not their own is critical to their performance. For example, it looks at how Jemaine adopts Briton's David Bowie's speech and singing styles in his parody of him. Gibson notes that, in speaking styles, Jemaine's imitations closely match Bowie's actual speech, both at segmental and suprasegmental levels. In his reproduction of Bowie's singing style, however, his performance of the same features he exploits in speech appear to be exaggerated, and this exaggeration serves as a source of humour. Along with non-linguistic features such as facial expression and clothing, this "phonetic overshoot" (Gibson 2011: 622) is central to the creation of the parody. Furthermore, Gibson reports that there are "cases where a performance seems to be based on *ideas* about how a referee 'should' sound, rather than how they actually sound" (ibid.: 623, italics in text), as in Bret's stylisation of Neil Tennant, who is British. Gibson's analysis of Tennant's vowels when singing shows that he employs an American-type vowel for words in the GOAT set. However, Bret appears to aim at the GOAT vowel Tennant uses in speech, and not the one Tennant uses when he sings. This may be because Bret judges the more British realisation of GOAT as more important, or because he feels the use of the American variant may compromise the integrity of his presentation of Tennant as a British person (Gibson 2011: 618). Because the performance is parody, Gibson notes that these stylisations do not necessarily represent a claim to identity on the part of Jemaine and Bret, drawing on Goffman's (1981) concept of the animator, "an individual active in the role of utterance production" (Goffman 1981: 33). As animators who employ exaggerated and sometimes stereotyped

presentations of the personas they represent, the Flight of the Conchords deauthenticate these personas, to humorous effect.

Bell (2011) also addresses the issue of adopting a foreign accent in performance, with reference to German Marlene Dietrich's English pronunciation. He bases his analysis in his earlier framework of Referee Design, and draws on Agha's (2003) concept of enregisterment, the process by which linguistic forms become included in a register (Johnstone 2011). He notes that early in her career, when she still worked in Germany, English was only a performance language for Dietrich. Despite problems with English vowels that make these early performances inaccurate, they are nevertheless successful, since they are performed to German audiences for whom English is also not a first language. In her transition to Hollywood, however, features of Dietrich's German L1 retained in her English are problematic for casting directors, but are exploited in that she is cast mainly in "generalised exotic Other" roles, the sustained performance of which "enregistered non-native English as part of persona" (Bell 2011: 642). As her career progresses, however, Bell notes that there is an overall lower incidence of non-native features in her performances when compared to the levels earlier in her career. Rather than this signalling a short-coming in her English ability, Bell suggests that non-nativeness is seconded "as a linguistic resource on which she drew to highlight her difference" (Bell 2011: 652). Just as Gibson (2011, above) does, Bell highlights the importance of "over-shoot and mis-realization" (Bell 2011: 652) to the phonetics of performance. Moreover, Bell observes that in imitations and parodies of Dietrich, performers draw on speech features both associated specifically with Marlene Dietrich and more generally with German speakers of English, reinforcing the argument that her non-native English was an important part of her persona as a performer.

The study of stylised language use in performance is also a useful tool for exploring more traditional sociolinguistic interests such as language and ethnicity. Bucholtz and Lopez (2011) explore what they call neo-minstrelsy in films, the use of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) features by white actors. In the films they study, white actors portray white characters who identify with "aspects of black youth culture" (Bucholtz and Lopez 2011: 684), and for whom the use of AAVE features indexes identification with black

American culture. However, actors (or rather characters portrayed by the actors) make use of a slim selection of features, which do not appear to represent the full range of AAVE features, but rather a more limited Hollywood inventory of phonological and grammatical AAVE features. In this way, the neo-minstrelsy seems to resemble referee design, where as we have seen success is not dependent on accuracy. Indeed, Bucholtz and Lopez note the desirability of inaccuracy, highlighting the fact that white characters' "forays into blackness are positioned as temporary and inauthentic" (698), the desirable effect being that white characters sound "black but not too black" (Fine and Anderson 1980: 406, in Harper 2006: 15, quoted in Bucholtz and Lopez 2011: 688). On the other hand, black actors portraying black characters temporarily switch into Standard (General American) English in situations in which the character is meant to be taken seriously. The use of language in this way, argue Bucholtz and Lopez, reinforces language ideologies where Standard English is held to be the "language of intellectual discourse" (694), but also, and perhaps more dangerously, those which link AAVE to masculinity, sexuality, and the underclass, especially because this corroboration is performed more subtly than previously.

The effects of globalisation on language in performance are explored by Pennycook (2007). Pennycook looks at the spread of the contemporary African American musical form hip-hop to countries such as Malaysia, Japan, and Tanzania. In these locations, hip-hop consumption is dependent not only on music produced by artistes from the United States, but also on music produced by local hip-hop artistes as part of an apparently thriving local hip-hop music scene. Pennycook examines this through the lens of the transcultural flows, which "address the ways in which cultural forms move, change and are reused to fashion new identities in diverse contexts" (Pennycook 2007: 6). In the case of hip-hop, the transportation of the genre to diverse contexts has resulted in the localisation of the genre (or alternatively the "hip-hopisation" of local musical genres), realised largely through the inclusion of local instruments, attention to local themes in song lyrics, and mixing of local languages with African American Vernacular English, the variety associated with more traditional renderings of the genre. Indeed, Pennycook notes that the localisation of hip-hop also involves the rejection of

some aspects of American hip-hop culture. For example, while themes of violence and the use of expletives are key features of American hip-hop, this is not the case in Tanzania, where such themes and language are viewed as offensive (Pennycook 2007: 104). Thus Pennycook argues that since African American language and culture, in which the form originated, can sometimes be quite incidental to productions of hip-hop, hip-hop cannot easily be viewed as another instrument of hegemony and globalisation, though he accedes that it remains "important to acknowledge the significance of these material and cultural origins" (2007: 88). Hip-hop, then, is not simply a cultural form bound to a specific social group in a fixed location, but a transcultural form, and as such, our analysis of it must move "beyond questions of ownership and origins" (Pennycook 2007: 92) since "[o]nce cultural forms are taken up within [other] cultural contexts, any search for origins and influences becomes not so much a project of tracing back a clear lineage as one of understanding the convoluted interplay of different cultural forms" (ibid.: 91). This assertion is particularly important for the study of language and choral singing in Trinidad. As we have seen, the art form has its roots in the period of English colonisation, but having persisted, we are forced to examine how far it has been localised, and how much it has become a transcultural form. Although Pennycook criticizes the tendency within studies of world Englishes to look at formal features of language to find evidence of localisation, this thesis will persist in that tradition. This is because, unlike hip-hop artistes, choral singers do not compose their own lyrics and often do not choose the instrumentation for their musical accompaniment. If, however, the spread of music does indeed enable resistance, as Pennycook proposes, then these forms of resistance should be available to performers at micro-linguistic levels.

The earlier studies on accents in singing highlighted the fact that there are often linguistic, usually phonetic, features associated with certain genres of popular music. Practitioners' virtuosity is determined in part by their ability to reproduce these features. Later studies further highlight the fact that performers draw on specific linguistic forms in the creation of their onstage personas. In so doing, they reinforce pre-existing notions of individuals (as in the parodies performed by Flight of the Conchords), or of social groups (as in Bucholtz and Lopez' exploration of linguistic minstrelsy). Thus, previous work

on the area of accents in performance underscores the fact that performance is a highly reflexive process, with language being manipulated to achieve certain artistic ends. Previous work, however, always focusses on the finished product, utilising studio recordings or final performances as the data. In this study, the rehearsal is used as the main source of data. In so doing, it is hoped that greater insight will be gained into the reflexive process in situ, and consequently into how linguistic forms are endowed with the social values they hold. Moreover, previous work that focuses on high performance often looks at performers who use a prestige variety in their regular speech adopting another prestige variety or a less prestigious variety in the performance of a popular art form. This study, however, looks at speakers whose variety of English is deemed less prestigious in the world system , who aim to adopt a higher prestige variety in the performance of a classical art form.

2.3.4 Indexical Orders

Another important facet of the study of style is indexicality. Silverstein (2003) first introduces the notion of indexical order, based loosely on the Bakhtinian notion of indexicality, to sociolinguistics. Put simply, an index can be understood as a symbol that signals something else, much like a cross on a map might signal the presence of a church in a given location. Similarly, in much sociolinguistic study, language features have been taken to signal a speaker's membership in a certain group. Silverstein's work is concerned with the link between the two, built on the assumption that "any linguistic fact is necessarily an indexical fact" (194). The building block of this theory is the n-th order indexical, an observable feature whose meaning is dependent on its appropriateness to the context in which it is used (indexical presupposition), and its effectiveness in the context in which it is used (indexical entailment) (195). Silverstein's model has obvious overlaps with Labov's earlier indicator-marker-stereotype trichotomy, a point that Johnstone and Kiesling (2008: 8-11) elegantly illustrate while applying the theory to their own study. They group Silverstein's n-th order, Labov's indicator and their own first order indexicality together, all three of these being used to label linguistic features that can be observed as a feature of a social group's speech by language

scientists, but go unnoticed by members of the group itself and as such are not used in identity work. The second group comprises Silverstein's n+1th order indexical, Labov's marker, and Johnstone and Kiesling's second-order indexicality. Speakers are able to draw on these forms for stylistic use, and how they are applied is affected to a large extent by language ideologies that are dominant in the community. Thus, although speakers apply them stylistically, because language ideology is hegemonic, speakers are not necessarily aware of the variants or the full range of meaning with which they are used. The final group is made up of Silverstein's (n+1)+1th order indexical, Labov's stereotype and Johnstone and Kiesling's third order indexicality. Linguistic features in this group are known to a majority of speakers, and form part of what Silverstein calls the metapragmatic discourse, or talk about talk. It is important to note that each higher order group is a subset of the group that immediately precedes it, i.e. some, but not all first order indexicalities become second order indexicalities, and some of these in turn become third order indexicalities. Consequently, it should also be reinforced that not all local forms have a second order indexicality (Johnstone and Kiesling 2008: 10), and also that clashes can arise when first order presuppositions do not have the same indexical meanings at higher orders(Silverstein 2007: 203). Furthermore, despite the apparently clear demarcations between indexical orders, the lines separating them may be blurred, and the ostensible hierarchy of indexical orders may be overturned, as demonstrated in Anderson's (2008) work on race talk, which examined how essentialised linguistic practices seemed to result in the merger of first and second order (correlating in this case to Silverstein's n+1th and (n+1)+1th indexical order respectively).

Given that the three sets of definitions can so clearly be related, one wonders at the necessity for expanding on Labov's original terminology. However, Silverstein's model differs from Labov's in a fundamental way: Silverstein is interested in the ideologies that create indexical orders, the rituals that reinstate them, and how these orders reproduce hegemony, the idea that things are how they are meant to be. Simply applying Labov's terminology might be theoretically undesirable. Furthermore, Silverstein's use of imaginary numbers n+1 suggests that any number of indexical orders may be derived from a single n-th order indexical, at least theoretically, a

possibility that Labov's three-way distinction does not allow. Johnstone and Kiesling's work is an application of Silverstein's, and as such their use of actual figures makes their analysis slightly more accessible than Silverstein's use of imaginary numbers. Moreover, it is important to note that, though the indexical orders model has been criticised for being linear (cf. Snell 2010), both Eckert (2008) and Silverstein (2003) explicitly state that it is not.

In addition to its links to Labov's work, there are several important concepts within indexical order, developed by Silverstein and in subsequent works, which are worth discussing. The first of these is metapragmatic discourse; that is, talking about the ways in which things are, or ought to be, done. Silverstein argues that this ideologically laden talk about language "biases all verbal and other interactional behaviour" (2003: 197) and can demystify the contents of the indexical presupposition, further noting that metapragmatic function is most effectual when it is implicit rather than explicit, a notion that Anderson (2008) explores further. Anderson highlights that the effectiveness of implicit forms, a sort of taken-for-grantedness of the ways things are, lies in their ability to "evoke second-order inedxicality with less overt reliance on establishing first-order indexical relationships on which to base their pre-supposition" (2008: 119). This is particularly relevant for this study, where participants' ideologies regarding phonological models for singing will be discussed.

The idea of metapragmatic discourse is also important methodologically. Johnstone and Kiesling (2008) warn against the tendency in research to assign indexical value (above the first order indexicality) where in fact none exists for the speakers in the community under examination. Instead, they suggest that researchers should directly pose questions to informants regarding the assessment of language and variables. This method is in keeping with the idea that social categories are actively constructed via language use, and that speakers are not merely passive bystanders who have social categories thrust upon them, but who also participate actively, and consciously, to their creation.

Another important concept within the theory of indexical order is that of the sites of indexical innovation. Since all linguistic features are available for

indexical work, and indexical meaning is derived from the context, the sites where "indexical processes engage with structural features of language and endow them with indexical values" (Silverstein 2003: 222), and the indexical values assigned therein, are of particular interest. In this study, one possible site of indexical innovation, the choir rehearsal, will be examined, with the aim of understanding the ideologies surrounding the indexical orders that arise in that situation.

Specifically, Silverstein explores the notion of indexicality by looking at the talk of wine connoisseurs, in which he claims that "life-style emblematization" is at work "via the processes of higher-order indexicality" (2003: 222). In other words, it is through their talk that wine connoisseurs establish themselves not only as people who know a great deal about wine, but also as people who are privileged enough to participate in this pastime. He identifies the tasting note as a specific discourse genre (ibid.: 224), and mastery of this register i.e. using the specific lexical and other devices correctly, consistently and convincingly, makes a speaker a member of the consumer elite (ibid.: 227). This attention to mastery of registers and discourse genres as an important indexical of identity is critical to this study, where choristers' authenticity is displayed through knowledge and production of lexical terms associated with music. The language of choral singing, like that of wine drinking, may be viewed as a "fashion of speaking" (ibid.: 227) with its use similarly signaling the anxiety for distinction among its users.

Eckert (2008) refines Silverstein's indexical order with the introduction of the notion of the indexical field, the term applied to all the possible meanings of a variable. The indexical field is premised on the fact that phonological variables do not have inherent meanings, but instead are given them in social contexts, drawn from ideological issues within those contexts. Because the users and contexts are multiple, the meanings of a given variable are not static. Instead, variables are felt to have indexical fields in which speakers do "not simply reflect or reassert their particular or pre-ordained place on the social map but […] make ideological moves" (Eckert 2008: 464). The various meanings of a variable within the indexical field are ideologically linked. Eckert (drawing on previous work by Bucholtz 2001, Benor 2001 and Podesva 2004) uses the example of the association of hyper-articulate speech, and especially

/t/ release, with education, eloquence, elegance, efficiency, emphasis or even prissiness by speakers ranging from schoolgirls to gay doctors to illustrate the ideological links contained in the indexical field of this variable. Her examples show how speakers exploit the same variable either to align themselves with an existing indexical meaning or social identity- as Podesva's (2004 in Eckert 2008) doctor does both in his clinic and at a barbecue, where he aligns himself in one instance with his identity as a competent healthcare professional and in the other with his identity as a flamboyant homosexual- or else to assign a value that may not have previously existed, as with Bucholtz'(1999) girl nerds, "nerdiness" being a quality that was previously restricted to boys.

Eckert does not, however, attempt to explain how specific variables become endowed with specific indexical meanings. This task is left to Woolard (2008). Partially, she says, indexical meanings rely on frequency, so that forms that occur more frequently are more readily taken up for indexical work. Whether or not a variable is available for indexical work is also dependent on its salience, or how noticeably different it is from other linguistic features. She builds considerably on Errington's (1985 in Woolard 2008) concept of pragmatic salience, which looks at how aware speakers are of the significance attached to linguistic variables. Most importantly, she highlights his earlier assertion that "more pragmatically salient [variables…] are those that are recognised by speakers as more crucial linguistic mediators of social relations, and are therefore more often mobilised strategically for social goals" (Woolard 2008: 441). In other words, linguistic features that are more noticeable to speakers are the ones on which they draw to do indexical work. Some features are thereby easier to adopt, notably discourse markers, vocabulary items and intonation patterns, and some less so, notably phonological features. Since phonological variables are the main focus of this thesis, it will be interesting to see which variables become available for indexical work, and the indexical field of meanings associated with them. Indeed, we are concerned here not simply with determining the indexical values of linguistic variables in Trinidad English/ Creole, but also with looking closely at indexicality as it occurs in one quite specialist context, the choral rehearsal.

2.4 Summary

This chapter began by examining the sociolinguistic situation in Trinidad, and attempted to place Trinidad English/ Creole in the larger context of world Englishes. From there, it went on to look at the development of choral singing in Trinidad from the 1940s to the present day. The focus then shifted to an overview of various approaches to the study of language variation, with particular attention being paid to notions of style and stylisation, and in particular to studies of language use in high performance. It also considered the theory of indexicality as a means for describing the social meanings attached to stylistic variables.

In the following chapter, the methods used in data collection and analysis will be discussed.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the methods of data collection and analysis that were used in this study. In general, a mixed methods approach was used to collect data. Specifically, questionnaires, interviews, and participant observation were all used in order to obtain valid, verifiable data. Moreover, methods were selected on the basis that their use would be able to elicit information regarding accents in singing, especially with regard to which accent was being targeted during choral singing in English. At the design stage, special attention was paid to methods that would garner insights along some of the traditional sociolinguistic classifications, specifically age, gender and place of origin in Trinidad or Tobago. Ethnicity, which is often used in sociolinguistic studies of the Caribbean, especially of Trinidad and Tobago and Guyana, was intentionally excluded. This was done because the choirs that participated were ethnically and socio-economically diverse, and there was no practical way of eliciting this information from the groups. Methods in which information regarding language attitudes and language style in singing could be obtained were also given particular attention. In this section, information about the participants in the study and the procedures used to elicit information from them will be reported. Following this, the processes through which the data were analysed will be presented.

3.1 The pilot study

Because no previous work on language in classical choral singing in the Caribbean exists, a pilot study was carried out to determine the feasibility of such a work. In November 2009, I attended a rehearsal of a well-known choir in north Trinidad as they prepared for their annual Christmas production. The choir's repertoire is known for its variety, and included in the 2009 programme was the piece "For Unto us a Child is Born" from Handel's well-known *Messiah*. On the evening I attended the rehearsal, the choir spent 45 minutes rehearsing this piece. In this time, the conductor made 31 corrections

to the singers' pronunciation, each of which was documented. After my visit, I wrote my impressions and shared them with the conductor, who shared her written reaction to my comments with me. Based on my observations and my subsequent exchange with the conductor, it was determined that it would be worthwhile to spend a prolonged period of time in choral rehearsals in order to gain some insights not only into accents in classical choral singing, as opposed to other forms of singing, but language in choral singing in Trinidad and by extension, language in Trinidad in general. Furthermore, it was determined useful not only to study the rehearsals themselves, but also the expectations and beliefs about language in singing held by those involved in this activity.

3.2 The participants

A wide range of participants took part in this study. In the first instance, participants were purposefully selected based largely on their involvement in choral singing as choristers, conductors, audience members, or competition adjudicators. Once initial contacts were made, a social network approach was used to recruit further participants. Approximately four hundred and fifty people participated in the study in some way. They included 20 choral conductors, 10 choirs of about 40 singers each, a further 14 choristers who participated in interviews, 12 audience members, 3 competition adjudicators, and 4 musicians who had been involved in choral music in the Trinidad for several decades.

The participants can be divided into two main groups: adult and youth participants. The adult participants comprised Trinidadian and Tobagonian choral conductors with experience leading school, church and community choirs. They conducted choirs in north-west and south-west Trinidad, and in Tobago. The conductors ranged in age from twenty-five to seventy-seven, and had differing degrees of musical training. The issue of musical training is especially important. Prior to the mid two thousands, the University of the West Indies, St Augustine campus, did not offer undergraduate study in Music. This meant that citizens of Trinidad and Tobago desiring musical education at a tertiary level were obliged to pursue it abroad. Locally, music certification

was (and continues to be) available through British-based examinations with the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music or Trinity College (now Trinity-Guildhall) London. Most of the conductors achieved different levels of certification through these programmes, while several also received training at foreign conservatories, notably the Royal Academy of Music, and through membership in professional bodies based overseas, such as the American Choral Director's Association. In total, four male and sixteen female conductors participated in the study, reflecting a tendency reported by Schweizer (2008) for women to outnumber men in choral conducting. The second group of adult participants was adjudicators- both from Trinidad and Tobago and from abroad, namely the United States and Venezuela. The local adjudicators had been involved in judging preliminary rounds of the 2010 Music Festival in Trinidad and Tobago, while the foreign adjudicators judged later rounds of the same festival. The two local adjudicators were choral conductors with more than thirty years' experience, and were both female. The three foreign adjudicators were all members of the American Choral Directors' Association (one had been a regional head). Two were male and the third female. The third group of adult participants comprised fourteen adults who described themselves as regular attendees at choral music performances in Trinidad and Tobago, either in the form of concerts or competitions. Most of these participants came from North Trinidad, with one from central Trinidad and one from east Trinidad. All but one of the audience participants were female. In addition to these groups, adult participants also included four women who could give additional insight into choral music in Trinidad and Tobago, as well as language use in that area. These women were all over sixty years old and had been involved in choral music since their childhood.

The youth participants were all choral singers. They were aged between eleven and eighteen years old, and, at the time of the study, were active members of school or community choirs, often both. They attended schools with strong choral traditions in north-west and south-west Trinidad as well as in Tobago. Efforts were made to contact music teachers in schools that were not known for having a choral tradition, but these proved futile. The youth participants' data is drawn both from observations of whole choirs and from interviews with individual singers. In the case of the whole choirs, school

principals were contacted via the school office and the desire to work with the school established. Once the principal had given his or her permission, contact was then made with the school's music teacher, who gave further permission and guidelines as to which rehearsals could be attended. In this way, ten school choirs, each of about forty students, were observed throughout Trinidad and Tobago. They comprised six girls' choirs, two boys' choirs, all of which were from Trinidad[1], and two mixed choirs, both from Tobago. However, this project only reports data collected from four girls' choirs: three in north-west Trinidad and one in south-west Trinidad. The other two were not included because they were not rehearsing the Music Festival repertoire at the rehearsals to which I was invited. The girls' choirs can be further divided into two groups: junior, comprising singers aged eleven to fourteen, and senior, comprising singers aged fifteen to eighteen. This division was determined based on the categories provided by the Music Festival, which has separate competition classes for junior and senior choirs. Two boys' choirs from north-west and south-west Trinidad were also observed. The boys' choirs can also be divided into junior and senior categories. However, in the 2010 Music Festival, the test piece for the junior boys' categories was in Latin, so both boys' choirs in this study are senior choirs. Furthermore, because boys' voices change dramatically during puberty, the boys in this study are aged between thirteen and eighteen. In addition to the choirs as a whole, fourteen teenage choral singers, aged between fourteen and eighteen were also interviewed.

Great care was taken to protect the identity of the participants. All the teenaged participants in this study have had their names changed. Adult participants, with the exception of those consulted for their expertise, were given the option of being anonymous or having their actual names used, and the necessary changes were made. In addition to this, the names of the schools participating in this study have also been changed, though the general location of the school has been retained.

Data was also collected from mixed-voice choirs, especially in Tobago. However, comparable data was not available for Trinidadian school choirs and so, considering the limitations of time and space, and mindful of the fact that

[1] Tobago does not have single-sex schools, and thus no single-sex school choirs.

the Tobagonian speech community is any many ways distinct from that in Trinidad, Tobagonian choirs will not be considered in this study. The table below provides a summary of the participants in this study whose involvement will be reported here.

Participant type	**Number of Participants**	**Names (* indicates pseudonyms)**	**Age**	**Gender**
Conductors (questionnaires)	14	-		11 female 3 male
Conductors (interviews)	7	Pat Bishop Joy Caesar Kwasi Noel Betty Smith* Gretta Taylor Michelle Varley	65+ 65+ 18-29 65+ 65+ 45-64	6 female 1 male
Conductors (rehearsals)	5	Mary Frank* (Belmont Senior Girls) Elizabeth King* (POS Senior and POS Junior Girls) Catherine Singh* (SANDO Junior Girls) Kwasi Noel (POS Boys) Peter Williams* (SANDO Boys)	45-64 45-64 30-44 18-29 30-44	3 female 2 male
Choirs	6	Belmont Senior Girls* POS Senior Girls* POS Junior Girls* SANDO Junior Girls* POS Boys* SANDO Boys*	15-18 15-18 11-14 11-14 13-18 13-18	4 female 2 male
Choristers[2] (interviews)	14	Giselle Clare	17 17	8 female 6 male

[2] There were a number of choristers who were not interviewed but were present at rehearsals. Where those choristers' were key informants, they are also assigned pseudonyms in the relevant discussion. Otherwise, choristers' turns were numbered in

Participant type	Number of Participants	Names (* indicates pseudonyms)	Age	Gender
		Dana Celeste Jade Kristy Shauna Dawn Jake Adam Matthew Joshua Joel Kyle	17 14 16 15 16 18 14 18 17 14 18 14	
Audience members	12	Cecile Simone Heather Lisa Lorraine Keisha Theresa Aneefa Ms Neves Ms Shepherd Ms Halfhide Mr Huggins	30-44 30-44 45-64 18-29 18-29 18-29 18-29 18-29 45-64 45-64 45-64 65+	11 female 1 male
Adjudicators	3	Carmen-Elena Tellez Jan Harrington John Paul Johnston	- - -	
Other musicians	4	Susan Dore Jean Devonish-Huggins June Nathaniel Joanne Mendes Jocelyn Sealey	45-64 65+ 65+ 65+ 65+	4 female

Table 3.1: Overview of participants

relation to their school choir e.g. BELG1- the first turn of a singer from Belmont Senior Girls' Choir.

3.3 Data collection procedures

Since a mixed methods approach was used, data collection and analysis were achieved using a number of different procedures.

3.3.1 The Questionnaire

Data was collected via a questionnaire. The questionnaire was distributed via social networks to approximately twenty choral conductors. Fourteen completed questionnaires were returned. The questionnaire was divided into three sections. The first section yielded demographic information about the conductors, as well as their training and experience. The second section, the longest, comprised twenty-four 2-part questions regarding difficulties the conductors felt singers faced in pronouncing particular vowel and consonant segments. The first part of each question comprised a modified Likert-scale question requiring conductors to report their overall impression of the quantity of singers in their choirs who might find it difficult to pronounce the standard pronunciation allophone when singing. The second part of the questions required conductors to write, as best as they could, the pronunciation that singers produced when they did not achieve the standard form. A sample question can be seen below:

a) **None/Few/Many/ All** of the singers in my choir have difficulty pronouncing the 'TH' sound in words like ***th****in* and *an****th****em.*

b) Those singers who find it difficult say something that sounds like ____ _____.

The items that were used as stimuli for the questionnaires were based on Youssef and James' (2008) inventory of the features of Trinidadian and Tobagonian decreolised varieties.

The conductors seemed to find the second part of the task difficult, and though they answered the first part, many of them left the second blank. This is in keeping with Creswell's (2009) observation that participants in questionnaires are not equally articulate and perspective. The final segment of the questionnaire comprised seven multiple-choice questions related to the conductors' preferred pronunciation for singing in English and regarding

diction in singing. The complete questionnaire is included in the appendix. Initially, the intention was that audiences and choristers would do a similar questionnaire, but given the conductors' difficulty with the questionnaire, this was not done.

3.3.2 Observation

Observation took place between January and March 2010, as school choirs prepared for the Trinidad and Tobago Music Festival. I attended rehearsals of ten of the choirs introduced above during this period. Choir conductors informed me of their rehearsal schedules, and I contacted them in advance of my attendance at each rehearsal. The choir conductors were told the general area of the study, diction in singing, but were told nothing else. I attended at least two rehearsals with each choir, though in one case this was not possible. At my first rehearsal, the conductor introduced me simply as someone who had come to hear the choir sing, and no more was said of my presence on subsequent visits. Normally, I sat either on the far side of the choir, to the front of the room, or else at the back of the room, behind the last singer. Very occasionally, my observer status was modified to the position of participant observer as conductors sometimes sought my opinion on the choir's singing. These sessions were recorded on a TASCAM DR-05 portable handheld recorder with a 16-bit resolution as wavesound files. During this time, handwritten field notes, highlighting events that occurred during the rehearsals, were also made. More detailed field notes were also written up after each day of rehearsals.

In addition to these, observations were also made during the competition days of the Trinidad and Tobago Music Festival. Competition was held concurrently in the North and South of Trinidad and Tobago, and so I attended the choral categories in the North and relied on newspaper accounts for the South and Tobago competitions. Championship rounds involving winners from all parts of the country were then held in North Trinidad, and I attended these as well. It is forbidden to use recording devices at performance venues in Trinidad, and so the observations at this stage were recorded in field notes.

3.3.3 Interviews

Subsequent to the period of observation, during the period February and March 2011, face-to-face interviews were conducted with choral conductors, audiences and singers. Six choral conductors were interviewed, five female and one male. The interviews were structured and comprised three main parts. The first part comprised questions regarding conductors' beliefs about the most appropriate accent for singing Western Classical music, as well as the conductors' reactions to one adjudicator's statements regarding diction during the music festival. The second part of the interview was a wordlist, similar to the one found in the questionnaires. For each item on the wordlist, conductors were asked to give a maximum two pronunciations: the one they wanted singers to use and, where the singers did not do this, the one the singers used instead. In the third part of the conductors' interview, questions were asked regarding membership in the choir, and the different roles people played in the group. The choral conductors were interviewed individually, usually at their homes or at the schools in which they taught. Furthermore, unlike the other groups of interviewees, the conductors were given the interview questions in advance. This was because two conductors agreed to the interview on the condition that they were able to prepare for it, and so this courtesy was extended to all the others. On average, the conductors' interviews lasted forty-five minutes. Two of the conductors interviewed had also served as local adjudicators at the Music Festival. During their interviews, additional questions about language use in the adjudication process were raised.

People who described themselves as concert-goers were also interviewed during this period. Their interview was structured similarly to the conductors' interview, but without the third section about membership and roles. Audience members were interviewed in pairs. This was done since there was limited time for data collection, and it was felt that by interviewing people in pairs, more data could be collected. Each person was partnered with a friend or work colleague. This seemed to make the participants more comfortable, and gave the interviews a collaborative and relaxed tone. On average, the audience interviews lasted twenty minutes.

The third group of interviewees was the choristers. Fourteen choristers between the ages of fourteen and eighteen were interviewed. Eight of them, four boys and four girls, were drawn from the school choirs that had been observed and whose conductors had completed an interview or questionnaire (or both). The remaining six, two boys and four girls, came from community youth choirs whose conductors had completed an interview and questionnaire, but whose choirs had not been observed since they did not compete in the Music Festival. The chorister participants were selected by the conductors. Their parents were briefed about the purpose of the study and permissions obtained. A sample permission slip is included in the appendix. Like the concert-goers, the choristers were interviewed in pairs. Each pair comprised two singers from the same choir who had a good rapport with each other. This was done following the tradition in sociolinguistics to interview young participants in pairs so that they are less reserved. Furthermore, this was seen as a means of obtaining more data in a limited time period. The chorister interviews resembled the conductor and audience interviews, but were not identical, since the chorister interview was in four parts. In the first part, the choristers also answered questions regarding the most suitable accent for singing, and also gave their reactions to the adjudicator's statements at the previous festival. Next, the choristers did a wordlist task similar to that of the adult participants. However, the choristers were asked to give a maximum of three pronunciations for each wordlist item: the pronunciation they used when singing, the one they felt their conductors preferred, and third that they felt people pronounced if they got it wrong. They were cautioned that it was possible for all three pronunciations to be the same. In the third phase of the chorister interview, they were given a second wordlist task. The second wordlist contained musical terms, which the choristers were asked to define, and then to say where they had learned the meaning of the items. This led into the section, similar to the conductors' interviews, where the choristers were asked about membership and roles in their respective choirs. The results from the last two sections of the interview will not be reported in this work. On average, the choristers' interviews lasted about forty-five minutes.

In addition to these interviews, interviews were also conducted with five community leaders known for their involvement with choral music. These included the retired head of the Music Festival Committee, Jocelyn Sealey, the secretary and the assistant musical director of the country's oldest choir, Joanne Mendes and Susan Dore, a retired secondary school principal and choral conductor, Sr. Jean Devonish-Huggins, and the principal of a music school specialising in vocal music whose students competed in, and usually won, the vast majority of vocal classes in the festival, June Nathaniel. These interviews were semi-structured, and focussed largely on the development of choral music in Trinidad and Tobago, on which little written documentation was available, and on these women's beliefs regarding language and singing. The interviews took place in the person's home or place of work, at the participant's discretion, and were also recorded with a TASCAM DR-05 portable handheld recorder with a 16-bit resolution as wavesound files.

Finally, the opportunity presented itself for the foreign adjudicators to be interviewed. On one of the competition days, the competition hall was evacuated as part of an emergency procedure, and all those in attendance were required to wait for approximately one hour at a muster point. Here, it was possible to speak with the adjudicators very briefly, and to pose questions regarding accents in singing. This informal interview was neither structured nor recorded digitally. However, the adjudicator's responses were written with the field notes for that day. The interview questions, wordlists, and a sample permission slip are all included in the appendix.

3.3.4 Public Documents

Further to observations and interviews, data were also collected from public documents. These were of three types: newspaper reports, festival guidelines, and music scores. In Trinidad and Tobago, the Music Festival is a much anticipated event, and the competition receives regular coverage in all three of the country's daily newspapers. Since the reportage was so extensive, only the reports which covered comments made by the adjudicators regarding the singers' diction or those which dealt exclusively with choral music were included. The reports were accessed from the newspapers' websites. It was not possible to attend competitions at all venues, thus the reportage was

especially important in gathering information about competitions which it was not possible to attend. The Music Festival Committee issued a document called Festival Guidelines to all competitors in the competition. This document was an important source of information regarding definitions of the various competition classes, as well as information about the pieces the singers were required to learn. The last set of documents that was employed was the music scores or lyric sheets of the pieces that the choirs sung.

3.4 Data analysis

Quantitative data analysis was carried out on the data obtained from the questionnaires. The responses to the first section were entered into a Microsoft Excel spread sheet and descriptive statistics done on them to provide information about the demographic composition of the respondents. The responses to the third question were treated similarly in order to get an overview about which accents were considered most desirable for singing in Standard English. The responses to the second section of the questionnaire were treated somewhat differently. Firstly, the conductors' responses to the first section were recorded into a Microsoft Excel spread sheet. Where the conductors also explained the nature of the problem, this was noted in square brackets next to their replies. A reply NR was entered when a conductor did not provide a response to a question. Below is a sample taken from the Excel spread sheet which shows how the data were entered.

Extract 3.1: Sample of data entry for questionnaire data

List item	thin	Them	singing	sing	land	Best
POS Boys	Few [t]	Few [d]	Few [n]	None	Few [n]	Few [s]

Once this was done, the index scores for each feature were calculated in order to gain a more accurate depiction of the features the conductors felt most difficult for singers. For each feature, answers were assigned a number between 0 and 3, where 'none' was given a score of 0 and 'all' a score of 3.

The average for each feature was then calculated and this was given as the index score. Features with higher index scores were judged more problematic by the conductors while those with lower index scores were felt by conductors to be less problematic. We return to index scores in Chapter 5.

The wordlist data attained during the interviews were treated similarly to the questionnaire results. Firstly, the questionnaire and wordlist results were colour-coded so that conductors could be linked to their questionnaire responses, their interview responses, and their choristers' responses. This made it possible to check the consistency not only among conductors or choristers, but also between the two groups. After this was completed, the wordlist responses for each group were entered into a Microsoft Excel spread sheet. For the audiences and conductors, the responses for the desired pronunciation were entered first and numbered one, i.e. pronunciation 1, and the responses for the less desirable pronunciation were entered in a separate column and numbered two, i.e. pronunciation 2. For the singers, their own pronunciation was entered as pronunciation 1, their conductors' as pronunciation 2, and the dispreferred pronunciation as pronunciation 3. Below is a sample of the singers' responses.

Extract 3.2: Sample of data entry for interview wordlists.

Singers	thin 1	thin 2	thin 3	them 1	them 2	them 3
Clare	θɪn	θɪn	tɪn	ðɛm	ðɛm	dɛm
Giselle	θɪn	θɪn	θɪn	ðɛm	ð:ɛmᵊ	ðɛm

Similarly, some of the data collected during the observations of rehearsals were also treated quantitatively. While all sung data was not transcribed phonetically, sung text was transcribed phonetically if the word contained a feature:

i. Where TE/C was known to be different from SBE (the reported preferred accent, see Chapter 4) and/or;

ii. With a high index score and/or;

iii. Where the interview and questionnaire participants produced a preferred pronunciation that did not overlap with the expected TE/C or SBE forms.

In these cases, each occurrence of the word was transcribed phonetically and the transcription entered into an Excel spreadsheet. Where multiple pronunciations occurred simultaneously, all the variants produced were noted and were entered in one cell, to represent that they occurred simultaneously. Cells were then sorted so that similar features appeared consecutively. An excerpt of the completed cells for the POS Girls' Choir can be seen below.

Extract 3.3: Sample of data entry for rehearsal pronunciations

Feature	ld	pt	ft	gd	MOUTH	LOT	GOAT	NORTH
1st occurrence	stɪld	ɹɑpt	lɪft	wɪŋd	sɔʊndz	gɒn	no	ɔ:l
2nd occurrence	stɪld	ɹɑpt	lɪft	wɪŋ	sɔʊndz/saʊnz	gɒn	no	ɔ:l

Where a word could be observed for more than one feature, the pronunciation of that word was noted in all relevant categories for that turn. For example, <dust> above was examined both for the pronunciation of the STRUT vowel and for the retention of consonant clusters. This does not mean that tokens of <dust> were counted doubly where they occurred, but rather that <dust>provided two "phono-opportunities" (Coupland 1980) i.e. chances for a particular feature to be observed. This method allowed for the checking of the frequency of occurrence of variant pronunciations.

It should be noted that the phonetic transcriptions used throughout this study are based on auditory-impressionistic analysis rather than instrumental analysis, although the latter could have undoubtedly yielded more accurate analyses. This is because of the difficulties of subjecting choral singing to this type of analysis, due in part to the complications arising when one tries to analyse several voices at once and also to the fact that measuring the formant frequencies in soprano voices is notoriously impossible (cf. Wray 1999). To ensure that the results reported here were reliable, a second listener, herself

possessing high degrees of knowledge in both linguistics and choral singing, was asked to listen to six 30-second extracts and to provide transcriptions of selected words. Her responses were in keeping with my own about 90 percent of the time. They can be seen in the appendix.

The data obtained from the observations, as well as the remaining interview data, were also analysed. Firstly, all the interviews were transcribed using a simplified version of the conventions used by compilers of the International Corpus of English (ICE) for spoken texts. These transcription conventions are listed in the *Markup Manual for Spoken Texts* (Nelson 2002). The intention was also to transcribe all the observation data in this way, but this proved too time-consuming and not very efficient. Instead, the recordings of two of the four girls choirs' rehearsals were transcribed completely, using simplified ICE transcription conventions, with extended use of the ICE stage direction mark up, <&></&>. These transcriptions also included detailed phonetic transcriptions of song lyrics that were pronounced using TE/C conventions, and of any models that conductors presented to the singers. The remaining recordings were divided into five minute slots. Each slot was carefully listened to and a detailed summary of what occurred during each slot was made. In addition to this, pronunciations of song lyrics in each slot were noted using detailed phonetic transcription, and notes were also made each time a conductor modelled or corrected a pronunciation. Below is an extract of what completed summaries looked like.

Extract 3.4: Sample of rehearsal summary.

SANDO BOYS BLOW YE WINDS Minute 0-5

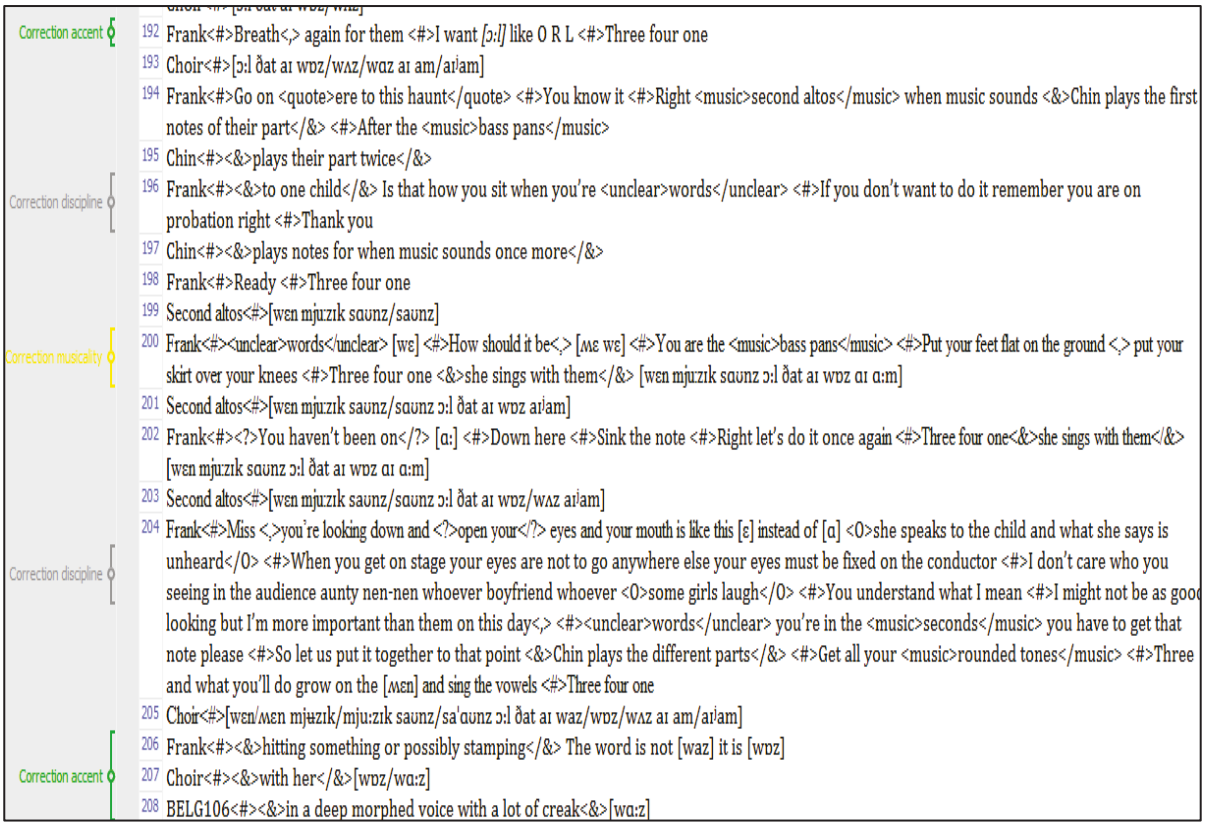
Introduction. They start singing: Boston- [bʌstən] whaling [welɪŋ] Winds- [wɪnz], although someone is making an effort to say the D. One boy is singing out of tune. They get to the end of the first verse and PL stops them. "All right haul away your running" and the boy fill in with [gɪə]. He tells them to "concentrate on the first part of the triphthong [sic] , forget about the rest it will handle itself". He says that "if you're doing solo you sing [giə]" but because "everybody would sing the triphthong at a different rates so in order to clean it up, you sing the first part of the triphthong [gy] right and don't worry about the rest. When you sing people will hear [giə]." They go again. All say [bʌstən]. Brave [bɹev]- no correction.

They go through the first verse uncorrected. Second verse: one voice definitely sticks out as "dat" famous whaling port, but others sing fricative. Heigh ho [he ho]. Stops them at end, corrects notes for tenors, addresses them specifically. They do not have scores- they only have lyrics. Counts them as one two one two. Singing-singin' as lyrics say but running. Verse 3: And say- at least those near me say [an se] five hundred [hʌnʤəd]…six months [mʌnts ɔʊt]. Haul→all. Addresses second basses. When they sing alone, many say [mʌnts]. Is it possible that location of segment affects whether or not it is corrected? Demonstrates second bass part for them- stresses the sameness of the notes. Also their overall tone "I'm not getting a nice rich tone from the basses. Your voices are supposed to be a lot more resonant than the tenors. That's why you're basses… But create the space. Direct it to the roof of the mouth and the front of the face and then it will happen"→ notes on technique. Let it sound a little more rounded. Sing again (2nd basses). He sings monts and months. THEY is not problematic.

The interviews were then uploaded to MAXQDA 10 software programme, and the content of the interviews was studied and coded to illuminate the different beliefs about the most appropriate accent for singing held by the participants. With regards to accents in singing, three main codes were established based on the responses the informants gave: Trinidadian, British, and Neither. The sections where reference to one of these varieties occurred were coded accordingly. MAXQDA 10 was also used to work with the rehearsal data. Other than the specific pronunciations of different variables, the rehearsal data was an important source of data on the corrections. In this case, the transcripts and summaries of the rehearsals were coded for corrections. Three main categories of corrections were established, based once more on the patterns that emerged after closely studying the data. These were: corrections related to discipline, corrections related to music (divided into notes and musicianship), and corrections related to language (divided into accent and style). When coding themes and corrections in MAXQDA, each speaker turn was counted as one occurrence, regardless of how many times the speaker made mention of the theme, or reinforced the correction, within that turn. This can be seen in the second segment labelled "correction discipline" below. The only exception to this was what were termed repetition sequences. These usually involved conductors requiring singers to repeat a feature several times until they mastered it, with the

conductor sometimes correcting between each of the singers' turns. Repetition sequences were often spoken, framed on either side by singing, and so were counted as one exchange. It should be noted that the pronunciations in repetition sequences were not counted among phono-opportunities, since the choristers were not singing, but speaking.

Extract 3.5: Sample of coded data in MAXQDA 10.



This approach to data analysis was productive for two reasons. First of all, it made it possible to see trends in the data that may have been difficult to identify and organise otherwise. Although coding the data was at first a rather time-consuming task, having the codes made subsequent engagements with the data more orderly and logical. Secondly, the use of MAXQDA 10 allowed for the extraction of relevant segments with considerable speed, and this was a great advantage particularly in the qualitative analysis.

3.5 Reflections on the methodology

While great care was taken to ensure that data collection and analysis were systematic and replicable, and produced results that were able to give insight into issues surrounding language and singing and more generally language use in Trinidad, the project is not without its limitations. Saville-Troike (2003) lauds the advantages of being a researcher who is also a member of the community being researched. Indeed, gathering data for this study was facilitated by the researcher's nearly two decades of involvement in choral music in Trinidad and Tobago. Familiarity with people and protocols meant that access was often granted with enthusiasm. This was especially true of the young participants, who were generally unreserved with the researcher, and whose parents were willing to allow their children to participate. Repeated involvement in the Music Festival and previous employment as a freelance writer meant that the researcher was allowed seating with the members of press, where the festival proceedings could be observed without interruption from other audience members. However, these advantages did come at a cost. Festival rivalries among school choirs is very real, and the researcher's known affiliation as an alumna of one school choir resulted in conductors being suspicious as to the motives of the project, often asking for parts not to be recorded or simply not agreeing to participate in the study. This of course affects the ability of the data to be used in drawing generalisations.

Other problems which arose had to do with the reliability of the impressionistic analysis, the solution to which was presented above. In addition to this, there were ethical issues that had to be dealt with since this study incorporated minors as participants. These issues were also addressed previously (see 3.2 and 3.3.2 above). Overall, it was felt that the mixed-method approach used in data collection and analysis yielded a very rich data set. Moreover, the range of procedures used in data collection, and the variety of the types of data collected means that, in spite of the shortcomings, the findings reported in the ensuing chapters are done so with confidence in their validity and that the conclusions that are drawn based on them, while not always generalizable, can nevertheless contribute to our understanding of language style and singing, the phonology of Trinidadian English, and language attitudes in Trinidad.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS 1- PREFERRED ACCENTS FOR CHORAL SINGING

4.0 Introduction

In previous chapters, it was proposed that studying language use in choral singing can enrich our understanding of the study of language variation, and particularly, language style, in two major ways. Firstly, such a study can add to discussions of dialect and genre, with particular reference to the relationships that exist between and among dialects of English (or Englishes) around the world, and especially in post-Independent communities. Furthermore, looking at choral singing can enhance discussions of language style, stylisation, and performativity, which until now have focused largely on popular cultural forms. The aim of this chapter is to answer the first research question and the first part of the second research question, namely:

1) What is the preferred accent for classical choral singing in Trinidad?
2) How successful are choral singers in secondary schools in Trinidad in attaining this accent? Specifically:
    a. **What phonological features of the target accent do stakeholders in classical choral singing (conductors, singers, audience members) perceive as difficult for choral singers to produce?**

To achieve this, the chapter reports the results of the data collection procedures described in the previous chapter. The results collected in the questionnaires and interviews will be reported. One focus of these results will be the preferred accent(s) for choral singing. Given the bias towards standard accents for choral singing in the choral conducting literature, the first part of this chapter reveals which Standard English conductors and singers in Trinidad orient towards. Some attention is also given to audiences' views on this issue. The second part of this chapter reports the phonological difficulties that conductors, singers, and audiences perceive in the re-production of these standard accents.

4.1 Accents in choral singing

4.1.1 Questionnaire results

Fourteen completed questionnaires were received. The questionnaire contained two questions which directly elicited conductors' preferences to different accents of English in choral singing. These were Section C, questions b and c, which asked:

b. What pronunciation do you use if you pronounce words for the choir?

i. If I pronounce words for the singers, I use the Standard British pronunciation, except for local songs.

ii. If I pronounce words for the singers, I use the Standard American pronunciation, except for local songs.

iii. If I pronounce words for the singers, I use the Standard Trinidadian pronunciation for songs that are not from Trinidad or the Caribbean.

iv. I do not pronounce words for singers.

c. What pronunciation do you think is most appropriate for singing?

i. I prefer if the choir sings using British pronunciations, except when singing local songs.

ii. I prefer if the choir sings using American pronunciations, except when singing local songs.

iii. I prefer if the choir sings using Trinidadian pronunciations for all songs, regardless of whether or not they are local.

iv. I prefer if the choir sings using Trinidadian pronunciations for local songs only.

v. I don't think it is a matter of preference- I think that there are neutral pronunciations for singing and these are what I would like the choir to produce.

Conductors were required to select the statement that best described their choir, and in some instances did not commit to one statement, but opted for two or even three. The table below shows the conductors' responses to these questions:

Language Variety	**Used when modelling**	**Preferred for choral singing**
British	12	8
American	-	-
Trinidadian (all songs)	-	-
Neutral	-	2
Trinidadian local/British all other	-	1
Trinidadian local/ Neutral all other contexts	-	2
British/American/ Trinidadian	1	-
No reply	1	1
Total	14	14

Table 4.1: Accents conductors (a) use when modelling pronunciations for their choirs (b) prefer for choral singing

Table 4.1 illustrates that the majority of the conductors reported using British pronunciations when providing models for their singers. Twelve of the fourteen conductors claimed to use British pronunciations in all songs except local songs, while one conductor selected British, American, and Trinidadian, adding that "it depends on the type of music" in his comments. Responses regarding the preferred accent for singing were slightly more varied. British accents were preferred by eight conductors in all but local genres, and one conductor further indicated that Trinidadian accents were preferred for local songs, but British accents for all other contexts. In total, four conductors indicated that they would like singers to aim towards a neutral pronunciation when singing, but two of these also underscored their desire for the singers to

use Trinidadian accents when performing local songs. Overall, the questionnaire results reveal a preference towards British accents in choral singing in Trinidad, with Trinidadian accents restricted to local pieces of music. This suggests that the former colonial language still enjoys relative prestige, at least in this genre, even half a century after colonialism. Furthermore, this orienting towards an external norm, with which singers and conductors have very limited contact, suggests that referee design may be an important element of style in singing. However, that four of the conductors opted for a neutral accent reinforces the belief of the conductor in the pilot study, who maintained that classical choral singing had its own system of pronunciation that operated independently of national varieties.

4.1.2 Interview results

Interviews were conducted with six choral conductors and fourteen choral singers. All those interviewed were asked their beliefs about the most appropriate accent for singing in English near the start of the interview, and the issue arose several times within the interviews otherwise. Using MAXQDA 10 software, the transcript of each interview was coded for accent for singing, and three codes were assigned: Trinidadian, British, and Neither. From thirteen transcripts, 150 segments coded for accent were found. The graph below shows how these were distributed.

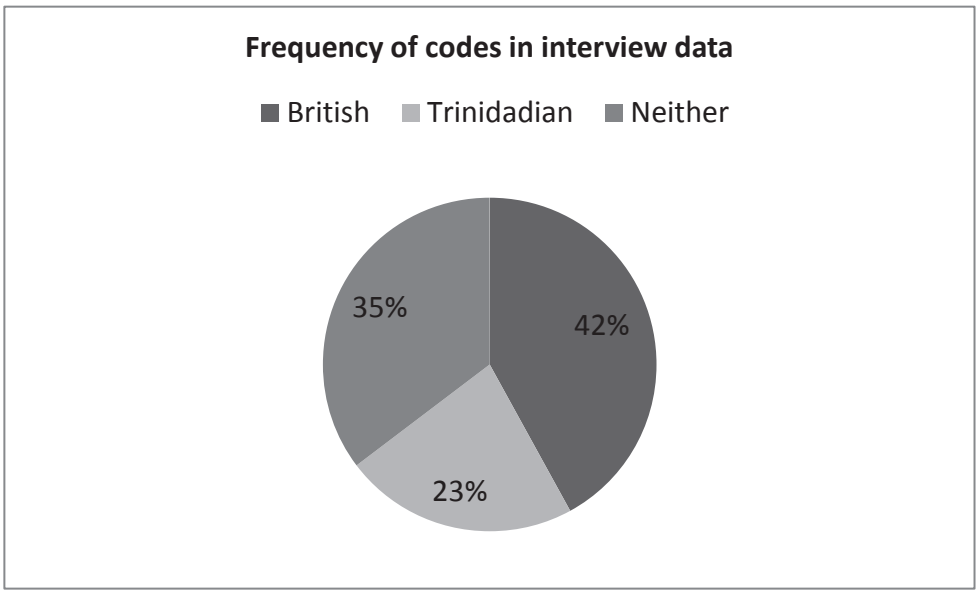


Figure 4.1: Frequency of codes in interviews with conductors and singers

The pie-chart shows that the code that appeared most frequently in the interviews regarding accents was British. This means that whenever informants talked about the pronunciation singers should use in choral singing, they used words and phrases like <British>, <English>, <people in England>, or <Queen's English>, 42 percent of the time. In contrast, words and phrases like <Trinidadian>, <our dialect>, <local slang> occurred just over half of the occasions in which informants referred to the most acceptable way of pronouncing words when singing, or 23 percent of the time. On the remaining 35 percent of the occasions in which informants talked about the most appropriate accent for singing, they did not base correctness on mastery of a (notional) national variety, but on issues such as context, the musical line or, in the case of the choristers, the instructions of their conductors. It is worth exploring the responses that fall under each of these codes in more detail.

4.1.2.1 British English

A preference for British English pronunciations emerged very early in many of the interviews. The extracts below show how singers in two separate choirs who were unknown to each other held the belief that their conductors not only prefer Standard British English pronunciations for singing, but are perceived to have negative attitudes towards other varieties.

Extract 4.1

<$Giselle><#>She hates American <{><[>hates Trinidadian</[>
<$Clare><#><[>Isn't there</[></{> like a choral pronunciation
<$GW><#><{><[>Well what do you think</[> choral pronunciation is
<$Giselle><#><[>British all the way</[></{>
<$Clare><#>I don't know just I don't know really like<,> properly

Extract 4.2

<$GW><#>Ok cool <#>And what pronunciation does she use then <#>What pronunciation do you think she prefers<O>C-scoffs</O>
<$Jake><#>Proper English
<$Kristy><#>Yeah she prefers the <{><[>proper English cos she </[> um doesn't um pretty much like the <#><}><->She doesn't </-> <=>is not to say she doesn't</=></}> like it but she doesn't favour the Trinidadian accent or

like an American accent when we singing <#>She would rather have it spoken properly so the people who we're singing to can understand us […]
<$GW><#>Ok what do you mean by proper English
<$Kristy><#> <{1><[1>Like instead of Trinidad</[1> you have like <mention>that</mention>you'd say <mention>dat</mention> like proper English speaking instead of like <mention>dis this</mention> <#>Like not normal <}><->Trinidad</-> <=>Trinidadian</=></}> dialect
<$Jake><#><[1>The Queen's English</[1></{1>

During the interviews, singers and conductors revealed several reasons for using different patterns of pronunciation. One motivation for using British English is musical tone and aesthetics. Kwasi Noel, who conducts a boys' secondary school choir, explained:

Extract 4.3
<$KN><#>Well singing in English standard ahm I would say British
<$GW><#>Okay ahm why would you say British
<$KN><#>Well<,> I find that in terms of how you have to shape your mouth and so to get the sound out<{1><[1><,></[1> it is an effective way in getting the right tone<{2><[2><,></[2> so the shape of your lips would produce a certain tone<{3><[3><,></[3> and I think British <.>sh</.> shaping<{4><[4><,></[4> gets the best tone

Similarly, Gretta Taylor explained:

Extract 4.4
<#> I think the sound of it made more sense because music is sound singing is sound and uh the kind of more open and the longer vowels which you might associate with the British are more satisfactory because English is such a horrible <.>sa</.> language to sing in right so you use the vowels that are I suppose rounder uhm therefore in my ear more musical right and more pleasant on the ear.

This view was also shared by some of the singers. One of them, Kyle, explained:

Extract 4.5

<$Kyle><#>Because it sounds better because like if you singing like a <.>norm</.> like a classical song or something like a song like <mention>The Prayer</mention> or something like that <#>If you singing those songs you must have a proper pronunciation so the song would sound better

Or conversely:

Extract 4.6

<$Kyle><#>And more and more if you just singing it with a slang it would not sound as good and the crowd would not be as pleased with your performance

The perceived accuracy of British English was another reason given for its use in choral singing. Both Joy Caesar and Pat Bishop were wary of what they called "mispronunciations" that they judged to occur in the everyday speech, and also the singing, of Trinidadians, both of them citing TH-stopping as an example thus. Michelle Varley compared singing in English to singing in a foreign language, where it is important to "get the accurate pronunciation", which she believed is British. Several singers also shared this view. Giselle believed that British pronunciations for choral singing are desirable since "[the] British normally pronounce their words how it's supposed to be pronounced so it's good," and because "they speak the English language the best in terms of pronunciation". When it is juxtaposed to Trinidadian accents, the latter were felt to be incorrect. Take, for instance, Dawn's illustration below:

Extract 4.7

<#>Like if we<,> since we're English speakers if we see um the word<,><mention>water </mention><#>Like if we pronounce it <#>Some people in the Trinidadian dialect will say <mention>[ˈwa:tə]</mention> and that obviously won't be right.

Like the two conductors above, Dawn seemed to equate Trinidadian speech with incorrect pronunciations.

Linked very closely to the notion of accuracy is the idea of propriety. One conductor explained that:

Extract 4.8

<$A><#>Well<,> basically if we're doing the contemporary the gospel and classical we really follow the British way of speaking and pronouncing not Cockney accent<{1><[1><,></[1> but the basic way you speak properly

In fact, this notion of speaking (and by extension singing) properly was quite common in the data. Using the concordance programme WordSmith, a concordance was run for the entry proper* in the transcripts of the conductors' and singers' interviews. It was found that the word <proper> occurred some 31 times and <properly> occurred 26 times. Unsurprisingly, the words collocated most frequently with <English> to the right, with ten occurrences of this in R1 position, thereby giving the collocation <proper English>. Another high incidence collocation was with <way>, again to the right, producing six occurrences of <the proper way>. The most common collocation to the left, other than with the definite article, occurred with the verbs <speak> (six occurrences) and <pronounce> (five occurrences), yielding <speak proper> and <pronounce properly>. In contrast, the word <standard> only occurred 24 times, and on only five of those occasions did it collocate with English or language. In 17 of the remaining 19 occurrences, it appeared in reference to the overall level or benchmark, as in "We have to keep that standard", and in the remaining two it occurred in reference to the normal choral repertoire.

Not only was British English regarded as proper; it seemed to also be regarded as a better, more sophisticated dialect. Consider, for example, the following exchange:

Extract 4.9

<KN><#>They [the adjudicators] will not be biased that okay since <.>w</.> I speak your language I understand why you're doing this and so let's<,> leave

them <}><->in that in that</-> <=>in that</=></}> place<{><[><,></[>
<#>They'd want to take them to a different place a different level
<$GW><#><[>Oh</[></{>
<$GW><#>Okay <#>What you mean by a different level
<$KN><#>Of a higher standard then right by not allowing them to say [dɒŋ] by stressing it should be [daʊn]

Finally, British English seemed to enjoy favour for historical and educational reasons. In her interview, Joy Caesar noted that:

Extract 4.10
<#>Yeah so that's really um that's how important the words are and the British and we've been used to that we've been taught that and everybody been you know all the different teachers especially in the convents where you got those nuns being trained

Her sentiments were echoed by one of the young men interviewed, who claimed that preference for British English is due to the fact that he and his peers are being educated "through the British system." This is something of a startling claim since, unlike Joy Ceasar who was born and educated before the end of the colonial period, the young man being interviewed was born in 1993, more than thirty years after independence, and would have been educated solely within a pan-Caribbean education system, which, though it is modeled on the British system, is determinedly not British.

It should be noted that there were instances in the data where although the status of British English as the go-to variety for choral singing was acknowledged, it was questioned. Two of the pairs of singers interviewed found the use of British accents in singing funny, both in the sense of it being odd and of it being comedic. The younger pair explained:

Extract 4.11
<$GW><#>Okay so what do you think about people singing in a British pronunciation

<$Kristy><#>Um<,> kinda funny at <{><[>first <#>It's kind of funny at first because</[>
<$Jake><#><[>Yeah <#>It's different I guess from</[></{> us because it's British we're not <{><[>accustomed to hearing it so</[>

For the older pair, the use of British English accents can be a source of jocularity. As Matthew shared:

Extract 4.12
<#>Singing <}><->using</-> <=>imitating</=></}> the British I find is kinda funny <#>Sometimes you know it adds you know a little comedy which could be<,> fun cos we're entertaining the audience

Young singers also expressed reservations about the cultural implications of singing in British English. For example, in his interview, Joel said:

Extract 4.13
<$Joel><#>I think<,> it would maybe think that it's more formal more important if it's said in a British accent <#>But in reality it'll separate the group from the audience <#>It'll make them feel as if there's some kind of language divide there <#>I mean deep down <#>That's what I think

The complexities involved in singing in a foreign accent were further explored by Adam, as seen in the following exchange:

Extract 4.14
<$GW><#>What do you think about people using a British pronunciation then in general
<$Adam><#>Hmm <#>It helps get the music across cos well somebody listening hears it better but<,> it now I'm thinking about it kind of <#>It's getting rid of our own culture

Overall, the interviews seem to confirm the findings of the questionnaire, namely that British pronunciation patterns are felt to be the most appropriate

for choral singing, especially with regard to pieces of music in the Western classical tradition. The main reasons given for this seem largely connected to language attitudes, with British English enjoying favour because it is felt to be more accurate, more pleasant, and more dignified. At the same time, there are some reservations surrounding the use of British English in choral singing.

4.1.2.2 Trinidadian English/ Creole accents

The least frequent code in the data was the code that was employed when singers referred to Trinidadian accents, here called Trinidadian English/ Creole (TE/C). Where mention of British English often signalled belief that this was the most appropriate for choral singing, this was not necessarily the case for mentions of TE/C. Upon closer examination of the segments coded Trinidadian, three clear tendencies emerge. Firstly, TE/C was frequently named as the most appropriate variety for use in local music. On the other hand, TE/C was often reported as an impediment to the use of British English in choral singing. Finally, TE/C was sometimes reported as the default or acceptable pronunciation for singing, even where the songs belonged to the Western classical music tradition. The graphs below show first the numerical distribution for each of these views towards TE/C, and secondly these distributions as percentages.

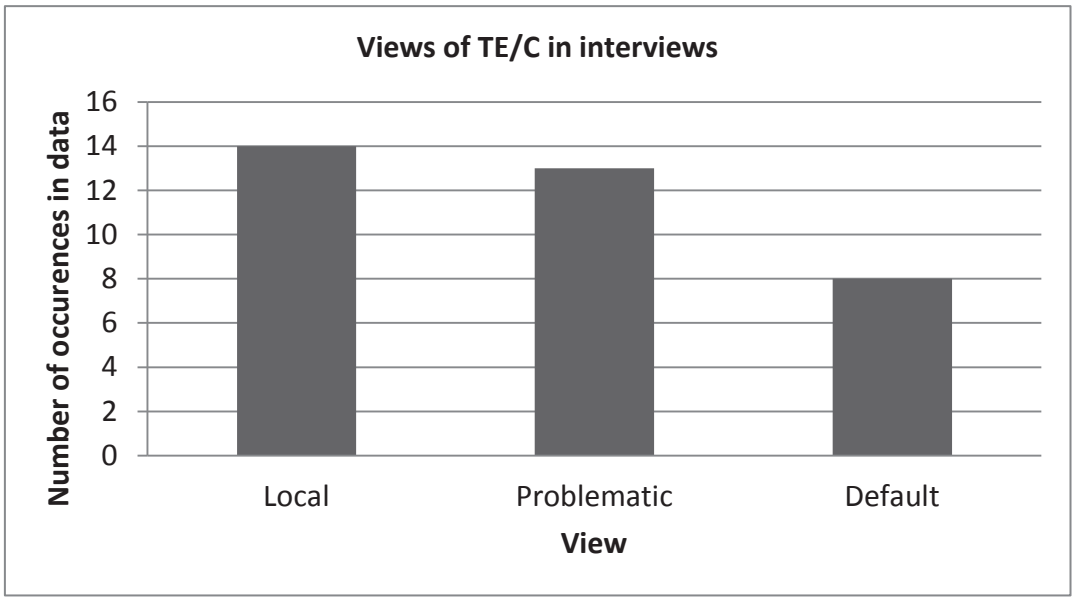


Figure 4.2: Number of times different views towards TE/C occur in interview data

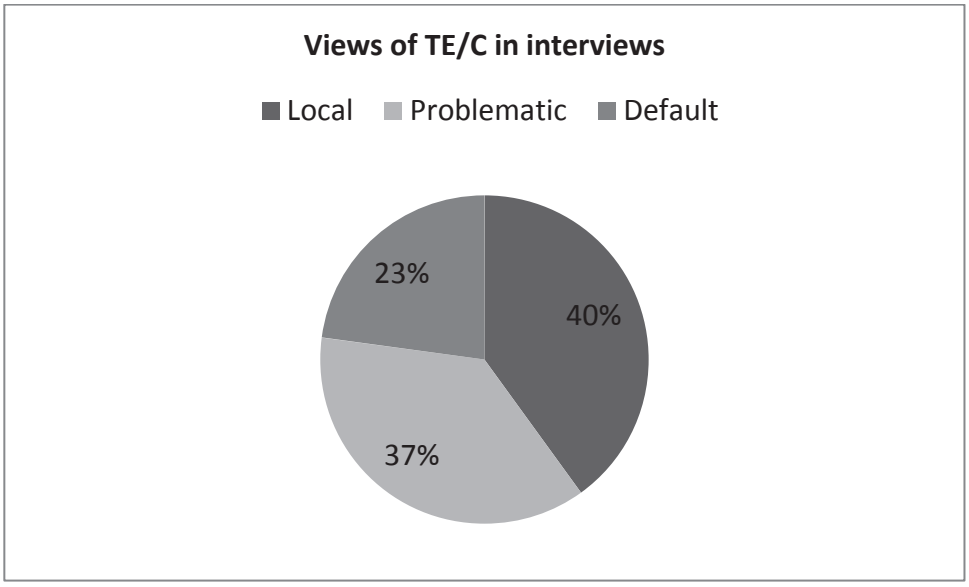


Figure 4.3: Percentage views towards TE/C in interview data

By a narrow margin (3 percent), TE/C was reported as the best variety for the performance of local songs. This is evident in the four extracts below.

Extract 4.15

<$Betty Smith><#>If we gonna do folk or calypso and we feel that it fits in better to do it in a different style of saying the word<{2><[2><,></[2> we would do it so because that's what people accustomed to and that's how those songs are sung<{3><[3><,></[3>

Extract 4.16

<$Kwasi Noel><#>I mean if you're singing calypso then you could use <}><->our <unclear>word</unclear></-> <=>our way</=></}> <}><->of</-> <=>of</=></}> speaking

Extract 4.17

<$GW><#>You were talking about when we sing <mention>Ganges</mention><&>a calypso</&> what pronunciation we use <$Giselle><#>Caribbean <{><[><,>like how we talk</[>

Extract 4.18

<$Celeste><#><[>Yeah cos if is more a kind of local song maybe a folk song</[></{> or something<{><[><,>it'll be different <#>So obviously yeah</[> <#>It'll be <.>to</.> diverging all the time you know changing from
<$Jade><#><[>If is a folk song definitely it has to be Trinidadian</[></{>

These statements are taken both from conductors and choral singers, suggesting that this view was shared by both groups. Moreover, statements such as these confirm the findings of the questionnaire, in which conductors reported a preference for the use of British pronunciations in choral pieces that are not local, and for the use of Trinidadian pronunciations in local pieces of music.

Where TE/C was not judged the most appropriate variety, however, its presence was viewed as problematic. The extracts below are examples which illustrate informants' views of TE/C as problem.

Extract 4.19

<$Pat Bisop><#>Well <}><->English is</-> <=>English is</=></}> always a problem
<$GW>Why is English a problem
<$Pat Bishop><#>Because we don't speak it<,> so that um<,> if you want to get like <mention>[ðɪs ðat) and [ðoz]</mention> T H is always<,> is always challenging<,> that kind of um <#><}><->The</-> <=>the areas</=></}> in which um the <}><->spoken English spoken <.>Eng</.></-> <=>spoken Trinidadian</=></}> deviates from the printed requirements

Extract 4.20

<$Jade><#><[>I guess if you're<,> really</[></{> you know like a basilect<&>pronounced basolect</&> or something <{1><[1> <O>laughs</O></[1> <#>Yeah maybe it'll be kind of hard because like when you have to speak Standard English<O>short laugh</O> it would be a bit difficult you know to switch into that <{2><[2><,><#>Might take a while</[2>
<$Celeste><#><[1>Ooh big word</[1></{1>

<$Jade><#><[2>Yeah if their Creole</[2></{2> is really strong it'd be hard to change from <#>How you say <mention>[ðə]</mention> in Creole <{1><[1>[di] to[ði] </[1> you know <{2><[2><,></[2> <#>Kinda hard

Extract 4.21

<$Clare><#><}><->And the</-> <=>and also</=></}> our accent would affect how they're hearing it<{2><[2><,></[2 > <#>Even if say we are making an effort<,> our accent might still put them off

All of these examples show how TE/C comes to be regarded as an impediment to good choral pronunciation. More than being a nuisance though, TE/C is a potential source of ridicule and reprimand for young singers, as Clare and Jade expressed in separate interviews, with both girls' experiences reinforced by their interview partners.

Extract 4.22

<$Clare><#><[>She focuses on it</[></{> and buffs [reprimands] us if we don't do it

<$Giselle><#>Especially if it's not well English songs not really actually I'm now thinking about it <{><[><,><#>Well yeah</[>

<$Clare><#><[>Yes she does</[></{> <#>She says <quote>y'all sound ugly</quote> and then she<{1><[1><,></[1> kinds of shouts it at us and tells us how we're supposed to do it<{2><[2><,></[2> <#>And then she makes fun of how we not supposed to sing like Trinidadians

Extract 4.23

<$Jade><#>No not like <#>No sometimes she actually gets annoyed <{1><[1> the way how we</[1> pronounce things

<$Celeste><#><[1>Oh yeah yeah yeah yeah true true</[1></{1>

Thus the interviews gave the impression that TE/C is sometimes viewed very negatively in choral singing. It prevents singers from performing the more desirable British English pronunciations, with potentially harsh penalties for those who deviate.

On the other hand, there was also a sense that TE/C pronunciations may be acceptable as the default pronunciation of words, even in non-local songs, at least until the singers are instructed to do otherwise. This idea was captured by Joel and Celeste in separate interviews.

Extract 4.24

<$GW><#>So when it comes to the lyrics how do you decide how you're gonna pronounce the words

<$Joel><#>Ah most of the times we just pronounce it as we would pronounce it in our dialect but whenever we're unsure<,> the person we check is Aunty Gretta yeah

Extract 4.25

<$GW><#>But if it's in English how do you<,>decide how to sing it

<$Jade><#>Because you <{><[>know there's there</[>

<$Celeste><#><[>Because you know like</[></{> if they had a word like <mention>we</mention><,> you know how to pronounce we <{><[><,>so you just sing we</[>

Indeed Celeste's explanation seems to suggest a certain taken-for-granted-ness that their usual pronunciation may be used in choral singing unless, as Joel points out, the conductor intervenes. In addition to this, conductors also seemed to be willing to accept TE/C pronunciations, at least in certain instances. Gretta Taylor, for instance, expressed reservations about using the term British English throughout her interview, and at several times during the wordlist exercise, pointed out that although the TE/C differs from the Standard British English/ RP pronunciation, she would accept the former variant. This is seen in the extract below.

Extract 4.26

<$B><#>It's like you say it nurse<{1><[1><,></[1> <#>I wouldn't and eh you see this is where it's difficult to say British pronunciation because they don't know that sound [nɜs] it's [nə:s]<{2><[2><,></[2> <#>That is British I don't insist on that<{3><[3><,></[3> right <#>I would say [nɜs]

Thus, although the questionnaire data and indeed some of the data in the interviews suggest a strong leaning towards Standard British English pronunciations in choral singing, with local TE/C pronunciations restricted to local musical forms, it appears that some TE/C pronunciations may also be acceptable in performances of Western classical choral music.

4.1.2.3 Neither British nor Trinidadian

Table 4.1 (above) shows that the second most popular code that occurred in the interview data was the code "Neither." This code was employed when conductors and singers referred to the most desirable accent for singing without reference to either of the aforementioned national varieties. Such reference could take the direct form of statements such as "I shall tell you no such thing…I want the word to be expressive" (Pat Bishop, interview), or references to techniques for voice placement and projection. It is possible that the code "Neither" may overlap with the notion of a neutral accent for singing, not linked to a national variety, encountered in the questionnaires.

Very often, the responses labelled "Neither" expressed a belief that the most desirable pronunciation of a word in a song was largely dependent on the musical genre to which the song belonged. Evidence of this system of distinction is perhaps already present in the tendency noted above for informants to believe that TE/C pronunciations were best used in local music while Standard British English pronunciations were best used in Western classical choral performances. However, responses in the "Neither" category more fully explore generic constraints on language choice. After listening to the data several times and closely studying the transcripts, a concordance was run on each of the following words and phrases related to musical genre: context*, style*, type* of song*, genre*, and era*. The results of these were then merged. The table below shows the frequency of occurrence of each of the search items in the data.

Search	**Number of occurrences**
context*	14
style*	14
type* of song*	8
genre*	6
era*	4
Total	**44**

Table 4.2: Concordance results for words and phrases related to musical genre

The table shows quite clearly that issues of genre and style were frequently considered when the question of language choice in choral singing arises, with words pertaining to this occurring 44 times in the data. When this is explored in qualitative detail, issues related to style arose for a number of reasons. Firstly, there may be occasions when neither a British nor a Trinidadian accent is desirable since the origin of the song, or the cultural context in which the piece was composed, is neither British nor Trinidadian. This issue is considered by both sets of interviewees from POS Boys' School. The extracts below show their beliefs on this issue.

Extract 4.27

<$Joshua><#><[>If is like</[></{> <#>Normally the classical and so on you know that's a British accent <#>If it's something that's a little ahm feisty and a little Latin or Spanish or some you know <#>Roll your R's and those kind of thing so that's like a Spanish and you know things that's how it is really

Extract 4.28

<$Adam><#>Well I know there's a choir Love Movement and if you hear them they sing with a heavy American accent <&>in American accent</&><unclear>word</&> and American<&>accent ends</&> <#>They really use that accent <#>So it depends on the choir mistress or master

<$Matthew><#>But<,> yeah they would do that because they singing a American song so you want to embrace it as how the Americans would have felt it

In these instances, the style or type of song is still closely related to a national variety. However, this was not always the case. Stylistic considerations also arose with musical genres that may be linked to certain social groups, such as African Americans, or else to a concept of expressiveness, where conductors and performers together try to convey what they identify as the core message of the piece. In the extract below, the conductor highlighted how two different performers may approach the same piece quite differently, and explained how getting the message across takes precedence over national varieties.

Extract 4.29

<$GW><#>You were telling me about American accents
<$Pat Bishop><#>Yes if it's a WASP um singing
<mention>Shenandoah</mention> um in barbershop style<,> it wouldn't be the same as Louis Armstrong singing the same
<mention>Shenandoah</mention>
<$GW><#>Okay<,> and how would you like the Lydians to sing the same piece
<$Pat Bishop><#>I probably wouldn't<,,> one way or another <#><}><->I I've taught I've taught a</-> <=>I taught</=></}>a soloist once to sing Shenandoah many years ago in folk <#>But I was far more concerned with <&>sings extract from the song</&> <#>I didn't try to ahm to make it sound American <#>I tried to<,> get her to sing<,> so that<,> the listener would be<,> full of grief <#>The song<,> because it is a song about <&>sings song softly</&> a passage <#>It ceased to be ethnic

Elsewhere, she highlighted the importance of getting the message across within the constraints of the musical score.

Extract 4.30

<$Pat Bishop><#>Two bars of demi-semi quavers<,> and staccato<,> and molto allegro <#>that's how I pronounce<,,> <#>Get it out<,> cos it really wouldn't have anything to do with anything other than getting it out <{1><[1><,></[1> <#>It wouldn't be because I wanted to sound British or I wanted to sound American or I wanted to sound Trinidadian <}><->or </->

<=>or </=></}> whether the adjudicator came and squeezed the face or whether it stretched the mask of the face so that it altered <}><->the </-> <=>the </=></}> tone <#>Because really sometimes you want to alter the tone <{2><[2><,></[2> in order to<,> capture the meaning of not necessarily the word but the word within the context of the sentence within the context of the song

Stylistic choices were also often linked to techniques that were reported to be common practice in choral singing, or that were aligned with international norms in choral singing. These techniques were held by the informants to produce a more pleasant sound.

Extract 4.31

<$Michelle Varley><#><}><->When you're</-> <=>you've got the um</=></}> you know your good diaphragm control and good projection and so on<,> your words just hang on them you know<{1><[1><,></[1> and invariably you don't have to worry about diction<{2><[2><,></[2> because it just comes out correct because you're pinging in the right way okay

Extract 4.32

<$Gretta Taylor><#>What I have come to see and as you know next month I'm going again to the choral directors' there seems to be an international standard now<{1><[1><,></[1> so that everybody strives for that so that it's not so much where you come from or because it is British or because it is American but because it is<{2><[2>easier</[2> on the ear and it makes more musical sense

Extract 4.31 suggests that style in choral singing is not linked to a single national variety, but rather to a set of physical practices in which singers engage and which produce desirable diction. Extract 4.32 reinforces the belief that there is some sort of international standard that is not linked to a national variety. Indeed, Gretta Taylor also completed a questionnaire, and indicated that she believed that there was a neutral pronunciation for singing. Thus, at least in this case, the 'Neither' code is linked to the neutral

pronunciation for singing. In fact, one of the singers interviewed, Clare, raised the question of whether a choral pronunciation exists, and did not believe that this pronunciation is necessarily the British pronunciation her interview partner suggested (see extract 4.1).

Singers seemed able to identify at least two features of this neutral pronunciation, namely the rounding of the close front vowel [i] to produce [y], and the devoicing of word final [d]. These sounds were reported by four of the seven pairs of teenagers interviewed. The extracts below give examples of the teenagers' explanations of these sounds, how they are formed, and the reasons they are used in place of English [i], which occurs in both TE/C and Standard British English.

Extract 4.33

<$Kyle><#>Well certain lyrics have certain mouth formations
<$GW><#>Certain what
<$Kyle><#>Lyrics<,> certain syllables have certain mouth formations like for [i:] you would have to like<,> stretch<,> your mouth a little bit so you could get the proper sound <#>When you saying something like D you would have to give it a slight T sound so the audience could hear it properly
<$A><#>Okay

Extract 4.34

<$Giselle><#><&> in silly voice</&>Well you know if you singing a little<,> European song<&>silly voice ends</&> you would uh like <#>OK for the like it sounds easy to remember all the time is the <}><->pronuntion</-> <=>pronunciation</=></}> of <mention>[i:]</mention><{1><[1><,></[1> when you're singing because like when you speak you have kind of ugly sound when you say the word <mention>[i:]</mention> and then our mouth is wide apart and so <mention>[i:]</mention> and so in singing you have to be like <mention>[y]</mention> basically so that's an example <#>So when you're singing you always pronounce it with your lips like a kissing kind of shape
<$Clare><#><[1><mention>[y]</mention> mhm</[1></{1>

These extracts therefore suggest that the neutral pronunciation, like British English, is used because it enables clearer communication between the choirs and their audiences (4.33), and because it is believed to produce a more pleasant choral tone.

The code "Neither" was also used for responses that described the pronunciation of words used in singing as clear or exaggerated, once more to facilitate listeners' understanding. Respondents often explained that diction in singing was, like speech in formal contexts, a matter of attention to language, so that greater care was taken in producing sung texts. In the extract below, taken from the interview with Shauna and Dana, the girls uphold that it is not a matter of accent at all, drawing on examples from the piece "When Music Sounds".

Extract 4.35

<$Shauna><#>Oh wow <#><}><->I I don't think it was </-> <=>I think</=></}> is not that we were using a different pronunciation probably the accent was just more pronounced

<$GW><#>Okay which accent

<$Shauna><#>So we formed the words more<,> carefully

<$Dana><#>So <mention>sounds[sɔʊnz]</mention> <#>Yeah<,> cos I remember Miss stressing <mention> sounds[sɔʊnz] and earth [ə͟θ]</mention> and

<$Shauna><#>Is not so much using a different <{><[>speaking with a different accent you know yeah</[>

<$Dana><#><[>Is not a different accent you know like</[></{> is just how we say the <.>w</.> as a like it's how we pronounce<{><[> it but is not a different accent</[> <#>It's just to get out

<$Shauna><#><[>How we pronounce <#>We shape our mouths more yeah</[></{>

<$GW><#>So what do you think Miss<&>name deleted</&>likes <#>She just likes it clear then that's what she likes best<{><[></[> so it's not a particular accent or anything

<$Shauna><#><[>Yeah</[></{>

<$Dana><#>No is not a accent thing is<{><[>whether the word is<,> heard <#>Is not</[>a accent thing
<$Shauna><#><[>Because she wants everybody to hear the words clearly</[></{>

4.1.2.4 Some anomalies

While it was generally the case that informants believed that language choice in singing was constrained by musical genre, identifying genres such as classical, local, African American spiritual, and Spanish, it was not always the case that they believed that pronunciations should change to achieve what may best be described as artistic verisimilitude in performances of these genres. In the first extract below, one conductor maintains that a Standard British pronunciation is desirable even for songs in the African American spiritual genre, a genre that is singled out by other conductors as distinctly different from other forms of choral music and not requiring Standard British English pronunciations. In the second, a young singer explains why he believes a British (or proper) pronunciation should always be used, even for local songs.

Extract 4.36
<$GW><#>Okay and that certain way would be a British pronunciation<{><[><,> generally</[> <#>Even for Moses Hogan<&>a prominent African American spiritual composer</&>
<$Kwasi Noel><#><[>Yeah yeah</[></{>
<$Kwasi Noel><#>Pish yeah
<$GW><#>No no no like I'm serious even for Moses Hogan type music
<$Kwasi Noel><#><.>ye</.> well yeah<{><[><,></[> yeah I think so yeah

Extract 4.37
<$Joshua><#>Even folk songs you would think that we would pronounce the words that way but<,> we don't we have to get the sound out and that you know <#>Even if it's a comedic song like two years ago we sang this song <mention>Better Woman</mention> <#>Even though the grammar is not very good is dialect in that song<{><[> <quote>A better woman gih you and yuh husband know it for true</quote></[> and so forth <#>The words itself

we have to pronounce the words so it travels through the audience and they actually get the message and the illusion and so forth
<$Kyle><#><[>You still have to sing a proper way</[></{>

4.1.3 Audience replies for accents in singing

The audience responses with regard to accents in singing were considered separately from the replies from the singers and the conductors. This is because, while the singers and conductors are actively involved in the production of the music, audiences play a less active, more receptive role.

With regard to the most appropriate accent for singing, most audience members interviewed did not seem to share the belief that a British accent should be used for classical music. They did, however, retain the Creole-Standard distribution of forms expressed by the other two groups, where what audiences referred to variously as "dialect", "slang", or "lingo" was relegated to local music and Standard English was relegated to classical music forms. This belief is captured in the extracts below.

Extract 4.38
<$GW><#>Do you think there is a correct accent we could call it for singing in English
<$Aneefa><#>No<{><[><,,></[> I think it depends on<,> the type of song you're singing
<$Keisha><#><[>No</[></{>
<$Guyanne><#>Okay
<$Aneefa><#>Well that's what I mean by the type of song because if you're singing like for example a classical piece then <}><->that</-> <=>maybe that [Standard English]</=></}> would work but then if you are singing a local piece<,> then I think it's important to remain true to the local<{><[><,> pronunciation</[> and therefore local flavour of the actual song
<$Theresa><[>Yeah I agree with that</[></{>

Extract 4.39
<$Neves><#><[>It depends on</[></{> <}><->on what the <.>s</.></}> <=><{><[>on what the</=></}> piece of music this thing is<,> in</[></{>[…] <#>But<,> you know <}><->it it it</-> <=>it</=></}> very much depends on<,>

the origin of the song to me<,>because you know I mean<}><-> if is</-> <=>if is</=></}> a calypso you can't put uh [Standard English] unless is for mockery<#>You can't <}><->it's</-> <=>it's</=></}> inauthentic<,> whether it's folk parang<,> calypso that just <{5><[5>wouldn't cut it</[5>

Extract 4.40

<$Guyanne><#>So if they singing a classical song then <}><->what how should they</-> <=>they should</=></}> speak oh Standard English then
<$Cecile><#><{><[>Yeah</[>
<$Simone><#><[>Yes<,></[></{> I agree with that
<$Guyanne><#>OK<,> but for <{><[>folk songs<unclear>word(s)</unclear></[>
<$Simone><#><[>Folk lore</[></{> the could use the <.>ka</.> the <{><[>lingo the<unclear>word</unclear></[>
<$Cecile><#><[>Nah I don't like the</[></{>lingo business well most of the <{><[>time <#>Like</[> I trying to remember like some of the songs but yeah<O>steups</O> could be a little over the top sometimes
<$Simone><#><[>For folk songs yes</[></{>
<$Simone><#>No <}><->I</-> <=>I</=></}> find you can use your own cultural slangs and lingos etcetera <}><-> for culture</-> <=>for folk</=></}> songs […]
<$Cecile><#>No like ahm <#>Ah you know like when they have folk songs or something like this and they have to say <&>in-Creole</&><quote>go down the road they</quote><&>Creole-ends</&> and all this kind of <{1><[1>stupidness</[1> they have uh I don't like that<{2><[2><,> <#>Talk English</[2>

The extracts above illustrate how audience members, like the practitioners in extracts 4.15-4.18, believed Trinidadian pronunciations contribute to overall authenticity in the performance of local music. However, their replies were not unanimous. In extract 4.40, for example, we see Cecile's rejection of what she dismissively calls "the lingo business" and "stupidness" even in local performances. For performances of classical music, they also believed that Standard accents should be used.

This immediately begs the question of which Standard. In as far as audiences believed singers did sometimes employ British accents, they could be very wary of this. In extract 4.41 below, we see how the informant supports the use of British English for its perceived clarity, but with the proviso that the choristers not sound too British. In extract 4.42, Theresa recounts a performance (at which Aneefa and Keisha were also present), during which the choir was perceived as using non-local pronunciations in a local song.

Extract 4.41

<$Shepherd><#>Maybe it's part of our<,> colonial heritage that we<,> you know tend to think that those people<,> maybe consciously or unconsciously <#>Ahm I don't know if it's necessarily the best but ahm I do think <}><->it</-> <=>it</=></}> makes for clarity somehow it seems<,> <#>And even then I think there might be <}><->a</-> <=>an</=></}> extent beyond which I wouldn't want the person to go<,>not to be overly British

Extract 4.42

<$Theresa><#>They were singing some ahm<,> local song <}><->and</-> <=>and</=></}> yeah it was sounding funny
<$GW><#>Funny in what way
<$Theresa><#>I guess that it's not that I didn't understand the words<,> <#><}><->The words weren't</-> <=>the words were</=></}> being sung which is <}><->a traditional</-> <=>like a local</=></}> song in a kind of an accent<{><[><,><unclear>words</unclear></[> if that's
<$GW><#><[>Okay</[></{>
<$Aneefa><#>A foreign accent
<$Theresa><#>Yes it was a bit strange

Extract 4.42 is particularly telling because it highlights the extent to which audiences expect that different sub-genres of choral music will be performed with different accents. Considered alongside 4.41, the extracts highlight the reservations that audiences had over the use of non-Trinidadian accents.

Indeed, audiences seemed to promote the use of local standard English features, a trend that was only seen in a minority of the responses from the singers and conductors, as in extracts 4.24- 4.26. The extracts below exemplify the audiences' belief that TE/C features can be used successfully in performance.

Extract 4.43

<$Guyanne><#>But what about the Trinidadian accent do you think they could use Trinidadian accent for a non-local song
<$Halfhide><#>Oh yeah absolutely and very successfully […] <#>When Wendy Fitzwilliam came back after Miss Universe<unclear>word</unclear> and we do something for them and you have children from school<,> who are still<,> untrained well I have to say untrained cos only training is in school choir okay and such lovely presentations you know<,> <#>And ahm people like Jeanine De Bique and Renee Solomon I'm sure you remember<,> right and they're just like us and ordinary Trini accent and excellent delivery and you know so

Extract 4.44

<$Neves><#><}><->I don't feel<,></-> <=>I don't feel</=></}> that's [British English] necessarily the best<{1><[1><,></[1> I don't feel an accent is the issue<{2><[2><,></[2> right I think because<,> if you are speaking a good Trinidadian standard English and you pronounce your letters well and I think <}><->there</-> <=>there</=></}> are techniques for singing where you do have to stress the <{3><[3>ends of the words so

Extract 4.45

<$Cecile><#><[>OK this is how</[></{> we sing but we'll sing it in school <&>singing</&><quote>[gɪv θaŋks tu ðə lɔd fɔ ɪt ɪz gʊd</quote> but what is British about that <#>I don't find anything British about that <#>So what you think just because we is Trini we supposed to say <quote>[la:d]<,>[gɪv θaŋks tu: ðə la:d]</quote>

In extract 4.43, Mrs Halfhide, an Accounting teacher, recalls instances where the school's choir performed for international audiences (the Miss

Universe Executive) using local TE/C accents in their singing. She also goes on to name former students who are "just like us" and who sing in the "ordinary Trini accent" and who have nevertheless gone on to achieve international acclaim in music. In extract 4.44, the speaker makes direct reference to Standard Trinidadian English, rejecting the idea of British English as being better for singing. Moreover, she makes reference to techniques for singing which would help with articulation, but still not require singers to use a British pronunciation to achieve clarity. In this way, her reply is reminiscent of the results displayed in Table 4.1, where conductors said they preferred a neutral accent for singing. Cecile's brief musical interlude in 4.42 is also instructive. She sings the first line of a popular Catholic hymn, using a Standard English pronunciation, and immediately challenges any assumption that the standard she has sung is British, singling out the NORTH vowel in "Lord", and producing the variant most likely to be associated with basilectal Tobagonian speech, [laːd], as the more stigmatized variant. Her outburst is particularly telling because, although she does not, as Ms Neves does, overtly name Standard Trinidadian English as the variety, there is little room for doubt that this is what she believes the standard for singing to be. It is also particularly important that Cecile, of all the informants, is the one who has this outburst. In extract 4.40, she portrays quite negative attitudes towards the use of more Creole-like TE/C features in song, even in local music. We now see that this is not because she holds the British standard as more fitting. All the same, audiences generally did require that words are clearly articulated and that they are able to understand the text, and subsequent message, of the song. This is viewed as an integral element contributing to their enjoyment of the performance. Thus, Heather, a regular concert goer, explains below:

Extract 4.46

<$Heather><#>As a matter of fact I start to become very critical <#>I start to think <quote>oh my Lord gosh they eating up their words <}><->I can't</-> <=>I don't</=> understand and what is this song about</quote>[…] <#> But at the same time you have ahm<,> instances where<,> <unclear>word</unclear>they singing and they eating up their words and you know it's like <quote>oh no no no no no no no no</quote> and then it kills the performance to some extent

Clarity for audience members, then, is achieved through clear articulation, and perhaps through employing some of the techniques to which Ms Neves alluded in extract 4.44, but not necessarily through singing in a British accent.

4.1.4 Summary

This section presented results relevant to the first research question in this study, i.e. What is believed to be the most appropriate accent for choral singing in Trinidad? The results presented here suggest it is not at all a straightforward issue, with language choice constrained to some extent by musical genre. Firstly, joint results from the questionnaire and interview data for singers and conductors showed an overall preference for Standard British English pronunciations for choral singing, though this was generally held to be best for performances of non-Trinidadian music, particularly pieces by European composers. This finding, however, did not hold to be true for all audience members. On the other hand, the results showed that there was an overall preference for TE/C pronunciations for local songs by all groups, though these were almost categorically described as undesirable for other genres of music, particularly Western classical music. Nevertheless, there appeared to be exceptions to this rule, with some evidence that some TE/C features may be used in the performance even of Western Classical music. In addition to these, the data suggested that there may be a set of phonetic features associated with singing that are removed from any national or social variety. There was also a strong sense that diction in singing is important in order to communicate with the audience, and that an easy flow of communication is established to some extent by careful attention to the pronunciation of sung texts and by the exaggerated pronunciation of song lyrics.

4.2 Problems singers face in producing ideal pronunciations for singing

The previous section reported results pertaining to the preferred accents for singing. It showed that British pronunciations were generally preferred for non-local songs, with TE/C pronunciations generally preferred for local songs.

It also showed that there may exist a set of pronunciations for singing that are unrelated to any national variety. Furthermore, the last section indicated that singers and conductors believed that singers may face challenges in producing the ideal pronunciations for singing as a result of their TE/C first language, as extracts 4.19 to 4.23 illustrate. Indeed, the adjudicators' comments at the 2010 Music Festival, which drew attention to what were perceived as errors of pronunciation by Trinidadian singers, were an important catalyst in this thesis. Therefore, in this section, participants' perceptions about the specific phonological problems singers in Trinidad face when attempting to sing in Standard English will be reported. The results in this section are based on the wordlists contained in the questionnaire done with the conductors, and in the interviews with conductors, singers, and audience members.

4.2.1 Consonants

4.2.1.1 Results from the questionnaire

The questionnaire contained fourteen questions related to conductors' perceptions of singers' difficulties in producing specific consonants and consonant clusters, and eleven questions related to conductors' perceptions of singers' difficulties in producing specific vowel and diphthong segments when singing. Fourteen conductors replied to the questionnaires, although some questions were left unanswered.

The conductors reported that singers face greater difficulty with the consonant segments than the vowel segments. The items on the questionnaire were scalar in the sense that conductors had to provide an approximation of the numbers of singers in their choirs who they believed encountered problems pronouncing certain segments and cast it in general terms (none, few, many, all). To report their responses numerically would have given a false impression of the overall sense the conductors had of how problematic certain phonological features were. To avoid this, the conductors' responses were given index scores between 0 and 3, where a score of 0 was given to each reply "none" and a score of 3 was given to each reply "all", with replies of "few" or "many" being assigned the intervening numerical values. The average index score for each item was then found, with higher index

scores indicating phonological features that were judged more problematic than others. The graph below shows the average index scores for the fourteen consonant and consonant cluster features questioned.

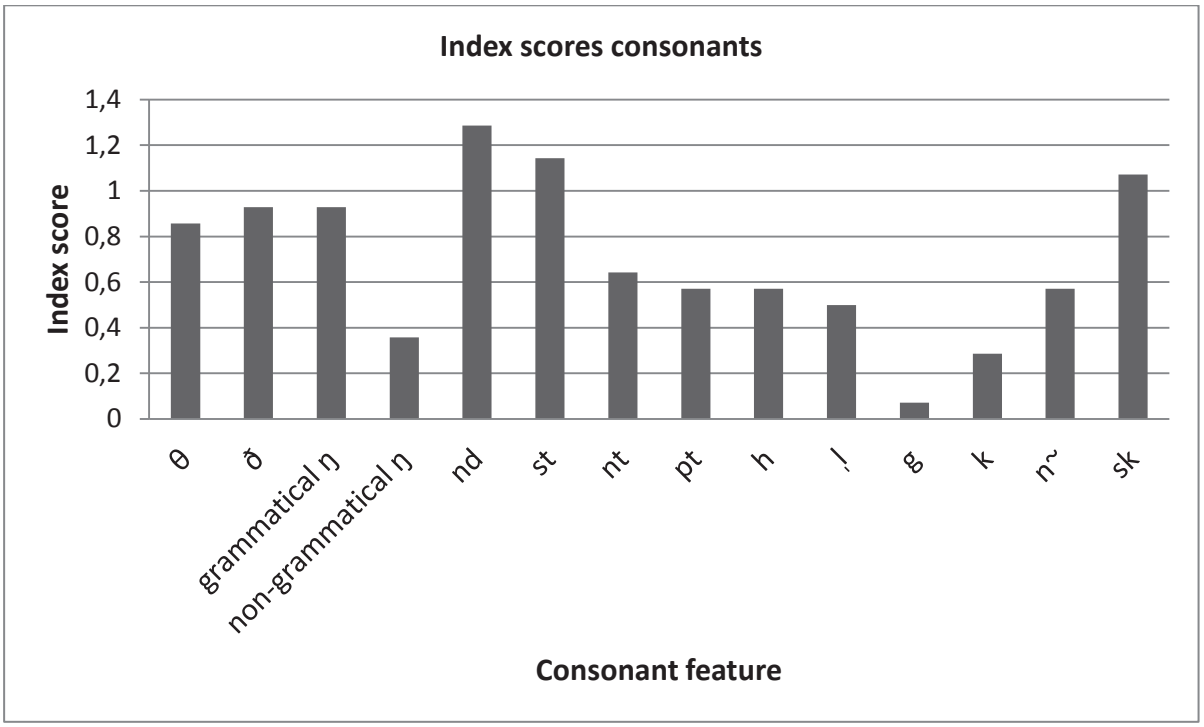


Figure 4.4: Index scores for consonantal features in the questionnaire

The graph shows that none of the consonants or consonant clusters on the word list received an index score of higher than 1.29 (nd) or lower than 0.07 (g->gj). Three features had an index score of 1.0 or more, and a further three had an index score that was greater than 0.8. These features were:

- The consonant cluster (nd) in words like LAND, which had an index score of 1.29.
- The consonant cluster (st) in words like BEST, which had an index score of 1.14.
- The voiceless dental fricative (θ) in words like THIN, which had an index score of 0.92.
- The consonant cluster (sk) in words like ASK, which had an index score of 1.07.
- The voiced dental fricative (ð) in words like THEM, with an index score of 0.92.

- The voiced velar nasal (ŋ) as part of the grammatical morpheme –ING in words like SINGING, with an index score of 0.93.

The questionnaire further required conductors to indicate how singers who had problems with consonant and vowel segments pronounced them. Many conductors seemed to find this part of the task difficult, which can be explained by the fact that conductors do not necessarily have the training in the use of the IPA that would have made the task easy, so that in many cases, though difficulties were acknowledged, the nature of the difficulties was not explained, especially for the vowels. The results from those conductors who did explain are presented below.

Where conductors indicated that singers had problems with voiced and voiceless dental fricatives [θ] and [ð], they almost uniformly indicated that singers with those problems realised [θ] as [t] and [ð] as [d]. However, one conductor believed that [θ] was realised as [d], and another felt that [ð] was realised as [t] or [d]. The conductors uniformly agreed that where the voiced velar nasal was problematic for singers, they pronounced it as [n]. For the [nd], [st], [nt] and [pt] consonant clusters, conductors who believed singers found these segments difficult reported that the cluster was reduced to a single element, where the second element, the voiced or voiceless dental plosive, was not realised, yielding [n], [s], [n] and [p] respectively. Only one conductor indicated otherwise for these segments. Though she also believed that [nt] consonant clusters were likely to be reduced by a few of her singers, she believed that it was the first element, i.e. the [n] that went unrealised.

Where syllabic [l̩] was deemed a problem, singers were felt to epenthesize schwa. In addition to this epenthesis, one conductor felt the [l] was not realised at all, so that LITTLE was pronounced as <litter> would be in a non-rhotic accent. For another conductor, the LE in words like LITTLE and BATTLE was not the issue. For these words, included largely as distractors, the interest lay in whether conductors perceived singers to produce a syllabic L, or to epenthesise schwa between the voiceless alveolar stop [t] and the lateral approximant [l]. However, this conductor reported that some singers “not [with] LE but TT”, producing something that sounded to him like <liddle>. This suggests that singers were producing a tap or flap [ɾ] for [t].

The conductors unanimously agreed that where word initial [h] was a problem, it was dropped by singers. However one conductor, who led two choirs, reported for both her choirs that the word HEAVEN was sometimes pronounced as<evvem>. This stimulus was meant to elicit answers regarding h-dropping, which this conductor claims is present. However, this is not, for her singers, the totality of the problem. In the syllable coda, the voiced nasal alveolar [n] became a voiced nasal bilabial [m] in this environment. Where [k] was felt to be a problem, it was palatalised and realised as [kj].

Where conductors believed singers had problems with words like DOWN and POUND, five conductors out of eleven indicated that the vowel was nasalised and the consonant not realised so that the words sounded similar to <dong> and <pong>DONG and PONG. However, three conductors believed that in addition to nasalisation, the final consonant in POUND was retained. The conductors rendered this as <pongd>(two conductors) and <ponged> (one conductor). Bearing in mind the rules of English orthography which conductors were invited to exploit in their directions to the task, it is best to assume that both variables would be pronounced [pɒŋd]. The remaining conductors who selected this item did not indicate the nature of the problem. This was also the case for the conductor who believed that some singers had difficulty pronouncing the voiced velar plosive. The remaining two consonant variables were treated with less unanimity by the conductors.

With the final item examined for consonant segments, conductors' responses were the most varied. Of the ten who indicated that singers in their choirs faced difficulty pronouncing the word ASK, two did not explain the nature of the problem. Of the remaining eight, four reported metathesis, so that ASK was realised as [aks]. Two others reported consonant cluster reduction similar to that which occurred with the aforementioned set, so that ASK yielded in one case <ass> and in another <arse>, which are presumably pronounced [as] and [ɑs]. Furthermore, one conductor reported lengthening of the S, resulting in <assk>, presumably pronounced [as:k]. The final conductor wrote that singers pronounced the word as <arsk>ARSK, which may imply either that singers inserted an R, yielding [aɹsk] or that singers pronounced the word [ɑ:sk], when the preferred pronunciation may have been [ask]. This latter supposition has to do with vowels. However, since in

this item the conductors were simply asked about the lexical item and not the specific consonant cluster, and since this particular conductor was not available for interview, this remains speculative.

4.2.1.2 Results from interviews

During the interviews, participants (conductors, singers and audience members) were given a word list. The list comprised one of each of the stimulus words from the questionnaire segment. Adult participants (i.e. not the singers) were asked to provide up to two pronunciations of each of the words: the first, the pronunciation they felt singers ought to use when singing, and, in cases where singers were perceived to produce something else, the variant they produced. The teenaged singers were asked to produce three versions: the pronunciation they believed they used, the one they thought their conductors would prefer, and the one that that they or others produced when they did not or could not perform the conductors' variants. For all variants, it was possible that the two productions matched each other, and it was often the case that participants simply gave a reply such as "it's the same" or "no change" for these.

The items on the wordlist for the interviews differed from the questionnaires in two ways. Firstly, the open-mid back unrounded vowel [ʌ] had been inadvertently omitted from the questionnaires, but was included in the interviews with the test word STRUT. Secondly, in the questionnaires, conductors were given specific phonological features in each word upon which they should focus e.g. the TH in words like <thin> and <anthem>. In the interviews, however, participants were not directed as to the phonological segment to which they should pay attention. As a result, respondents sometimes focused on phonological segments other than those the word list had been designed to test. While this means that some items shift category, i.e. they were included initially to test specific consonant features but attract attention because of a vowel segment, or vice versa, this is not altogether problematic, since it gives better insight into the considerations surrounding the pronunciation of sung texts. As such, this led to the retrieval of results which otherwise might not have been elicited.

In total, six conductors, twelve audience members and fourteen singers participated in the interviews, the results of which are recorded below.

4.2.1.2.1 Results from interviews 1: Conductors

Four of the six conductors interviewed also completed questionnaires. The other two, though they had been approached, did not. Of these two, one was particularly intractable with regards to the wordlist, which she felt could not represent words as they are sung in context, and beyond the first two elements, she did not provide answers to the wordlist. As such, her answers to the wordlist are not included here, though results garnered from other parts of her interview were both interesting and instructive, and will be discussed elsewhere. The wordlist results for the conductors are, therefore, based on the replies of five conductors. Because four of these five had returned the questionnaires, the results will be discussed in light of the results from the questionnaire.

Of the fourteen consonant segments reported to be a source of difficulty for singers in the conductors' questionnaires, ten were perceived similarly by the interviewees. It should be noted that conductors were not always consistent in their replies. For example, conductors may have written that few singers in their choirs have problems with the voiceless dental fricative [θ], and may have reported that they would pronounce it as [t], but only one of the four who were both interviewed and filled in the questionnaire reported this in the interview. The table below, then, is a summary of the consonant segments reported difficult in the same way in both the interview and questionnaire data, regardless of the number of the interviewees who reported it, so long as it was reported by at least one interviewee.

Conductors' Preferred Pronunciation	**Conductors' Dis-Preferred Pronunciation**
θ	t
ð	d
ŋ	n
nd	n
st	s
pt	p
k	kj
n	ŋ
sk	ks
l̩	əl

Table 4.3: Conductors' preferred pronunciation of consonant segments and singers' dis-preferred pronunciation of the same segments that were the same in both the conductors' questionnaires and interviews

The table shows very clearly that all the features with higher index scores were once more reported to be problematic in the interview setting. For the consonant clusters with the highest index scores, /nd/) and /st/, consonant cluster reduction was reported. In words like DOWN, the final [n] was reported as being nasalised. In the questionnaire, the status of the /sk/ cluster was somewhat unclear, with some conductors suggesting that it would be reduced simply to (s), and the others giving explanations that were not clear. From the interview, however, it emerged that the /sk/ cluster was likely to be metathesized. Thus we see how the interview data complemented the questionnaire data. The voiced and voiceless dental fricatives were reported to be realised as their stopped equivalents [t, d], in both the interview and the questionnaire.

However, the questionnaire and interview results for the word list item HEAVEN do not coincide. Respondents were asked whether they believed singers failed to pronounce the initial [h] in this word. In six choirs, including

four of those for whom interviews also exist, the questionnaire responses indicated that singers did indeed tend towards h-dropping. However, none of the conductors interviewed identified this as a problem.

Similarly, in the questionnaires, two conductors reported that singers pronounced the [ŋ] in SING as [n]. In the interviews, however, only one conductor said that she would like singers to pronounce SING with particular emphasis on the voiced velar nasal, resulting in [sɪŋᵊ], though she had not previously identified this as a problem on her questionnaire.

While only one conductor reported in the questionnaires that singers found the initial [g] in words like GARDEN difficult, the nature of the problem was not explained. In the interviews, however, three conductors reported singers to pronounce the word differently from the way in which the conductors preferred. Two conductors said that they felt choristers should sing the word as [ˈgɑːd̩n], while the third felt singers should sing [ˈgɑːdən]. The lattermost conductor and one of those desiring [ˈgɑːd̩n] reported that singers sometimes pronounced the word as it was spelled, that is, as [ˈgɑːˌdɛn], with the second syllable appearing to receive stress that was not previously there, if only because of the reduced schwa having been replaced by open-mid front unrounded [ɛ]. The third conductor, who conducted two choirs, felt there was potential for word stress to be shifted to the second syllable. She explained:

Extract 4.47

<$Taylor><#>Mhm <#>Well unless again the words are divided in a certain way with a separate <unclear>words</unclear> that garden well good writing will make then you stress the GAR part<{1><[1><,></[1> and the EN would be softened <#>Um I wouldn't look for [ˈgɑːdʌn] but [ˈgɑːd̩n]<}><->a soft</-> <=>a softer </=></}>thing
<$Guyanne><#><[1>Mhm</[1></{1>
<$Guyanne><#>Okay<{><[>ahm</[>
<$Taylor><#><[>Cos</[></{> I find the [dʌn]would make it sound as if it's an accent
<$Guyanne><#>As if it's a what <{><[>pardon</[> as if it's a what
<$Taylor><#><[>Uh</[></{>

<$Taylor><#>As if it were accented then right
<$Guyanne><#>Okay<,,>
<$Taylor><#>You know [ˈgɑːˌdʌn]
<$Guyanne><#>Yeah
<$Taylor><#>Rather than [ˈgɑːdn̩]<,> not [dʌn] <#>I want a softer sound
<$Guyanne><#>And what do you think people would do instinctively<,,> or they would sing
<$Taylor><#>Hmm <mention>Make Your Garden</mention> although they did do that <#>I think they'd do [dn̩] the [ˈgɑːdn̩] thing
<$Guyanne><#>Okay
<$Taylor><#>You and [my daughter] might say [ˈgɑːˌdʌn] I don't know<,> <#>Eh heh<,,> what else

Finally, although STRUT was added to the interview word list to examine the open-mid back vowel [ʌ], the only conductor who reported any difficulty with it at all draws our attention to the [stɹ]cluster at the start of the word.

Extract 4.48
<$Taylor><#>But again some of them give you a little baby talk<,> they don't roll the R
<$Guyanne><#>Okay
<$Taylor><#>Right they might say <mention>[ʃtɹʌt]</mention> and you have to say <quote> well roll the R separate the T roll the R kind of thing</quote>
<$Guyanne><#>Okay
<$Taylor><#>But with the S and then the explosive and then the roll<,> occasionally you get some problems there

4.2.1.2.2 Results from interviews 2: Audience members

Twelve adults between the ages of twenty-two and seventy who would describe themselves as regular concert-goers were interviewed.

The most striking feature of the audience members' responses was how readily they identified consonant segments which they believed singers had difficulty pronouncing. Contrastingly, audience members uniformly reported that singers had no difficulties pronouncing most of the vowel and diphthong

eliciting items on the word list, with a few notable exceptions. The graph below shows the numbers of respondents reporting phonological features they believed singers found difficult. Because audiences generally did not believe that singers faced problems pronouncing the vowel and diphthong eliciting items, or the word initial H item, HEAVEN, all items and only those items the audiences felt problematic are shown on one graph (i.e. vowels and consonants are shown together), although they will be reported separately.

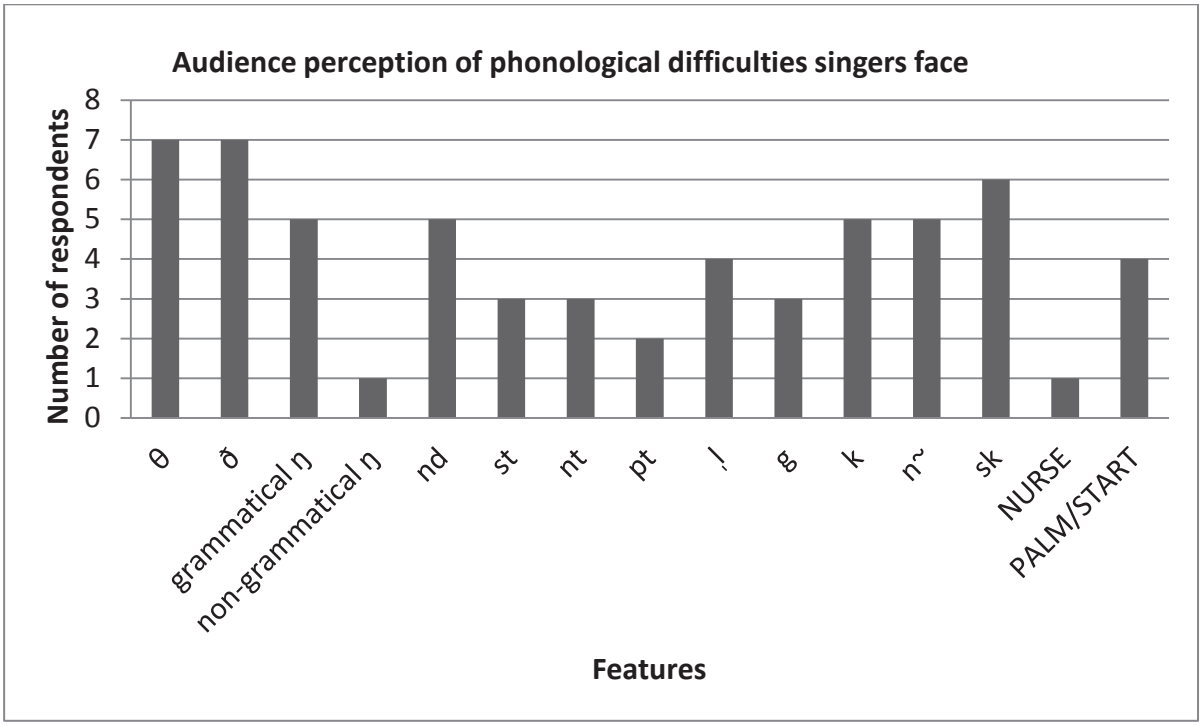


Figure 4.5: Numbers of audience members who believed that singers faced problems with each of the phonological features tested

For the words appearing on the word list, just over half of the audience members reported that they believed that singers pronounced the voiced and voiceless dental fricatives [ð] and [θ] as [d] and [t] respectively, so that the test words were pronounced as [dɛm] and [tın].

The next most popular response was the metathesis of [sk] in the lexical item ASK, which half the audience members interviewed said singers pronounced as [aks] or [ɑks]. Five concert-goers further reported that they believed singers faced some difficulties pronouncing the words LAND, CANNOT and DOWN. They believed that singers sometimes sang [lan] instead

of [land], [ˈkjaˌnɒt] instead of [ˈkaˌnɒt], and [dɔŋ] instead of [dɔʊn], with the latter alternative of each of the aforementioned pairs being the audiences' preferred pronunciation.

Furthermore, LITTLE was judged by a quarter of the concert goers (or 4 people) to be problematic for singers. However, participants' responses to this item were varied. Their responses were as follows:

- Singers should pronounce the word so that the vowel in the second syllable was the central vowel schwa, as [lɪtəl], but instead singers pronounced the word as [ˈlɪˌtɛl].
- Singers should pronounce the word di-syllabically, where the vowel in nucleus of the first syllable was the close to close-mid front vowel [ɪ], the coda of the first syllable was the voiceless alveolar stop. In the second syllable, the vowel should be rendered as the central vowel schwa. Instead, singers were reported to produce the nucleus of the first syllable as the open-mid front vowel, yielding a pronunciation of [ˈlɛtəl], or else to pronounce the coda in the first syllable as the voiceless velar plosive, rendering [ˈlɪkəl].
- Singers should pronounce the word either with a syllabic [l] or with schwa inserted in the second syllable, and with the voiceless alveolar stop preceding either realisation of [l], as either [lɪtl̩] or [lɪtəl], but instead singers pronounced the word monosyllabically as [lɪl].

Three audience members responded that choristers faced problems pronouncing the word list item BEST. All three respondents felt that singers ought to sing [bɛst] but instead sang [bɛs]. Additionally, two of the audience members interviewed felt that, though they would prefer the word KEPT to be pronounced as [kɛpt], singers sometimes sang [kɛp].

Only one audience member felt that singers' pronunciation of [ɪŋ] in words like SING, i.e. not as the grammatical morpheme ING, was inadequate. She felt that singers should instead pronounce the word as [sɪŋk]. This, she explained, is because of her experiences as a young student:

Extract 4.49

<$Halfhide><#>I used to get a lot of flak for words like that <mention>spinning and sing</mention><{1><[1>because in</[1> school we were taught to say <mention>sing</mention> and ahm<,> and people laugh at that but<,> again

we had a lot of British mistresses in school<{2><[2><,></[2> in Bishop Anstey and that's how we were taught.

4.2.1.2.3 Results from interviews 3: Singers

Fourteen teenage singers, six male and eight female, ranging between fourteen and eighteen, participated in the interviews. It is worth reinforcing that the young participants were asked to provide up to three pronunciations of each item on the wordlist: the pronunciation they believed they used, the one they thought their conductors would prefer, and the one that that they or others produced when they did not or could not perform the conductors' variants. It was possible for two or three of the possible variations to be the same. It is also worth reinforcing that, unlike the questionnaires, participants in the interview were not told which specific phonological features of each item were being examined. This meant that an item included on the word list to examine an aspect of pronunciation pertaining to consonants may, for the participants, have elicited responses concerning vowels. For the young people, this appeared to be especially true. It was also the case that a single item elicited responses about vowel and consonant segments from the choristers. In the description below, items will be presented with regard to the choristers' treatment of them i.e. where choristers claimed a segment was problematic, that item will be reported with similar segments (vowel or consonant), regardless of what they were originally intended to elicit.

A major concern for young singers, with regards to diction, seemed to be pronouncing the words of song lyrics clearly. In an interview with Jake and Kristy, they explained:

Extract 4.50

<$Jake><#>Um you over-exaggerate them from what I learned <#>You like like if it's um <{><[><,> like <mention>dictation</mention> you say <mention> [dık</[> te: ʃən]</mention> like <.>pro</.> make sure you get the
<$Kristy><#><[>You don't pronounce your words clearly like you don't</[></{>
<$Guyanne><#>Uh huh

<$Kristy><#>If you pronounce your words properly they're understood more clearly <{><,> rather than if you don't pronounce then you have no idea what the word it<[></[>
<$Guyanne><#><[>Okay<,> <#>So what does</[></{> pronouncing it properly mean
<$Jake><#>Like um<,> um stressing certain words <{><[> like um certain letters</[> certain sounds
<$Guyanne><#><[>OKay</[><
<$Kristy><#><[><unclear>and certain sounds</unclear></[></{>

The young people identified fourteen of the items on the word list as having consonant segments that they or their peers pronounced differently from the way they believed their conductors preferred. However, they did not always agree on which segments were problematic, so that in the end sixteen different troublesome segments were identified. The graph below shows the segments they identified, and the numbers of young people reporting each segment to be difficult.

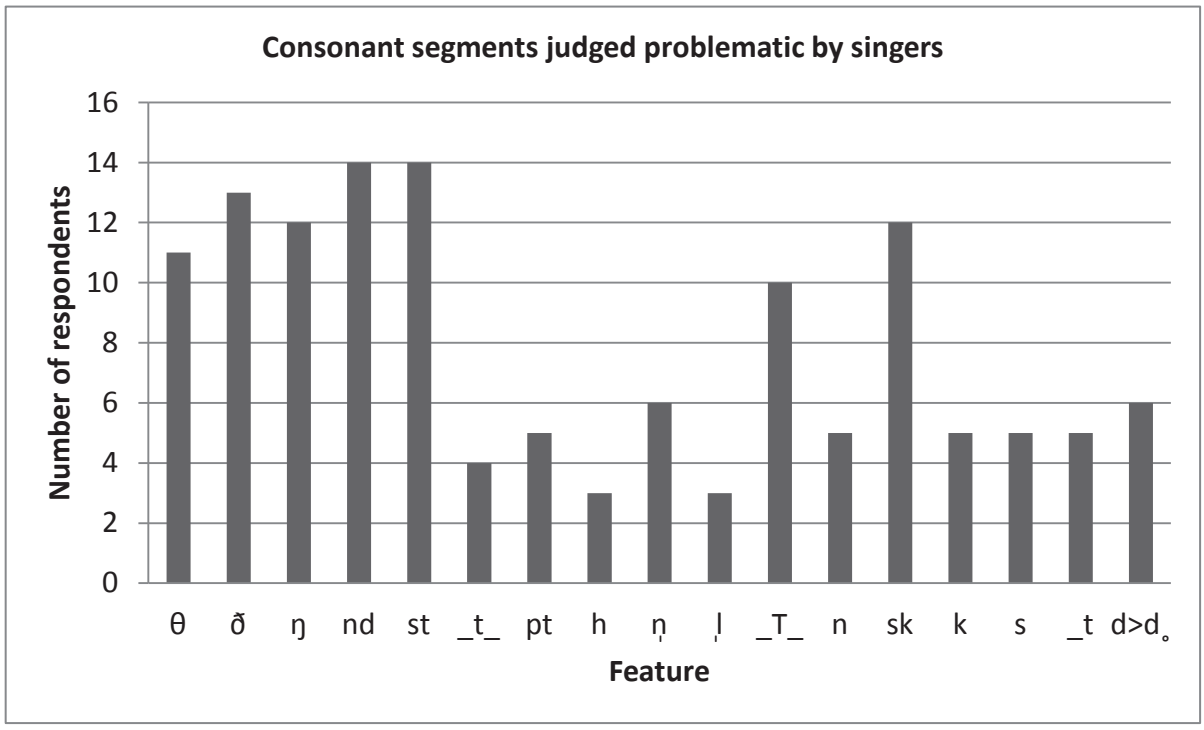


Figure 4.6: Consonant segments judged problematic by singers

Dental Fricatives

The graph shows that the young singers deemed both the voiceless and voiced dental fricatives as problematic for themselves or their peers. In the former case, all the respondents reported that [θ] was the more desirable pronunciation, and eleven claimed that others in their choir sometimes sang [t]. Similarly, all the young people reported [ð] as the preferred pronunciation, but thirteen acknowledged that other singers sometimes sing [d]. In fact, the perception that it is others and not those interviewed who are the perpetrators of this pronunciation problem was stressed in several of the interviews. For example, in the extract below, Giselle and Clare discussed the first two items on the word list, THIN AND THEM.

Extract 4.51

<$Giselle><#>People not going to say <mention>tin</mention>
<$Clare><#>People might say <mention>tin</mention> you don't know <#>People just randomly talk without T H's all the time
<$Giselle><#>That real annoys me
<$Clare><#>It really does but some people just do
<$Giselle><#>Can't judge though can't judge<unclear>words</unclear>
<$Guyanne><#>Go ahead next one<O>list</O><&>Giselle produces <mention>them</mention> in very much the same way but at a much lower pitch</&> <#>And how is it different from the first one
<$Clare><#><{><[>It's not really</[>
<$Giselle><#><[>It kinda stressed on the T H</[></{> a little more<O>Clare suggests that people would say [dɛm]</O><#><}><->You</-> <=>I</=></}> don't know who you trying to impersonate
<$Clare><#>Giselle some people do honestly I am very sorry

Dana and Shauna, who sang in a different choir and attend a different school from Giselle and Clare, had a similar exchange:

Extract 4.52

<$Dana><#><&>referring to them</&>People would say <mention>[dɛm]</mention>

<$Guyanne><#>When you're singing
<$Dana><#>Yeah<,> I guess from<,> how you write and stuff<,> like texting
<$Shauna><#>And how <}><->you casual</-> <=>you talk casually</=></}> just like that so<{><[><,></[> to come and sing now
<$Dana><#><[>Yeah</[></{>
<$Dana><#>And<,> um <mention>[tɪn]</mention> not <mention>[θɪn]</mention> <#>Like T H people<,> <#>I don't know where it goes<{><[><,> kinda annoying<,> it's really annoying</[>
<$Shauna><#><[>That's true<,> she always tells us to pronounce the T H</[></{>

Indeed, the young singers identified this as an issue even without the stimulus of the word list, as Kristy and Jake did in their interview.

Extract 4.53
<$Kristy><#> <{1><[1>Like instead of Trinidad</[1> you have like <{2><[2>like <mention>[ðat]</mention></[2> you'd say <mention>[dat]</mention> like proper English speaking <{3><[3>instead of like</[3> <mention>[dɪs ðɪs]</mention> like not normal <}><->Trinidad</-> <=>Trinidadian</=></}> dialect
<$Jake><#><[1>The Queen's English</[1></{1>
<$Guyanne><#><[2>What's the Queen's English</[2></{2>
<$Jake><#><[3><mention>[dat]</mention></[3></{3>

Consonant clusters

The graph shows that the consonant clusters [nd] and [st] were judged most problematic by the young people. All fourteen of the choristers believed that conductors preferred LAND and BEST pronounced as [land] and [bɛst][1], with several of the young people emphasising the final consonant either through the epenthesis of schwa, as in [landᵊ], or through exaggerated aspiration, resulting in [bɛstʰ]. Instead, the teenagers reported that they or

[1] There was, in fact, some disagreement over the vowel in LAND, and this will be discussed hereinafter.

their peers sometimes sang [lan] or [bɛs]. It is worth noting that the young people's responses here were the only unanimous responses for any items on the word list. For the next word with a consonant cluster, ASK, twelve of the fourteen young people reported difficulty for themselves or their peers with the conductors' preferred pronunciation [ask] or [ɑsk]. However, their responses were not as uniform as with the previous words. Five of the twelve described the problem as metathesis, which resulted in [aks]. "They mix up the K and the S," explained Matthew in his interview. The other seven said that the undesirable pronunciation is [as] or [ɑs] (both vowels were deemed desirable). The fourth consonant cluster, [pt], received a markedly smaller response from the young people; only five of them deemed it a problem. They reported that, in lieu of [kɛpt], singers may sing [kɛp].

Where GARDEN and HEAVEN were given the desirable pronunciations of [gɑdn̩] and [hɛvn̩] respectively, they too can be dealt with as consonant clusters. The graph shows only the results of one word with a syllabic [n], GARDEN, since to report both separately would have been cumbersome and to merge the results would have misrepresented the teenagers' responses. Six of the young people believed that the most desirable pronunciation of GARDEN is [gɑ:dn̩], and five believe that conductors prefer HEAVEN to be pronounced as [hɛvn̩]. Four of the young people opted for both [gɑ:dn̩] and [hɛvn̩]. These young people deemed the less desirable pronunciations, including their own, as [ˈgɑ:ˌdən] or [ˈhɛˌvən], which incidentally was judged desirable by other choristers. In other words, less desirable pronunciations had schwa epenthesis between [d] or [v] and [n].

The wordlist item LITTLE was a source of much disagreement for the young people, and is represented on the graph twice. In the first instance, represented on the graph as _T_, ten of the fourteen young people agreed that difficulties with the pronunciation of this item were related to the realisation of the word medial T. In all but one of these instances, the young people felt it should be pronounced [t], usually resulting in the pronunciation [ˈlɪtəl] or less frequently [ˈlɪtl̩]. The ninth participant, Giselle, suggested that the word be pronounced [ˈlɪdl̩] or [ˈlɪʔl̩], and her interview partner, Clare, who initially produced [ˈlɪtl̩] as the pronunciation, conceded and eventually agreed that the conductor may also find [ˈlɪʔl] acceptable. This appeared to be

somewhat confusing for Clare, who did not go on to provide an alternative incorrect pronunciation for word-medial T. Furthermore, the other young people are divided when it comes to alternative pronunciations of word-medial T. Four of the ten reported the undesirable pronunciation to be [lɪl]; here the word medial t is completely elided. Giselle and two others (incidentally from the same choir, but interviewed separately) reported that a less desirable pronunciation would be [lɪkl̩]. The two remaining young people judged [ˈlɪdl̩], i.e. one of Giselle's pronunciations, as less desirable.

Although it is not represented on the graph, another wordlist item with _T_ was LETTER. In this case, the [t] is inter-vocalic. The young people generally reported that the most desirable pronunciation of this word would be [ˈlɛˌtɐ], though [ˌlɛˈtɚ], [lɛˈtɜ] and [ˈlɛtə] were also provided as suitable alternatives. The vowels will be discussed below. However, two young people (interviewed together) deemed [lɛrɐ] unsuitable, while another two deem [ˈlɛrɚ] unacceptable. In both cases, the realisation of intervocalic /t/ as flap or tap [ɾ] was undesirable, while in the second case flap/tap was paired with post-vocalic /ɹ/ to produce the less desirable variant.

Word endings

Young singers were particularly concerned that the ends of words were clearly pronounced- even if the final syllable of a word did not contain a consonant cluster. Turning first to the wordlist item SPINNING, the respondents all agreed that the most desirable pronunciation was [spɪnɪŋ]. Twelve of them, however, reported that singers sometimes produced [spɪnɪn].

Other consonant sounds are also singled out for special treatment when they occur at the end of a word- even in cases where these sounds were not the focus of the stimulus item. This is particularly interesting, given that no reports of consonant deletion in non-clusters exist for TE/C. Figure 4.7 shows, for example, that the word-final /t/ as in GOAT (appearing on the graph as _t) is deemed a problem by 5 of 14 young people[2]. Dana and Shauna explained, regarding START, which they are asked to repeat:

[2] GOAT, however, was included as a stimulus because of the RP/ TE/C diphthong/ monophthong.

Extract 4.54

<$Dana><#><#>Yeah we kinda conscious of our Ts when we're singing<,> the ends of words

<$Shauna><#>Because if you don't pronounce the T then it could be a different word altogether

<$Dana><#>Yeah <mention>star</mention>

Kyle explained:

<$Kyle><#>You have to have the proper T at the end

The nature of the "proper T", however, is somewhat vague. Only one of the singers, Jake, provided an allophone of /t/ that is not the more desirable [t^h]. He argues that singers may also sing a flap or tap [ɾ].

Moreover, it is not simply a matter of the /t/ being there. All singers must sing it at the same time. Jordan concurred:

Extract 4.55

<$Jordan><#>And another thing all these words that end in T we have to try and make it uniform <#>To end off the T at the same time so it doesn't be like [t t t t t] and so forth

It appeared that /t/ is not only a problem word finally. In bi-morphemic words, such as COMMITMENT, it is the /t/ that occurs on the morpheme boundary that is cause for concern. While the young singers did not report that this /t/ is likely to become a flap or to be elided, as was the word-medial /t/ in LITTLE, four of them singled it out as a possible problem, and stressed that the word is most desirably pronounced as [kəˈmɪt^{h}ˌmənt], with a markedly released and aspirated /t/ to highlight the difference between it and the less desirable variant, in which the only perceivable difference is that the /t/ is unreleased.

Despite the problems associated with /t/, however, it was deemed more desirable than its voiced counterpart /d/. Though what makes the undesirable

pronunciation of LAND thus is the reduction of the consonant cluster /nd/ to /n/, the most desirable pronunciation is not always achieved simply by avoiding consonant cluster reduction. The graph shows that, for six of the singers, the most desirable pronunciation requires devoicing of the voiced alveolar plosive. Without the use of the wordlist stimulus, Kyle identified this as one of the phonological issues about which singers must be aware. This can be seen in Extract 4.33 (above). Clare and Giselle, after spending some time mulling over the item, were even able to provide an example from a song they had recently sung.

Extract 4.56

<$Clare><#>No people would say <mention> lan</mention> people would say <mention>lan</mention> <#>I'd probably say <mention>lan</mention> too <#>I think a lot of people would say <mention>lan</mention><,> especially if it's a long note <#>Like we're not gonna go <mention>[la::nd]</mention>
<$Guyanne><#>So OK in that song that y'all just sang <&>sings</&><quote>Home</quote>
<$Giselle><#><mention>[lan]</mention> <#>Your favourite song in the world <mention>[land]</mention>
<$Guyanne><#>What did people
<$Clare><#><&>sings</&><quote>[ho:mla:n <{><[>[ho:mla:n]</quote></[>
<$Giselle><#><[>Like we were supposed to pronounce</[></{> the D and most people don't <#>People don't sing [la::n:d]
<$Clare><#>No people don't make a <}><->conscious</-> <=>conscious</=></}> effort to pronounce the [d] <{><[>at the end</[>
<$Giselle><#><[>But Aunty Gretta</[></{> insists and makes you do it
<$Clare><#>Yeah for real <#>Okay she does a [t] and it sounds like a [t] so <mention>lant</mention>
<$B><#>Oh yes the D is pronounced like a T kind of sound that's <{><[><,>what's supposed to happen</[> yes yes
<$C><#><[> Yeah so [lant]</[></{>

Another sound which came up for somewhat surprising criticism from the young singers was the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/. Five of the fourteen

identify the tendency towards lengthening the /s/ as a problem singers in their choirs face. This, they report, results in CHOICE being pronounced as [ʧɔɪs:]. As Kyle explained:

Extract 4.57
<$Kyle><#>Sometimes people say S a little too long and it doesn't sound good <#>So you have to keep it a little bit.

Clare and Giselle reported a similar phenomenon:

Extract 4.58
<$Clare><#><&>regarding choice</&>I dunno<,> maybe not hold out the C too long
<$Giselle><#>No kinda <mention>[ʧɔɪs:]</mention> <#>No kinda snake sound up in there

In addition to these, there were instances in which some of the young people felt the word endings should be particularly emphasised, although none of them seemed to think that the segments were likely to be completely elided. The first of these words was SING. Four of the young singers believed that the velar nasal should be emphasised, so that the word is said as [sɪŋᵊ]. For two of them, this appeared to be a repercussion of a recent event in their choral rehearsals. Kristy and Jake related an incident in which their choir's diction was corrected by their conductor:

Extract 4.59
<$Kristy><#>She would stop the music and just be like <quote>what is that word a [kiə ba] no <quote>[ə kiŋ ɪz bɔ:n]</quote></quote> and I would always remember that
<$Jake><#>Nah <quote>[ə kiŋə <{><[>ɪz bɔ:nə] </[>
<$Kristy><#><[>[ɪz bɔ:nə]</[></{>

Likewise, although the young people generally agreed that a desirable pronunciation of THEM involves pronouncing the syllable onset as [ð] and not

as [d], for some there was an extra proviso. Four of the young people also believed that the pronunciation most preferred by their respective conductors is [ðɛmᵊ].

Less frequently, the young people also paid close attention to the clarity of the segments occurring at the beginnings of words. Three of the fourteen singers interviewed believed that the /h/ at the beginning of words like HEAVEN should be emphasised. Two of the three believed that the /h/ is often deleted, and replaced by a voiced labial-velar approximant /w/, so that the word is pronounced as [wɛvən]. The third, though he did not believe it is deleted, thought that the most desirable pronunciation requires the /h/ to be emphasised. Interestingly, the young people did not make any other mention of word-initial /h/ for any of the other words on the word list (HAPPY, HEAR, HAIR, HERE)

These findings are particularly interesting since these consonant segments are not reported as different in TE/C and SBE varieties of English, and so one would not expect them to receive any special attention if the target variety is SBE. These features furthermore seemed to be linked to the desire to achieve clarity and uniformity in choral singing, and therefore may be part of the set of features that has previously been labelled 'neutral' or 'neither.'

Other examples

Two other wordlist items for which the young singers said consonant segments to be somewhat problematic were: DOWN and CANNOT. For both of these items, five of the choristers reported that singers sometimes faced difficulty producing the most desirable pronunciation of the word. In the former case, this desirable pronunciation was generally [dɔʊn], though there was some dispute over the most acceptable vowel (this is discussed below). However, the singers claimed that people sometimes sang [dɒŋ]. In the case of CANNOT, the young singers generally believed that the most desirable pronunciation was [ˈkaˌnɒt], though the word stress seemed moveable (see below). With specific regard to the realisation of the word-initial /k/, then, four of the five young people felt that this was sometimes palatalised,

resulting in the pronunciation [ˈkjaˌnɒt]. The fifth thought that the less desirable pronunciation involved deletion of the negative marker NOT and nasalisation of the low front open vowel [a], resulting in [kã:].

Though the respondents were asked to reply with reference to what people sang, and were reminded of this during the interview, it is worth noting that it may well be the case that their answers were based on their experience with speakers and not singers. In fact, the item CANNOT reduced Celeste and Jade to fits of giggles, since they associated the undesirable pronunciation with an authority figure in their school community.

Extract 4.60

<$Celeste><#><mention>cannot</mention>
<$Jade><#>Instead of like <{1><[1><mention>[kjanɒt]</mention></[1> <#>I will not call any names <{2><[2><mention>[kjanɒt]</mention></[2>
<$Celeste><#><[1><mention>[kjanɒt]</mention> </[1></{1><O>laughs</O>
<$Celeste><#><[2>Uh some</[2></{2> people in higher power say this
<$Jade><#>Yes<O>both laugh<,,> list resumes</O>

4.2.1.3 Consonants overview

The results presented up to this point have looked at the responses from each group separately. However, it is worth considering their responses together, to see how far they converge with one another. The Venn Diagram below shows the features that the groups reported problematic in the interviews, with asterisks indicating those features that the conductors identified problematic in the questionnaires but not in the interviews.

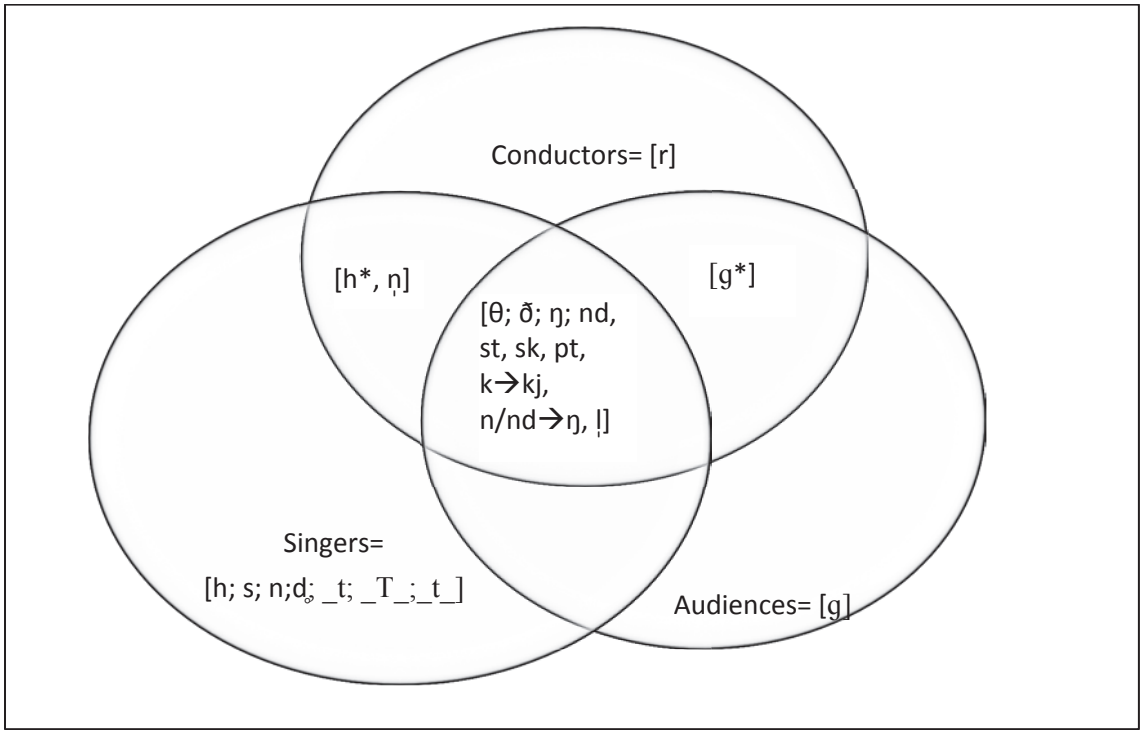


Figure 4.7: Convergence and divergence in the responses from the different groups of informants

The diagram illustrates that there is a high degree of convergence among the different groups of informants. Participants from all groups reported as problematic the stopping of the voiced and voiceless dental fricatives [θ] and [ð]; the reduction voiced velar nasal [ŋ] to [n]in the grammatical morpheme [ɪŋ]; the reduction of the consonant clusters [nd], [st], and [pt] to the first element of the cluster; the metathesis of [sk] is words like ASK; the palatalization of the voiceless velar plosive [k]; the velarisation of the voiced alveolar consonant [n] is words like DOWN; and the epenthesis of schwa before syllabic [l]. We saw in chapter 2 that these features are typically associated with TE/C, and, in light of the preference for British English reported in section 4.1, and the belief that TE/C was sometimes an impediment to achieving the ideal accent for singing, it is unsurprising that these features were singled out by all groups in the interviews. Moreover, identification of TE/C features as the less desirable pronunciation for singing seemed to be accompanied by negative attitudes towards these features, and speakers who use them, particularly among the singers. For example, the singers in extracts 4.52 and 4.53 expressed annoyance with the use of [t] and

[d] in place of [θ] and [ð], while those in 4.60 undermine the authority of "people in higher power" by laughing at their pronunciation. On one hand, these attitudes are surprising since they are not in concert with Mühleisen's (2001) findings. On the other hand, they should not be viewed as completely astonishing. Chapter 2 showed that choral singing in Trinidad remains in many respects an elite activity, so that the singers' strident prescriptivism may be viewed as a form of gatekeeping.

In contrast, there were fewer features identified by only one or two groups as problematic. Only the audiences perceived the [g] in words like GARDEN as problematic, although this was also reported as problematic by a minority of the conductors in the questionnaire (but none in the interview). Although this is reported to be a distinguishing feature of TE/C, it is most often associated with rural Indian speakers. The informants in this study, however, all lived in urban or suburban areas. Moreover, the choirs visited had very few singers of East Indian descent. This may account for singers not identifying it as problematic, as well as for the conductors' inconsistent replies. On the other hand, only the actual practitioners of choral music, the conductors and singers, identified syllabic [n] in at the end of words like GARDEN as problematic for singers, with extract 4.47 showing that this may be due to differences in word stress between TE/C and the preferred British English pronunciation. This is also the case with word-initial [h], though the conductors only reported this as problematic in the questionnaires, and not the interviews.

The remaining consonants described as problematic by only one group warrant some special attention. Only the conductors identified [r] as a sound that is problematic for singers, while only singers identified word final [s], final [d] devoicing, word final [n], and a variety of issues related to the pronunciation of [t] (word finally, word medially, morpheme finally) as problematic for singers. Particularly interesting among the lattermost group were the different realizations singers put forward for word medial [t] in words like LITTLE. Among those rejected are the flapped variant, [ɾ], which is traditionally associated with American speakers; the glottal variant [ʔ], traditionally associated with non-standard London English, particularly Cockney speech; and the velar variant [k], often associated with Jamaican

Creole speakers. It is not clear, however, whether the singers also make these associations. Nonetheless, it provides an important insight in the diverse variation pool speakers and singers have available to them. Many of the requirements that the singers in particular listed for what they perceived the correct pronunciation of these features to be are not strictly speaking phonological features of either TE/C or British English, or indeed any of the other possible referee variants, and instead may be phonetic considerations that are peculiar to singing.

4.2.2 The vowels

4.2.2.1 Results from the questionnaire

In general, vowels were less likely to be reported as being problematic, i.e. they received lower index scores. The graph below shows the conductors' responses to the questionnaire items regarding vowels and diphthongs, once again using index scores.

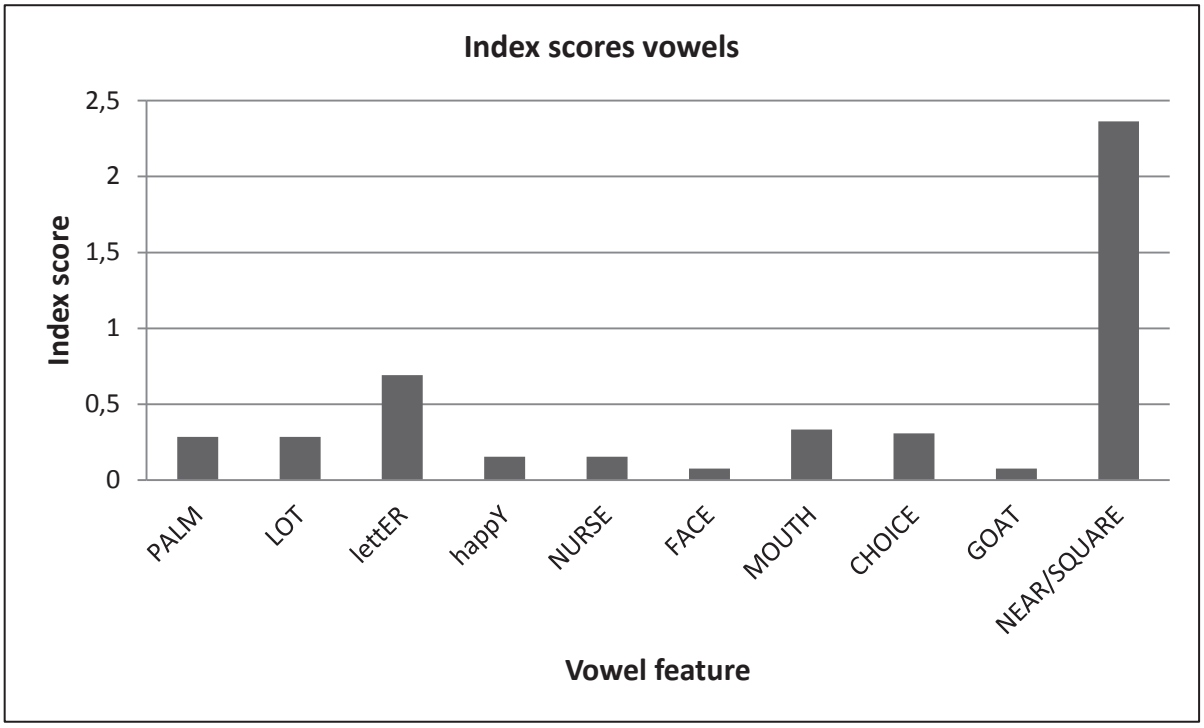


Figure 4.8: Index scores of vowels and diphthongs in questionnaire

When Figure 4.8 is compared to Figure 4.4 (above), it appears as though, with the exception of the NEAR/ SQUARE merger, vowels have a much lower

index score than consonants do. In fact, with the exception of words in the NEAR/SQUARE sets, no other vowel, and in fact no other feature, received an index score above 2, and only one other, words in the TEACHER-LETTER lexical set, received an index score above 0.5. Words in the FACE and GOAT lexical sets received the lowest index scores (0.07; 0.07 respectively) not just among the vowels but in the data as a whole. The lower index scores for vowels than for consonants seem to indicate that conductors viewed vowels as less problematic than consonants. This finding is interesting for two reasons. Firstly, differences among varieties of English are largely held to be due to differences in the vowel systems of the varieties. Secondly, the adjudicators at the Music Festival had warned singers to pay attention to their vowels, not their consonants, and so one might have expected that vowels, not consonants would have been perceived as more problematic. Where conductors identified problems with the pronunciation of vowel segments, they often did not or could not explain the nature of these problems in writing. This is hardly surprising, since linguists often recourse to the IPA and to quite specialist descriptions of vowels that are generally unknown to those not in the field. In this section, the results will be reported as faithfully to the descriptions which the conductors gave as possible, and these results will be reviewed later on in light of the interview and questionnaire data.

Conductors indicated that singers in their choirs pronounced HEAR and HAIR in the same way, but do not indicate how this is pronounced. However, it is very likely that these may be pronounced as [hɛ:], following Youssef and James' (2008) treatment of the SQUARE and NEAR vowels for mesolectal and acrolectal TE/C. Furthermore, no explanation was provided by the conductors who report that singers have difficulties pronouncing the vowel sounds in words like HAPPY, NURSE, FACE, and GOAT.

Where conductors believed that singers found the ER sound at the end of words like LETTER and TEACHER difficult, those that described the problem generally reported that singers produced something that sounded to them like <letta> (two) or <lettah> (one), which may suggest that singers were not producing an unstressed schwa [ə] vowel in that environment but instead a more open fronted vowel, similar to IPA [a]. Furthermore, one conductor reported that singers produced "rrr at the end." This implies that singers are

perceived to have a rhotic pronunciation in this environment, which was felt to be undesirable.

Of the four conductors who said that singers had difficulties with the open back unrounded vowel [ɑː] in words like START, three wrote that the singers' pronunciation sounded like <staaht> (2) or <staat> (2). This seems to imply that conductors perceived that singers produced a less backed and possibly lengthened variant, perhaps close to the open front unrounded [aː]. One conductor, however, felt that singers pronounced the word as <stuht>. Here, the singers' pronunciation may also be unrounded but is also raised, perhaps towards the open-mid back unrounded [ʌ]. Equally, all four conductors who reported that singers had difficulties with the open back rounded vowel [ɒ] in words like LOT and BODY felt that the vowel in these contexts was raised and unrounded and singers produced something that sounded to them like <lut> and <buddy>.

In addition, of the conductors who felt that singers had problems producing the diphthong in words like HOW, one conductor, who led two choirs, reported that singers in both choirs were likely to produce something that sounded to her like <hoaw>. It is not clear from the written data how this would be rendered in the IPA. However, this conductor was interviewed, and so these results will be discussed more fully when the interview data is discussed.

Lastly, of the four conductors who believed a few singers had problems with the diphthong in words like CHOICE and VOICE, only one provided an explanation, stating that those for whom it was difficult said something that sounded like VICE. This suggests that singers were perceived to unround and lower the first element of the diphthong.

In addition to consonant and vowel segments about which they were asked, conductors sometimes included details about segments in the stimulus words that they also felt were problematic. The first of these was the item SING, which one conductor perceived to be produced as <saing> by some singers. The variable under consideration in this word was the voiced velar nasal [ŋ], but this conductor singles in not on the consonant but on the vowel

preceding it, suggesting perhaps that singers instead produce something akin to [saiŋ], thereby dipthongising the vowel.

4.2.2.2 Results from the interviews

4.2.2.2.1 Results from the interviews 1: Conductors

In the questionnaires, conductors indicated ten of the vowel segments as problematic. However, in the interviews, conductors felt that only five of the vowel segments were problematic in the same ways as they were reported problematic in the questionnaires. These were: the open back unrounded vowel [ɑ] in the START set; the open back rounded vowel [ɒ]; the diphthong [ɔɪ]; the diphthong in the MOUTH lexical set; the pronunciation of words in the NEAR-SQUARE set.

With regard to the open back unrounded vowel [ɑ], conductors felt it was fronted and lengthened to produce [a:] as in [sta:t] versus the more desirable, to the conductors' ears, [stɑ:t]. The open back rounded vowel [ɒ], which was perceived to be raised and unrounded to the open-mid back unrounded [ʌ], or else raised even higher to the central vowel schwa [ə], resulting in words like LOT being pronounced as [lʌt] or [lət]. Similarly, although CANNOT was included in the wordlist because of interest with the initial sound, as was reported above, one conductor, who said that the initial consonant in CANNOT (i.e. [k]) was unproblematic for his choir, reported that, though he preferred singers to pronounce the word as [ˌkaˈnɒt], he found that singers sometimes sang [ˈkaˌnət], with the LOT vowel reduced to schwa.

The dipthong [ɔɪ] in words like CHOICE was reported to be pronounced as [aɪ] by one conductor, and only by this conductor, in both the questionnaires and the interviews. Another conductor, who did not indicate this in the questionnaire, said it might have been a minor problem for some singers, though not something she had stopped for.

In the questionnaires, four conductors reported the vowel in words like MOUTH as problematic. In the interviews, three of the five conductors replied that the pronunciation they find most desirable is [haʊ], i.e. with the first element of the diphthong as an open front unrounded vowel. These

conductors further included the lexical item DOWN in this category. This pronunciation is indeed the RP pronunciation of this diphthong. Though one of these believed that singers have no problem with this, the other two disagree, saying that singers quite frequently produce the pronunciation [hɔʊ], where the first element of the diphthong is raised, backed and rounded to produce the open-mid, back rounded vowel [ɔ]. This coincides with Youssef and James' vowel inventory for mesolectal and acrolectal TE/C speakers. In fact, one of them—who also identified it as a problem in the questionnaires-- attributes the singers' difficulties with "getting in right" to national tendencies. This is seen in the extract below.

Extract 4.61

<$Taylor><#>The [aʊ] sound is not second nature to Trinidadians <{1><[1><,></[1><#>Yeah like is [nɔʊ] and [dɒŋ]<{2><[2><,></[2> rather than [naʊ] and [daʊn] <#>The [a] and the [u] is not second nature to us so you have to point it out

<$Guyanne><#><[1>Okay</[1></{1>

<$Guyanne><#><[2>Mhm</[2></{2>

The remaining two conductors believed that the Trinidadian pronunciation, [hɔʊ], is not only acceptable but desirable. While one of the two did not believe that the sound is problematic for singers in her choir, the other seemed to believe that the first element of the diphthong may be lowered to an open back rounded vowel [ɒ]:

Extract 4.62

<$Varley><#>But<mention>[hɒʊ] </mention> is too hard <#><mention> [hɔʊ]</mention> a lighter sound

The diphthongs [eə] and [ɪə] as found in the set of words HAIR, HEAR and HERE, were judged problematic by conductors, who reported that they were produced as homophones. Eleven of the fourteen conductors replied to this item in the questionnaire, and all of those who replied indicated that members of their choirs pronounced these three words in the same way.

During the interviews, this also was a point of discussion. For example Mrs Taylor appeared exasperated by the Trinidadian tendency to pronounce all three items as homophones. She said:

Extract 4.63

<$B><#>Oh God <#>We say all three are pronounced [hɛə]<{><[><,> there's the</[>
<$A><#><[>Okay and</[></{> that's fine with you
<$B><#>No

Her colleague Mrs Smith finds the words similarly distressing:

Extract 4.64

<$Smith><#>Alright uh those are three important ones that I find myself always having to explain<{1><[1><,></[1> because they will say <quote>come here</quote><{2><[2><,></[2> and I said <quote>is it come hair on your head or is it come here</quote>

However, while they agreed that singers always pronounce the words as [hɛː] or [hɛə], the conductors did not ever completely agree on the most desirable pronunciation of any of the three words. For the first of the three, HAIR, four of the conductors accepted the singers' Trinidadian pronunciation [hɛə], with Mrs Taylor readily admitting that:

Extract 4.65

<#>But ahm<,> I don't I don't ahm obsess too much about twenty five [i.e. HAIR] and twenty seven [i.e. HERE] but a little bit about twenty six

The fifth conductor believes the most desirably pronunciation is [hɛː], which is in keeping with Youssef and James' description of TE/C.

For the next item, HEAR, a similar near-consensus was reached; four conductors judge [hɪə] the desired pronunciation, with a renegade fifth, inconsistently with her earlier answers, seeming to suggest [hɛə].

Extract 4.66
<$Varley><#>H E R E is [hɪə] and H A I R is [hɛə]
<$Guyanne><#>And then H E A R
<$Varley><#>[hɛə] <#>Yeah so similar with the E A R and the H E R E or [heə and hɛə] and um [hɛə]

With the final item, HERE, there was even greater divergence in the conductors' answers. Two of the five conductors would like the singers to pronounce this item as [hɪə], while a third preferred [hɛə]. The fourth conductor found either [hɪə] or [hɛə] to be acceptable. For these conductors, singers were reported as singing [hɛː]. The fifth conductor required singers to sing [hɛː] but reported that instead the singers sang [hɪɐɹ].

For a few of the items on the wordlist, the nature of the problem reported on the questionnaire and in the interview was different, including items which conductors found unproblematic and those that were found problematic only in the interview or questionnaire. These will be reported in the order in which they appeared on the list. This is because although the questionnaire explicitly required respondents to answer with reference to specific consonant or vowel segments, the interview did not, and so it was sometimes the case that a word included to test for a consonant segment was deemed problematic because of how the singers dealt with the vowel, or vice versa. It also happened that words included as detractors contained phonological segments that were a source of aural consternation to conductors.

The interviews also brought light to a number of vowel segments that were not explored in the questionnaires. The first of these is the vowel in SING. One conductor, before answering the question on SING verified "It's how I would want it pronounced, right?" Once this is confirmed, she established [syŋ], with the [ɪ] fronted to the close front rounded [y] as her

preferred pronunciation. Her colleague, who did not return a questionnaire, opted for the close front unrounded variant, which she appeared to lengthen, producing [si:ŋ].

Another vowel feature that was further highlighted in the interview process was what Wells (1982) describes as the tendency for speakers of English in the Caribbean to use full vowel sounds where speakers of other varieties used reduced vowels, typically schwa. The word list included two words which overtly tested this: LETTER and HAPPY. However, conductors indicated that this phenomenon was also likely to occur in other words on the list: HEAVEN, COMMITMENT, and GARDEN, all of which were initially included to test consonant features, namely h-dropping, consonant cluster reduction of /nt/, and the palatalization of velars. One conductor, who said on his questionnaire that h-dropping was the case, said in the interview that where singers had problems with this item, they tended to sing [ˈhɛˌvɛn], making no further mention of h-dropping. With regards to COMMITMENT, conductors generally reported [kə'mɪtmənt] as the preferred pronunciation. However, two of them believed that singers sometimes pronounced the word [kəˈmɪtˌmɛnt], so that it appears to be perceived to behave in much the same way as HEAVEN. A similar phenomenon was reported by one conductor with regard to the pronunciation of GARDEN.

In addition to these, one conductor noted that for three words, although singers do not produce the British pronunciation, the pronunciation the singers used was acceptable. These words were NURSE, GOAT, and FACE. Extract 4.26 (above) reports her beliefs regarding the NURSE vowel, while Extract 4.68 below shows her account for the FACE vowel.

Extract 4.68

<$Taylor><#>Yeah we don't have the diphthong we say [fes],> well the British again and this is why you have to be careful saying the British pronunciation and saying the they have [feɪs] they have the [e] and the [i]
<$GW><#>And the<,> the pure vowel is fine for you
<$Taylor><#>Mhm<,> cos there're ways I could soften it eh<,> tell them how to put their lips and all of that
<$GW><#>How would they soften it

<$Taylor><#>Again the [e] sound is sometimes a little harsh so [føs føs] rather than [fes] right

Given the low index scores for FACE, GOAT, and NURSE in the questionnaire data, these findings serve to consolidate the view that these vowels are not regarded as particularly problematic for singers.

4.2.2.2.2 Results from the interviews 2: Audience members

Firstly, audience members identified only two vowels as being potentially problematic for singers: the NURSE vowel and the START vowel (both shown in figure 4.6). Only one concert-goer felt that singers produced the vowel in NURSE incorrectly. She believed that the more acceptable pronunciation was the rhotic [nəɹs] while singers pronounced the word [nəs]. This response, however, is possibly best viewed in light of the further discussion of the NURSE vowel towards the end of section 4.2.2.2.3. With regards to the START vowel, while all the audience members said their preferred pronunciation is [stɑːt], and the majority believe that this is what the singers do, four of them believe singers may have problems with it. Of these, three identify [staːt] as the less desired pronunciation, while the fourth believes the vowel is somewhat shorter, [stat].

Otherwise, concert-goers unanimously judged singers' pronunciation of the following items to be acceptable, even where audience members expressed knowledge of an alternative pronunciation used in another dialect of English: LOT, STRUT, HAPPY, FACE, HOW, CHOICE, GOAT, HAIR, HEAR, HERE. For example, with regards to FACE, one audience member, Aneefa, commented that:

Extract 4.69

<$A><#>Cos I could see what I mean again with face I could see again the British sort of or uh American even like <mention>[feɪs]</mention>as opposed to <mention>[fes]</mention>

However, while she noted the differing possibilities in the pronunciation, it was the latter that is, for her, more acceptable for singers. Likewise, in the interview with Aneefa and her colleagues Keisha and Theresa, there was brief

discussion over the pronunciation of GOAT, before they came to a consensus which accepts [got] in choral singing.

Extract 4.70

<$Keisha><#><[>How would</[></{> British people say <mention>goat </mention>
<$Aneefa><#><mention>[gəʊt]</mention> <O>C-laughs</O>
<$Theresa><#><{><[>I don't</[>
<$Guyanne><#><[>I but</[></{> do you think it's fine for them to say <mention>[got]</mention>
<$Aneefa><#><{><[>Yeah</[>
<$Theresa><#><[>Yeah</[>
<$Guyanne><#>Or do you think they'd usually say <mention>[got]</mention>
<$Aneefa><#><{><[>Yeah</[>
<$Theresa><#><[>Yeah</[></{>
<$Guyanne><#>Okay
<$Aneefa><#>No <}><->I don't know if they</-> <=>I don't know if I'd say they</=></}> usually say <mention>[got]</mention> cos somehow that intonation doesn't sound like what they would say
<$Guyanne><#>What if they say <quote>high on a hill lived a lonely</quote>
<$Theresa><#><mention>[gothɜd gothɜd]</mention>
<$Aneefa><#>Yeah I guess so<,> okay
<$Theresa><#><&>sings-song</&>
<$Guyanne><#>And if you think of<,> the other choirs you've heard what do you think they would say
<$Keisha><#><mention>[got]</mention>
<$Theresa><#><mention>[got]</mention>
<$Aneefa><#><mention>[got]</mention>

4.2.2.2.3 Results from the interviews 3: Singers

While the youngsters were generally able to agree upon consonant segments that singers found difficult while singing, no similar consensus could be arrived upon for the vowels. Moreover, because young singers did not always respond to the stimulus words on the wordlist with regards to the specific phonological features being examined in each word, it is perhaps not

productive to attempt to report their replies with regard to each item. However, young singers appeared to have very specific problems with the desirable pronunciation of specific vowel segments, and, so long as that segment appeared in a stimulus word, they reported it. The graph below shows the major vowel segments the singers reported as problematic, but excludes words in the NEAR-SQUARE set.

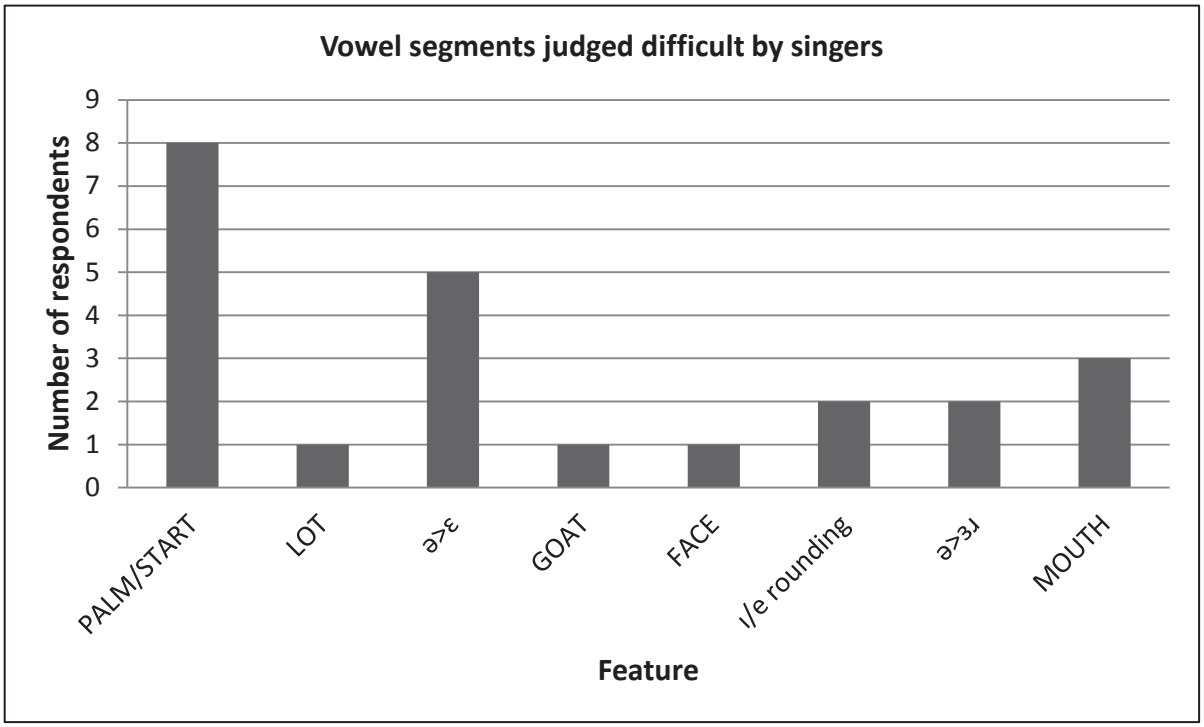


Figure 4.9: Vowel segments judged difficult by singers

The issues they reported fall into six categories:

1) Fronting of low back open unrounded vowel.
2) Reduced vowels being realised as full vowels.
3) Full vowels being realised as reduced vowels.
4) Diphthongs beings reduced to monophthongs.
5) Rounding of unrounded vowels.
6) Words that are homophones in Trinidadian English but not in other varieties.

Each of these will be dealt with in turn.

Firstly, eight singers identified a lengthened low back unrounded vowel [ɑː] as the most desirable realisation of the vowel in START. They described the low front unrounded [a] and its more lengthened allophone [aː] as an undesirable variant that some of their peers were likely to produce, though none of them attributed the variant to their own singing. Three others thought the slightly more raised and centralised [ɐ] is the acceptable pronunciation, and believed this is generally what they and others they sing with do. Further to this, although he did not demonstrate it, Kyle also acknowledged that the most desirable pronunciation of GARDEN would involve "getting the proper A sound." Dawn gave a similar answer, stating that the some singers were likely to produce the undesirable pronunciation [ˈgaːˌdan]. On the other hand, while there was generally a consensus that the vowel in LAND should be [a], three singers purported that the pronunciation their conductors would require is [ɑː](not shown on graph, since LAND was included to look at the consonant cluster). The singers' answers for LAND in fact, did not correlate to the answers given by either of the respondents' conductors, though they did match the requirements of another conductor. All the same, the use of the backed variant in words like LAND is likely to be an example of hypercorrection. Although Youssef and James list [aː] as the mesolectal and acrolectal TE/C pronunciation of words in the START set, it appeared to be stigmatized among the singers, and so it is likely that the "more British" [ɑː] was perceived as a necessary- even in contexts in which it does not occur.

In the second category of vowels, singers reported that syllables that should have been unstressed or produced with schwa were instead realised with a full vowel. This category of vowels includes the following items from wordlist: COMMITMENT, HEAVEN, and GARDEN. Only COMMITMENT was included in the word list to test this item, and so the graph represents only those answers relevant to this item. For each of these words, the undesirable pronunciation involved the nucleus of the second syllable. In the case of COMMITMENT, as shown on the graph, five of the young singers felt that others were likely to pronounce this word as [kəˈmɪtˌmɛnt], while they believed that the more desirable pronunciation was [kəˈmɪtmənt]. For GARDEN, the young people were not able to come to a consensus on the most

acceptable pronunciation of the word. Half of them believed that their conductors would most like them to sing [ˈgɑ:dn̩]. A further four believed the most acceptable pronunciation to be [ˈgɑ:ˌdən], while the final three thought it to be [ˈgɑ:ˌdʌn].

Subsequently, the pronunciations judged incorrect by the young people were equally varied. Four of the young people felt that singers normally produced what they had called the most desirable pronunciation, with each of the three acceptable pronunciations being represented in this small group. Of the remaining ten who believed that singers have some difficulty producing the desired pronunciation, there was no consensus over what exactly the less desirable realisation is. Only four of them produced a pronunciation that had not been judged unacceptable by another singer. Three of these said that singers may mistakenly sing [ˈgɑˌdɛn], implying that perhaps the error was linked to singers producing a spelling pronunciation of the word. This overlaps with the responses given by some of the conductors with regard to GARDEN and HEAVEN. The fourth believed that the final syllable, which in her ideal pronunciation is realised as a syllabic [n], undergoes epenthesis. She believed that the low front open unrounded vowel [a] is inserted between the first and second syllables, giving the pronunciation [ˈgaːˌdan][3] . The other six all produced pronunciations that others deemed desirable as their undesirable pronunciations. Thus, three singers said [ˈgɑˌdʌn] was undesirable, two said the same of [ˈgɑdən] and one believed [ˈgɑdn̩] to be the pronunciation conductors least accepted. Like GARDEN, the pronunciation of HEAVEN hovered between [ˈhɛvn̩] and [ˈhɛˌvʌn]. Critically, however, only two of the singers judged the pronunciation of the second syllable of this item to be problematic. The first reported that the incorrect pronunciation was [ˈhɛˌvʌn], while the second said that it was [ˈhɛˌvɛn].

The case of LETTER may also warrant inclusion in this group. Two singers believed that the final syllable in LETTER is likely to be rhotic, pronounced [lɛrɚ]. However, for this feature, the singers did not produce a single preferred variant. The graph below shows the different acceptable pronunciations of the word <letter>. It should be noted that the total responses on the graph is

[3] The vowel in the nucleus of the first syllable was discussed above.

fewer than the total number of singers. This is because singers sometimes simply agreed with their interview partner without providing an answer themselves. However, as the graph shows, assuming that their answer would have been identical may presume too much.

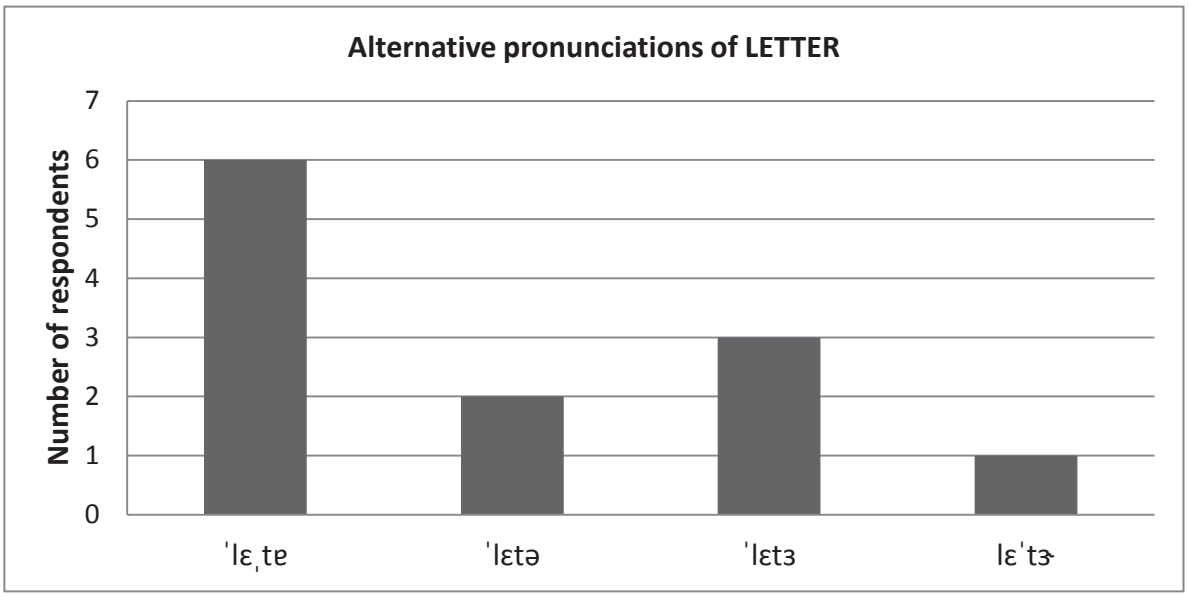


Figure 4.10: Alternative pronunciations of the word list item LETTER

The graph shows the singers' perception of their conductors' preferred pronunciations, which in all cases was identical to the one that the singers' themselves said that they normally produced. The pronunciation [ˈlɛˌtɐ][4] was the one that singers believed they most often used, followed by [ˈlɛˌtɜ], and then [ˈlɜtə] and [lɛˈtɝ], which together have only half as many responses as the leading answer. Given the variety that arises in the singers' responses, we might have expected more of them to identify this feature as problematic. This discrepancy seems to indicate that the singers are not aware of the variation.

Furthermore, there were also items on the word list which the singers felt problematic because the vowel quality was reduced. All but one of the singers judged [lɒt], with the low back open rounded vowel as the pronunciation conductors sought for the word LOT. While they generally

[4] Although [ɐ] is not reported anywhere as a phoneme of English in Trinidad, Wells (1982) does suggest it as a possible allophone for English in the West Indies, and in this case it was felt to be the most accurate representation of what the informants actually said.

agreed that other singers faced no problems producing this, one singer believed that the word may erroneously be pronounced as [lət].

The next issue that surrounded the pronunciation of vowel segments was concerned with words in which the vowels are normally monophthongs in Trinidadian English but which may be diphthongs in other varieties. The singers generally agreed that the most desirably pronunciation of the word GOAT is [got]. Indeed, when Giselle was faced with this word on the wordlist, she declared rather vehemently:

Extract 4.71

<$Giselle><#>There is one way to pronounce this word in the entire English Language<,> [got].

However, one singer believed that the pronunciation conductors most desire is [gəʊt], although her own pronunciation was also [got]. The singers similarly accepted the pronunciation of FACE with a close-mid front unrounded vowel [e], yielding [fes]. Again, only one singer produced an alternative with a diphthong, [feɪs], although two other singers raised the issue of rounding the [e] for singing (see below).

The wordlist items SING and FACE elucidate yet another concern that young singers have over the pronunciation of vowels: that some vowels that are unrounded in speech ought to be rounded when singing. In the case of SING, they generally agreed that the vowel is most desirably pronounced as a high front close to close mid vowel [ɪ]. However, Clare and Giselle felt that this pronunciation is not the one most desired by conductors. Instead, Clare suggests that conductors prefer the high front close rounded [y], rendering the most desirable pronunciation as [syŋ]. Giselle agrees with her but, although she demonstrated in the interview how one should round one's lips in order to produce the desired sound, she still sang it as [sɪŋ]. Clare and Giselle were also the only two to raise any protestations regarding the pronunciation of the vowel in FACE. While the other singers judged [fes] to be both their pronunciation and the one conductors prefer, Clare explained:

Extract 4.72

<$Clare><#><&>regarding face</&><#>She might want us to pout a little bit for this one like <unclear>word</unclear>.
<$Guyanne><#>And say what<{><[><,>no do it again</[> do it again do it again
<$Giselle><#><[>You really think so</[></{>

The resultant pronunciation for Clare was the open-mid central unrounded[ɜ]. For Giselle, who initially doubted Clare, it was the close-mid front rounded vowel, giving the pronunciation [føs]. This is interesting since the [ø] sound is part of the vowel inventory of neither TE/C nor SBE. This is further evidence for the existence of features not linked to a particular national variety that is associated with singing. Moreover, the girls' tendency towards rounding was in keeping with their conductor, as reported above (Extract 4.68).

The last category of words in which the vowels were seen as problematic by the young singers contains words in the NEAR-SQUARE set. Indeed, without the stimulus of the wordlist, many of the young singers commented on these words, and words with similar phonological segments, as problematic. For example, when listing words that are problematic in general, Dana said:

Extract 4.73

<$Dana><#>They always do that wrong <#>Simple <#>And words like <mention>near fear</mention>

In the wordlist, these words were presented to the singers as the (near-)homophone set HAIR, HEAR, HERE. The trio of words generated considerable discussion which highlights the young people's confusion about what they themselves said, and how they believed the words should be pronounced in singing. On arriving to this section of the wordlist, Dana, Matthew, and Giselle, all in separate interviews, commented on the challenges associated with words in this group, as the extracts below show.

Extract 4.74
<$Dana><#>Words like this<,> are strange

Extract 4.75
<$Matthew><#>These three kind of twist us up so we might just pick one and just go with it

Extract 4.76
<$Giselle><#>Listen to me<,> do you know that all three of these words are the same words

Giselle and her interview partner, Clare, cleverly resorted to singing songs from their choir's repertoire in an attempt to sort out the differences between HERE and HEAR:

Extract 4.77
<$Giselle><#>Like um <mention>Ascot</mention><{1><[1><,></[1> <mention>[hɛ:]</mention> <&>sings</&><quote>duke <{2><[2> and earl is [hɛ:]</quote></[2>
<$C><#><[1>Yeah</[1></{1>
<$C><#><[2><&>sings</&> and earl is [hıə]</quote></[2></{2> <#>She says [hıə]<O>some discussion</O>
<$B><#>And this is [hɛə] like what's the song <{><[><&>sings</&><quote>Do you [hɛə] what I [hɛə]</quote></[> <#>So this one like it stretches the most [hɛ:] and then <&>sings</&><quote>Do you [hɛə] what I [hɛə]</quote></[>
<$C><#><[><&>sings</&><quote>Do you [hɛə] what I [hɛə]</quote></[></{>
<$C><#>It is British-ish<{><[><,><#>You singing it wrong</[>
<$B><#><[>So this is [hɛə]</[></{><#>And this is [hıə]

Even after their efforts, the extract shows that the two girls clearly did not agree with each other on what the correct pronunciation of the words is. Moreover, Giselle's conclusion was at odds with the pronunciations her conductor indicated as desirable.

If an attempt is made to organise the young people's responses, the go-to pronunciation for all three items correlates to the vowels in Youssef and James' list, i.e. [ɛ:] or sometimes [ɛə]. Where no alternative is provided, this is because the young people view this pronunciation as desirable for singing. This was most usually found to be the case for the pronunciation of HAIR, with several making comments along the lines of "hair is ok" or "there's no problem there." Two of them, however, disagreed, with one judging [heə] the most desirable variant and the other [heəɹ]. In the case of HERE, six of the young people provided more desirable alternative pronunciations. Two of them deemed [hɪə] the exclusively acceptable pronunciation, while another two thought that [hɪə] and [hɛ:] would be equally accepted by their conductor. The final two were interviewed together. Jake thought that in this case [heəɹ] is the most desirable pronunciation, but his interview partner Kristy disagreed, and insisted that it is not rhotic, and thus [heə]. For the final element of the trio, HEAR, six singers also provided alternative pronunciations. With four singers suggesting it, [hɪə] was the most popular choice for the pronunciation the conductors will find desirable. Intriguingly, however, it was voted as unacceptable by two singers, who, rightly, believe that their conductor preferred [hɛə]. Another pair raised the vowel in the first element of the diphthong, so that their preferred pronunciation is [heə]. The final pair believed the most desirable pronunciation to be [hiɹ].

<u>The NURSE vowel</u>

The NURSE vowel was not addressed above for two reasons. Firstly, the singers were divided between two possible, and somewhat surprising, pronunciations of the word, as the graph below shows:

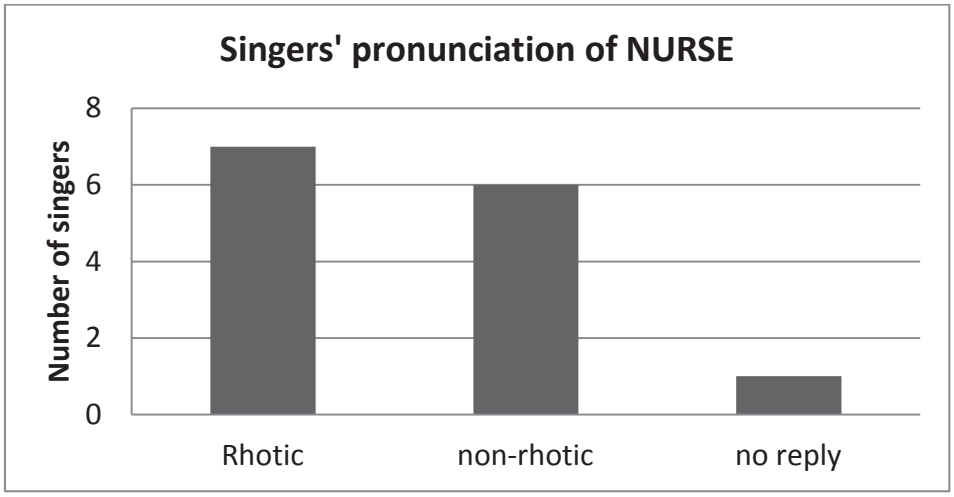


Figure 4.10: Pronunciations of NURSE

Although Trinidadian English/Creole is generally held to be non-rhotic, half the singers pronounced the word with a rhotic pronunciation, while just under half pronounced the word with the expected non-rhotic pronunciation. Respondents generally reported that the pronunciation they produced is the one desired by their conductors, and the one other singers produce. This would not be problematic were it not for the fact that, when we analyse the responses by pairs, we see that for five of the seven pairs, one singer said that the ideal pronunciation is rhotic while the other said it is not, and neither identified their partner's variant as incorrect, or at least marked the difference between the two variants. This is somewhat uncharacteristic of the singers' interview data, in which the young people often challenged (or supported) the responses their interview partners gave. There are two possible explanations for this. The first is that both pronunciations are perceived as correct, and so singers did not see the need to point out their partners' pronunciation as wrong. This is indeed possible, since Jo-Anne Ferreira (2011 p.c.) has confirmed that some speakers of TE/C are indeed rhotic with regards to the NURSE vowel, and only with this vowel. Another possibility is that the young people do not readily perceive the differences, and so assume that their partner has said what they have. There are, of course, exceptions. One singer with a rhotic pronunciation suggested that a possible incorrect pronunciation would be [nɜs], i.e. non-rhotic, in keeping with the audience member in

4.2.2.2.2. Among the non-rhotic respondents, only one suggested an alternate undesirable pronunciation of [nʌs].

4.2.2.3 Overview vowels

The preceding sections addressed the issues surrounding vowels as perceived by the different groups of informants. Once again, it is perhaps useful to give a brief overview of how their responses interact with one another. The Venn diagram below gives a general representation of the types of problems that were reported, without making reference to the number of respondents in each group.

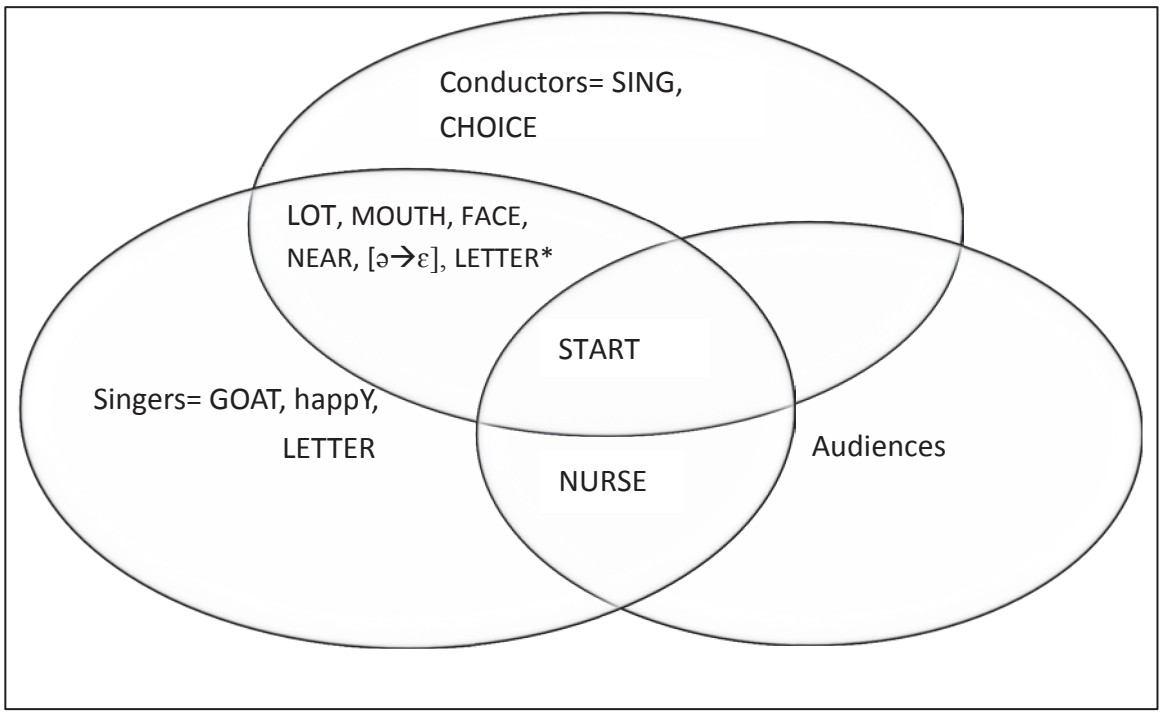


Figure 4.11: Convergences and divergences in informants' responses

When compared with Figure 4.7, the first thing that becomes immediately clear is the degree of divergence among the answers from the different groups. There was only one vowel set that all groups perceive to be difficult for singers, the START vowel. Audience members overlapped with practitioners in only one other feature, the pronunciation of the NURSE vowel. There is a relatively high degree of overlap between the conductors and the singers, most notably with regard to the pronunciation of the vowels in words like LOT, MOUTH, NEAR, and the realisation of schwa as [ɛ]. The FACE vowel

was reported as problematic by small numbers in both groups, and when those contributions were examined, it was found that the TE/C pronunciation of FACE was not perceived as problematic because it was not British, but because conductors required the vowel to be rounded to [ø], as in the case of the consonantal features attributed to phonetic features required for singing. This was also the case for the lone conductor who found the pronunciation of the SING vowel to be problematic, requiring it to be sung as [y]. Only one conductor reported the CHOICE vowel as problematic. The singers, in very small numbers, reported the GOAT vowel and the happY vowel as problematic. In larger numbers and for a range of reasons, the singers also reported the lettER vowel as problematic, though no other group did so in the interview. Some conductors, however, did report this feature as problematic in the questionnaires. One possible explanation for the higher degree of overlap between conductors and singers than between audiences and the other groups could be the fact that as active practitioners of choral music, they are more attuned to the phonological difficulties that may arise, whereas the audiences, as more passive recipients, are not. Furthermore, we have seen both with vowels and consonants that some of the phonetic realisations that are required are different from to the phonological features found in TE/C and Standard British English, and seem to be requirements of singing. It is therefore unlikely that audiences would have been aware of these differences.

4.3 Summary

The first concern of this chapter was to present results pertaining to the issue of the most desirable accent for choral singing and what this could illuminate about language attitudes in Trinidad. The data showed that language choice in choral singing is constrained by musical genre. Both the questionnaire and the interview data confirmed that a variety of (presumably) Standard British English (SBE) is judged the most suitable for choral music written in the Western Classical tradition, while choral music that originates in Trinidad is felt to be best sung using vernacular TE/C features. Both the questionnaire and the interview data seemed to suggest the existence of a non-national variety, or at least non-national sets of features, that are also

deemed appropriate for singing songs in the Western classical music tradition. It should also be noted that, although SBE was reported the most desirable variety for singing Western classical music, there was some questioning of this norm amongst the young singers. Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that singers and conductors do accept some TE/C features outside the stipulated folk music repertoire.

The data presented with regard to language choice in choral singing was also instructive with regard to language attitudes in Trinidad. The tendency towards SBE suggests a rootedness in a standard language ideology that views SBE positively and assesses it as clearer, more accurate, more elevated, and more aesthetically pleasing. TE/C, though it maintains links to local identity, is nevertheless viewed as less comprehensible, less acoustically pleasant, and an impediment to singing correctly within the Western classical canon.

The second part of this chapter looked at the perceived problems singers faced when required to sing choral music in the Western classical tradition, i.e. using SBE pronunciations. The questionnaire data revealed that consonants were significantly more likely to be reported as a problem for singers in choirs by choral conductors. Singers, conductors, and audiences also reported more consonants than vowels being problematic for choral singers. When we study those features reported as problematic, we see that two general groups can be found. The first group comprises features which are deemed difficult because of the effects of cross linguistic influence between TE/C and SBE. The second group comprises features whose difficulty cannot be attributed to any form of cross linguistic influence between the two varieties, and instead seem to be features of the non-national singing variety.

In the next chapter, the focus will shift from reported preferences and perceived difficulties to what conductors and singers actually do. It will focus on data collected at choral rehearsals for six school choirs as they prepared for the national Music Festival.

CHAPTER 5: RESULTS 2- PRONUNCIATIONS USED DURING REHEARSALS

5.0.1 Introduction

The previous chapter reported the views held by singers, conductors and audiences with regard to the most appropriate accent for singing. It found that participants generally believed that singers should use British English pronunciations when singing songs found in the Western Classical canon, with Trinidadian English/Creole accents being relegated to local music, although there was some evidence for the acceptance of more acrolectal forms of TE/C pronunciation in singing. The previous chapter also reported results of the word-list task in the interviews and questionnaires, and showed that overall, consonantal features associated with Standard British English (SBE) were more likely to be perceived as being problematic for Trinidadian singers than were vocalic features, and that these difficulties were often attributed to interference from TE/C.

In this chapter, the focus shifts to the choral rehearsals. It looks at the rehearsals in progress and reports on the actual realisations of the phonological features investigated in the word list task, and examines the extent to which the questionnaire and interview participants' responses are in keeping with what actually occurs within the choral rehearsal. The data are presented in three sections: boys, younger girls, and older girls. This manner is chosen since all the features do not necessarily occur in the texts of all the songs, and each group of singers does not necessarily face the same challenges in their realisation of the most appropriate accent for singing. This means of presentation also allows us to make clear comparisons according to gender, age, and region of origin in Trinidad. An overall analysis of the three types of choirs considered together, and in comparison with one another, is then presented.

5.0.2 Notes on analysis

It is perhaps worthwhile at this point to briefly recap how the data in this section were analysed. Each recording was closely listened to on at least

three occasions, with about 4 months between each occasion. On the first event, transcripts or summaries were made of the rehearsal in progress, including phonetic transcriptions of the sung words. The transcripts were then closely studied and several words were selected based on one (or more) of the following criteria:

- The two sounds are known to be different in TE/C and SBE.
- The singers' pronunciation did not match the pronunciation given as the preferred pronunciation in the questionnaires and interviews.
- The singers' pronunciation matched the preferred pronunciation identified by questionnaire and interview participants, even though the latter group reported that this sound would be difficult for singers.
- The conductor corrected the singers' pronunciation of that word.

On the second listening occasion, all tokens of words in these categories were noted.

After this, a second listener was sent six 30-second recordings, and asked to transcribe individual words in the recordings (see Chapter 3, Method). Her results were compared to my own impressions for the same tokens. In total, the second listener recorded her impressions of 72 tokens. Our evaluation of the tokens overlaps in the majority of cases (66 out of 72 or 91.67 percent of the time). In cases of disagreement the relevant extract was listened to again, bearing all the possible realisations in mind, and a decision was taken as to the most appropriate transcription(s) to represent the token in question. The extracts, as well as the second listener's responses, are included in the appendix.

One important challenge in representing sung choral data lies in how to account for the possible variety of pronunciations of a single word that might occur at any given point in time. For each token, both listeners recorded all pronunciations that the singers used. Varying pronunciations could be distinguished when singers singing different vocal parts, e.g. soprano and alto, were not perceived as pronouncing a word in the same way. Another possible way of identifying different pronunciations of the same token was when those singers closest to the microphone did not sound as though they sang the same thing. In many cases, varying pronunciations could be confirmed not only by the second listener, but also by the corrections of the conductor. In order to

represent the varying pronunciations and how they co-occurred, the following taxonomy was created:

i. [x] is used exclusively, or [x]-only, where [x] represents the allophone identified as preferred in the questionnaires and interviews

ii. [y] is used exclusively, or [y]-only, where [y] represents allophones identified as dispreferred in the questionnaires and interviews

iii. [x] and [y] are realised simultaneously

iv. [c] is used exclusively, or [c]-only where [c] represents any number of allophones not identified in either the questionnaires or the interviews.

v. [x], [y], and [c], which allows any combination of the allophones, including (iii) above.

After this was done, the data was listened to a third time, and the relevant tokens were recorded in an Excel spread sheet, grouped according to the feature under examination. The extract below, from the spread sheet made for the POS Senior Girls' Choir, shows the pronunciation of several sung words during the rehearsal:

Extract 5.1[1]:

Feature	**Ld**	**pt**	**ft**	**gd**	**MOUTH**	**LOT**	**GOAT**	**NORTH**
1st occurrence	stɪld	ɹɑpt	lɪft	wɪŋd	sɔʊndz	gɒn	No	ɔ:l
2ndoccurrence	stɪld	ɹɑpt	lɪft	wɪŋ	sɔʊndz/saʊnz	gɒn	no	ɔ:l

As can be seen from the extract, multiple pronunciations of a single token were placed in the same row. The data were then colour-coded following the taxonomy described above, so that exclusive realisations of preferred pronunciations went in one colour, exclusive realisations of dispreferred pronunciations in another, and all co-occurring pronunciations in different colours, so that [x] and [y] was not grouped with [y] and [c] co-occurrences. The data were then sorted by colour, which made it possible to count the number of tokens in each group. It is important to note that the numbers that will be represented here, then, are numbers for the choir as a whole, and do

[1] Also appears as Extract 3.3.

not represent each individual singer in a choir. There is no way of knowing how many singers were singing each possible realisation in a token with co-occurring allophones.

This chapter reports percentage rates of usage for allophones of a wide variety of features. Not included in this analysis are realisations of possible schwa usage in words like LETTER, which received quite high index scores (0.69). This implies that questionnaire respondents felt that singers would find the preferred pronunciation difficult to accomplish. Schwa usage is linked very closely to word prominence, and TE/C, like many other Caribbean Creoles, is felt to be relatively syllable timed, with each syllable receiving about equal stress. Choral singing, however, is not an appropriate context in which to test this particular phenomenon accurately, since the regular correlates of prominence, namely pitch, amplitude, and duration, are quite tightly controlled in musical composition. Thus findings for schwa will not be reported here.

5.1 Pronunciations in the boys' rehearsals

Two boys' choirs participated in this study. They were Port-of-Spain Boys' Choir (POS Boys) and San Fernando Boys' Choir (SANDO Boys), both choirs at all-male secondary schools in north and south Trinidad respectively, both schools with a tradition of choral singing. Both choirs sang David Stocker's arrangement of the traditional sea chantey "Blow Ye Winds", in competition with each other, and SANDO Boys also sang Roger Quilter's arrangement of the piece "Non Nobis Domine", the first line of which was in Latin but the remaining lyrics in English.

5.1.1 Consonant pronunciations in the boys' rehearsals

Based on the results of the interviews and questionnaires, we would expect to find frequent occurrences of TH-stopping and consonant cluster reduction, as well as metathesis of [sk], frequent realisations of the voiced velar nasal [ŋ] as [n], and less frequent but nevertheless possible realisations of [k] as [kj], [g] as [gj], and word final [n] and [nd] realised as [ŋ]. In the boys' songs, it was not possible to test for the occurrence of [ŋ] to [n], since the

lyrics of the song sometimes required this. It is, in fact, made explicit by one conductor who points out to his choristers that "They've written it singin' and so we will say it the dialect way." Furthermore, no environments in which [kj] and [gj] typically occur, i.e. preceding [a], occurred in the lyrics of either of the boys' songs.

Dental fricatives

Turning firstly to the voiced and voiceless dental fricatives /ð/ and /θ/, we find that there are several opportunities for the boys to pronounce these features during the choral rehearsal. Words with voiced TH- that occur in the song lyrics of "Blow Ye Winds" are: <the> (before both words beginning with vowels and with consonants), <they>, <that>, <there>, and <other>.Only one word in this song contains a voiceless TH-:<months>. "Non Nobis Domine" also contains <the> and <that>,in addition to <thy> and <these>,but no words with the possibility for the voiceless dental fricative /θ/. Overall, 106 tokens of words containing allophones of /ð/ ([ð] or [d])occurred, 46 in Port-of-Spain and 60 in San Fernando. Only 14 instances of words containing allophones of /θ/ ([θ] or [t]) occurred in the boys' data, eight occurrences in Port-of-Spain and six in San Fernando. The graphs below show the distribution of allophones of /ð/ and /θ/ in the boys' rehearsal data.

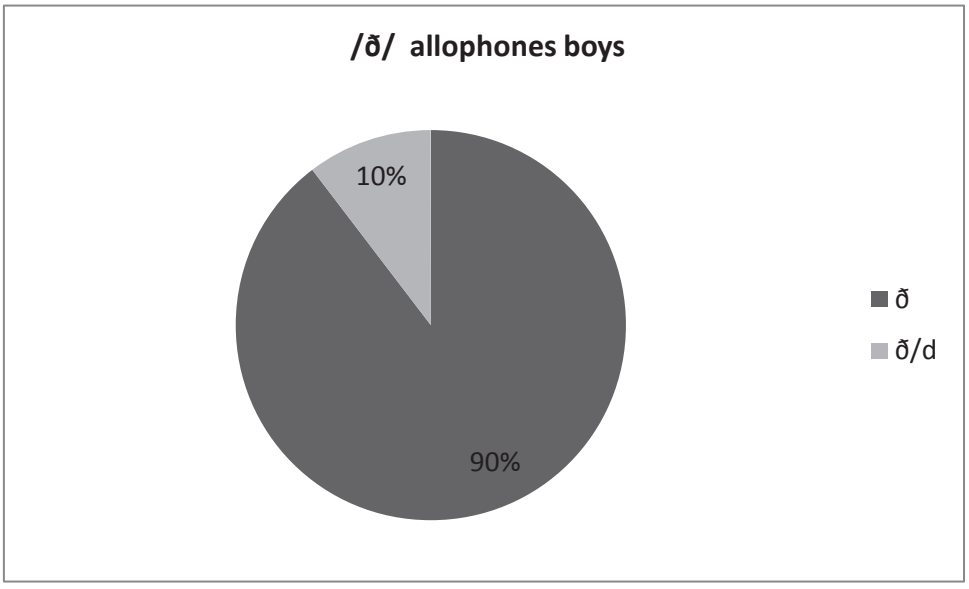


Figure 5.1 Frequency of allophones of /ð/ in the boys' data

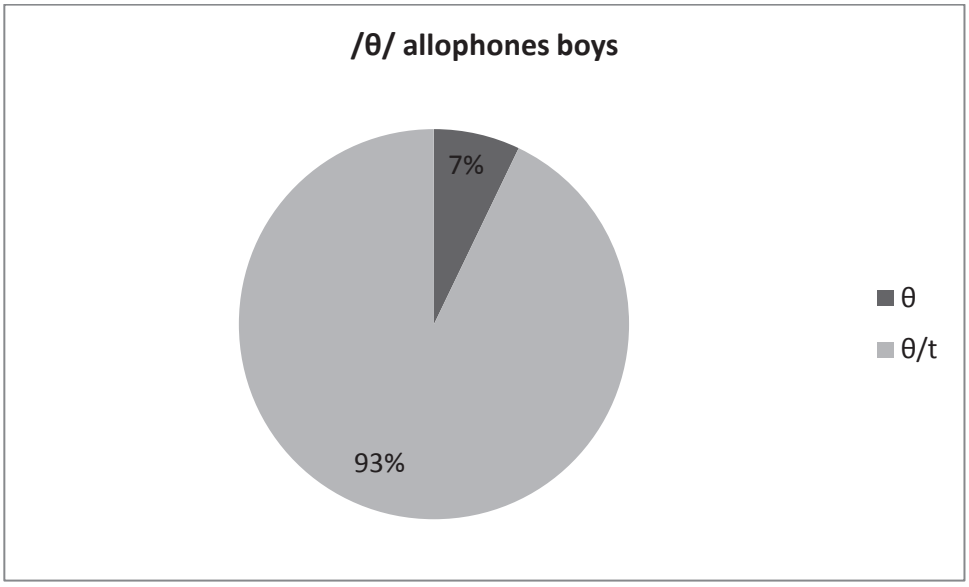


Figure 5.2 Frequency of allophones of /θ/ in the boys' rehearsal data

The first graph, Figure 5.1, shows that overall there are two possible allophones of /ð/ in the boys' rehearsal data: [ð], the allophone identified as more desirable in the interview data, and [d], the allophone identified as less preferred in choral singing by the interview participants. On the overwhelming majority of occasions, 90 percent of the time, the boys were heard to produce [ð] exclusively. This conflicts somewhat with the high index score (0.92) reported for voiced dental fricatives in the questionnaires. The other allophone, [d], never occurred exclusively. Instead, it appears as though some boys sang [d] while others sang [ð] in the same situations. This co-occurrence of [d] and [ð] happens 10 percent of the time.

Conversely, Figure 5.2 shows that the boys sang /θ/ as [θ] on only 7 percent of the possible occurrences, in absolute numbers, on one occasion. On the other hand, some boys produce [θ] while others simultaneously produce [t] on the remaining 13 occasions, or 93 percent of the time. This is in keeping with the high index score (0.85), reported for voiceless dental fricatives in the questionnaires, and with the reports from the interviews. It would, however, be premature to conclude that the boys are less proficient producers of [θ] than of [ð] for several reasons. Firstly, the instances of [ð] and [θ] occur in very different phonetic environments. Tokens of /ð/ almost always occur word initially, with the exception of <other>. Tokens of /θ/, on the other hand, occur word finally, and as

part of a cluster /θs/. Furthermore, the sheer numbers of tokens of /ð/ and its allophones so exceed those of /θ/ that it is, at this stage, only possible to speak of a general tendency in the data, which seems to suggest that the boys may be better at producing the allophone of /ð/ judged more desirable in the interviews and questionnaires, [ð].

No gross differences could be detected in the frequency of the allophones used in North and South, as can be seen in Figure 5.3 below.

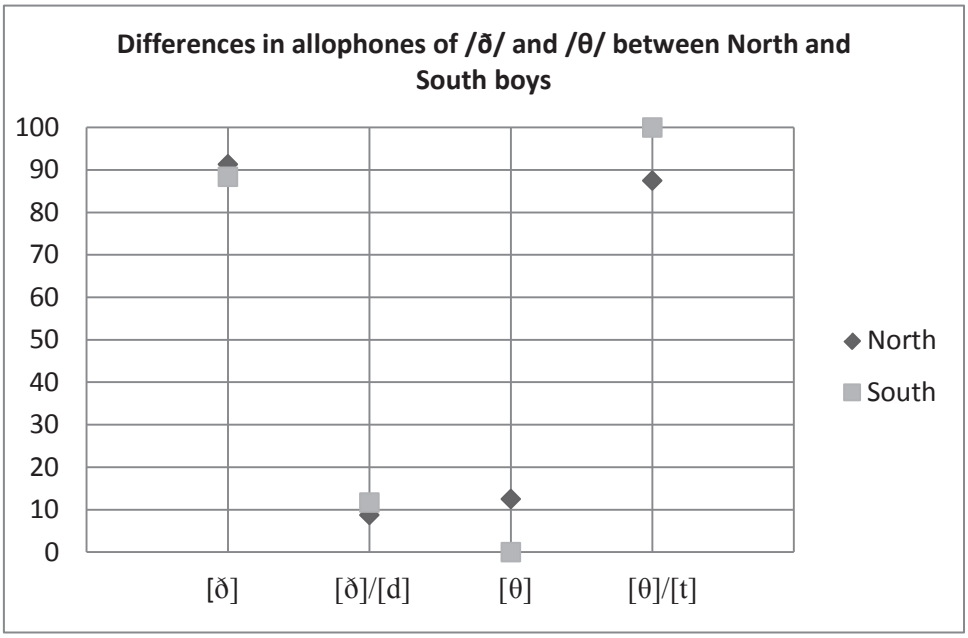


Figure 5.3 Differences in the frequency of /θ/ and /ð/ allophones in boys' rehearsal data

The only possible difference is in the distribution of /θ/ allophones, where the boys in SANDO Boys' Choir use [t] categorically, where their POS counterparts use it 87.5% of the time. These percentages, however, may be misleading, since it has already been pointed out that that the data for this feature was limited, so that 87.5% represents seven out of eight occurrences.

One likely source of variation in the boys' data, however, may be musical genre. While POS Boys' Choir sang only one piece, "Blow Ye Winds", SANDO Boys' Choir also performed a second, "Non Nobis Domine".[2] If we compare the results for the voiced dental fricative /ð/ for the song that both boys'

[2] Despite its Latin title, the lyrics of "Non Nobis Domine" are sung in English, and can be found in the appendix.

choirs sing, "Blow Ye Winds", a very interesting finding emerges. In the POS Boys' choir, four out of 46 possible realisations of /ð/, a mere 8.7 percent, are stopped. On the other hand, six out of a possible 33 realisations of /ð/, or 18.8 percent, are stopped in the SANDO Boys. This might suggest that there may be differences between singers in the North and South of Trinidad with regard to the realisation of /ð/, with male singers in South Trinidad being more likely to produce the stop variant, [d], than male singers in North Trinidad, when /ð/ appears in roughly the same environments. This conclusion seems to contradict Figure 5.3, where no differences may be observed. However, both "Non Nobis Domine" and "Blow Ye Winds" are represented in Figure 5.3. The average [d]/ [ð] joint occurrence in SANDO Boys' Choir is there lowered due in large part to the low incidence of stopping in "Non Nobis Domine". Only one of a possible 26 voiced dental fricatives in this piece, or 3.7 percent, is stopped, a number considerably less than both the 18.8 percent of the other piece and the 11.67 percent of the pieces considered together. These findings are represented in Figure 5.4 below.

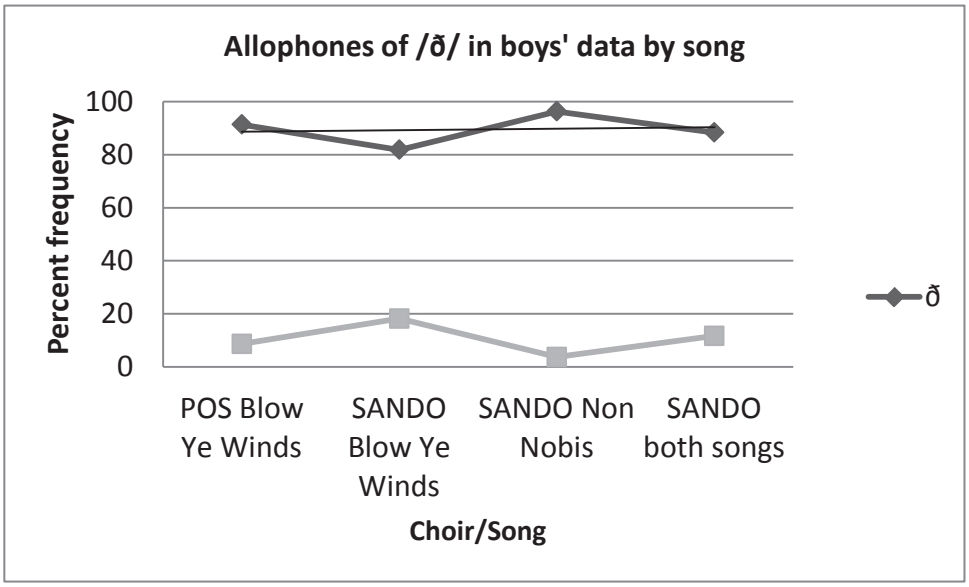


Figure 5.4 Differences in frequency of /ð/ in boys' data by song

The outcomes on the graph may be accounted for by considering the nature of the two pieces more closely. "Blow Ye Winds" is a sea-chantey, a song that seems to have been chosen in keeping with the line of thinking that "boys always want to sing about pirates […] and so you had to find something

that has male-oriented lyrics" (Sealey 2011, p.c.). Given the connection between masculinity, and especially machismo, and non-standard language established in sociolinguistics, it may well be that the boys pay less attention to their pronunciation while singing "Blow Ye Winds" than they do while singing "Non Nobis Domine", a more reverent song, whose lyrics speak not of sea-faring adventures but instead of praising a higher deity. Thus the sea-chantey's manliness may be marked by the more frequent use of the less prestigious variable [d], alongside [ð], while the second piece's "piety" is signalled by the almost categorical use of the more standard variable.

Consonant Clusters

Based on the results of the questionnaires and interviews, the next feature we should expect to see in the data with some frequency is consonant cluster reduction. Although the word <winds> occurs in the data with considerable frequency, its pronunciation will not be reported. This is because, since [n], [d], and [z] are all voiced alveolar sounds, it is difficult to judge whether or not singers reduced the underlying cluster [nd] to [n] before adding the plural –s morpheme. The words which will be reported on are: <wind>, <and>, <send> and <advertised> in "Blow Ye Winds"; and <friend>, <end>, <and>, <hold>, and <gold>in "Non Nobis Domine". The focus, thus, is on /zd/, /nd/ and /ld/ clusters. In total, there are 130 tokens with possible consonant clusters in the boys' data, 60 in Port-of-Spain and 70 in San Fernando. The overall distribution of these tokens is shown below.

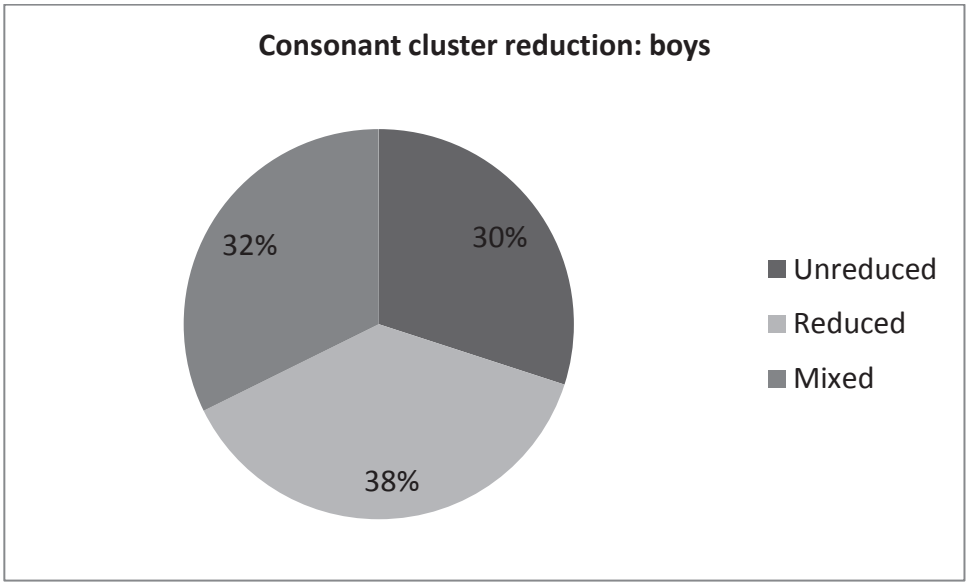


Figure 5.5 Frequency of the occurrence of different realisations of consonant clusters in boys' rehearsal data

In the graph above, the label 'unreduced' refers to instances in which all singers in the choir sang the consonant clusters as [zd], [nd], or [ld], while 'reduced' refers to incidences in which singers were uniformly perceived as reducing the respective consonant clusters to [z], [n], or [d]. The category mixed refers to those instances where some singers were perceived as singing the consonant cluster while others were perceived as reducing it. Perhaps what is most striking about the graph is the almost equal distribution of each of the features. Consonant cluster reduction occured uniformly on 38 percent of occasions, and did not occur at all on 30 percent of occasions. On the remaining 32 percent of occasions, some singers reduced the consonants while others did not. This pattern of distribution is keeping with the high index scores of the consonant clusters in the questionnaires, notably the score of 2.3 for /nd/ consonant clusters, which is by far the most prevalent possible consonant cluster in this data set, accounting for 103 out of 130 possible consonant clusters. Because of the low prevalence of the other clusters, particularly /ld/ which only occurs in "Non Nobis Domine", the rest of the discussion will focus solely on /nd/.

When only those cases of /nd/ produced in identical environments, i.e. "Blow Ye Winds", are isolated and analysed, a very different picture emerges. This can be seen in Figure 5.6 below.

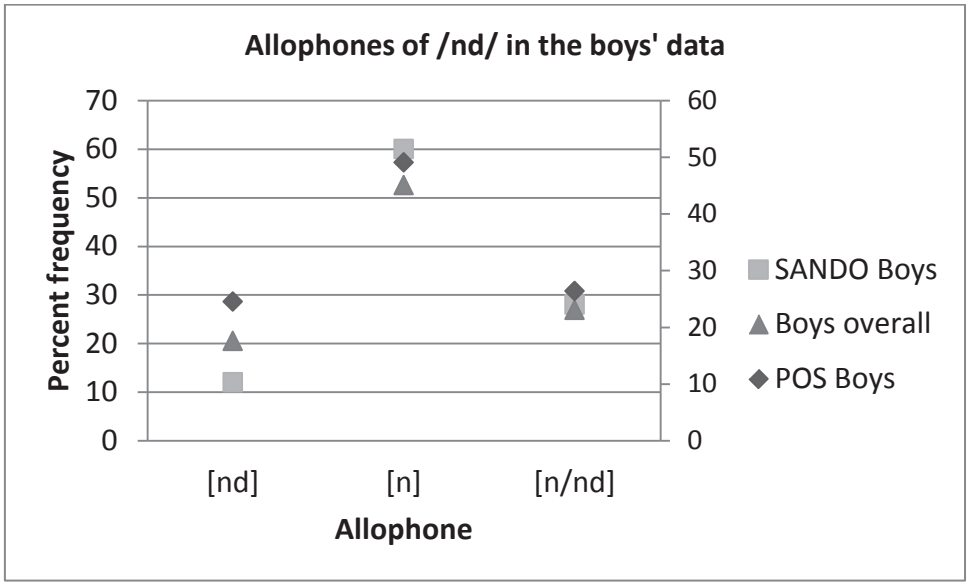


Figure 5.6 Frequency of occurrence of different realisations of /nd/ in boys' rehearsal data, comparing North and South choirs

Firstly, the graph shows that [n] was overall the most frequent realisation of /nd/ in the rehearsals of "Blow Ye Winds", accounting for just over half (52.6 percent) of the total possible occurrences. On the other hand, [nd], the variant identified as preferred but problematic in the interviews and questionnaires, accounted for only 20.5 percent overall. The co-occurrence of [n] and [nd] accounts for the remaining 26.9 percent. These figures suggest that, although the boys did at times make exclusive use of the preferred variant, their use of it was neither secure nor consistent.

The graph also shows that real differences exist in the usage patterns of the two boys' choirs. The boys from the North, POS Boys' Choir, made more consistent use of the prestigious [nd] than the boys in the South. The difference is quite pronounced. In fact, [nd] accounted for double the amount of possible /nd/ in Port-of-Spain as it does in San Fernando (24.5 versus 12 percent). Conversely, SANDO Boys' Choir used the less desirable [n] more frequently than the choristers in Port-of-Spain. [n] accounted for 60 percent of SANDO Boys' Choir /nd/ realisations, as opposed to slightly less than half (49 percent) of those for POS Boys' Choir. The boys' simultaneous use of [n] and [nd] was about equal, accounting for 26.4 percent of the total in Port-of-Spain and 28 percent in San Fernando.

As with allophones of the voiced dental fricative, there also exist differences between the distributions of allophones of /nd/ in the two songs sung in San Fernando. This is seen in the graph below.

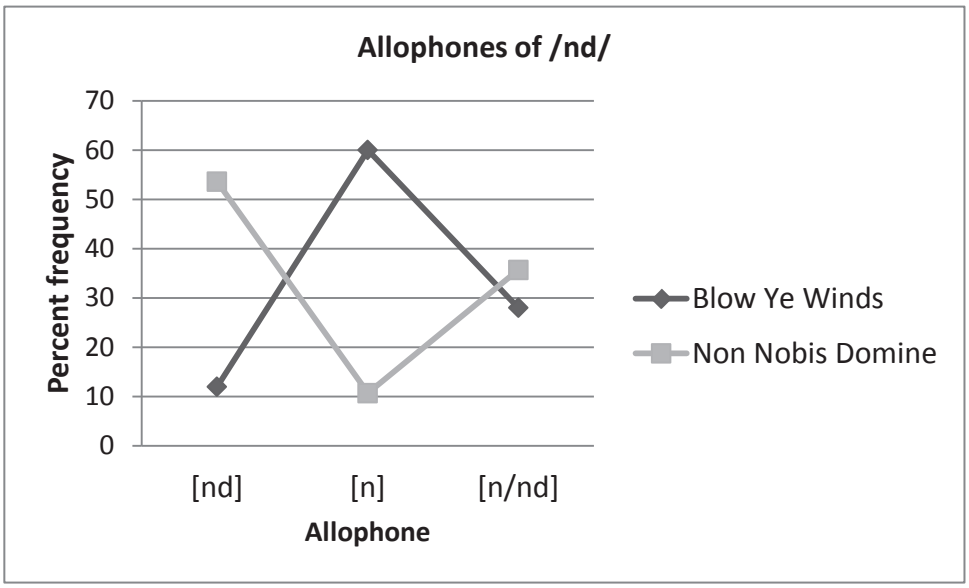


Figure 5.7 Allophones of /nd/ in SANDO Boys' data by song

Here, we see that SANDO Boys' Choir's use of [nd] was markedly higher in "Non Nobis Domine" that it is in "Blow Ye Winds". In "Non Nobis Domine" it accounted for 53.6 percent all possible /nd/ realisations, higher even than POS Boys' Choir's use in the other piece. On the other hand, their use of [n] was also dramatically lower, accounting for only 10.7 percent of tokens of /nd/. The frequency of co-occurring [n] and [nd] is slightly higher in "Non Nobis Domine". As was suggested for the voiced dental fricatives, these differences may be explained by comparing the playful nature of "Blow Ye Winds" with the prayerful nature of "Non Nobis Domine". Furthermore, the frequency of the co-occurring [n] and [nd] for both choirs in both songs, considered with the reported preference for [nd] borne in mind, seems to suggest that the boys are targeting [nd], though they may not consistently achieve it.

The final consonantal feature that can be examined in the boys' data is the realisation of /nd/ or /n/ as [ŋ]. This was frequently reported as problematic in the interviews and questionnaires and had an index score of 0.57. There were 21 tokens in the data where this process was likely to occur,

on the words <town>, <around>, and <crown>. Fourteen of these tokens occurred in the Port-of-Spain data and the remaining seven in San Fernando.

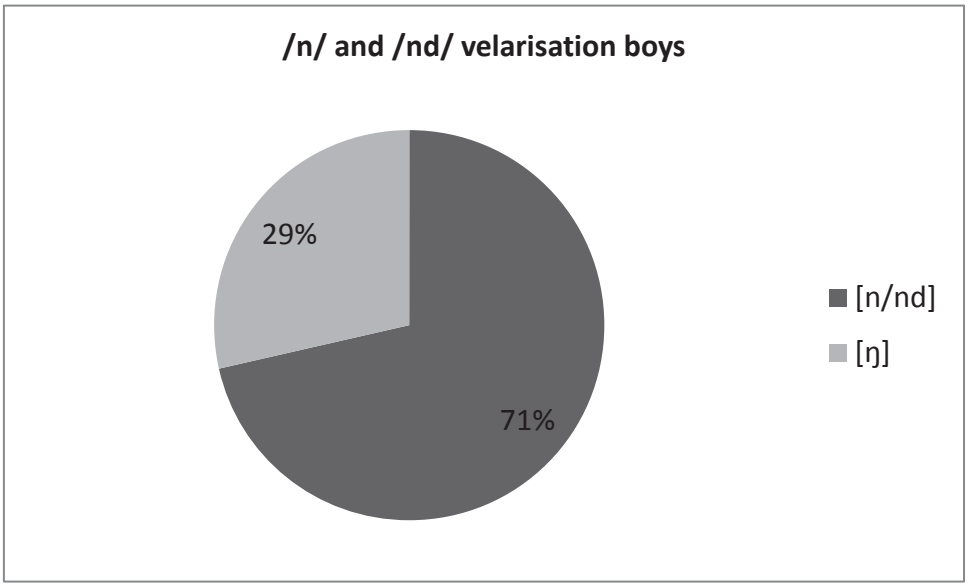


Figure 5.8 Rates of /n/ and /nd/ velarisation in the boys' data

The graph shows that in the majority of cases, or 71 percent, the singers produced the pronunciation identified as desirable, while they produced the less preferred [ŋ] 29 percent of the time. This 29 percent actually represents six tokens, all from POS Boys' Choir, five of which are of the same word, <around>, and the sixth on the word <town>. It should be noted that the pronunciation of <town> as [tʌŋ] was immediately corrected by the teacher, and in fact does not re-occur in any of the subsequent pronunciations of the word. With regard to <around>, to claim that this is necessarily a case of transfer from more mesolectal TE/C forms may also not be entirely correct. The word <around>precedes the word <Cape> in the song lyrics, the entire line reading "Let the anchor go/around Cape Horn sure as you're born." Given the phonetic environment of the word, i.e. preceding a velar consonant, it is very likely that what is heard are the results of the process of regressive assimilation, with the alveolar [n] (already reduced from [nd]) assimilated to [k] and realised as a velar, producing [əˌɹɔŋ kep hɔːn].

5.1.2 Vowel pronunciations in the boys' rehearsals

The previous section reported the realisation of consonant segments in the rehearsal data. It showed there was for the most part consistency between the participants' perceptions of problems singers would face when singing in Standard English. In this section, we shift our attention to the pronunciation of vowels in the choral rehearsals. Given the overall low index scores of the vowels in the questionnaires, and the infrequent reporting of vowels as problematic, we would expect to see few instances in which the Trinidadian singers did not meet the desired British English target, with the exception of the words in the NEAR-SQUARE set, and to a lesser extent those in the PALM set. The findings on the vowels will be reported in three sections, based on the patterns that emerged after close listening to the data: back vowels, diphthongs, and unstressed vowels.

5.1.2.1 Back vowels

In the boys' rehearsals, several opportunities arose for the pronunciation of words belonging to the STRUT, NORTH, PALM, and LOT lexical sets, which are all back vowels in British English.

There are 58 recorded instances of the STRUT vowel in the boys' rehearsal data, 12 of which occur in Port-of-Spain and 46 in San Fernando. Three allophones of the STRUT vowel occurred in the data: the preferred [ʌ], and then [ɒ] and [a], which were not identified as dispreferred in the interview data. The graph below shows the overall distribution of the allophones of the STRUT vowel.

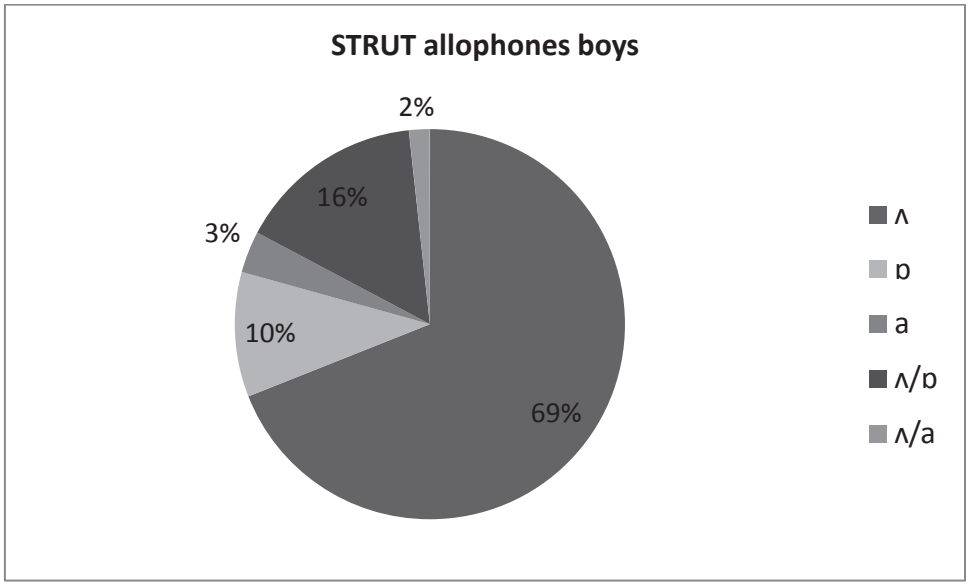


Figure 5.9 Overall distribution of STRUT allophones in boys' data

The preferred [ʌ] was indeed the most frequent allophone of STRUT found in the boys' data, occurring on its own some 69 percent of the time, in combination with [ɒ] some 16 percent of the time, and with [a] another 2 percent of the time. Otherwise, [ɒ] occurred on its own 10 percent of the time, while [a] occurred on its own on the remaining instances of STRUT (3 percent).

The graph, however, obscures the differences that exist between the songs. Twenty tokens of STRUT occurred in the piece, "Blow Ye Winds", and here the pronunciation of STRUT as [ʌ] is categorical, both for POS Boys' Choir and for SANDO Boys' Choir. This means that all instances of all other allophones are restricted to "Non Nobis Domine". The line graph below shows how these are distributed in this piece, comparing it with SANDO Boys' Choir's STRUT pronunciation for "Blow Ye Winds".

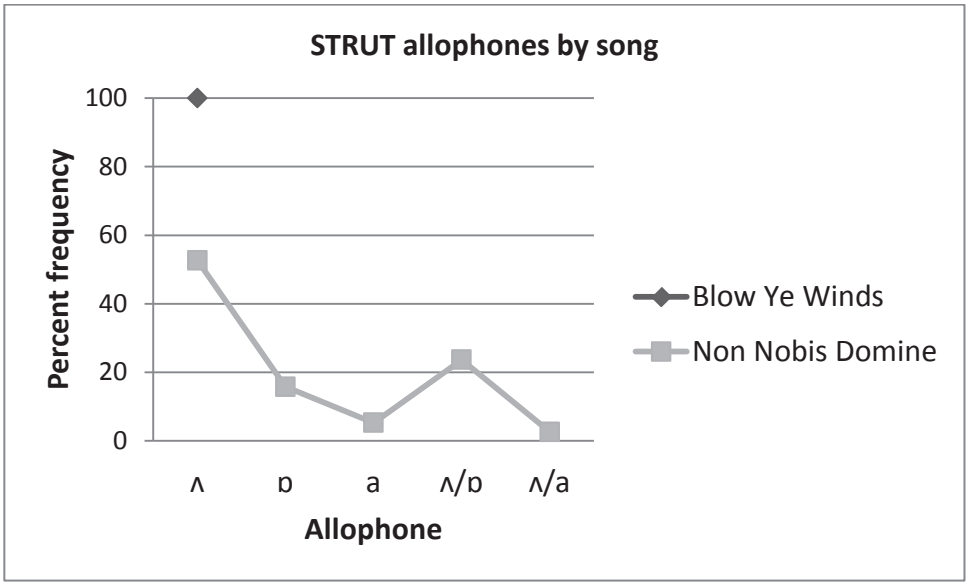


Figure 5.10 STRUT allophones in "Blow Ye Winds" versus "Non Nobis Domine" for SANDO Boys' Choir

The figure shows that, at 52.6 percent, the frequency of [ʌ] exclusively in "Non Nobis Domine" was just about half its value for "Blow Ye Winds". In about half of the remaining instances of STRUT, or 23.7 percent of the time overall, singers were perceived as singing either [ʌ] or [ɒ], while they were perceived as singing [ɒ] 15.8 percent of the time. The remaining pronunciations of the STRUT vowel were perceived as [a], and in one case [a] and [ʌ] simultaneously.

These findings for words in the STRUT lexical set seem peculiar. One the one hand, they confirm the interviewees' belief that this lexical set should pose no problems to singers, as demonstrated by the 100 percent use of [ʌ] in "Blow Ye Winds". On the other hand, Youssef and James (2008) give three possibilities for the pronunciation of the STRUT vowel in TE/C: [ʌ], [ɔː], and [ɒ]. Although the second of these, [ɔː], is not attested in the data here, we have seen that alternation between the other two variants is quite frequent in "Non Nobis Domine". This is somewhat unexpected, since for other features tested it was "Non Nobis Domine" that exhibited the more categorical use of the preferred feature. It is likely, then, that this alternation may be due to hypercorrection. This possibility will be discussed later.

The next vowel to occur with considerable frequency in the boys' data was the NORTH vowel, for which there were 88 tokens in the data. Thirty-four of these tokens were from POS Boys' Choir while the remainder where from SANDO Boys' Choir (20 in "Blow Ye Winds" and 34 in "Non Nobis Domine"). Five possible allophones of NORTH were identified: [ɔː], [ʌ], [ɒ], [a], and [ɔɹ]. The graph shows the overall distribution of NORTH in the boys' data, considering the two pieces together.

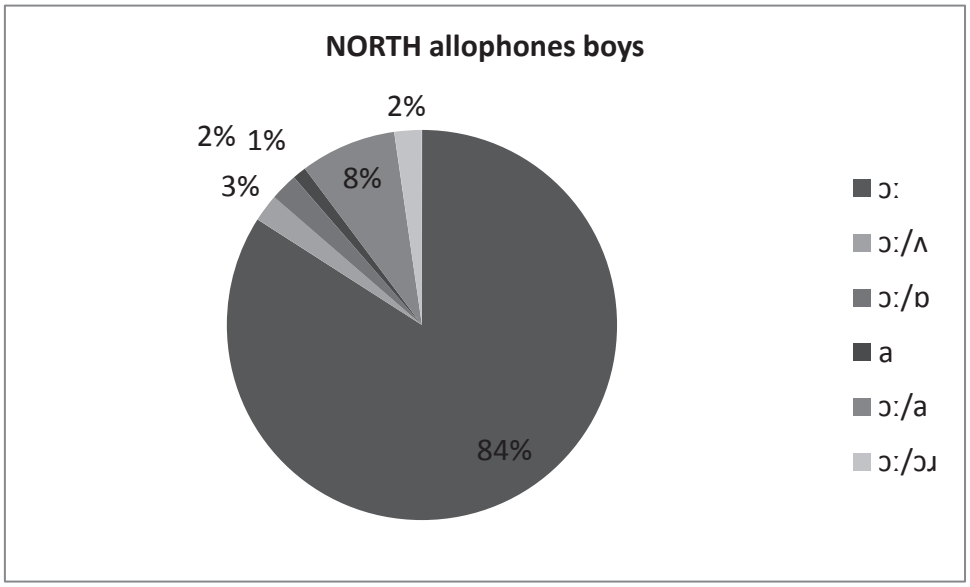


Figure 5.11 Allophones of NORTH in the boys' data

Overall, by far the most frequent allophone of NORTH was [ɔː]. This pronunciation occurred alone 84 percent of the time, and in combination with other sounds, most notably [a], 15 percent of the time. The open front vowel [a] occurred on its own 1 percent of the time. Subtle differences by song, and to a lesser extent by region, are represented on the graph below.

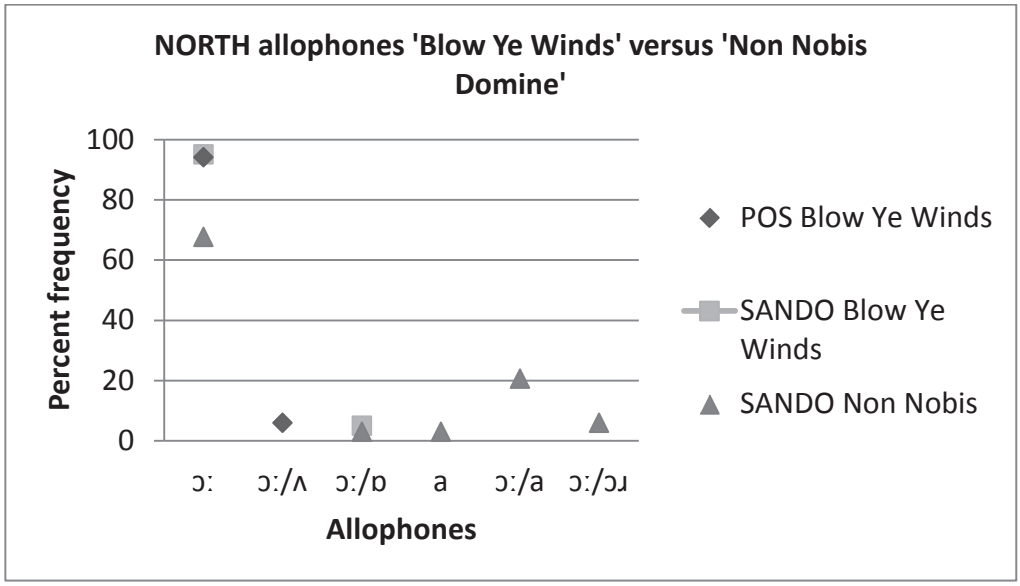


Figure 5.12 Allophones of NORTH in "Blow Ye Winds" and "Non Nobis Domine"

Firstly, it can be observed that in "Blow Ye Winds" both the boys' choirs realised NORTH as [ɔː] with about equal frequency, in the region of 95 percent of the time. When POS Boys' Choir did not use [ɔː] exclusively, they used it in combination with [ʌ], while when SANDO Boys' Choir did not use [ɔː] exclusively, they used it in combination with [ɒ]. Furthermore, "Non Nobis Domine" once more exhibits a wider array of allophonic variation than 'Blow Ye Winds.' In the former piece, exclusive [ɔː] realisation was reduced to 67 percent. The difference was made up by [ɔː] /[a] realisations, which accounted for nearly 21 percent of NORTH tokens in "Non Nobis Domine". In addition, [ɔː] was sometimes rhoticised in this piece, though it should be pointed out that the 5.9 percent on the graph represents a minority of tokens (2). This variety may be due on one hand to hypercorrection, so that <Lord> is pronounced rhotically because of its spelling, but may also be due to the occurrence of the NORTH vowel in words with which the singers are unfamiliar, such as <nought> and <wrought>. These are not high frequency lexical items, and the singers may have been uncertain as to their pronunciation and may thus pay less attention to applying the preferred NORTH allophone, [ɔː].Indeed, the boys received explicit correction for their pronunciation of both these words (see Chapter 6). It may be that familiarity with a word affects whether or not the preferred pronunciation is used, familiar words being more marked.

The PALM vowel occured relatively infrequently in the boys' rehearsal data. In total there were only 14 tokens, which occurred on the word <half> in "Blow Ye Winds" and <grant> in "Non Nobis Domine". POS Boys' Choir accounts for 8 occurrences of the PALM vowel, while the remainder occurred in the SANDO Boys' Choir rehearsals, equally distributed between the two songs. Three allophones for PALM were identified: the lengthened open back unrounded vowel [ɑː], identified as the preferred variant in the interviews; the lengthened open front unrounded vowel [aː], identified as dispreferred in the interviews; and a shortened variant to [aː], [a]. Given the low frequency of this feature in the data, the graph below shows actual numbers, rather than percentages.

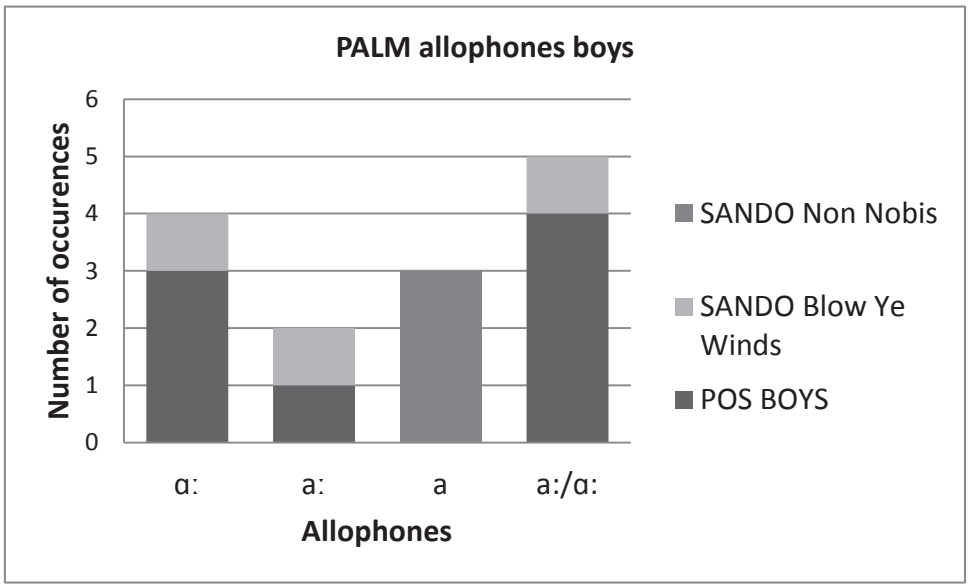


Figure 5.13 Allophones of PALM in boys' data

From the graph, it can be seen that the co-occurrence of [ɑː] and [aː] is the most frequent realisation of the PALM vowel in the boys' data. This is due in no small part to its prevalence in the POS Boys' Choir rehearsals, where it accounts for the majority of tokens of PALM. Likewise, the relatively high occurrence of the prestige variant, [ɑː], is also due to POS Boys' Choir. The boys in San Fernando had only three opportunities to produce the PALM vowel in their rehearsals of "Blow Ye Winds", and on each occasion used a different allophone. In "Non Nobis Domine" they used [a] for all occurrences of PALM. It appears then, that San Fernando singers used [a] and [aː] more

often, while those in Port-of-Spain were more likely to use [ɑː] either on its own or in combination with [aː].

The final back vowel which will be reported on here is the LOT vowel. The preferred pronunciation of this vowel in the interviews and questionnaires was [ɒ], with a minority of those interviewed identifying [ʌ] as a problematic possibility. In the boys' rehearsal data, there were 102 tokens of LOT, with three allophones identified. These allophones were [ɒ], [ʌ], and [a], with the lattermost being confirmed by the second listener. They occurred either alone or in combination. Thirty-nine tokens of LOT occurred during the POS Boys' rehearsal, while the remaining 63 occurred during the SANDO Boys' rehearsal. The graph below shows the distribution of the LOT vowel in the boys' data.

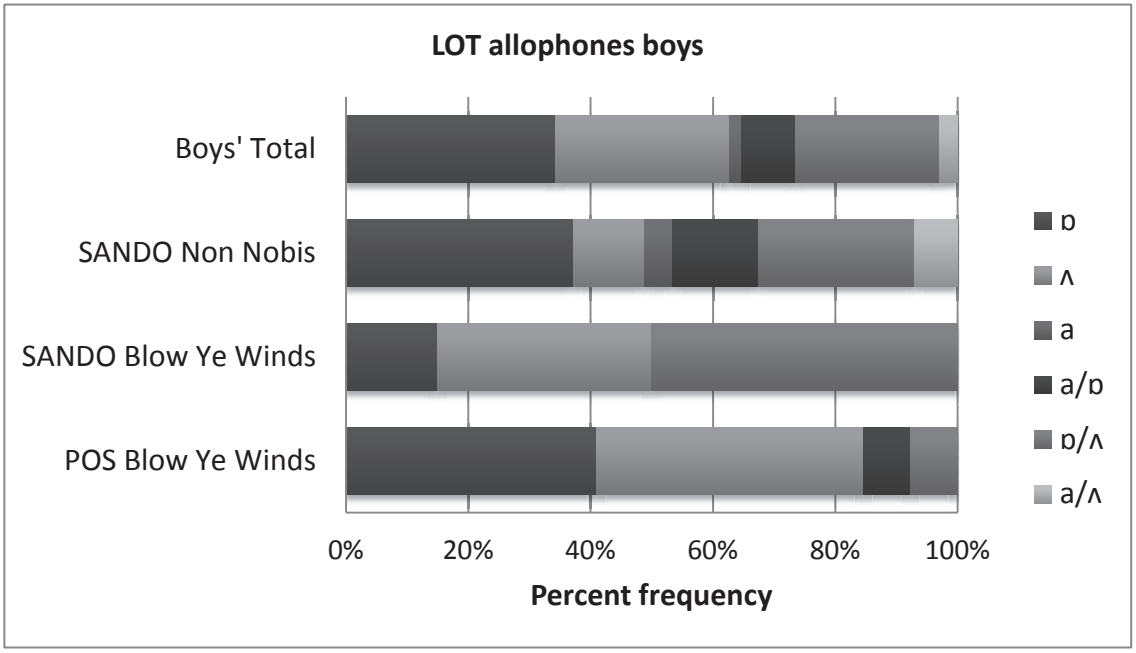


Figure 5.14 Allophones of LOT in the boys' data

Overall, the graph shows that the [ɒ] was the most frequent allophone of LOT in the boys' data (Boys' Total), though its lead over the next most frequent, [ʌ], is not very large (34 percent versus 28 percent respectively). The two also appeared together quite frequently, accounting for about 23.5 percent total LOT tokens. [a], alone or in combination with [ɒ] or [ʌ], accounted for the remaining 13.5 percent of the incidents of LOT in the data. With the exception of the [a] allophone, these results are in keeping with the descriptions of the LOT vowel provided in Youssef and James (2008).

With regard to the piece sung by both boys' choirs, "Blow Ye Winds", the graph shows that there are marked differences between the distribution of allophones in the two choirs. While the co-occurrence of [ɒ] and [ʌ] accounted for half of the realisations of LOT in the SANDO Boys' Choir, it only accounted for 7.7 percent of LOT realisations among the POS Boys Choir. Instead, the choristers from Port-of-Spain used either [ɒ] or [ʌ] exclusively with relatively equal frequencies (41 percent and 43.6 percent respectively), while those in San Fernando used [ɒ] exclusively in only 15 percent of the "Blow Ye Winds" tokens and [ʌ] exclusively in 35 percent tokens. In "Blow Ye Winds", POS Boys' Choir was the only choir in which singers make use of [a] and [ɒ] simultaneously, though this occured in a minority of cases.

When the results for the two songs rehearsed by SANDO Boys' Choir are compared, a different pattern emerges. In "Non Nobis Domine", the earnest piece, use of [ɒ] only rose to 37.2 percent, well within the total overall use and the use of [ɒ] in Port-of-Spain. Conversely, use of [ʌ] on its own and [ɒ] and [ʌ] together fell dramatically, from 35 percent in "Blow Ye Winds" to 11.6 percent in "Non Nobis Domine" and from 50 percent in "Blow Ye Winds" to just under half of that (25.5 percent) in "Non Nobis Domine". This seems to be in keeping with the overall trend for SANDO Boys' Choir to use the form identified as the preferred form more frequently in "Non Nobis Domine." Somewhat surprising then, is the presence of the third allophone, [a], which occurred on its own 4.7 percent of the time, in combination with [ɒ] 14 percent of the time, and in combination with [ʌ] in the remaining 7 percent of LOT tokens.

5.1.2.2 Diphthongs

Canonically, varieties of English/Creole in Trinidad are taken to have monophthongs where British (and other) varieties of English have diphthongs. This is particularly true of words in the FACE and GOAT lexical sets, which have [eː] and [oː] in TE/C where British English has [eɪ] and [əʊ] or [oʊ] respectively. Despite these well documented differences, and in light of the conductors' overall preference for British English pronunciations, it was somewhat surprising to learn that these vowels were generally judged unproblematic in the questionnaires. Moreover, the majority of those interviewed gave the

pronunciation [fes] and [ɡot] as the most acceptable pronunciations, with one singer, Giselle, even proclaiming that, "There is only one way to pronounce this word in the entire English language, [ɡot]." The results of the questionnaires and interviews suggest that choral singers did not sing the British English variant but that, unlike, say, the dental fricatives, this was viewed as problematic by neither the conductors, nor the audiences, nor indeed the singers themselves. Contrastingly, the merger of sounds in the NEAR/SQUARE lexical sets was reported as problematic by the majority of conductors and singers both in the questionnaires and in the interviews. Thus, in the rehearsal data, we would expect that singers continue to merge these, producing [ɛː] or [ɛə], but at the same time, having acknowledged the difficulties in pronouncing the British English variant, we might also suppose that some singers would, however inconsistently, produce the SBE variant. Somewhere in between these two extremes is the MOUTH vowel, which was reported as problematic by a minority of conductors and singers in the questionnaire and interview phases of the research. Nevertheless, the variant reported most desirable for singing was very often not the British English [aʊ] but instead [ɔʊ], particularly from the singers. Thus, we might predict that there is perhaps alternation between the diphthong the singers report as correct and the SBE variant.

Words in "Blow Ye Winds" which contained the GOAT vowel include <blow> and <groaning>, and in "Non Nobis Domine"<souls>, <hold>, <gold>, and <undergo>. Overall, the boys had 117 opportunities in the data to produce the GOAT vowel, and on every one of these occasions, they produced it with the TE/C variant, [o]. Similar uniformity can be seen with regard to the FACE vowel. In "Blow Ye Winds", the FACE vowel occurs in words such as<away>, <brave>, <famous>, <strangers>, <whaling>, and <they>, while in "Non Nobis Domine" the FACE vowel occurs in the words<praise>, <days>, <blame>, and <fame>. As with the GOAT vowel, singers in both boys' choirs were perceived as singing the TE/C variant in all but one of the 141 possible occurrences of the FACE vowel. The one occasion in which the TE/C variant was not produced, the variant produced is not the BE variant, but instead what may be labelled a stylised variant. Indeed, it occured at a point in the

rehearsal where the conductor explicitly instructs the singers to produce a more rounded tone of the vowel in <days> . This is seen in the extract below.

Extract 5.2-Correction of FACE vowel

<$SANDO><#><&>singing</&>For these we undergo<{><[><,,> our</[> hot and godless days

<$Williams><#><[>Elongate your vowels</[></{>

<$Williams><#>I hearing [deː] <#>[dø] <#>Hear the difference <#>Sing [dø] for me

<$SANDO><#>[døːz]

Notably, this was the only time the boys seemed to pronounce the word in this way. When they sang the line again, they appeared to revert to their previous pronunciation. Moreover, although the boys received a similar prompt to sing <praise> with a similar rounded vowel, there was no instance in which it was repeated singly, as with <days>*,* and no subsequent evidence of the boys singing <praise> with the rounded vowel.

When the MOUTH vowel is examined, the use of the TE/C variant is also found to be the most frequent. In total, there were 55 tokens of the MOUTH vowel in the boys' data, occurring in words such as <town> and <out> in "Blow Ye Winds" and <crown> in "Non Nobis Domine". Thirty-two tokens of MOUTH came from the POS Boys' Choir rehearsals, while the remaining 23 came from the rehearsals in San Fernando. In all, three allophones of MOUTH were heard to occur in the data: [ɔʊ], [ɔŋ], and [aʊ], realised alone and in combination. The graph below shows first the overall distribution of the variants, and then a comparison of the distribution by choir.

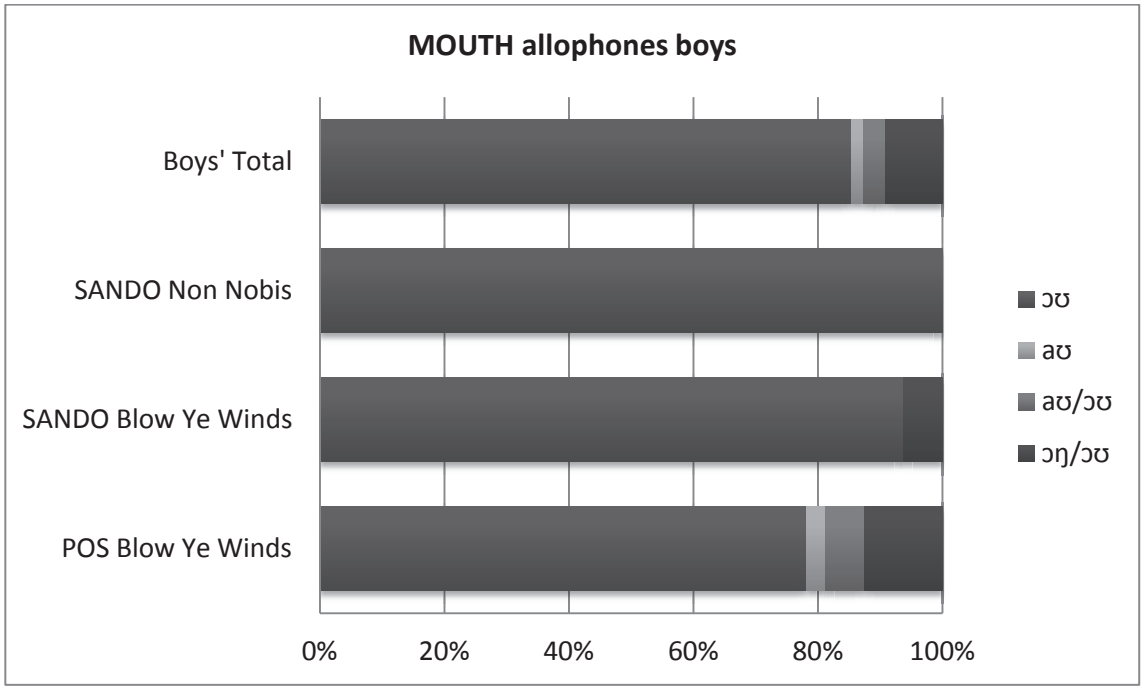


Figure 5.15 Allophones of MOUTH in the boys' data

The graph illustrates that overall, MOUTH was realised as [ɔʊ] some 85.5 percent of the time. In San Fernando, the exclusive use of [ɔʊ] in "Non Nobis Domine" was categorical, and was near categorical (about 94 percent) in "Blow Ye Winds". The results for POS Boys' Choir exhibit more variation. Nevertheless, the overall rate of the use of [ɔʊ] exclusively remained high at just over 75 percent. On the other hand, [aʊ], which several conductors identified as their preferred pronunciation, accounted for only 3 percent overall use of MOUTH (one token) on its own and 6 percent use of MOUTH in combination with the more frequent [ɔʊ]. The dispreferred [ɔŋ] never occurred on its own, but occurs jointly with [ɔʊ] in 12 percent of the cases. Overall, then, it seems as though [ɔʊ] is very clearly established as the most widely used allophone of MOUTH, even if it is not also the preferred one.

The final set of vowels that occurred in the boys' data was those in the NEAR and SQUARE lexical sets, which are merged in TE/C. However, we will look at each vowel separately. During the boys' rehearsals, the singers had only five opportunities to produce the SQUARE vowel, all occurring in the word <fair>. On each of these occasions, SQUARE is realised as [ɛː]. This is in keeping with Youssef and James' (2008) inventory.

Furthermore, the boys had 54 opportunities for the NEAR vowel, all occurring in the word <gear>, which is repeated several times in the song "Blow Ye Winds". Thirty-seven of these tokens were found in the POS data, while the other 17 were heard in the San Fernando data. In all, five allophones of NEAR ([ɛː], [ɛə], [ɛə̯], [iː], and [eː]) were heard, occurring either on their own or in combination with one another. The graph below shows the distribution of these allophones in the data.

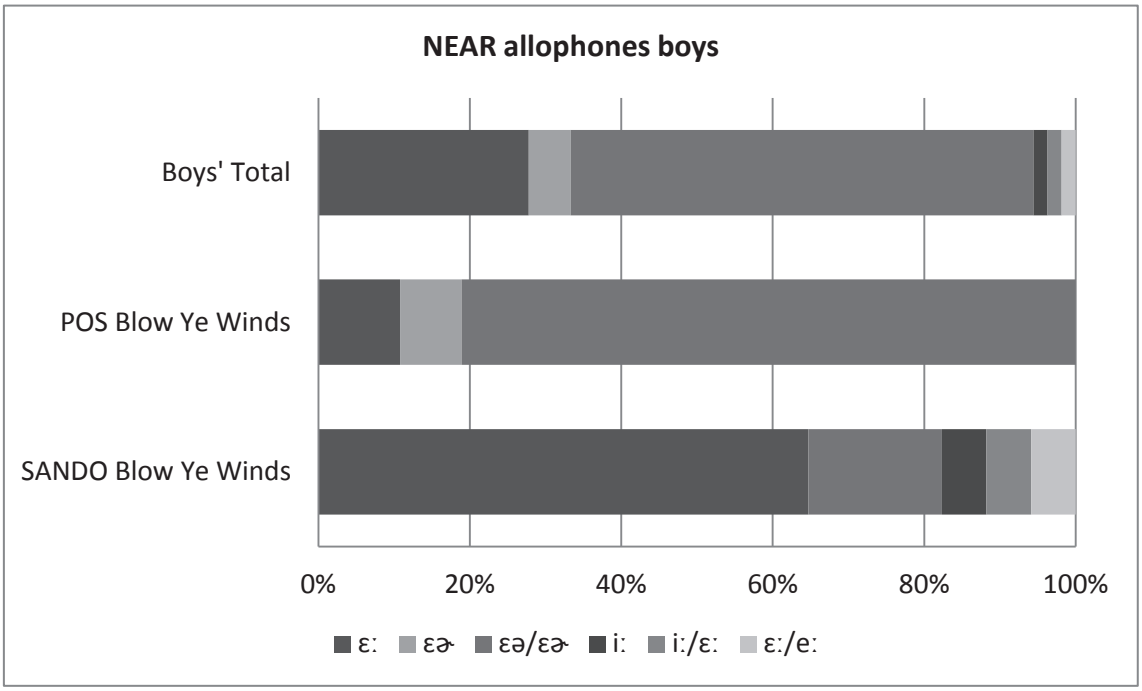


Figure 5.16 Allophones of NEAR in the boys' data.

The figure shows that the co-occurrence of [ɛə] and [ɛə̯] is the most frequent pattern, followed by [ɛː] exclusively. This pattern is reversed in the San Fernando data, where [ɛː] exclusively is the most frequently used variant, though it holds for the boys in the north. The use of both [ɛə] and [ɛə̯] is somewhat surprising, since both variants differ from the variants presented in Youssef and James' inventory. Their presence may be explained as assimilation. In the song text, the word <gear> precedes <and>, and it may be that singers, in anticipation of the following [a], are perceived as singing [ɛə]. The case of [ɛə̯] may be understood as an example of linking /r/ usage, since TE/C and SBE are both non-rhotic varieties. Admittedly, linking /r/ use has not been attested for TE/C, but Rosenfelder (2009) reports it for Jamaica, and it

may well be worth exploring in the Trinidadian context. In fact, for the POS Boys' Choir, the instances of [ɛː] occur when the boys are instructed to sing only until the word <gear> i.e. are not allowed to sing the succeeding <and>. This supports the suggestion that [ɛə] and [ɛɚ] occurrences may be attributed to assimilation. When only NEAR instances that occur without a following word are considered, then, we see evidence of the merger of the NEAR and SQUARE lexical sets. The other allophones that were heard occurred only in the San Fernando data. Particularly noteworthy is the allophone [iː], which the boys were instructed to sing instead of [ɪə] and which all boys produce on the first occasion after they receive this exhortation, but which is forgotten soon after, when it co-occurs with [ɛː] (see Chapter 6 for further exploration of this correction).

5.1.3 Summary

This section addressed the actual pronunciations of words as they occurred during the boys' rehearsals of two songs, "Blow Ye Winds" and "Non Nobis Domine". With regard to consonants, it showed that, in spite of the findings from the interviews and questionnaires, the boys very often did not stop the voiced and voiceless dental fricatives, realising them instead with the preferred pronunciation. The boys also did not categorically reduce consonant clusters, but produced almost equal realisations of the preferred and less preferred variants during the rehearsals. When the vowels were considered, a similar split was found. Overall the boys realised the STRUT and NORTH vowels with forms that are shared between SBE and TE/C, identified in the interviews as preferred forms. However, the boys used both the preferred and the more stigmatised pronunciations of the PALM and LOT vowels with about equal frequency. Consistent with the interviews, the boys used the TE/C pronunciations of the FACE, GOAT, and MOUTH vowels. Although interviewees suggested that the merger of the NEAR and SQUARE lexical sets was undesirable in singing, the boys did this nevertheless. The boys' data suggest that there may exist some small differences between singers in the North and South of Trinidad, particularly with regard to consonant cluster realisation and the LOT and PALM vowels. More interestingly, however, is the

suggestion in the data that the sub-genre of song may be an important factor in how words are pronounced.

In the next section, we go on to look at the junior girls' data.

5.2 Pronunciations in the junior girls' rehearsals

In this section, the phonetic realisations of various phonological segments in the girls' rehearsal data will be described. Firstly, we will look at the junior girls' (11-13 years old) rehearsals of their Music Festival test piece, "The Sun is a Luminous Shield", looking first at their realisations of consonant and then of vowel segments. The two choirs discussed in that section will be POS Girls Junior and SANDO Girls Junior. From there, we will look at the older girls' (14-18 years old) rehearsal of their test piece, 'When Music Sounds'. The scores of both songs, and separate lyrics, can be found in the appendix.

5.2.1 Consonant pronunciations in the junior girls' rehearsals

Dental Fricatives

The little girls' test piece was quite short, but provided opportunities for them to produce allophones of the voiced dental fricative /ð/ in the word <the> and allophones of the voiceless dental fricative /θ/ in the word <path>. From a total of five rehearsals, the girls had 191 opportunities to pronounce the first word, and 62 opportunities to pronounce the second. The graphs below show the overall distributions of the allophonic variants of /ð/ and /θ/ in the little girls' rehearsal data.

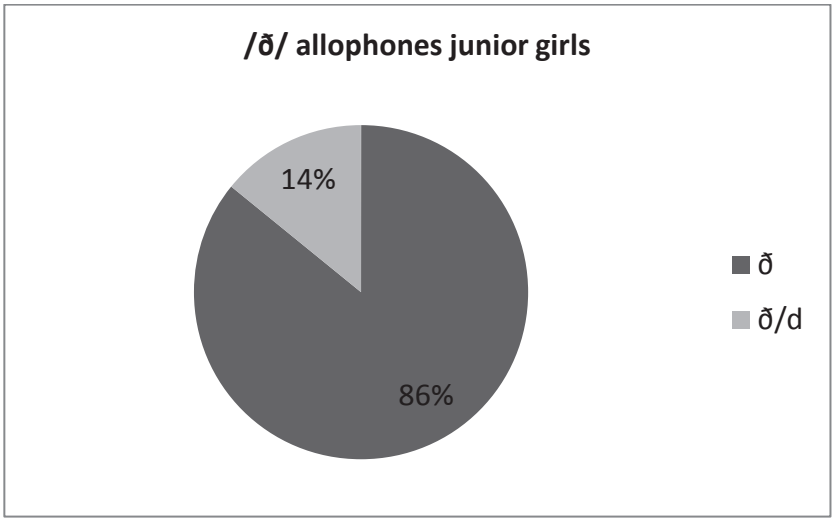


Figure 5.2.1 Frequency of /ð/ allophones in junior girls' data

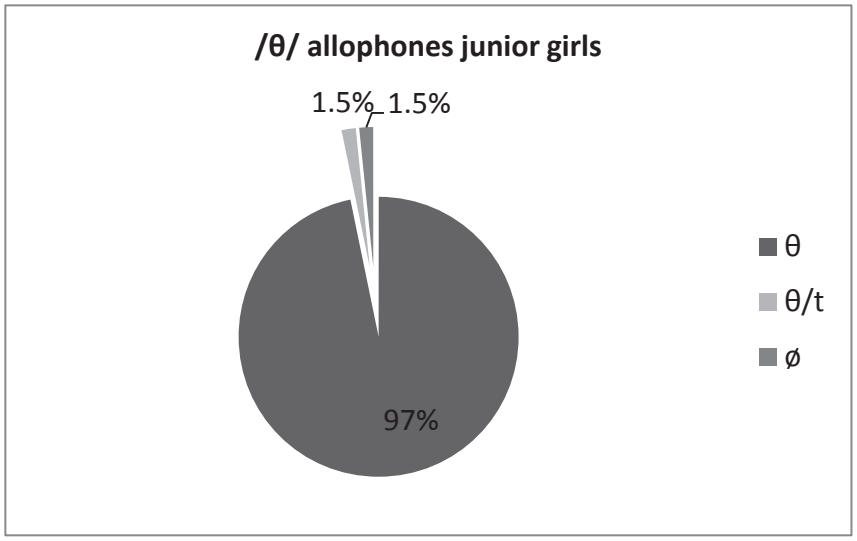


Figure 5.2.2 Frequency of /θ/ allophones in junior girls' data

The figures show that on the vast majority of occasions on which it was possible for the girls to produce either a dental fricative or its TE/C stop variant, the little girls used the dental fricative. With specific regard to the voiced dental fricative in <the>, Figure 5.2.1 shows that the girls produced this variant 86 percent of the time. Figure 5.2.1 further shows that some girls were heard to produce [ð] and other [d] in the same context on 14 percent of the recorded occasions. There are no occasions on which all the girls were uniformly heard to produce the more TE/C variant [d]. Figure 5.2.2 illustrates

that the girls almost always pronounced the voiceless dental fricative in <path> as [θ], doing so 97 percent of the time. The remaining three percent on the graph represents in fact only two instances. On one of those occasions, some of the girls in the South were perceived as pronouncing the final segment in <path> as [t] while others used the more standard [θ]. On the second occasion, the girls in the North were not clearly heard to finish the word at all.

These results thus imply that the little girls are more likely to pronounce /θ/ as [θ] than they are to pronounce /ð/ as [ð]. However, this is not necessarily the case. It is likely that the realisation of /ð/ as [ð] or [d] may have been affected by the location of the word <the> in the phrase. In all, <the> appeared four times in the text of "The Sun is a Luminous Shield", as seen in the highlighted extract below:

Extract 5.3

1) **The** sun is a luminous shield
2) Borne up **the** blue path […]
3) **The** moon is 4. **the** torch […]

Occurrences of <the> in the second context were not included in the analysis. This is because there were several occasions on which it appeared as though the girls sang 'a blue path' rather than 'the blue path.' This is very likely to have been the case since, in two rehearsals of the POS Girls Junior choir, the girls learn the words and the music completely by rote: their teacher says the words for them, they repeat, and then she sings the corresponding melody. In SANDO Girls Junior choir, the girls are chid for coming to rehearsal without their scores, implying that several of them are singing the song from memory. Under such circumstances, it is not difficult to imagine the definite and indefinite articles being swapped.

Otherwise, however, all occurrences of <the> were analysed, with close attention being paid to the distribution of the [d] allophone. The graph below shows the distribution of [d] allophones in relation to the environment in the song lyrics in which they occur.

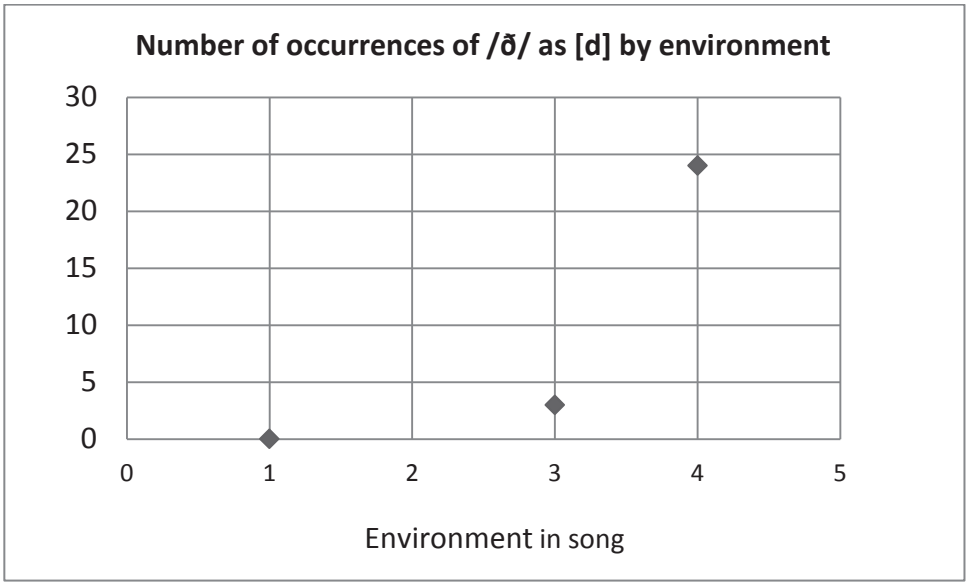


Figure 5.2.3 Frequency of /ð/ realisation as [d] by environment

The graph illustrates that in the first environment, i.e. as the opening line of the song, /ð/ is never sung as [d] by the girls. This is in spite of this being the most frequent environment in the data, so frequent, in fact, that at the first rehearsal with POS Girls Junior and for half an hour of the second, they never get to the second half of the song, where environments 3 and 4 are found. Environment 3 is syntactically similar to environment 1; in both cases <the> is the determiner of an NP that is also the subject of the sentence. Lyrically, <the> in both environments is also the first word at the start of what can essentially be regarded as a new verse, or at least a new section of the music. The graph shows that in environment 3, /ð/ is realised as [d] by some singers on a minority of occasions, three in total. This represents just over 11 percent of the total occurrences of [d] in the data. The majority of occurrences of the [d] allophone, then, occur in environment 4. In this environment, <the> is the determiner of a NP that functions as the complement of the sentence. It is also less prominent musically. This environment accounts for 88.88 percent of all occurrences of [d] in the data. Other than <path>, however, there were no occurrences of /θ/ in the junior girls' data.

Differences between North and South

The graphs above merge the results for girls' choirs in North and South Trinidad. One concern of this thesis, however, is to see whether any differences exist among different regions of the island. The graph below, then, shows the differences in the allophonic realisations of dental fricatives between girls' choirs in North and South Trinidad.

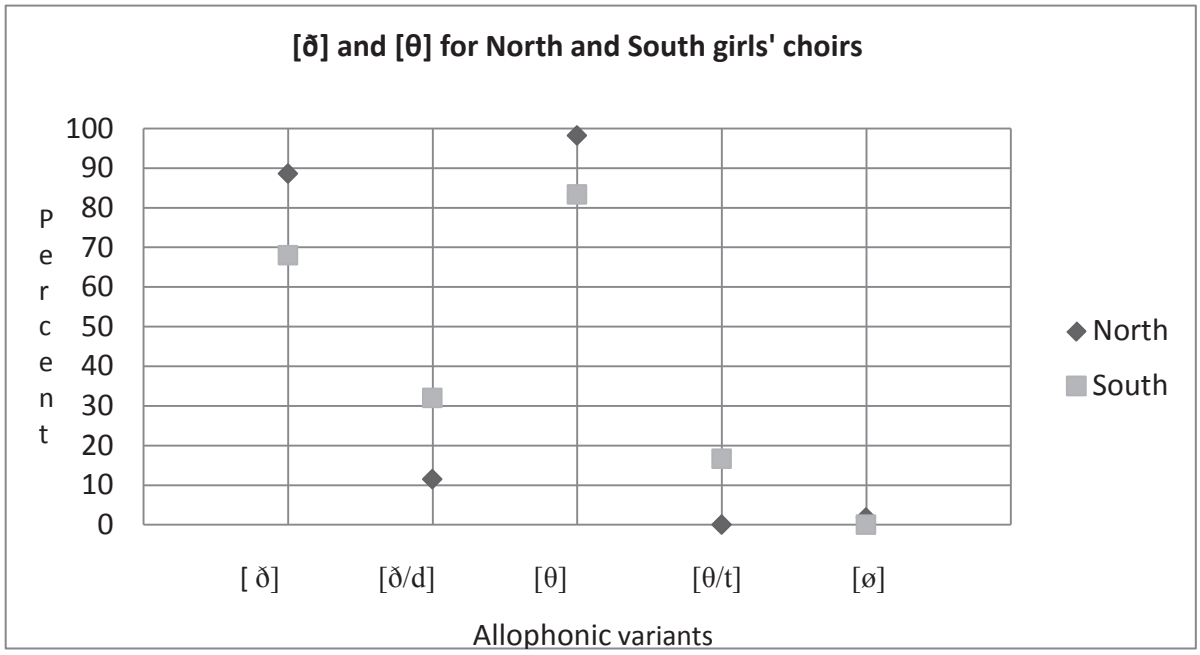


Figure 5.2.4 Frequencies of [ð] and [θ] realisation for girls' choirs in North and South Trinidad

Figure 5.2.4 shows the overall occurrence of each allophone as a percent of the possible realisations of the voiced and voiceless dental fricatives for both POS and SANDO Junior Girls' Choirs. It becomes immediately clear that the POS Junior Girls made a more consistent use of the more standard variants, [ð] and [θ], than did the SANDO Junior Girls. The graph shows that POS Junior Girls used [ð] on nearly 90 percent of the possible occasions, as compared with nearly 70 percent for the girls from the southern choir. Similarly, the girls from Port-of-Spain's use of [θ] was almost categorical at 98.2 percent of all possible uses, whereas the girls from San Fernando used [θ] 83.3 percent of the time. Conversely, SANDO Junior Girls used the more TE/C form alongside the standard variant more frequently than the POS Junior Girls. The former used [d], alongside [ð], 32 percent of the time, while the latter

exhibited similar allophonic variation only 11.4 percent of the time. Additionally, SANDO Junior Girls' Choir used [t], alongside [θ], 16.7 percent of the time, while POS Junior Girls' Choir almost never used this variant. The single occurrence in which the end of the word is not realised in the POS Junior Girls' rehearsal is negligible; it accounted for less than one percent of the possible realisations of /θ/. It is worth reinforcing that there were no cases in which either choir produces the TE/C variant exclusively.

While these differences are interesting, they should be treated with caution. Far more data was collected with POS Junior Girls than with SANDO Junior Girls, because the girls' school in San Fernando was also preparing for the school sports day and so choir rehearsals were not regularly scheduled, making it difficult to plan visits to the school. In Port-of-Spain, on the other hand, the Junior Choir met every Monday afternoon, and so it was possible to attend those rehearsals on a regular basis.

Consonant clusters

The next feature that we can observe in the junior girls' rehearsal data is the treatment of consonant clusters. The junior girls' piece provided two instances for the examination of a single consonant cluster, /ld/, in the words <shield> and <old>. In all, the girls had 219 opportunities to produce this cluster, 193 in Port-of-Spain and 26 in San Fernando. The graph below shows the percentage distribution of the different allophones of /ld/ that occurred in the girls' rehearsal data.

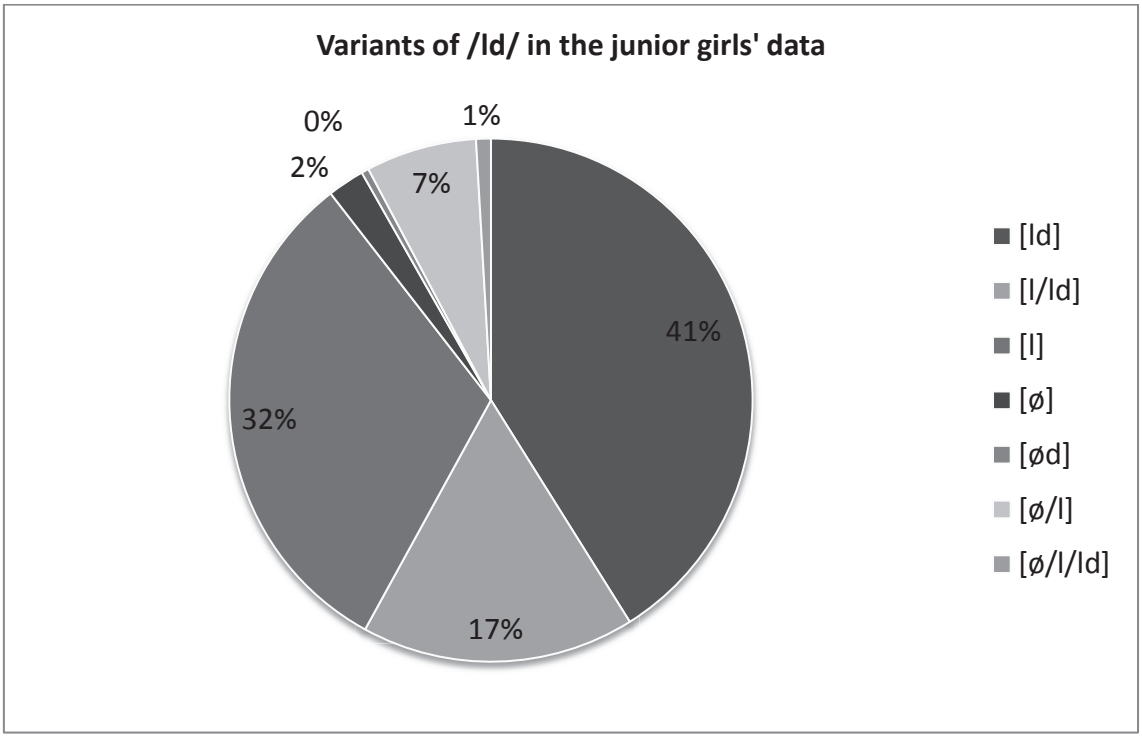


Figure 5.2.5 Variants of /ld/ in junior girls' data

Perhaps the most striking feature of the graph is the sheer number of realisations that occurred during the girls' rehearsals. The more predictable realisations were: [ld] exclusively, [l] exclusively and [l] and [ld] simultaneously, represented as [l/ld] on the graph. However, there were also instances of [ø], where the singers were not heard to produce either element of the consonant cluster, and one instance of [ød], where the singers were heard to omit the [l] but produce the [d]. Consequently, there were also instances in which some singers produced the [ø] variant while others sang the more predictable variants, [l] and [ld]. In total, occurrences of the [ø] either alone or in combination accounted for 10 percent of the total possible realisations of /ld/, and will not be explored as part of the overall discussion of /ld/ realisation. This is because close listening revealed that instances of [ø] (alone or with other voices) only occurred in the data when the sopranos, the highest voices, were singing without the rest of the choir, or when their voices were especially prominent. Furthermore, they only occurred when these singers sang the word <shield> in bars five and six of the score. This note, an F-sharp, is on the upper end of the vocal range, and is in fact the highest note in the piece. It is possible then that the [ø] realisation is related to the

articulatory effort involved in producing the close front vowel [i] followed by [ld], which may be especially difficult for the young singers.

Of the remaining variants, [ld] is the one the girls used most often, or 41 percent of the time. The girls used the more TE/C variant [l] exclusively 32 percent of the time, and were heard as using both variants simultaneously 17 percent of the time. Here as well there are differences between the North and South, though, as the graph below shows, they are less remarkable than the differences between groups seen with the dental fricatives.

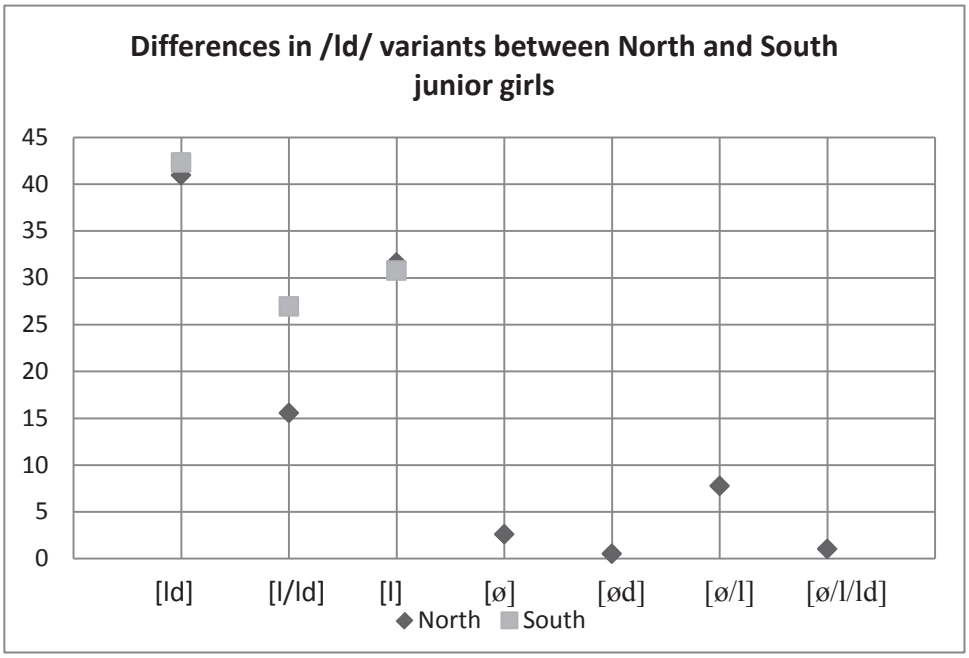


Figure 5.2.6 Differences in the frequency of /ld/ realisations between North and South junior girls

Figure 5.2.6 shows that the girls in SANDO Junior Girls' Choir used [ld] exclusively slightly more than their peers in Port-of-Spain (42.3 versus 40.9 percent). Both junior girls' choirs used [l] exclusively at about the same rate of 30.8 percent. The only large difference between the two choirs is that the SANDO Junior Girls used [l] and [ld] simultaneously 26.9 percent of the time, compared to 15.5 percent of the time for POS Junior Girls. POS Junior Girls was the only choir that makes use of the [ø] variant, though we cannot be certain it would not have occurred had more data on SANDO Junior Girls been available.

5.2.2 Vowel pronunciations in the junior girls' rehearsals

STRUT vowel

Within the text of the junior girls' test piece were several occasions for the singers to produce the STRUT vowel in words such as <sun>, <up>, and <stumbles>. In the course of the rehearsals, these words were produced 266 times, 238 times in the POS Junior Girls' data and 28 times in the SANDO Junior Girls' rehearsal. The graph below shows the overall occurrence of the different allophones of the STRUT vowel in the data.

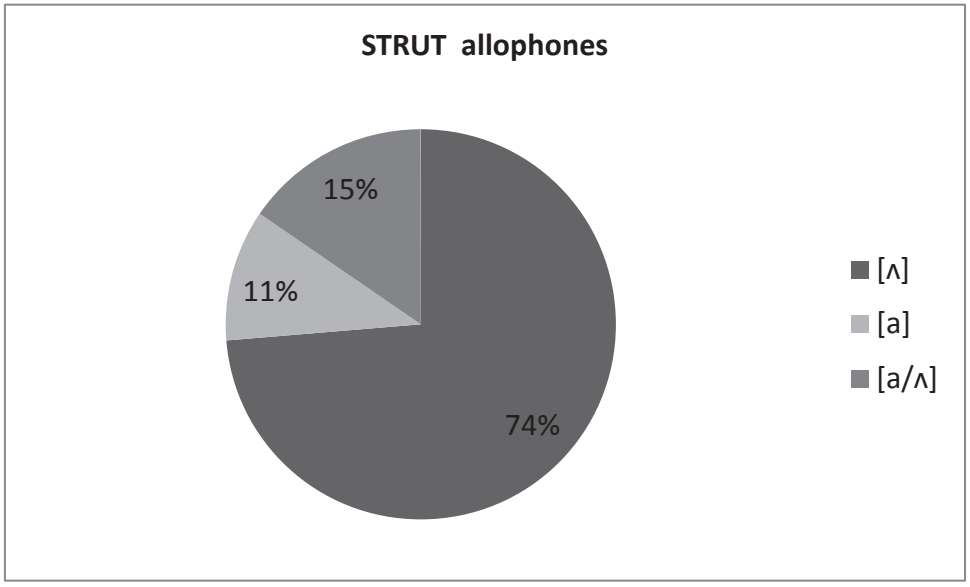


Figure 5.2.7 Percent frequency of STRUT allophones in junior girls' data

The singers employed two allophones of the STRUT vowel: [ʌ] and [a]. The figure shows that the open-mid back unrounded vowel [ʌ] is used exclusively in the vast majority of instances, or 74 percent of the time. This sound corresponds both with the Standard British English allophone and with one possible TE/C allophone. On the other hand, the figure shows that singers appeared to use [a] exclusively 11 percent of the time. This sound is not typically associated with this lexical set in TE/C, but it should be noted that the second listener also transcribed occurrences of <up> and <sun>with this vowel (see appendix). On the remaining occasions on which the STRUT vowel was

produced, some singers were perceived as using [ʌ] and others [a] simultaneously.

When the usage for the POS Junior and SANDO Junior Girls' is compared, the following pattern emerges.

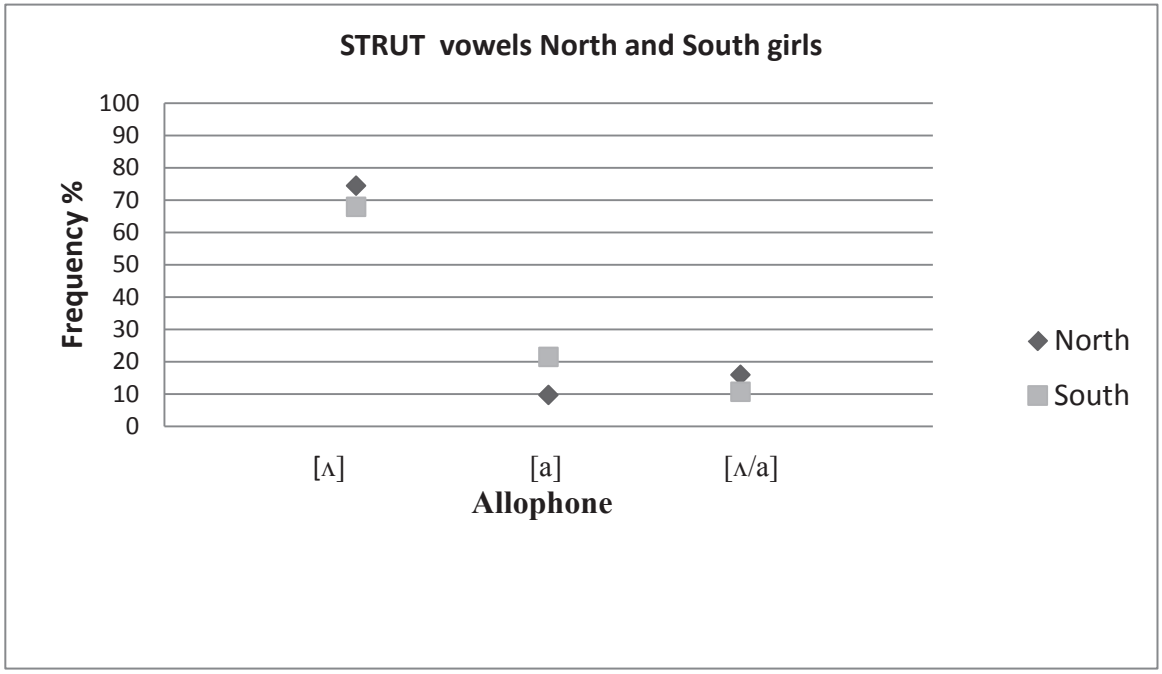


Figure 5.2.8 Differences in frequency of allophones of STRUT between North and South girls

With regard to the distribution of the exclusive use of [ʌ] and [a], the graph shows that POS Junior Girls' Choir used the former variant exclusively more frequently than the choristers in SANDO Junior Girls' Choir. The girls from the North used [ʌ] on 74.4 percent of the possible occasions to produce the STRUT vowel, as compared to 67.9 percent of occasions by the girls in San Fernando. SANDO Junior Girls' Choir, however, used [a] exclusively on 21.4 percent of the possible occasions that they produce the STRUT vowel. This figure is more than double that of the girls in Port-of-Spain, who make use of [a] 9.7 percent of the time.

The graph further illustrates that some singers in the junior girls' choir in the North sang [a] while their fellow choristers sang [ʌ] in the same context approximately 16 percent of the time. In the South, this occurs slightly less frequently, about 10.7% of the time.

CLOTH vowel

The next vowel produced by junior girls fairly often was the CLOTH vowel, which appeared in their text in the word <god>. In total, the word occurred 199 times in the rehearsal data, with 181 of those occurrences taking place in the POS Junior Girls' Choir and the remaining 18 taking place in the SANDO Junior Girls' Choir. The graph below shows the overall frequency of different allophones of CLOTH that occurred in the data.

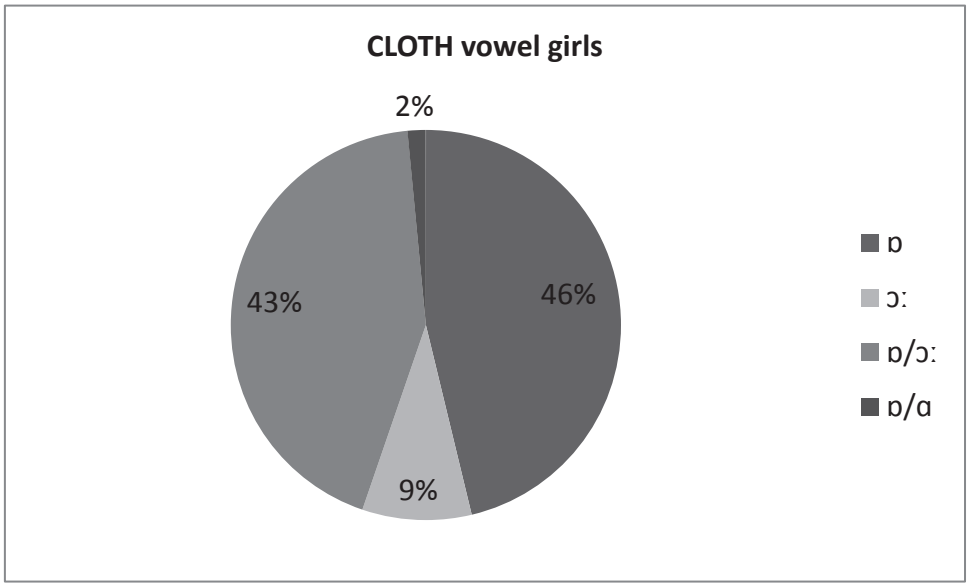


Figure 5.2.9 Percent frequency of allophones of the CLOTH vowel

Three possible allophones of the CLOTH vowel were produced. These were [ɒ], [ɔː], and [ɑ]. The open back rounded vowel [ɒ] was the most frequent allophone, and occurred exclusively on 46 percent of the possible occasions, while the open-mid back rounded vowel [ɔː] occurred exclusively on markedly fewer occasions, accounting for only 9 percent of possible CLOTH realisations. However, instances in which some singers were perceived as singing [ɒ] and others [ɔː] accounted for 43 percent of total CLOTH realisations, only slightly less than the open back rounded vowel on its own. This suggests that that [ɒ] and [ɔː] may be competing norms, with [ɒ] winning at least in the context of classical choral singing. The least frequent allophone of CLOTH in the data was [ɑ], which always occurred together with [ɒ] and only occurred on two percent of all possible occasions.

Some differences were found to exist between the girls in the north and those in the south, as can be seen in Figure 5.2.10 below.

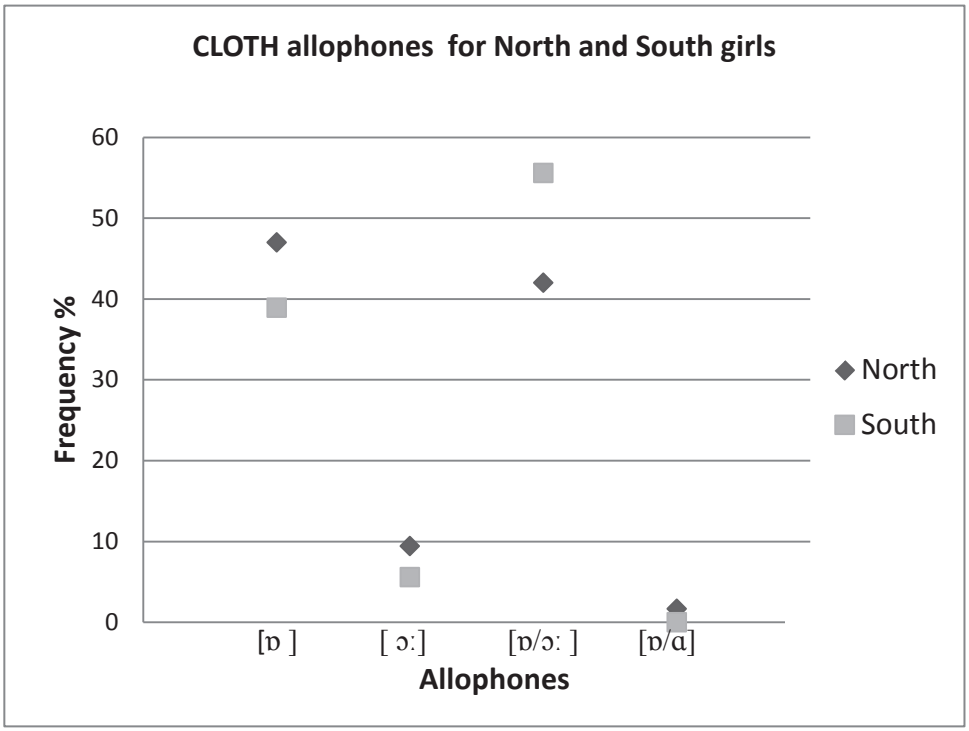


Figure 5.2.10 Differences in the frequencies of CLOTH allophones for North and South girls

The figure above shows that where either [ɒ] or [ɔː] occurred alone, the girls in Port-of-Spain were more likely to be the producers of these forms. [ɒ] on its own accounted for about 47 percent of all POS Junior Girls' pronunciations, and was in fact their most frequent allophonic variant. On the other hand, [ɒ] alone accounted for 38.9 percent of all SANDO Junior Girls' pronunciations. POS Junior Girls also led SANDO Junior Girls in the production of [ɔː] on its own, if to a lesser extent than [ɒ]. The former used [ɔː] 9.4 percent of the time, compared to 5.6 percent for their counterparts.

Furthermore, the figure shows that where [ɒ] and [ɔː] occurred simultaneously, it is the San Fernando girls who were more likely to be singing. Simultaneous production of [ɒ] and [ɔː] within the choral rehearsal accounted for 55.6 percent of all the SANDO Junior Girls' Choir's productions of the CLOTH vowel, their most frequent usage by 16.7 percent. Contrastingly, the POS Junior Girls' Choir used the two variants simultaneously on about 42

percent of the possible occasions, and the difference between that and their most frequent allophone, [ɒ], is only about 5 percent.

Only POS Junior Girls' Choir used [ɒ] and [ɑ] simultaneously. It accounted for the remaining 1.6percent of their possible productions of the CLOTH vowel.

NORTH vowel

In total, the junior girls produced 123 tokens of the NORTH vowel in words like <borne> and <torch>. The most frequent allophone of NORTH that they used in these contexts was [ɔː], which appeared in 92 percent of all NORTH tokens. Less frequently, the girls also made use of [o], either on its own or in combination with [ɔː]. There were no differences in distributions between the two groups. The percentage distribution of the NORTH allophones is represented in the graph below.

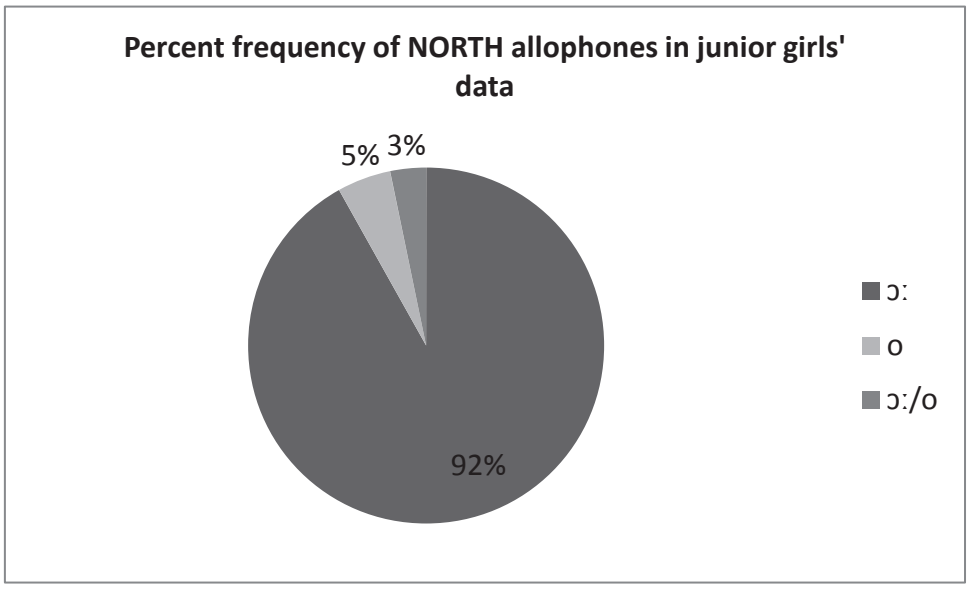


Figure 5.2.11 Percent frequency of NORTH allophones in junior girls' data

PALM and START vowels

Since both TE/C and SBE are non-rhotic varieties, the vowels in the PALM and START lexical sets will be addressed together. Overall, the junior girls had 90 opportunities to produce words in this lexical set, 78 in Port-of-Spain and

12 in San Fernando. As the graph (figure 5.2.11) below shows, the use of the open back unrounded vowel [ɑː] in these contexts was almost categorical, occurring 92 percent of the time. One possible allophone, [a], occurred exclusively only 2 percent of the time, while both possible allophones occurred together the remaining 6 percent of the time. However, as Figure 5.2.12 shows, the instances in which allophones other than [ɑː] occur can be attributed almost exclusively to SANDO Junior Girls' Choir, since the singers in POS Junior Girls' Choir never used [a] on its own and use it alongside [ɑː] in a slim minority of cases.

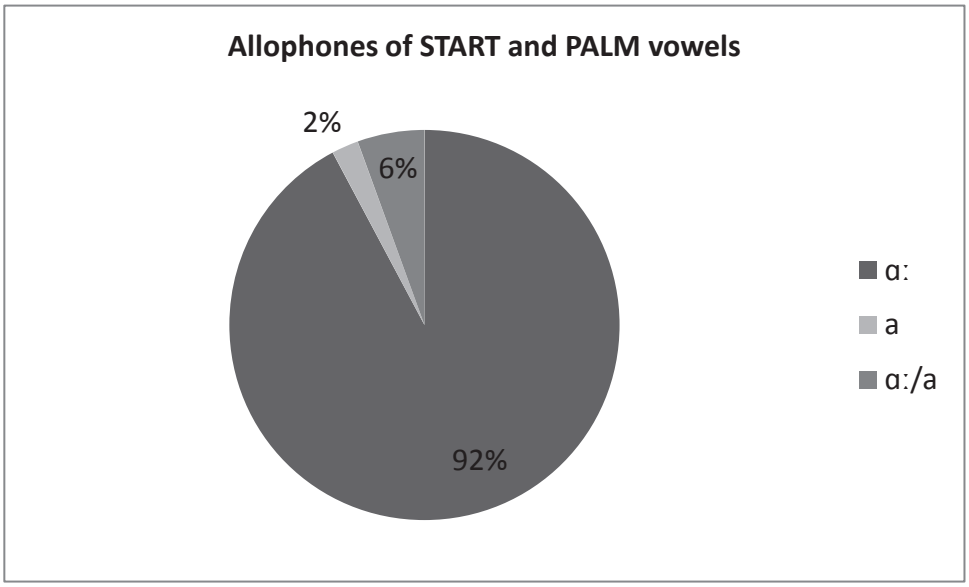


Figure 5.2.12 Percent frequency of allophones of START and PALM

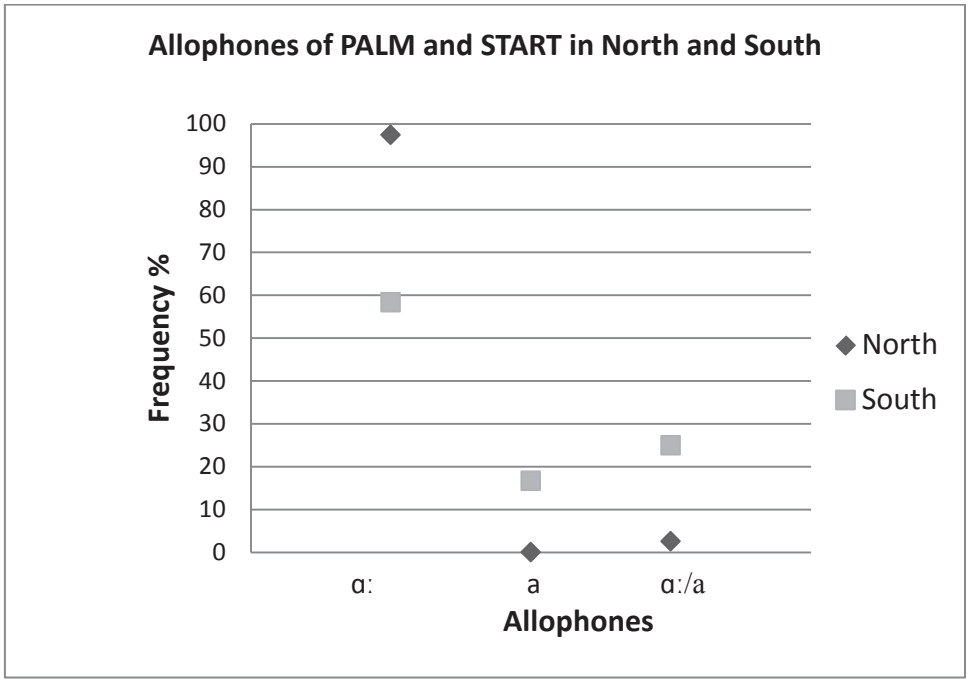


Figure 5.2.13 Differences in the frequency of PALM and START vowels for North and South girls

GOAT vowel

There were 94 tokens of the GOAT vowel in the junior girls' rehearsal data, 81 token in Port-of-Spain and 13 in San Fernando. They occurred in the words <old> and <over>. In keeping with the findings of the interviews, the GOAT vowel was monophthongised categorically by all singers in both junior girls' choirs, i.e. the GOAT vowel was realised as [o] 100 percent of the time.

5.2.3 Summary

This section presented the results of the actual realisations of phonological features identified as possibly problematic for singers, focussing on two junior girls' choirs. The results for each feature showed that the girls by and large produced the variant the interview participants identified as the preferred variant for singing, whether or not the interview participants also identified this feature as potentially problematic for singers. Thus, although those interviewed said that dental fricatives were potential problems for singers, the junior girls, the youngest singers in this study, produced these rather than their stopped allophones in the vast majority of cases. Furthermore, though interview participants reported that consonant clusters

were also potentially problematic, the junior girls exclusively exhibited the [ld] variant more frequently than any other variant. There were, however, tendencies towards [l] only or [l] and [ld], and the exclusive use of [ld] is not nearly as extensive as the use of [ð] and [θ].

Similarly, though members of all three groups interviewed identified the START vowel as potentially problematic for singers, we have seen that, in fact, singers used the desired [ɑː] in the overwhelming majority of cases. On the other hand, no one in the interviews identified the STRUT vowel as potentially problematic, but the use of the preferred [ʌ] was by no means categorical. The interviews and questionnaires asked after words in the LOT lexical set, but not CLOTH. However, based on other comments in the interviews and the rehearsals, we can assume with some confidence that the desired pronunciation for words in the CLOTH set is [ɒ], as it is for words in the LOT set. The following extract from the interview with Dana and Shauna illustrate this.

Extract 5.4

<$GW><#>What words do you think other people have trouble with
<$Dana><#>Well they always say <mention>[gɒd]</mention>[…]<#>How we supposed to say it
<$Shauna><#><mention>[gɒd] like [gɒ]</mention> you have<{><[>drop you have to drop your mouth a little bit</[>
<$Dana><#><[>Not <mention>[gɔ:d]</mention><#>It's not supposed to be [gɔ:d] <#>People always say [gɔ:d]

As with words ending in /ld/, the singers do make overall substantial use of the preferred [ɒ] variable, but there is also considerable use of the less preferred [ɔː] allophone.

Although this section presented far more data on tokens produced in Port-of-Spain than in San Fernando, it was nonetheless able to suggest some possible differences that might exist between junior girls' choirs in the two cities. When the data from POS and SANDO Junior Girls are considered separately, and the frequency of each allophone as a percent of the total

number of tokens produced by each choir on its own is calculated, we find that the tendency to produce the less preferred variant was higher in the South than in the North; POS Junior Girls' Choir was generally more consistent in their production of the less stigmatised allophone than was SANDO Junior Girls' Choir. The only possible exception to this may be the CLOTH vowel, where POS Junior Girls produce [ɔː] exclusively more frequently than their San Fernando peers. All the same, the girls from San Fernando's use of [ɔː] and [ɒ] simultaneously surpassed the girls from Port-of-Spain's use.

In the next section, we go on to consider the older girls' rehearsals.

5.3 Pronunciations in senior girls' rehearsals

This section reports the results obtained from the senior girls' choral rehearsals. These choirs comprised girls aged 15-18 years old. Two choirs will be reported on here: POS Senior Girls and Belmont Senior Girls. Both these choirs are located in North Trinidad. No schools in South Trinidad with senior girls' choirs were disposed to participation in this leg of the study. Because of this, no comparisons between North and South Trinidad can be made in this section.

5.3.1 Consonant pronunciations in the senior girls' rehearsals

The following consonantal features were examinable from the older girls' rehearsals data:

- The voiced and voiceless dental fricatives, /ð/ and /θ/
- The consonant clusters /st/, /pt /, /ft/, /ŋd/, and /nd/
- The grammatical morpheme –ING, realised as the voiced velar nasal /ŋ/

Grammatical morpheme –ING

The lyrics of 'When Music Sounds,' the senior girls' test piece, contained several opportunities for the girls to sing the grammatical morpheme –ING, which in the interviews emerged as likely to be pronounced as [ɪn] rather than the preferred [ɪŋ]. The senior girls' choirs together produced 47 tokens of

grammatical –ING. On every occasion, the girls make use of the preferred pronunciation, [ɪŋ].

Dental Fricatives

Overall, the senior girls produced 103 tokens in which the voiced dental fricative /ð/ was possible and 76 tokens in which its voiceless counterpart /θ/ was possible. In the former case, allophones found in the data were [ð]exclusively and [d] coupled with [ð]. Possible allophones in the latter case were [θ] on its own or in combination with [t]. For the sake of this discussion, [ð] and [θ] will be referred to as the standard variants, while [d] and [t] will be referred to as the TE/C variants. The graph below shows the percentage distribution of these sounds in the senior girls' data.

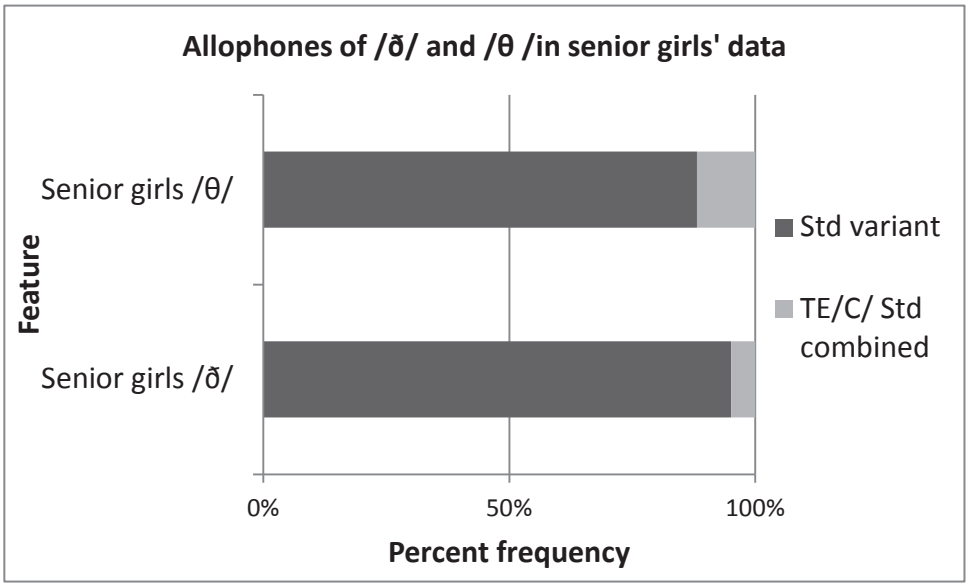


Figure 5.3.1 Allophones of /ð/ and /θ/ in the senior girls' data

The graph shows that in the majority of cases, 95 percent of the time for /ð/ and 88.2 percent of the time for /θ/, the senior girls used the standard allophone, [ð] and [θ]. This in spite of claims in questionnaires and interviews, some made by the very girls singing, that the dental fricatives would be particularly problematic for singers. On the other hand, the allophone identified in questionnaires and interviews as less desirable, i.e. [d] or [t], occurred quite infrequently in the senior girls' data, only about 5 percent of

the time for [d] and 11.8 percent of the time for [t]. Moreover, while the standard allophones occurred exclusively, the TE/C variants never do. Instead, some singers were heard to sing the TE/C variant while others simultaneously sang the standard variant.

Consonant Clusters

The senior girls' piece, 'When Music Sounds', contained several instances in which the singers could produce consonant clusters, with words such as <stilled>, <dust>, <swift>, <winged>, <rapt> and <and> appearing in the lyrics. In all, 106 consonant cluster tokens involving /ld/, /st/, /ft/, /ŋd/, /pt/, and /nd/ were isolated in the senior girls' data. The graph below shows the rate of consonant cluster reduction in the senior girls' data.

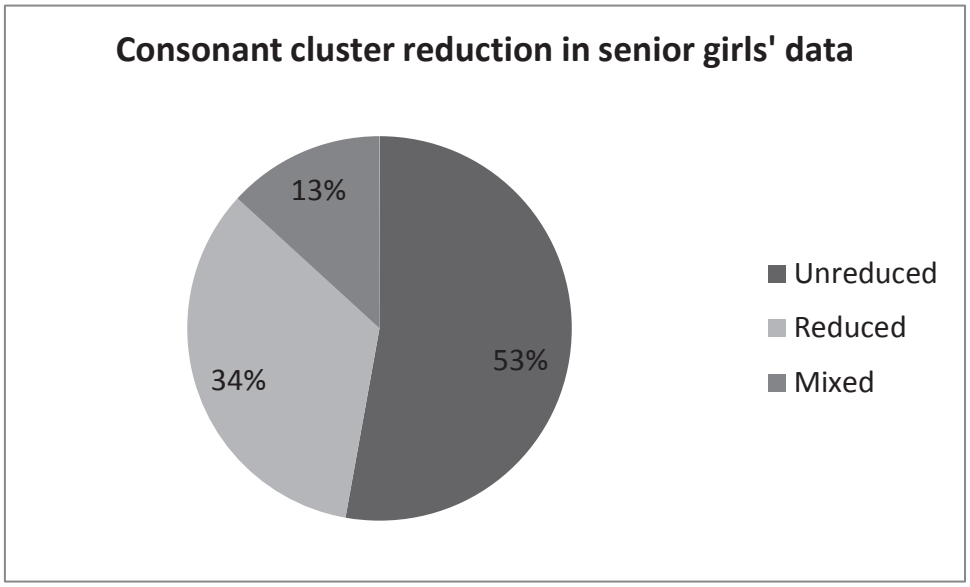


Figure 5.3.2 Consonant cluster reduction in senior girls' data

In just over half the cases, or 53 percent of the time, the senior girls did not reduce consonant clusters. Consonant cluster reduction was nevertheless quite prevalent in the data, with the girls singing [l], [s], [f], or [ŋ] only on 34 percent of the occasions in which they could alternatively have produced a cluster with one of these sounds and /d/ or /t/. In the remaining 13 percent of instances, some choristers were heard to produce the reduced variant while others were simultaneously heard to produce the unreduced variant.

The clusters /nd/ and /pt/ were never reduced, although the former was identified in the interviews as particularly susceptible to reduction. Other than these, there were no noteworthy differences between the frequencies of reduction among the other possible clusters.

There were, however, somewhat surprising differences in the overall frequencies found for each choir, both for consonant clusters and for dental fricatives. Close listening revealed that, most of the time, singers in POS Senior Girls' Choir uniformly produced consonant clusters as clusters, i.e. unreduced. What is more, they did not appear to ever uniformly reduce consonant clusters, although in a minority of cases (about 11.4 percent of the time), some singers produced the cluster while others realised the potential cluster as its reduced variant. Conversely, singers in Belmont Senior Girls' Choir produced potential consonant clusters as clusters only 27.4 percent of the time, 61.2 percent of the time less frequently than their peers in POS Senior Girls' Choir, less than five kilometres away. Furthermore, the Belmont-based choristers reduced consonant clusters to their first element only 58.1 percent of the possible times. With regard to the concurrent production of the reduced and non-reduced variants, Belmont Senior Girls' Choir did this with almost equal frequency as POS Senior Girls' Choir (14.5 versus 11.4 respectively). Furthermore, the choristers in POS Girls' Choir displayed categorical [ð] use, and near categorical [θ] use, close listening revealing only one instance of [θ] and [t] simultaneously. Thus all instances of the [ð] and [d] simultaneously and the vast majority of [θ] and [t] simultaneously occur in the Belmont Senior Girls' Choir rehearsals. These results can be seen in Figure 5.1.3 below.

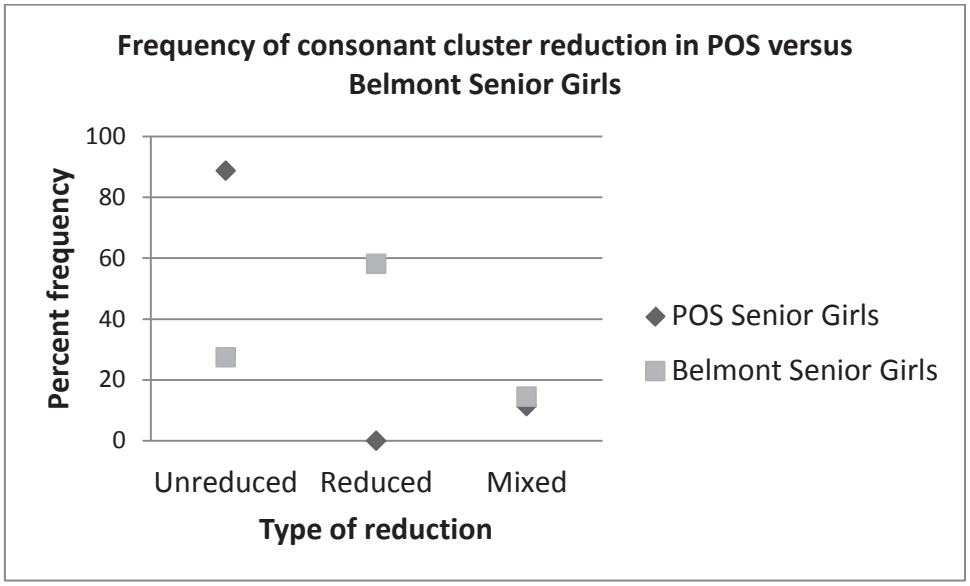


Figure 5.3.3 Consonant cluster reduction in POS Senior Girls' Choir and Belmont Senior Girls' Choir

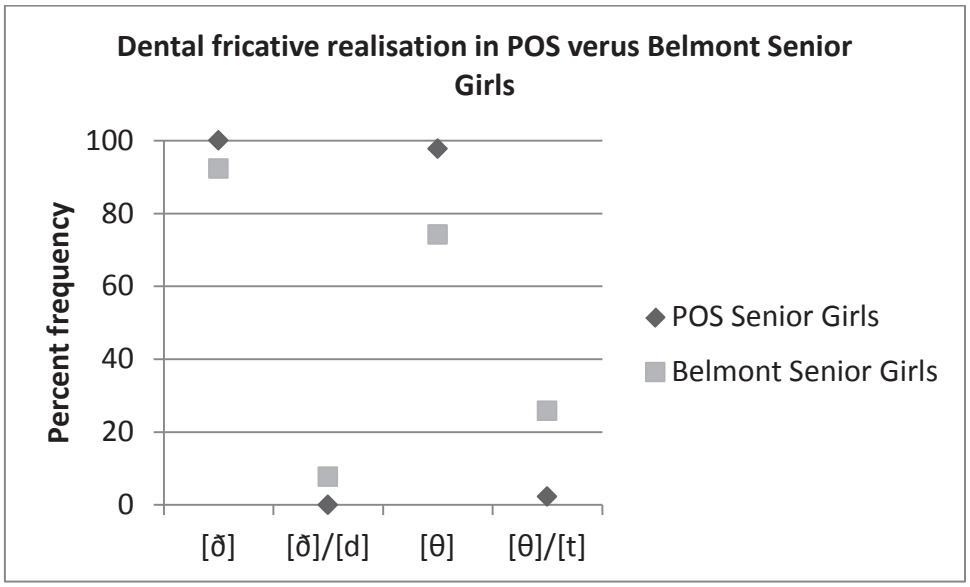


Figure 5.3.4 Dental fricative realisation in POS Senior Girls' Choir and Belmont Senior Girls' Choir

Since Belmont and Port-of-Spain Girls' Choirs are geographically quite close to each other, these differences cannot reasonably be attributed to possible regional differences[3]. Instead, one possible reason could be the level

[3] Indeed, while it may be possible to speak of differences between schools in the North and South in general, it should be noted that, especially in the North where schools have

of experience and preparedness of the two choirs. Although both choirs are senior girls' choirs, the observation phase revealed groups of an overall different nature. POS Senior Girls' Choir is a very well-established choir, rehearsing in a school with a rich choral tradition. The choir has released a CD, and has competed and excelled in international festivals and competitions. The girls interviewed from POS Senior Girls' Choir identify consonant clusters as potentially problematic for themselves and their co-choristers, and in the questionnaire their conductor said that she believes that singers are aware of potential problems they face in singing and look out for them, which seems to be attested in the rehearsal data.

The singers in Belmont Senior Girls' Choir, on the other hand, do not share such strong bonds. Their school has never won the local music festival, only competing irregularly, they have never performed abroad. Unlike the girls in POS Senior Girls' Senior Choir, the girls in Belmont do not have experience singing together, since their school does not have a junior choir and this choir is put together explicitly for the purpose of the music festival. Indeed, in conversation one day after a rehearsal, their conductor mentioned their lack of experience singing together as a very real obstacle. While POS Girls' rehearsed after school and on Sundays, Belmont Girls' rehearsed during school hours, at the behest of their school principal, since the girls often failed to turn up in adequate numbers when rehearsals were scheduled after school hours.

It seems very likely that the differences between the two school choirs are due to their relative experience and personal investment. POS Senior Girls' Choir, as a result of their consistent practice and their engagement with choral singing over time, know which linguistic features are requisite in this context and act accordingly. For the singers in Belmont Senior Girls' Choir, on the other hand, these requirements are not as salient, and so the singers use the dispreferred variants more often. This can also be seen in the data for the dental fricatives, where Belmont Senior Girls' Choir accounts for all but one of the instances of the concurrent use of TE/C and the preferred standard

large catchments, membership in a school/ choir community need not reflect the home-base of the choristers.

variant. The introduction of the notion of experience forces us to reconsider the findings above. Differences between POS Junior Girls' Choir and SANDO Girls' Choir were attributed to regional differences i.e. North versus South. However, it may well be that the singers in POS Junior Girls' choir, whose rehearsals were not impeded by an upcoming school event, and instead took place regularly, were also better-rehearsed than their southern peers. At the same time, the singers in the junior choirs are younger, and have been singing together for less than a year, so their experience is likely to play less of a role in accounting for differences between the junior choirs than it might between the senior choirs. In POS Girls' Senior Choir, singers have been singing together for several years (see Chapter 2 for information on audition and selection), whereas the girls in Belmont have been forced together for this particular project, and do not have sustained experience singing together. For the boys' choirs, experience is also unlikely to be a differentiating factor between the two, since the singers are comparable in age and experience. This of course does not discount the fact that there may be differences among junior and senior choirs that may be accounted for by the relative inexperience of the former group.

5.3.2 Vowel pronunciations in the senior girls' rehearsals

In the previous section, we explored the senior girls' pronunciations of dental fricatives and consonant clusters and found that, in spite of differences between the two schools, the girls tended towards the use of the pronunciation identified by the interview participants as preferred. In this section we will look at the actual pronunciations used for vowels identified as possibly problematic in the interview data, as well as for vowels sounds that are known to be different between TE/C and SSBE, whether or not they were identified as problematic in the rehearsal data. As in previous sections, particular attention will be paid to back vowels and diphthongs.

5.3.2.1 Back vowels

There were 97 tokens of the NORTH vowel in the data collected at POS and Belmont Senior Girls' Choirs. These occurred in words such as<all>,

<water>, and <haunt>. For both choirs, the use of [ɔː] in these contexts was categorical.

By far the most frequent back vowel that occurred in the senior girls' data was the vowel in the LOT/CLOTH lexical set. In total, the senior girls produced 205 tokens of words in this set, including words such as <solemn>, <forest>, <song>, <gone>, <was>, <from> and <of>. One may wish to exclude grammatical words such as <from> and <of> from this sort of analysis, on the grounds that they are typically realised with schwa or another reduced vowel in connected speech. However, the girls' treatment of these words warranted their inclusion in this analysis, as will be seen below. Five allophones of LOT were identified in the data: [ɒ], [ʌ], [ɑː], [a], and [ɔː], with the latter three occurring less frequently than the first two. These allophones were perceived as either occurring on their own (exclusively), or in combination with one or two others. The graph below shows the distribution of the allophones in the senior girls' data.

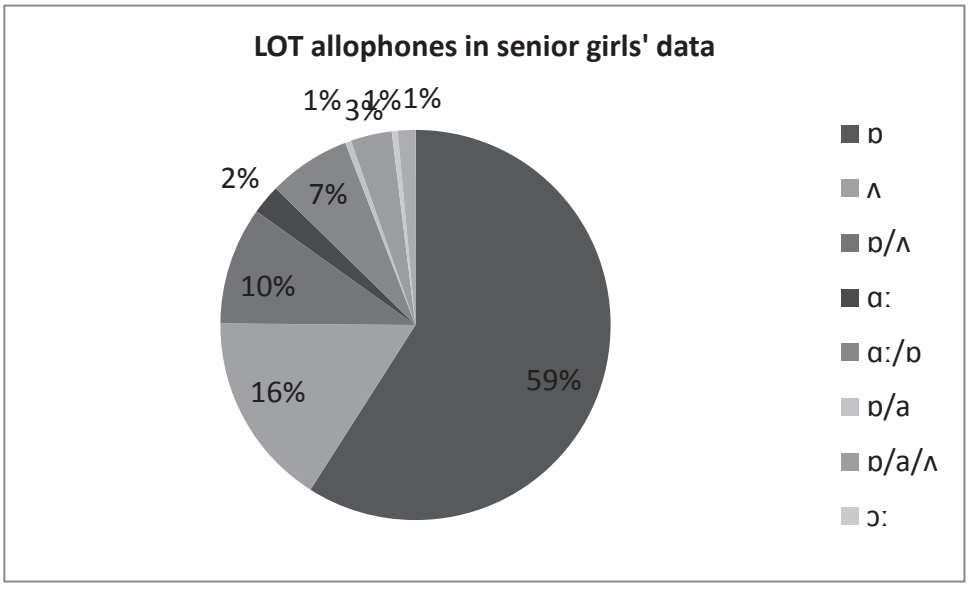


Figure 5.3.5 LOT allophones in the data of POS and Belmont Senior Girls' Choirs

The most frequently occurring allophone in the girls' data was [ɒ], which was used exclusively in 59 percent of all tokens of LOT, and which co-occurs with other allophones, most notably [ʌ] and [ɑː], in some 22 percent of the tokens. The next most frequent allophone was [ʌ], which occurred on its own in 16 percent of the tokens, and in combination with [ɒ], and less frequently

also with [a], in a total of 13 percent of all instances. Thus, this appears to confirm the minority belief expressed by some interview and questionnaire participants who held that the LOT vowel's preferred pronunciation [ɒ] was susceptible to reduction. However, when the tokens in which the LOT vowel is pronounced as [ʌ] only are isolated, it emerges that 22 out of 35, or 62.85 percent, of these are function words and occur on non-prominent beats of the bar within the score, so that the reduction in these cases seems to be linked to quite regular connected speech processes. In the remaining cases, however, reduction seems to be due to the TE/C merger of the LOT and STRUT lexical sets.

Another LOT allophone that occurred with some frequency in the data is [ɑː], either on its own or along with [ɒ]. This realisation of LOT has been attested for General American English speakers but, given the anti-American English sentiment expressed in the interviews (cf. Giselle's "she hates American"), identifying this variable as necessarily American-affected may be incongruous to the overall analysis. However, it was observed that this pronunciation occurred on only two words of the song, <gone> and <song>. When the pronunciations are matched to the score, it emerges that both words are assigned sustained notes- a minim note value- and high pitches, a high G and high A respectively, in fact the highest notes of the song. It was earlier reported that music for soprano voices is often written for the display of the voice, rather than the lyrics themselves, and this seems to be at play in these instances.

In addition to the LOT vowel, there were also several instances of the STRUT vowel in the senior girls' data. Overall, there were 60 tokens of STRUT, occurring in words such as <lovely> and <dust>. Allophones of STRUT occurring in the data included [ʌ], [ɒ], and [a]. The graph below shows the distribution of these allophones in the data.

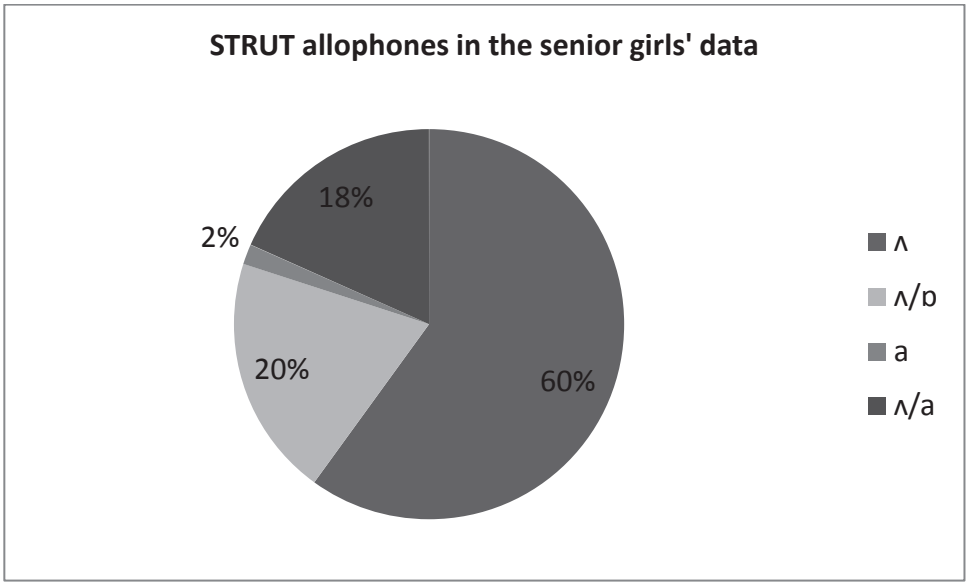


Figure 5.3.6 Distribution of STRUT allophones in the rehearsal data of POS Senior Girls' and Belmont Senior Girls' Choirs

The figure shows that [ʌ] was by far the most common allophone of STRUT, occurring on its own or in combination with [ɒ] or [a] 98 percent of the time. In the majority of cases, or 60 percent of the time, the singers sang STRUT as [ʌ] only, but this is actually less than expected, since STRUT was generally reported as unproblematic in the interviews. The only other allophone that occurred on its own was [a], which occurred on its own in 2 percent of all cases, but in combination with more popular [ʌ] in a further 18 percent of all cases. The open back rounded vowel [ɒ], the vowel more frequently used in the LOT set, occurred alongside the open-mid back unrounded [ʌ] in the remaining 20 percent of all STRUT tokens.

There were 13 tokens of the PALM vowel in the girls' data, from which two allophones arise, [ɑː] and [a]. The PALM vowel occurs in the words <branches> and <enchanted>. Most frequently, the girls used [ɑː] exclusively, although there is one instance each of [a] on its own and [a] and [ɑː] together. The percentage distributions are seen in Figure 5.3.7 below.

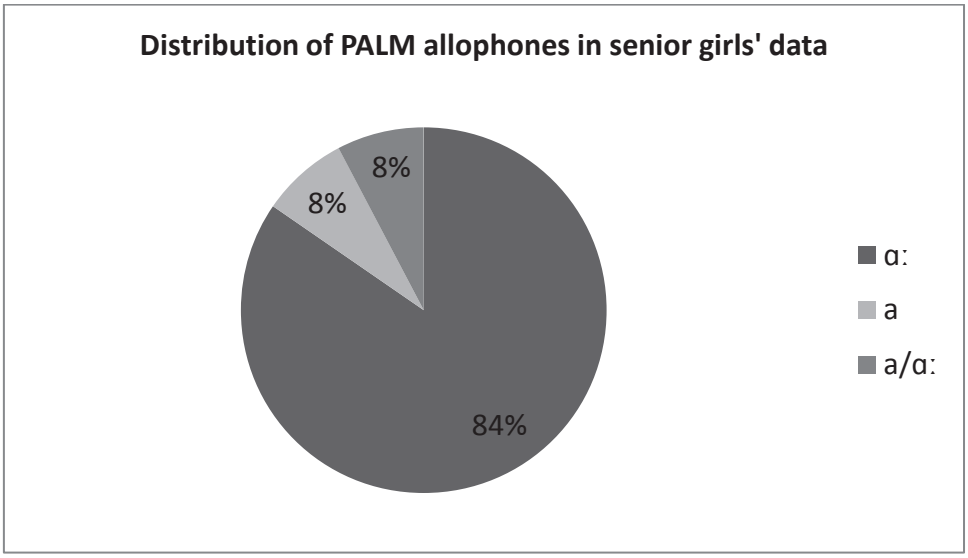


Figure 5.3.7 Percentage distributions of PALM/START allophones in senior girls' data

The use of [a] in contexts where [ɑː] is preferred is likely to be due to transfer from TE/C, where the merger of the TRAP and PALM vowels is attested (see Youssef and James 2008, Solomon 1993).

Further insight into the merger of the PALM/START and TRAP vowels can be gained by studying allophones of TRAP which arise in the data. Of the 52 tokens of TRAP vowels in the data, more than half- 54 percent- were realised with [a] only, but a not insignificant percentage- over a quarter- were realised with [a] and [ɑː] simultaneously, with [ɑː] occurring on its own in 15 percent of the occasions. This is illustrated in the graph below.

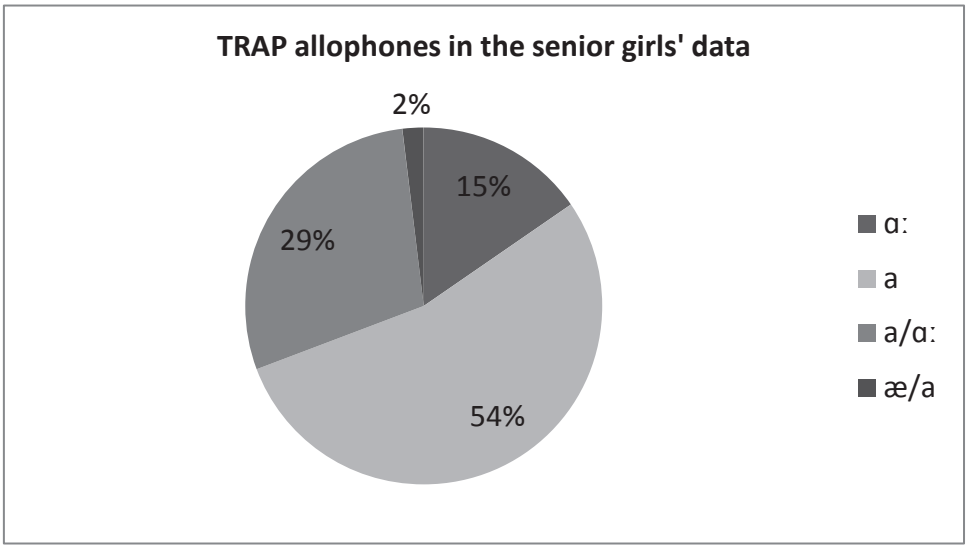


Figure 5.3.8 Distribution of TRAP allophones in the senior girls' data

It will be recalled that the questionnaire and interview data revealed quite negative attitudes towards [a] use in [ɑː] contexts. Words in the PALM lexical set were in fact the only words with index scores as high as consonants i.e. judged problematic by participants, and the senior girls did use [ɑː] mostly in PALM contexts.However, they also used [ɑː] in TRAP contexts, where [a] would be expected and accepted. Thus, we see a tendency towards hypercorrection. This will be discussed in greater detail below.

5.3.2.2 Diphthongs

The senior female choristers produced several tokens of the vowels in words like GOAT, FACE and MOUTH. The girls produced 78 tokens with the GOAT vowel in words such as <grow>, <know> and <echoing>. Use of [o] exclusively was almost categorical for both choirs, the sole exception being one instance in POS Senior Girls' Choir where some singers sing [ɑː] while others sing [o]. Notably, this realisation occurs on the very last note of the song, which is also the highest note in the song, and after the sopranos have been repeatedly chid by their conductor for sounding "screechy." It seems likely then that this is an accommodation being made on the part of the singers to create a more desirable sound at the expense of the pronunciation.

The FACE vowel occurred 157 times in the girls' data, the vast majority (130) of these occurring in the rehearsal at Belmont Senior Girls' Choir, where the girls were required to repeat musical phrases containing this vowel on several occasions. Three main allophones of FACE occurred in the data: [e], [ɛ], and [ø]. Their distribution is illustrated in the figure below.

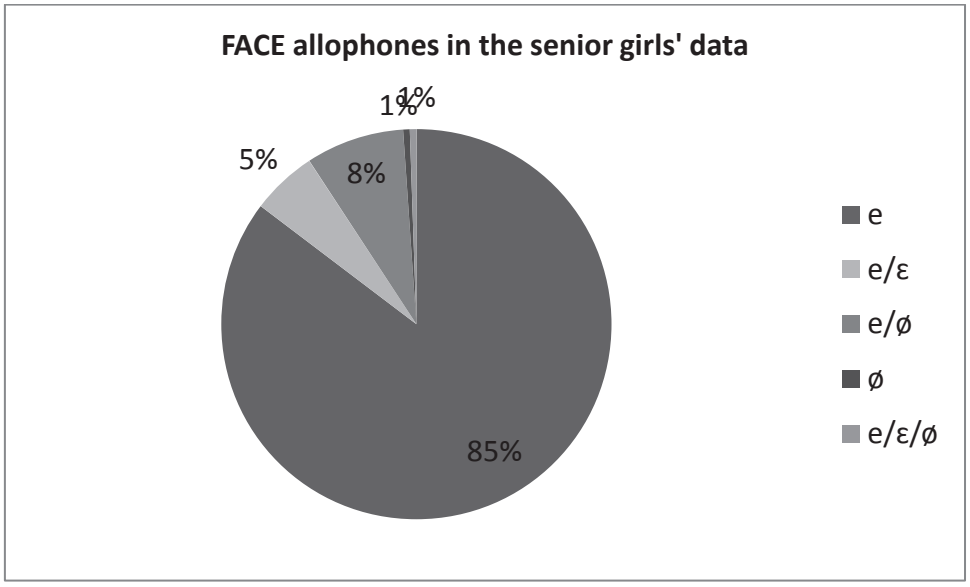


Figure 5.3.9 Distribution of FACE allophones in the senior girls' rehearsal data

Perhaps the most striking feature of the allophones of FACE used in the two senior girls' choirs is the absence of the British English variant, [eɪ]. Instead, [e] is the most frequently used allophone, occurring exclusively in 85 percent of all contexts and in combination with [ɛ] and/or [ø] in a further 14 percent. This is in keeping with the findings in the interviews and questionnaires, where participants said singers would not find the sound problematic, and further said that the desired pronunciation would be [e], "even though it [was] not British."

It should be noted that allophones of FACE that are not [e] were only found in the Belmont Senior Girls' Choir rehearsal; POS Senior Girls' Choir use [e] consistently. Furthermore, the realisation [ø] is not part of the vowel inventories of either TE/C or Standard British English. Further, the girls did not produce this pronunciation naturally; it is the result of much prodding on the part of their conductor, as seen in the extract:

Extract 5.5 Belmont Senior Girls' Choir sings <came>

<$Frank><#>Not [keˈem] you won't get it <#>Drop the jaw <#>And

<$Second altos><#>[keˈem/køˈøm]

<$Frank><#>Don't close the mouth don't change the shape[…] <#>Give me that note

<$First altos><#>[keˈem]

<$Frank><#>Not enough through the nose
<$First altos><#>[keˈem]
<$Frank><#>Can you round it <#>And
<$First altos><#>[keˈem]
<$Frank><#>Put the superimpose the [e] sound on the [u:] <#>Three four
<$First altos><#>[keˈem/køˈøm]

Another diphthong occurring with considerable frequency in the girls' data is that found in the MOUTH lexical set. In total, there were 145 tokens of words in this set, 101 of them in the Belmont Senior Girls' Choir rehearsal data and the remaining 44 in POS Senior Girls' rehearsal data. Two allophones were identified in the data: [aʊ] and [ɔʊ], the overall distribution of which is shown below.

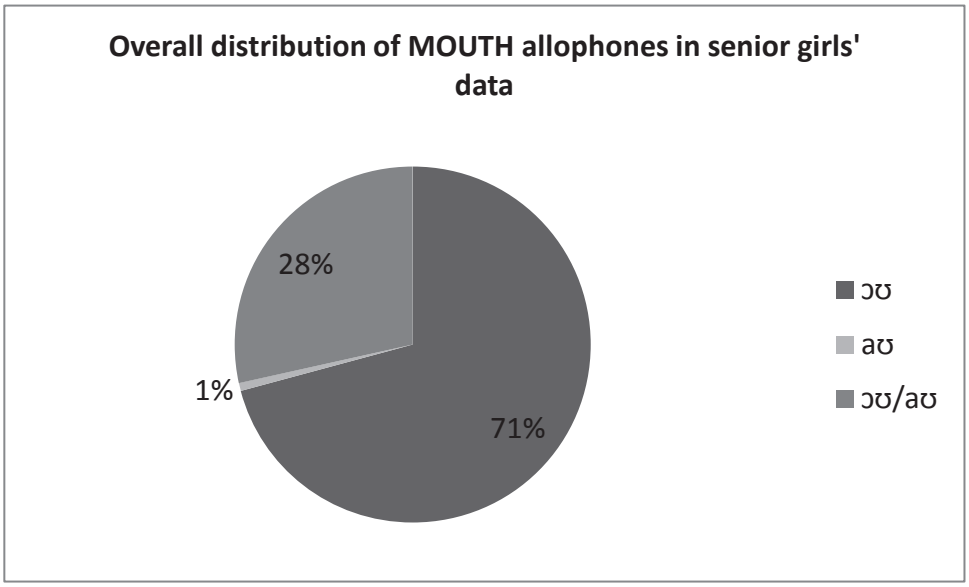


Figure 5.3.10 Overall distribution of MOUTH allophones in senior girls' data

The graph shows that the allophone that may be labelled the TE/C allophone, [ɔʊ], occurred most frequently in the rehearsal data, either on its own, 71 percent of the time, or in combination with [aʊ], 28 percent of the time. As with several other features examined here, the presentation of the overall differences masks differences between the two choirs. Figure 5.3.11 captures these distinctions.

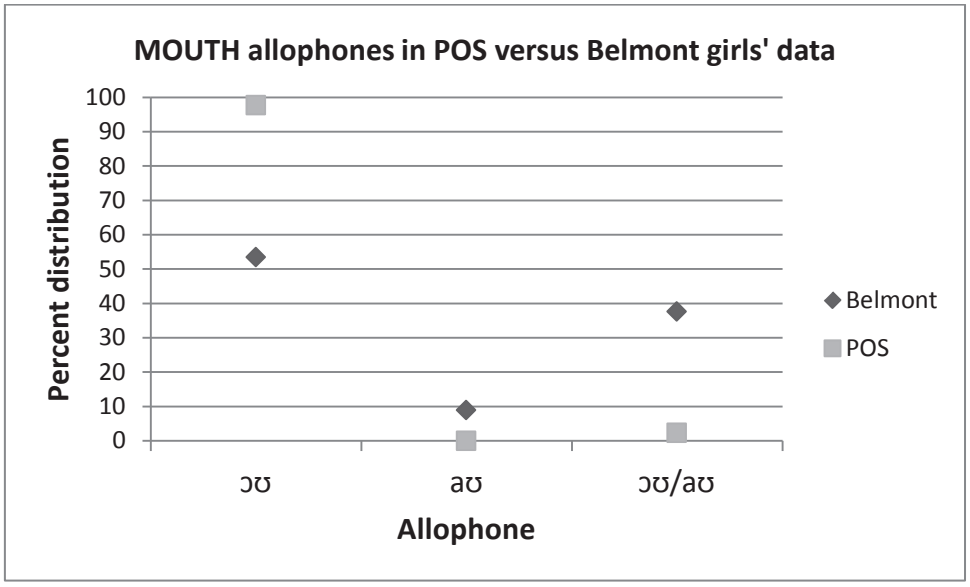


Figure 5.3.11 Mouth allophones in POS versus Belmont girls' data

For words in the MOUTH lexical set, the figure shows that singers in POS Senior Girls' Choir almost categorically use [ɔʊ], the TE/C variant, though it co-occurs with [aʊ] in just under 3 percent of occasions. In Belmont, however, there is greater variation in the use of the allophones. [ɔʊ], though still the majority, here accounts for only about 55 percent of all MOUTH tokens on its own, and just under 40 percent of all MOUTH tokens in combination with [aʊ]. Furthermore, while [aʊ] never occurs on its own in POS Senior Girls' Choir, it accounts for about 8 percent of all MOUTH tokens in the other North-based girls' choir, a sizeable minority.

5.3.2.3 Other vowels

Although PRICE and NURSE were not judged as possible sources of pronunciation difficulties by interview and questionnaire participants, they will be presented here for two reasons. Firstly, the senior girls, unlike singers in the other four choirs, exhibit a high degree of variation in their pronunciations of words in these sets. With specific regard to the NURSE vowel, the variation exhibited by the singers in POS Senior Girls' Choir overlaps with the variation seen in the interview participants who, despite their variation, did not judge NURSE as potentially problematic.

In total, the senior girls produced 162 tokens of words containing the PRICE vowel such as <rise>, <eyes>, <times>, and <while>. Among these tokens, four allophones were identified: [aɪ], [ɑɪ], [ʌɪ], and [ɑ:]. The most frequently used of these is [aɪ], which is the allophone most widely used both in spoken TE/C and SBE. However, [ɑɪ] also occurs quite regularly, either on its own, or in combination with [aɪ] (the second most used allophonic pattern) and/ or [ɑ:]. This tendency towards the use of [ɑ:] in the first element of the vowel may be related to the pattern of [ɑ] use in TRAP vowel contexts reported earlier. The graph below shows the distributions of the PRICE allophones in the data.

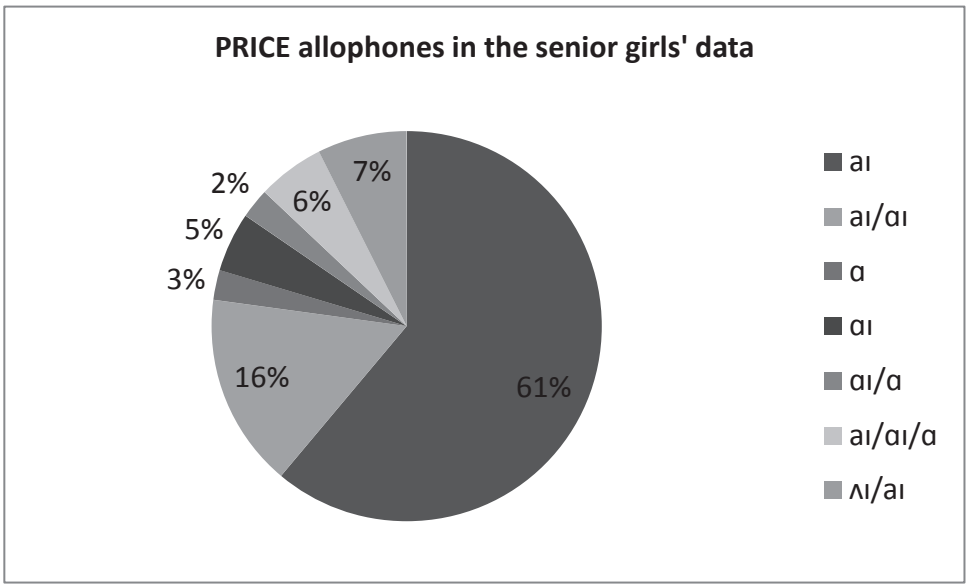


Figure 5.3.12 Distribution of PRICE allophones in the senior girls' rehearsal data

Belmont Senior Girls' Choir only produced two instances of the NURSE vowel in their rehearsal data, in the word <burns>, which they pronounced as [bɜnz] on both occasions. In contrast, POS Senior Girls' Choir produced 35 instances of the NURSE vowel, from which two allophones can be distinguished: [ɜ] and [ɜ˞], occurring either alone or in combination. The figure below displays their distribution.

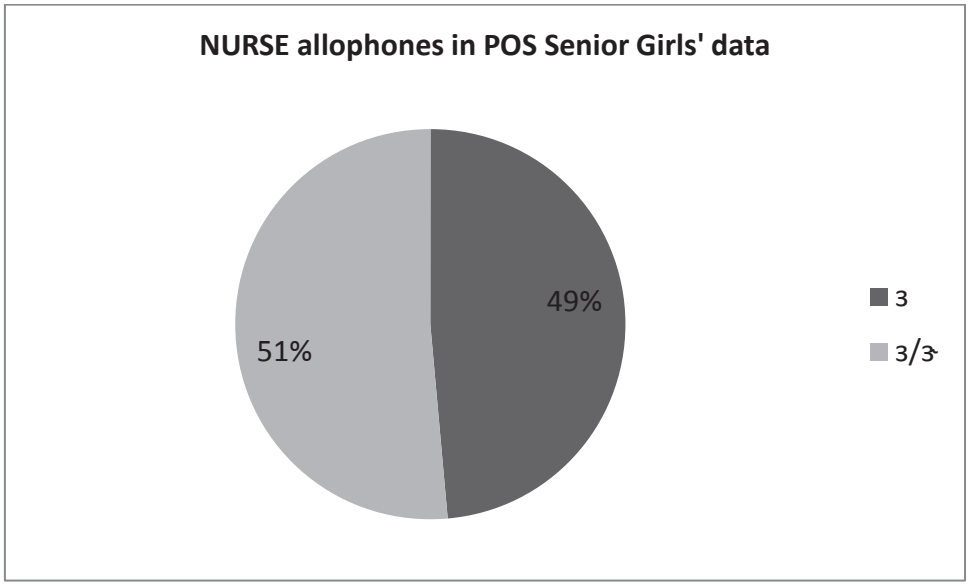


Figure 5.3.13 Distribution of NURSE allophones in the rehearsal data of POS Senior Girls' Choir

The graph above shows that the use of [ɜ] exclusively and the use of [ɜ] coupled with [ɜ˞] is about equal. This corresponds quite closely to the findings obtained in the interview data in particular, where the young singers interviewed were almost equally divided in their responses with regards to the best pronunciation of the NURSE vowel.

5.3.3 Summary

This section discussed the findings obtained in the rehearsals at POS Senior Girls' Choir and Belmont Senior Girls' Choir. With regard to consonantal variants, it showed that the senior girls made consistent use of the forms identified as the desired pronunciation in interviews and questionnaires. This was found to be especially true of POS Senior Girls' Choir, the most experienced choir in this study. With regard to the back vowels, the senior girls made frequent use of the allophones identified as preferred in the interview and questionnaire data, particularly with regard to PALM. Otherwise, overall percentages of preferred variant use were lower in this category than both for consonants and for diphthongs. The senior girls nevertheless seemed to be sensitive to the use of the prestige variant, and thus tended to produce a number of hypercorrect forms, particularly in the STRUT and TRAP lexical sets.

In the next section, the results from all six choirs will be collated. Furthermore, the findings will be compared and any differences among the choirs will be discussed.

5.4.0 Overall results

The previous sections of this chapter described in considerable detail the singers' realisations of different vowel and consonant features during the choral rehearsals. This section aims to synthesise the previous discussions. It addresses the overall use of the preferred variants by all three groups of choirs, focussing largely on the exclusive use of preferred variants, the use of dispreferred variants having been discussed in the context of the different choir types. It looks at the actual use of several frequently-occurring sounds in the data, and compares it to the index scores these sounds received in the questionnaires. It also looks closely at the differences among the three different groups of choirs. Beyond this, other trends that emerged in the rehearsal data e.g. hypercorrection, will be presented.

5.4.1 Overall use

The figure below shows the overall frequency of preferred variants in the rehearsals of the six school choirs which participated in this study. It represents the distribution of 3, 030 individual tokens spread across the 10 variables. Not included in the graph below are tokens of /ɪŋ/ realisation, and the PRICE, TRAP and NURSE vowels, which were only analysed for the senior girls, and the NEAR-SQUARE lexical sets, which only occurred in the boys' data. Together, these contribute a further 324 tokens, for a total of 3, 354 tokens overall. It should be noted that tokens were not evenly spread across features, since features that occur in the data, for each individual choir and by extension overall, were constrained first of all by the song lyrics and secondly by the areas of the song the conductors chose to rehearse during a rehearsal session. It should also be noted that many features addressed in the questionnaires and interviews are not addressed in the rehearsal data. This could either be due to the absence of a context for the examination of that feature in the song, e.g. /k/→[kj], or because choral singing is perhaps not the best overall context in which to assess that feature. This latter point is

particularly true of schwa realisation in words like LETTER. It will be recalled that this received an index score of 0.69, suggesting that conductors found it rather problematic for at least some of the singers in their choirs. Schwa realisation, however, is closely linked to prominence, and the normal measures of prominence, pitch, duration, and amplitude, are tightly controlled in musical composition by non-linguistic factors.

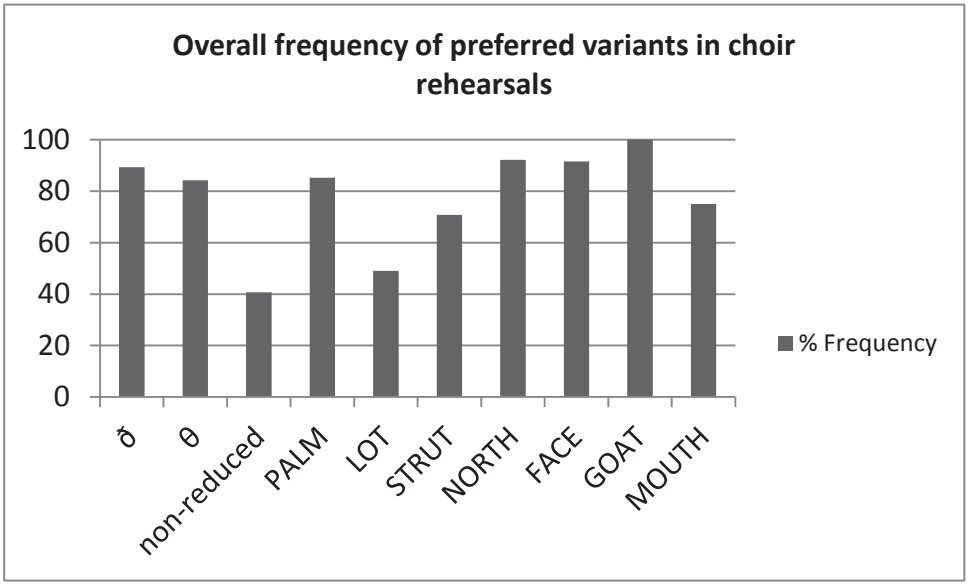


Figure 5.4.1 Overall percentage frequency of preferred variants only in choir rehearsals

It is perhaps worth restating that there were two main possibilities with regard to how features were realised: exclusive and simultaneous. In exclusive realisations, all singers in a choir were perceived as using the same pronunciation of a feature in a given instance of a specific word. This pronunciation could be either the one identified as preferred in the interviews or the one identified as dispreferred. For example, if all singers of a choir are perceived as singing [ð] in a word like <then>, that instance of /ð/ is exclusive. A simultaneous pronunciation occurred when singers in the same choir were perceived as producing more than one pronunciation (allophone) of a single feature in more than one way in a given instance of a specific word. The different pronunciations could include any combination the preferred pronunciation and dispreferred pronunciations, where more than one existed. Thus, if some singers of a choir were perceived as singing [ð] while others are perceived as singing [d] on the same occurrence of <then>, that instance of [ð]

occurs simultaneously with [d]. Previous sections addressed the variations found in considerable detail, and so here greater attention will be paid to exclusive pronunciations.

The graph shows that, in many contexts, the singers were perceived as producing the preferred variant with considerable consistency. For eight out of ten features, singers used the preferred variant only in over 70 percent of all contexts. Preferred allophone use was categorical in words in the GOAT lexical set, and over 90 percent in words in the NORTH and FACE lexical sets. Furthermore, the voiced and voiceless dental fricatives were realised as fricatives 89.25 and 84.21 percent of the time respectively, while the PALM vowel was realised with the preferred variant 85.21 percent of the time. The MOUTH vowel was realised with the singers' preferred variant 75 percent of the time, while the preferred allophone appeared in STRUT 70 percent of the time. At the other end of the scale, consonant clusters were retained only 40 percent of the time, while the LOT vowel was realised with its preferred pronunciation in 49 percent of all tokens.

These results thus seem to coincide with the findings drawn from the third section of the questionnaire. Several conductors believed that singers were aware of the difficulties they may face in producing certain words, even if they do not always bear them in mind when singing. The conductors also believed that singers were generally good at producing words with the desired pronunciation once the word had been modelled for them.

It would, however, also be instructive to compare the percentage frequencies with the index scores from the questionnaires. This would allow us to see the interaction between what conductors perceive to be problem areas of pronunciation and what those areas really are. We should expect to see high frequencies of exclusive preferred pronunciation use for features with lower index scores and lower frequencies of exclusive preferred pronunciation use for features with higher index scores. The graph below shows the interaction of the index scores and percentage frequency of preferred pronunciation.

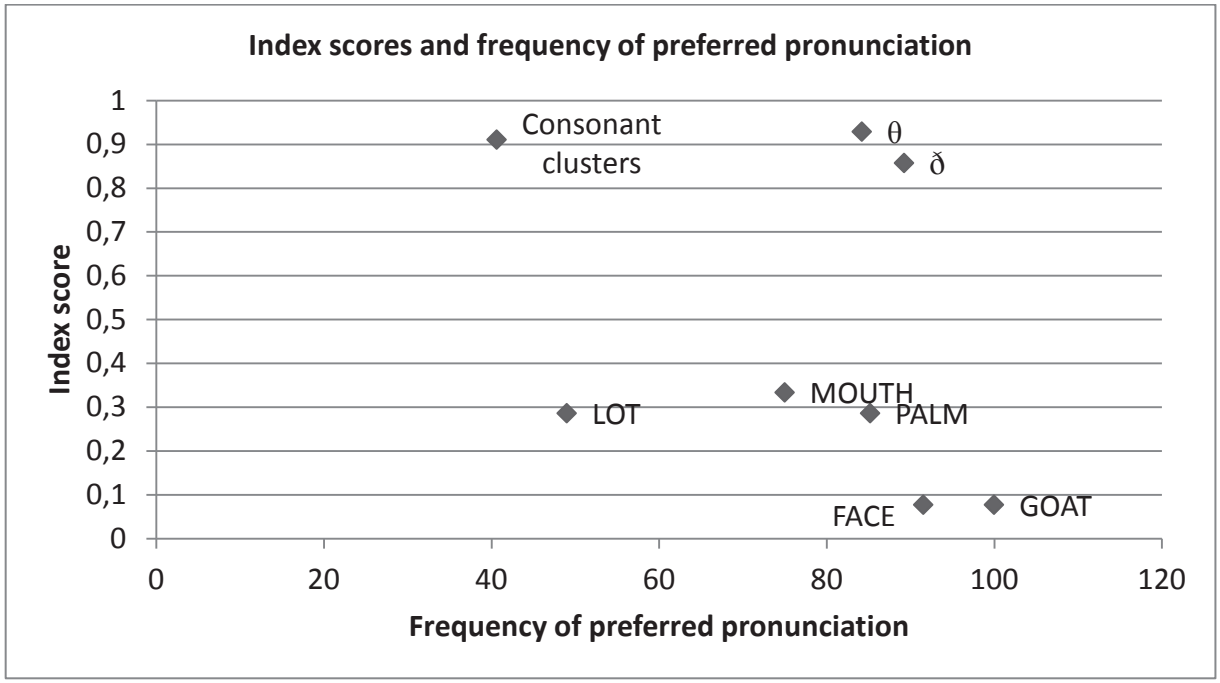


Figure 5.4.2 Interaction of index scores and frequency of preferred pronunciation for eight variables

The graph shows frequency of preferred pronunciations on the x-axis and index score on the y-axis. Only eight features are represented above because STRUT and NORTH were not included in the questionnaires and so do not have an indexical score. They were discussed in the interviews or corrected in the course of rehearsals, which is how a preferred pronunciation could be established.

If we look first at the lexical sets with very low index scores, GOAT and FACE, we see that the frequency of preferred usage matched the expectation developed based on the index scores. Singers used the preferred variants [o] (GOAT) and [e] (FACE) regularly. It is worth noting that both vowels are the TE/C allophones of the respective sounds; in SBE they are the diphthongs [əʊ] and [eɪ] respectively. It is also worth noting that pronunciations of FACE that did not use the preferred TE/C allophone also did not use the SBE variant. Instead, they used something approximating the close-mid front vowel [ø]. This is in keeping with comments made both by conductors and singers in the interviews, as seen in the extracts below where Giselle, who is a member of the choir conducted by Mrs Taylor, matches her conductor's idiosyncratic pronunciation exactly.

Extract 5.6: Mrs Taylor's FACE

<$Taylor><#>Yeah we don't have the diphthong we say [fes] well the British again and this is why you have to be careful saying the British pronunciation and saying the they have [feɪs] they have the [e] and the [i]
<$GW><#>And the<,> the pure vowel is fine for you
<$Taylor><#>Mhm<,> cos there're ways I could soften it eh<,> tell them how to put their lips and all of that
<$GW><#>How would they soften it
<$Taylor><#>Again the [e] sound is sometimes a little harsh so [føs] [føs] rather than [fes] right

Extract 5.7 Giselle's FACE

<$Giselle><#><#>She [Mrs Taylor] might want us to pout a little bit for this one like [føs]

On the other end of the spectrum are those features with high index scores. Only one of these, consonant clusters, had the expected low overall rate of exclusive preferred pronunciation usage. The others, /ð/, and /θ/ had quite unanticipated high frequencies of preferred pronunciation uses. This mismatch between perceived problems and actual problems is perhaps hinted at in some of the interviews. Consider the exchange below:

Extract 5.8 Clare and Giselle discuss TH

<$Giselle><#>People not going to say <mention>tin</mention>
<$Clare><#>People might say <mention>tin</mention> you don't know <#>People just randomly talk without T H's all the time
<$Giselle><#>That real annoys me
<$Clare><#>It really does but some people just do
<$Giselle><#>Can't judge though can't judge
<$GW><#>Go ahead next one<O>list</O><&>Giselle produces <mention>them</mention> in very much the same way but at a much lower pitch</&><#>And how is it different from the first one
<$Clare><#><{><[>It's not really</[>

<$Giselle><#><[>It kinda stressed on the T H</[></{> a little more<O>list</O><&>after Clare suggests that people would say dem</&><#>I don't know who you trying to impersonate
<$Clare><#><@>Giselle</@> some people do honestly I am very sorry

In this exchange, Clare's suggestion that the voiceless and voiced dental fricatives in words like <thin> and <them> are produced as [t] and [d] respectively is rejected by her interview partner, Giselle, "people not going to say <mention>tin<mention>[…] I don't know who you trying to impersonate." It may well be that some people's responses more accurately reflect the actual situation while others' responses reflect what they believe the situation to be.

Words in the PALM, LOT and MOUTH lexical sets have relatively low index scores, below the median 0.535. In the case of PALM, and to a lesser extent MOUTH, the overall percentage of preferred variant use seems to run parallel to our expectations based on the index score. This, however, is not the case with regard to LOT, which has a low index score but also has a relatively low rate of preferred variant usage, with [ɒ] being used about 49 percent of the time.

5.4.2 Differences among choirs

In previous sections, we saw that several differences could sometimes be found between the choirs singing the same pieces. Findings there showed that for all consonant variables, i.e. dental fricatives and consonant clusters, where choirs could be separated based on geographical locations, Port-of-Spain versus San Fernando, singers in Port-of-Spain more consistently used the preferred variant than those in San Fernando. Similarly, in the PALM and LOT lexical sets, northern choirs' use of the preferred allophones outstrips that of their southern counterparts (see Sections 5.1, 5.2). In addition to regionally related differences, it was also likely that the choirs' experience affected how successfully they were able to use the preferred variants. Thus, we saw that with the two senior girls' choirs, one of them, POS Girls' Senior Choir, seemed particularly adept at pronouncing the preferred variant, while the other produced a greater quantity of the dispreferred variants (see Section 5.3).

Findings presented earlier also showed that the song being performed possibly affected the singers' use of the preferred pronunciation (see Section 5.1). Based on the interview results, such differences were to be expected between songs of quite distinct musical genres, such as local music and classical music. However, in this data set these differences were also found between songs that, to the organisers of the Music Festival at least, belonged to the body of standard classical choral literature. This seems to suggest that feature usage is not as distinct as the interviews, and even the literature on choral singing, seem to suggest. In this section, differences that exist between types of choirs (boys, junior girls, senior girls) will be explored. This will be done by comparing the overall percentage frequencies of preferred variants only for each group.

The graph below shows the differences among the three groups of singers' realisations of the preferred variant.

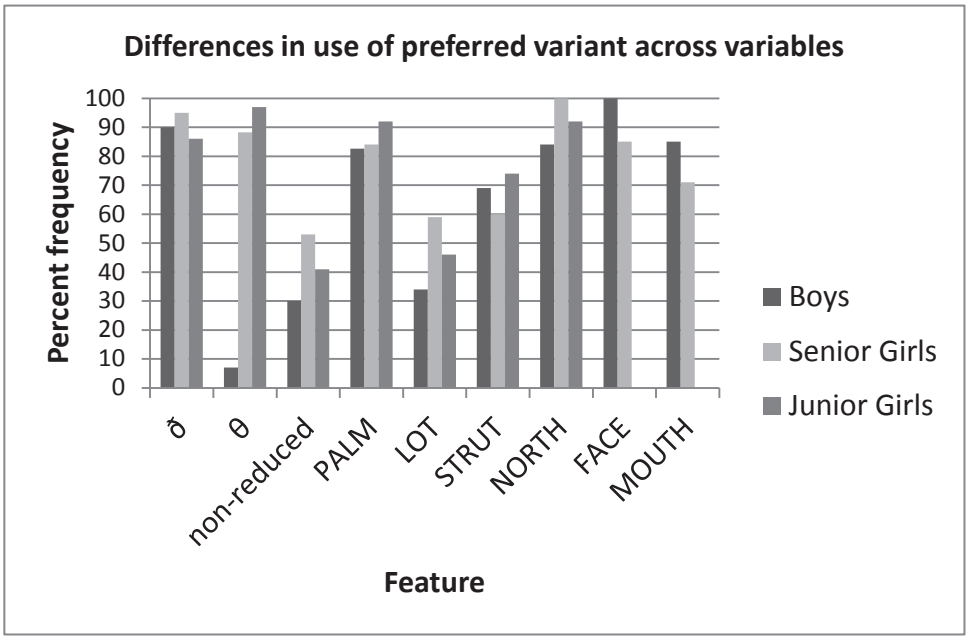


Figure 5.4.3 Differences in choirs' use of preferred variants across variables

The diagram above does not display information regarding the GOAT vowel, since this was categorical for all groups, except for an isolated instance in one senior girls' choir (see 5.3.2.2). It also does not contain any information regarding the junior girls' pronunciation of FACE and MOUTH, since these

choirs did not have any opportunity to produce these features in the course of their rehearsals.

For every category where information is available for all three types of choirs, the boys lagged behind either the senior girls ([ð])or the junior girls (STRUT) and, in the remaining cases, both groups of girls' choirs. The percent difference between the leading girls' group and the boys ranges from a low of 5 percent ([ð], STRUT), and a high of 90 percent ([θ]). This latter figure can be partially attributed to the fact that the boys did not have many contexts in which they might have produced the voiceless dental fricatives, and, on those occasions where they might have used [θ], they found it difficult to do so. For example, during the SANDO Boys' Choir rehearsal of "Blow Ye Winds", their conductor tells them to "Try and put the TH in months, try and put on the TH in months, " which he, incidentally, pronounces as [mʌnts]. However, in spite of the fact that there were 151 other instances of where [θ] is required from any choir, this is the only time this particular sound was corrected in the data. Other quite notable differences exist between the boys' and senior girls' realisations of consonant clusters, as well as the LOT and NORTH vowels. The boys' tendency away from the preferred variants correlates quite closely to sociolinguistic literature on language and gender in which males are reported as using more non-standard variants.

Between the girls' choirs, the senior girls emerged leaders in the use of the preferred realisations of [ð], consonant clusters, and the LOT and NORTH vowels, while junior girls led seniors in the use of [θ], and the PALM and STRUT vowels. This seems to run counter to literature on language and gender in the lifespan, which would predict that the senior girls lead the use of the preferred variants in all categories, rather than just in some. However, if we bear in mind the senior girls' apparent tendency towards hypercorrection in STRUT and TRAP, reported in 5.3.2.1, then we are reminded that the senior girls were indeed extremely sensitive to the stigmas attached to certain forms.

The only features in which the boys did lead in the use of the preferred variant are the FACE and MOUTH vowels. Their use of these variants surpassed that of the senior girls by a margin of about 15 percent in both cases. It is worth noting, however, that while the senior girls did not use the

most preferred variant in all instances, it would be misleading to label alternative pronunciations they produce in these contexts as incorrect. The girls that do not sing MOUTH as [ɔʊ] sing it as [aʊ], which is identified as preferred pronunciation by some of the conductors interviewed (see Chapter 4), and which correlates to the SBE pronunciation of words in this lexical set. Furthermore, when girls did not sing FACE as [e], they also did not use the SBE diphthong [eɪ] instead. Rather, they were usually prompted to and subsequently produce a close-mid front rounded vowel [ø], which was for one conductor at least the preferred variant. Interestingly, the boys are also prompted to produce this variant, but never do, even after repeated correction.

5.4.3 Hypercorrection

The final aspect of pronunciation that will be discussed in this section is hypercorrection, the use of a prestige form in an environment where it ought not to occur. Typically, this occurs when speakers, "attempting to correct some non-standard forms, […] apply the correction to other forms for which the rules they are using do not apply" (Labov 1966, 2006: 318). For example, Winford (1978) reports the pronunciation of <time> as [θaɪm] by some speakers in his study. Here, the speakers were clearly aware of the stigmatised [t] allophone commonly used in TE/C English, and avoided it at all costs.[4] Singers in the participating choirs also used hypercorrect forms, particularly with regard to the voiceless dental fricative [θ], consonant clusters, and the vowels in the STRUT and TRAP sets.

In section 5.3.1 it was shown how girls avoided [a] and [ʌ], stigmatised allophones of the PALM and LOT vowels, in many of the contexts in which PALM and LOT occurred. However, it was also shown that, although [a] and [ʌ] are indeed the preferred variants for words in the TRAP and STRUT lexical sets, the girls used the hypercorrect forms [ɑː] and [ɒ] in TRAP and STRUT contexts quite frequently. Indeed, it was found that [ɒ], although it never occurred exclusively in STRUT contexts, occurred along with [ʌ] in 20 percent

[4] Winford calls this super-correction in an attempt to separate these types of hypercorrection from hypercorrection as defined by Trudgill 1972. This distinction has not been upheld elsewhere, and will not be used here.

of all instances, while [ɑː] occurred either alone or in combination with [a] in 44 percent of all instances of TRAP.

Consonant clusters, with a high index score and a low overall rate of realisation of the preferred form, in fact the lowest, were very likely to be over-extended i.e. singers used consonant clusters in environments where they are not required. One example of this is in the expression <an old man> which occurs in the junior girls' song. In both choirs, singers sang [and old man] on more than one occasion, particularly after they have been prodded to articulate their words. In both choirs, the singers were corrected. The conductors' corrections are seen below.

Extract 5.9: POS Junior Girls' [and old man]

<$Teacher><#>And it's not <mention>and old man</mention>, it's<mention> an old man</mention><#><mention>An</mention> think about what you're saying.

Extract 5.10: SANDO Junior Girls' [and old man]

<$Teacher><#><mention>Torch of an<mention><,> articulate <#>Again
<$Choir><#><&>singing>The moon is the torch of [and] old man
<$Teacher><#> No, not <mention>[and old man an old man]</mention><#>Some people talk that way you know <#>Some people speak that way and actually say <quote>and whatever</quote>

The singers' awareness of the stigmatisation of reduced consonant clusters and the specific articulatory requirements for singing are further illustrated in the extract below.

Extract 5.11: We hastening along

<$Hilary><#>Uhm<,> you see that word <quote>hasten</quote><,,><#>You see that word <quote>hasten</quote>
<$Adanna><#>Y'all <{><[>[hestʌn] eh <#>We have to pronounce the T</[>
<$Several girls><#><O>Begin to discuss whether they should pronounce the T in the word hasten though separating individual comments is difficult</O>
<$Adanna><#>We [hestʌnɪŋ] along
<$POSG79><#>Is [hesʌn]

<$POSG80><#>It sounding like a different word
<$Hilary><#>You don't pronounce the T <#>You don't say [hestʌn]
<O>discussion continues on the issue of the T</O>
<$Hilary><#>Don't don't tell them to do that <#>Wait until when Miss ready to reach and she will tell them
<$Deputy Head Girl><#>I think I think Miss really want us to pronounce the words properly
<$Hilary><#>So it would be what
<$Deputy Head Girl><#>[hestʌn] <#>Maybe we say [hesʌn] and we<{><[> sing [hestʌn]</[>
<$Adanna><#><[>Don't sing </[></{> [hestɛn] you know
<$Deputy Head Girl><#>Maybe if we singing it <unclear>words</unclear><,,><&>several moments of talk</&>
<$Hilary><#> Alright then we are going back from<{><[><quote>while</[> while from times wood</quote>
<$POSG80><#><[>Shhhhhhh</[></{>
<$Deputy Head Girl><#>Y'all should try the [hestʌn] along okay<#> Just try to see how if you'll hear it
<$Adanna><#> Like [hestʌn] not [hestɛn] [hestʌn]

The extract is taken from a rehearsal which was conducted by the students themselves, led by Hilary. Since the presence of the conductor was judged an important factor affecting the realisation of different phonological features, data from this rehearsal is not included in the analysis of individual features. Nevertheless, a number of interesting exchanges took place during the course of this rehearsal, such as the extract above. In the extract, we see the girls' awareness of the stigmatisation of consonant cluster reduction, and particularly the cluster [st], which was identified in the interviews as particularly susceptible to reduction. Despite Adanna's confidence that they "have to produce the T", several girls, notably Hilary, disagree with her. The other conflicts that arise during the rehearsal were settled by turning to the school's Head Girl, Deputy Head Girl, and interview participant Dana[5], who are all prominent members both of the choir and the school community. The

[5] Dana eventually becomes Deputy Head Girl.

three exhorted their peers to be more disciplined in the rehearsal and to give Hilary, their junior who is quite skilled musically, their respect and attention. In this situation, their authority, and diplomacy, is also called upon. The deputy head girl rules that their teacher "really want[s them] to pronounce the words properly", and suggests that, although they say [hesʌn], they sing [hestʌn] and suggests that they attempt the latter pronunciation. In fact, this pronunciation of <hasten> was not altogether uncommon. Of 88 total tokens of the word in other rehearsals, 18 were produced with simultaneous uses of [hesʌn] and [hestʌn]. This means that the hypercorrect pronunciation was present in 20 percent of all uses.

The high index score of the voiceless dental fricative, coupled with the belief of many of those interviewed that singers did not always produce the preferred [θ] in the expected contexts suggests that, in spite of its actual low rate of occurrence in the rehearsals, the [t] allophone is quite stigmatised. Although no examples of hypercorrect TH use can be heard in the singing, there is one example of the girl inserting a voiceless dental fricative in an environment where one is not required, as seen below.

Extract 5.12: WATER

<$Teacher><#><[>It is not out of the [watʌ]</[></{><#>It is not out of the [watə] <#>It is out of the [ˈwɔ:tə]
<$BELG9&10><#>[ɔʊt əv ðə wɔtə ɹaɪz]
<$Teacher><#>But if your mouth is flat then you'll get [ɹaɪz] instead of [ɹɑɪz]
<O>one or two girls sing their parts</O>
<$Teacher><#>And the word I said it is not [watə] it is [wɔ:tə] <,,>
<$BELG11><#><&>in somewhat exaggerated style</&>[aʊt əv ðə ˈwɔ:tə ɹʌɪz]
<$Teacher><#>Everybody say that word [wɔ:tə] for me please
<$Choir><#>[ˈwɔ:tə]
<$BELG12><#>[wɔːθɜɹ]

In extract 5.12, the conductor's focus is quite clearly on the pronunciation of vowels, and particularly the pronunciation of the NORTH vowel in words like <water>. BELG12, however, is sensitive to the idea of an overall stigmatised pronunciation, but overestimates the possible stigmatised

feature. Thus, she correctly replaces one stigmatised feature, [a], with the preferred pronunciation [ɔː], but also incorrectly replaces two acceptable features, [t] and -[ɹ] with hypercorrect variants, [θ], and +[ɹ]. The first of these is no doubt due to her awareness of the phenomenon in which TE/C speakers often use [t] in [θ] contexts, and her overextension of the rule, amounting broadly to, 'if I normally say [t], it should be [θ]', resulting in the subsequent hypercorrect use of [θ]. The case of the [ɹ] is more complex, however, since neither TE/C nor the alleged SBE target accent is rhotic. It may be that the singer is relying in part on the spelling pronunciation of the word, or that she has been influenced by General American English pronunciations of the word.

Indeed, the pronunciation of /ɹ/, particularly in words ending in –er, where –er is not a grammatical morpheme, i.e. words like <water> and <over>, was also observed among the singers of POS Junior Girls' Choir. There were several instances in this choir's rehearsals in which singers pronounced the word <over> as [ovɜɹ], although they never were heard to sing <stars> as [stɑːɹz] or <borne> as [bɔːɹn]. The rhotic pronunciation of <over> was corrected by their conductor. Incidentally, the same conductor did not correct rhotic pronunciations of the NURSE vowels in the POS Senior Girls' Choir rehearsals.

5.5 Chapter Overview

The main aim of this chapter was to address the second central research question, and particularly the second part of that question, namely:

2) How successful are choral singers in secondary schools in Trinidad in attaining this (preferred) accent for singing? Specifically:
    a. […]
    b. What phonological features of the target accent do school-aged choral singers actually find difficult to produce? Are there any differences to be found between: choirs in the North versus the South of Trinidad; all-male versus all-female choirs; choirs of younger singers (between 11 and 14 years old) and choirs of older singers (between 14 and 18 years old)?

The chapter addressed these issues by comparing the preferred pronunciations reported in interviews with the actual pronunciations that singers used in the course of rehearsals. The percentage frequency of preferred pronunciations of a range of features was established in order to gauge singers' overall success rates. Subsequently it was found that singers made use of the preferred and dispreferred pronunciations with rates that differed according to the feature being examined. Additionally, while there were instances in which singers used either the preferred or the dispreferred variant, it was also often the case that singers used more than one variant simultaneously. Moreover, while interviews often yielded only one dispreferred pronunciation, there were often a number of intervening forms that had not arisen in the interviews.

Where singers' use of a feature was categorical or near categorical, where the pronunciation used for that feature matched the preferred pronunciation in questionnaires and interviews, and where features received overall low index scores, we can say that users exhibited high degrees of linguistic security. Thus, we can say that Giselle's proclamation on <goat> in her interview, "there is only one way to pronounce this word in the entire English language [got]" is not misplaced, since singers categorically used the monophthong in GOAT contexts, and words in the GOAT lexical set had very low index scores. This is, notably, in spite of the SBE diphthongal pronunciation of this feature. In terms of words in the GOAT and FACE lexical sets, then, we can say that the high linguistic security favours the local norm and that with regard to these vowels, singers and conductors in Trinidad exhibit endonormative orientations.

On the other hand, where singers used a combination of preferred and dispreferred forms with features that received overall high index scores, we can say that the users exhibited high degrees of linguistic insecurity. This linguistic insecurity was further underscored by the use of hypercorrect forms. This was observed with consonant clusters, which had high index scores, relatively lower rates of exclusive use of the preferred forms, and were seen to be used in a hypercorrect manner, particularly by the female singers.

There were also instances in which the choristers' use of a feature was frequent, often near categorical, where the pronunciation used for the feature matches the preferred pronunciation in questionnaires and interviews, but where the feature received overall high index scores in questionnaires. In cases such as these, we can say that the features themselves have high indexical values. This is particularly true of the voiced dental fricative, which had high overall rates of use of the preferred variant but also a high index score.

In contrast, where sounds received a low index score, but singers' overall use of the preferred variant was relatively infrequent, we can say that the sound has a low indexical value. This is particularly true of the LOT and CLOTH vowels, which had low index score but also relatively low rates of preferred pronunciation usage.

In addition to the features themselves, this chapter also reported possible differences between preferred and dispreferred use in different types of choirs. Where geographical location was taken into consideration, we saw that choirs in the North i.e. Port-of-Spain, tended to make more regular use of the preferred variants than those in the South, i.e. San Fernando. It was also reported that where differences by gender were considered, girls more consistently used the preferred variants, and also seemed to make more use of stylised variants (see Chapter 6 for more on stylised variants). Furthermore, it was found that girls exhibited a tendency towards the hypercorrection of highly stigmatised features, while the boys never displayed hypercorrect language behaviour. In many cases, it was also observed that older girls not only used the preferred variant more frequently than younger girls, but also used the hypercorrect variant more often. Where choirs were equally matched for age, gender and geography, it was also suggested that differences in the use of the preferred variant could also arise due to the choirs' relative experience, with more experienced choirs generally exhibiting the more categorical use of preferred variants. Differences in preferred variant usage could also arise as a result of differences in the meaning of the piece being performed. Finally, different variants could arise depending on the context in which the word appeared within the song. This was especially the case of words that were written to be sung on especially high notes.

In the final results chapter, the corrections that the singers received during the course of the rehearsal will be highlighted. These will be discussed in light of comments and criticisms the choirs receive from adjudicators when they go on to compete, and the reactions that both the conductors' corrections and the adjudicators' criticisms receive.

Chapter 6: Results 3- Corrections

6.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter, we saw that singers' use of the preferred pronunciations varied by feature, though singers tended to use the preferred pronunciation in many occasions. The main aim of this chapter is to present findings pertaining to the research question: How do gatekeepers (conductors and adjudicators) respond to singers' use of dispreferred pronunciation variants?

Data presented in this chapter will be taken from the rehearsal data. For POS Senior Girls, Belmont Senior Girls and SANDO Girls, these will be taken from the full transcripts of the rehearsals themselves. For the remaining choirs, the extracts will be taken from the detailed rehearsal summaries. The level of the summary detail ensured that no relevant information was excluded. Pseudonyms are used throughout.

6.1 Corrections in the rehearsal data

In the approximately nine and a half hours of rehearsal data that were presented in the previous chapter, 499 segments were isolated as corrections in the MAXQDA system. The corrections that the young people received were categorised into three major headings: Discipline, Music, and Language. The corrections related to music could further be divided into two sub-groups: corrections related to notes and corrections related to musicality. The first category of corrections refers to instances in which the singers were corrected because the notes they were singing were incorrect, either in terms of their pitch or rhythm. The second sub-category refers to instances in which the singers' musicality was called into question, those instances in which singers were corrected about issues such as how loudly or quietly they should sing, how they should breathe, or how they should approach notes. Corrections related to language could also be divided into two further categories: corrections related to accent and corrections related to style. Corrections related to accent were those corrections singers received when they used, or

were perceived as using, a dispreferred realisation of a form. They were labelled accent corrections because the correction was received because of TE/C speech features which enter singing. Corrections related to style refer to those corrections singers received in spite of using the form identified as preferred. The singers subsequently received instructions to produce a variant that is not known to exist in either the phonology of TE/C or SBE. Some of these features may have also been identified by a minority of participants in the interviews.

The graph below shows the distribution of corrections in the rehearsal data.

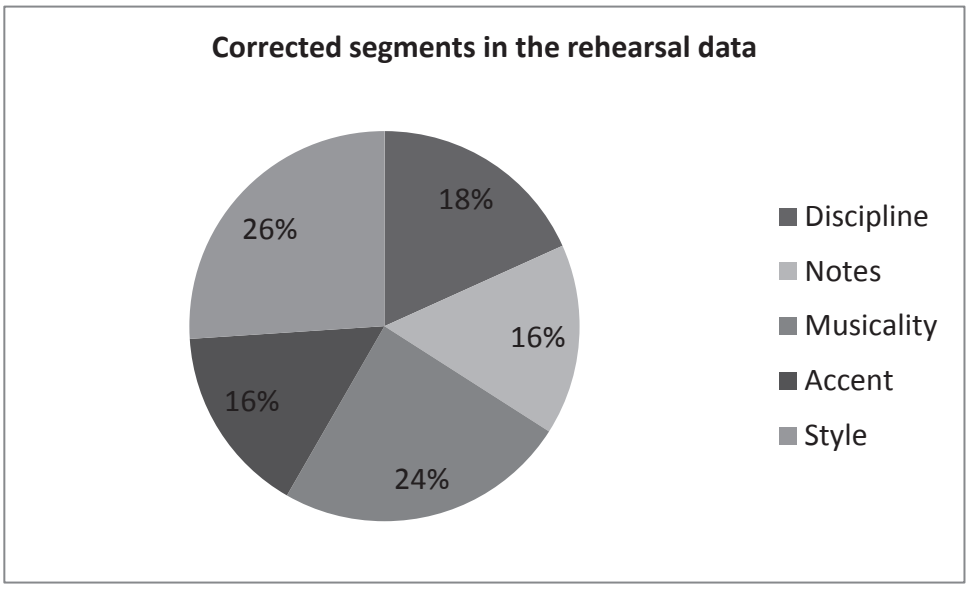


Figure 6.1 Distribution of corrected segments in the rehearsal data

The graph shows that the singers receive the fewest corrections (91 out of 499 or 18 percent) for issues pertaining to discipline. Singers could be disciplined for many reasons: talking during the rehearsal, improperly addressing an authority figure, not wearing their school uniforms appropriately, not looking at the conductor, and not standing or sitting in a way conducive to singing. Examples of corrections labelled discipline can be seen below.

Extract 6.1: Sections coded discipline in POS Junior Girls' Choir rehearsal (taken from rehearsal summaries)[1]

a) (POS Junior Girls) Stop being mischievous(=naughty).

b) (POS Junior Girls) (rehearsal 2) There are people speaking in the interlude. She tells them, "the music is going and y'all have started to talk. That's what you going to do on stage? Maybe."

c) (POS Junior Girls) Small admonishments like "keep your head straight", "don't swing", "hands by your side", "See how hard it is for y'all to look at me and keep still."

d) (POS Junior Girls) You've got to train yourselves to look at me. You go on stage and you're looking all around, we lose marks. And when it comes down to crunch time, like the day before we go on stage, or the hour before we go onstage, and we are rehearsing and people are still not looking I just say 'darling you come and sit down' and I will. And the older girls will tell you because we have standards to maintain. And we must, there are certain things we must do. That is called choral discipline.

Corrections such as these can be found in all the choral rehearsals, and are especially important because they orient the young singers towards behaviours that are expected of them as part of the activity, what the conductor in 6.1d calls 'choral discipline'. While society as a whole may judge naughtiness and speaking when silence is required undesirable character traits, looking around or not having ones hands at ones sides are not deemed serious character flaws, though they may have serious repercussions for singers in competition. In fact, once the competition is underway, the adjudicator lauded the choral discipline of the older girls to whom the conductor above refers, i.e. POS Senior Girls' Choir (from competition field notes). Thus these admonishments are as relevant to the rehearsal process as the corrections the singers receive with regard to the musical notes.

[1] In this chapter, extracts taken from rehearsal transcripts use modified ICE mark-up system, while extracts taken from rehearsal summaries use more traditional orthography and punctuation. Thus words in quotation marks represent direct speech.

The remaining instances of correction are split almost equally between the two larger headings of Music and Language. Forty percent of all corrections in the rehearsals (200 out of 499) arose on musical grounds, 16 percent when singers sang incorrect notes, and 24 percent for issues pertaining to musicality. Examples of corrections coded Music are seen below.

Extract 6.2: Music- Notes

a) (SANDO Boys' Choir) Continues pointing out what various voices are singing. Tells them, "first and second basses you have the same thing"- Plays tenor line

b) (Belmont Senior Girls)
<$Frank><#>This melody is the same as what you learned in the opening<,> at the words <quote>and all her lovely things even lovelier grow</quote> <#>All of that is the samemelody you already know it <#>Let's go<,> we starting that again

c) (POS Boys) Explains to them, "yes that circle up there means that we're stretching the note and extending the timing by about half".

Extract 6.3: Music- Musicality

a) (SANDO Boys' Choir) "Sigh the tone please. Not getting enough of that sigh sound right. And place, focus the sound right there in the front of the face."

b) (POS Senior Girls) <#>But it's too loud ladies there's no beauty in it<,> and it's too slow<,> and the faces do not express <quote>and all the lovely things even lovelier grow</quote><#>That has to come over<,> yeah <#>Let's do it again <&>plays chord on piano</&><#>Let's see if you can try and get that speed up <#>And some of you are breathing in the middle of words
POSA5<#>Aye
King<#>Love <&>heaves breath</&> lier grow
Choir<O>Laughs</O>
<King><#><&>in very stylised accent</&>No no<&>return to regular accent</&> that will not do at all<,><#>And you not even sneaking the

breath you know <,>some big maco breaths<,> in the middle of the words<,>without shame

c) (Belmont Senior Girls)
<Frank><#>Why you do have the copy <#>Do you see the <music>crescendo</music> on rise <#>So sing rise for me <#>What you do with rise is like<,>opening an umbrella <,> feel it with more air

Additionally, 42 percent of all corrections in the rehearsal (208 out of 499) were received for issues pertaining to language. Of these, 37.5 percent (16 percent of the overall total) were due to the singers' accent i.e. interference from TE/C, while the remaining 62.5 percent of language corrections (26 percent of total) can be said to be linked to stylistic requirements of singing. Examples of these corrections can be seen below.

Extract 6.4: Language-Accent

a) (POS Boys) "and not [an]. As I told you before Ann is a woman on Charlotte Street [and]".

b) (POS Junior Girls) "but you must put the ends on to your words. Are you still getting [ʃi:]…[ʃi:l], like short for Sheila. Well it's not [ʃi:l]."

c) (Belmont Senior Girls)
<$Frank><#>What is that word
<$First sopranos><#>[ɔ:l ðat]
<$Frank><#>[ɔ:l] I didn't understand it I got [al]

d) (Belmont Senior Girls)
<$Frank><#>And the word is not [fɹam] it is <{><[>[fɹɒm]</[>

Extract 6.5: Language-Style

a) (SANDO Boys) He stops them to correct the word GLORY. He says, "see if you could just flip the R. I know not everybody. If you can't do it don't worry we'll practice it enough".

b) (SANDO Boys) Elongate your vowels when first basses sing "For these we undergo…days". Stops them at DAYS, does not want [dez] but again [døz].

c) (POS Boys) "remember what we said about the pronunciation of the letter E, anybody remembers? Kyle how you do it." Kyle demonstrates, but since other boys are talking what he says is not clear. "So E is" and several boys begin to make [y].

d) (Belmont Senior Girls)"is it [gɹo] or [gro]".

The extracts show that corrections coded language-accent arise in situations where singers are perceived as using the dispreferred TE/C pronunciation of a feature. For example, we see that singers in both POS Boys and POS Junior were corrected for reducing the consonant clusters /nd/ and /ld/ to [n] and [l] respectively. We also see choristers in Belmont Senior Girls' Choir receiving correction for their pronunciation of the NORTH and LOT vowels, which they were both perceived as realising as [a], instead of the preferred [ɔː] and [ɒ] respectively. On the other hand, in the excerpts in extract 6.5, the features are not dispreferred because of their TE/C origins, and the preferred variants proffered in their stead are not found in Standard British English, either. Thus, we see in 6.5a and 6.5d that the singers were encouraged to produce an alveolar trill [r] where both TE/C and SBE would have an alveolar approximant [ɹ], something that the conductor in 6.5a acknowledged the singers might find difficult. In 6.5b and 6.5c, the singers were being encouraged to use vowel variants that are not normally part of the TE/C or SBE vowel inventories, specifically the close-mid front rounded vowel [ø] in 6.5b, and the close front rounded vowel [y]. It will be remembered that some singers identified these sounds, particularly the close front rounded vowel [y], as the preferred pronunciation of the FLEECE vowel.

This distribution of corrections is noteworthy for two reasons. Firstly, it suggests that in choral music language use is at least as important as the music itself, since the conductors attend to both areas of choral singing about equally. That the conductors attend both to musical and linguistic matters is in keeping with Leenman's (1997) assertion that choir singers "experience not

only the melody, harmony, and rhythm of a piece, but also the text[… and therefore have the] responsibility to convey the text clearly and musically to the listeners" (1997: 1). The second reason the distribution of corrections is significant has to do with the language corrections. The need to categorise the language corrections into two distinct groups arose when, listening to the data, it emerged that all the linguistic corrections the conductors made did not arise as a result of transfer from TE/C to the proposed SBE. Looking at the distribution of the corrected segments, it emerges that corrections related to style account for nearly double the amount of language corrections related to accent. This, it seems, may be closely related to the 'choral pronunciation' some singers said is their target variety, and perhaps the 'international standard' for singing of which Gretta Taylor speaks in her interview (see Extract 4.32). In other words, it seems that there is a set of linguistic features linked to choral singing. Choral singing has specific stylistic demands that young singers must learn, just as they must learn musical terms and notes, as part of the enculturation process of being and becoming singers. At the same time, there are also features of TE/C that are not desirable for choral singing, and it seems that part of the task for all practitioners lies in deciding whether what makes a feature desirable or not is the preference for SBE over TE/C or a stylistic requirement of the genre.

An important feature of corrections not captured by the graph is the element of repetition. Many of the singers are not musically literate, and in some of the rehearsals only had the lyrics of the song, and not the score. Thus, as two conductors note in their interviews, failing the choristers becoming musically literate, repetition is a key element. This belief is seen in the extract below, taken from the interview with Kwasi Noel, who conducts the POS Boys choir.

Extract 6.6: The key is repetition

<$KN>The key is repetition<,> in my view <#>Ahm once you are able to guide the choristers to and repeat the part over and over they will get the timing and they will get the timing and the rhythms and so effectively <#>Ahm it would be easier if they could read the music

Thus repetition becomes an important feature of the rehearsal process. The excerpts in extracts 6.7 and extracts 6.8 show that these repetitions can take two forms: repetition of musical phrases so that singers master the notes and rhythms, and the repetition of pronunciations that the conductors would like the singers to use.

Extract 6.7: Repetition- notes

a) (POS Boys): They sing it 15 times […]. One or two boys join the rhythmic clapping, as though it is a sort of game, but soon stop. (15 times the phrase "haul away your running gear and blow ye winds heigh ho"). During the 15 times, all parts do not sing at all times, instead he asks for different combinations of parts, shouting the part that should join in the pause. The boys singing that part are expected to join the singing when their part is called. It is additive, meaning that parts are added but no part is ever taken out, except when he first starts and says second basses alone. It should be noted that they are singing in 4 parts. At the end of it, some boys burst into applause, which KN ignores.

b) (POS Junior Girls): They do it several times, loudly and softly. She stops because people are talking. Singles out one child. (Another child is particularly proud of not talking). They repeat STUMBLES. One child gets excited [stamblz]. They really enjoy it, ask to do it again.

Extracts 6.8 :Repetition language

a) (Belmont Senior Girls)
   1. <Frank><#>It is not [watə] somebody here is saying [watə]
   2. <O>girls laugh</O><#>Where you come from
   3. BELG17<#>[wɔ:ta]Okay
   4. BELG18<#>I want to know what is [wɔ:tə]
   5. <Frank><#>[wɔ:tɜ]
   6. Several girls at once<#>[wɔ:tə/ wɔ:tɜ]
   7. BELG19<#>[wɔ:ta]
   8. <Frank><#>And one voice that does it stands out <#>You want to spoil the whole line whoever that is <,,> <#>So the word is <{><[>[wɔ:tə]</[>

9. BELG20<#><[>[wɔ:θɜ]
10. <Frank><#>What is the word
11. Choir<#>[wɔ:tə/wɔ:θɜ/wɔ:tɜ]
12. <Frank><#>[wɒtɜ]
13. Choir<#>[wɒtɜ/wɒtɜ/wɒtə/wɔ:tə/wɔ:tɜ]
14. <Frank><#>Again lips forward <#>[wɔ:tɜ]
15. Choir<#>[wɔ:tɜ]
16. BELG21<#>[wɒtə wɒtə]
17. BELG23<#>[wɔ:ta]

b) (Belmont Senior Girls)
<Frank><#>Now <quote>when music</quote> <#>You have to paint the picture <#>I'm coming to you<#>When music <#>All of you say that for me please
Choir<#>When music
<Frank><#>Music <#>Say it
Choir<#>Music
<Frank><#>Again
Choir<#>Music
<Frank><#>Right [ʍɛn mju:zɪk saʊndz]
Choir<#>[wɛn mju:zɪk]
<Frank><#>No no W H [ʍɛn]
Choir<#>[ʍɛn]
<Frank><#>[ʍɛn]
Choir<#>[ʍɛn]
<Frank><#>[ʍɛn]
Choir<#>[ʍɛn]
<Frank><#>Say it now
BELG105<#>Is not [ʍɛn]
Choir<#><&>at a much higher pitch than when they first produced the phrase</&>[ʍɛn mju:zɪk saʊnz/saʊndz ɔ:l ðat aɪ wʌz aɪ am/aɪjam]

In total, repetition sequences like those seen above accounted for 5.6 percent of all the segments coded as corrections. The excerpts in extract 6.7 are taken from the rehearsal summaries for the POS Boys' and Junior Girls' Choirs. Observation with both choirs took place relatively early in the music-

learning process, and so the singers were not yet confident of the correct notes to sing. This is especially true in the case of POS Junior Girls' Choir, where the lyrics to the song were written on the board at the front of the choir room, but where the girls have no other material artefacts to aid their learning. Thus, repeating musical phrases several times until the singers can accurately produce the notes correctly is important. In both these instances, the notes were played loudly on the piano while the students sang, allowing the students to hear the correct notes.

The excerpts in extract 6.8 are qualitatively different from those in extract 6.7, and quite representative of the language repetitions. First of all, where repetition of notes involved singing, language repetitions tended not to. Instead, choristers were required to say the preferred pronunciation several times, and later to use the pronunciation they had repeated when they resumed singing, though it was not always the case that they did so. Moreover, language corrections involving repetition seemed to be more ambiguous for the singers than musical corrections involving repetition. In the latter case, singers heard a series of notes being played on the piano and reproduced those notes until they were told to stop doing so. For the singers, the target of the correction, the musical notes, is clear. In the case of the language corrections, the singers are not always sure which features they should attend to, which sometimes resulted in hypercorrection, as in the pronunciations of [wɔːθɜ˞] in 6.8a (lines 9,11), or else in a variety of realisations that was not present before the correction was made, also seen in 6.8a. The ambiguity of the target also meant that singers might only partially achieve the preferred pronunciation. This is seen in 6.8b, where singers attended to their pronunciation of <music> but not their pronunciation of <when>, so that their conductor had to point it out to them.

Another qualitative difference between the musical repetitions and the language repetitions is their potential to be subverted. Since many of the singers are not musically literate, they have to trust that their conductors will teach them the correct notes. For example, shortly after extract 6.7a took place, the lower male voices still had not mastered the phrase that had been so extensively drilled. One overwhelmed singer then commented "we have to get note management", by which he presumably meant help with the notes

from someone better able to help them, similar to "anger management." On the other hand, the singers use spoken language daily, and requests to pronounce words in a way that may be preferred for singing but that contradicts their more regular language use were sometimes met with resistance. This can be seen in the short exchange between BELG17 and 18 in extract 6.8a (lines 3-4). The first girl's "water okay" should not be read as her simply acquiescing to the conductor's request; her fellow chorister certainly does not interpret it as such. Instead, her "okay" seems to signal her distrust of this new pronunciation, which she did not get quite right in her first attempt. Her co-chorister picked up on her distrust, and elaborated it "I want to know what is [wɔːtə]." It is highly unlikely that BELG18 does not really know what the chemical entity water is, so it seems more likely that what she was questioning is the conductor's preferred pronunciation. This form of minor rebellion is also seen in 6.8b, where BELG105 adamantly rejects the conductor's pronunciation, offering a simple "is not [ʍɛn]" in response to the conductor's directive: "say it now."

For the remainder of the chapter, we shift our attention to the specific language corrections that the singers receive in the course of the rehearsal, looking first at corrections related to accent, and then those related to style.

6.2 Corrections related to accent

In total, 77 segments were coded as accent corrections in MAXQDA. The diagram below shows the distribution of features among segments coded language.

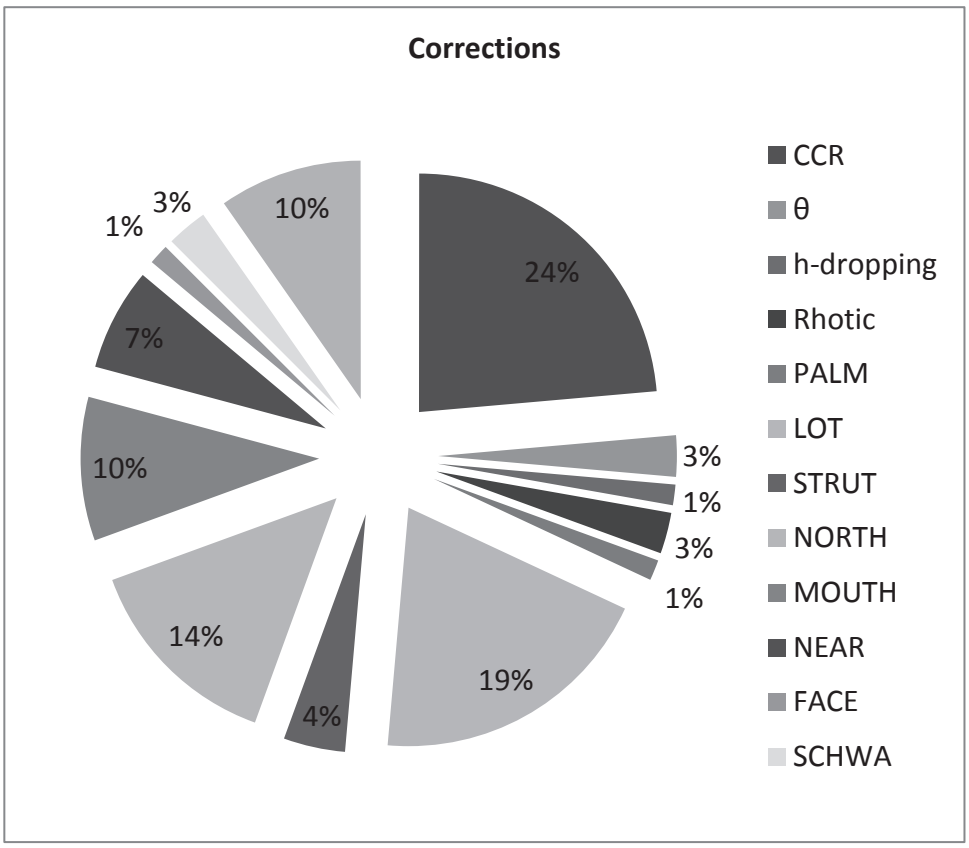


Figure 6.2 Distribution of the features corrected in segments coded language correction

Figure 6.2 shows that a wide range of vowel and consonant features were corrected in the course of the rehearsals. Cumulatively, corrections of consonant features accounted for 31 percent of all corrections received. These mostly took the form of corrections of consonant cluster reductions, which accounted for 24 percent of the total corrections given and, with much lower frequencies, corrections of instances in which voiceless dental fricatives were realised as stops, h-dropping, and rhotic pronunciations in words where non-rhotic pronunciations were preferred. Corrections of vowels made up 59 percent of the total corrections. The most frequent vowel corrections were dispreferred pronunciations of words in the LOT and NORTH sets (20 and 14

percent respectively), with less frequent corrections of dispreferred pronunciations of the MOUTH (10 percent) and NEAR vowels (7 percent). The remaining 10 percent of corrections coded accent were labelled 'comments.' These were so labelled because conductors did not make specific reference to a particular feature, but instead made a comment about the singers' use of TE/C pronunciations.

It is important to remember, however, that the graph above shows the results from all choirs, but that not all choirs had an opportunity to produce all features, and therefore to be corrected. Thus, for example, although corrections of NEAR accounted for only 7 percent of all corrections, the graph does not show that all these corrections occurred during the boys' rehearsals, since the girls did not have words that contain this vowel. When the boys' rehearsals are considered in isolation, it emerges that corrections of words in the NEAR set accounted for 19.23 (5 out of 26 total corrections) of all accent corrections received, second only to corrections of consonant clusters, which account for 30.76 of all accent corrections (8 out of 26).

If considered in light of the index scores only, vowels, which together had an average index score of 0.47, should be corrected less frequently than consonants. These were reported as more problematic with a relatively high average index score of 0.70. As was seen above, however, corrections of vowels accounted for more than twice the total of consonant corrections. This may be accounted for in several ways. Firstly, there were simply more possible vowel features in the data than there are consonant features, and so the number of possible corrections is swayed in the direction of vowels. One solution to this would be to calculate the percentage of vowels/ consonants corrected as an overall percentage of the total number of dispreferred vowels/ consonants realisations produced. When this was done, the general pattern of the results remained the same, i.e. overall vowels are corrected more frequently than are consonants. As Table 6.1 below shows, dispreferred variants of vowels were corrected 10.2 percent of the time they were produced, as opposed to dispreferred variants of consonants, which were corrected 6.42 percent of the time they are produced. The table further shows that this finding holds for both boys and senior girls. Only the junior girls received more corrections for dispreferred pronunciations of consonants than

they do for vowels. This implies that the reason corrections of vowels surpasses correction of consonants is unrelated to number of times they are produced.

	Boys	Junior Girls	Senior Girls	Overall
Dispreferred Consonants (%)	9.09	4.69	5.10	6.42
Dispreferred vowels (%)	13.91	0.5	21.01	10.20

Table 6.1: Percentage of dispreferred vowel and consonant allophones that are corrected during the rehearsals

Another reason why vowels received more corrections than consonants in spite of their lower index score may be because of the differing orders of indexicalities of the various vowels and consonants. The discussion of indexicalities in Chapter 2 showed how features with higher order indexicalities were more available for meta-linguistic comment than features with lower order indexicalities. It could be that consonants have higher order indexicalities (Labov's stereotype) and are available for comment, whether or not, as Johnstone and Keisling (2008) note, speakers actually use them in their speech. Conversely, some vowels may have lower order indexicalities, and are not easily available for commentary in questionnaires and interviews. In the rehearsal setting, however, language use is less abstract, and conductors are especially attuned to linguistic features, so that vowels receive greater attention. It should be further noted that in choral singing, choral tone is felt to be dependent on vowel quality, so that conductors are likely to pay greater attention to vowels during the rehearsal. This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7.

A further particularly striking feature of this table is the differences in the rates of correction among the three types of choirs. The junior girls, the youngest singers, had the fewest of the dispreferred forms corrected. On the other hand, the senior girls, who in general produced the fewest dispreferred forms, were most likely to have those forms corrected. This is especially true

of their vowels. The boys who often, but not always, produced the most dispreferred forms, were corrected more than the junior girls but less than the senior girls.

Apart from the differences among the groups, the overall rates of correction show that dispreferred features were more likely to go uncorrected than they were to be corrected. One reason for this could be that conductors did not always hear the dispreferred pronunciations. Each of the choirs participating in this study had at least 40 singers and, while conductors were likely to hear sounds (preferred and dispreferred) produced by the group as a whole, and especially by those singers in their immediate vicinity, it is impractical to expect that they could hear every singer at every moment. Thus some dispreferred usages were left uncorrected. A second explanation for this may be that conductors assumed that singers knew what the preferred variants were, even if they did not always produce them. This suggestion is supported by the questionnaire findings, where the majority of conductors felt that singers "are aware of the sounds that give them trouble", though they were divided as to whether they believed singers actively looked out for them, and where conductors largely reported that singers were "very good" or "good" at reproducing the models they (the conductors) provided. Thus conductors might not have felt it necessary to repeatedly correct the use of a dispreferred feature, and may have trusted that their occasional corrections would be enough to encourage the use of the preferred forms. On a more practical level, to correct every instance of a dispreferred use would have been time consuming and would have used a great deal of the already limited rehearsal time.

Moving forward, let us look more closely at the actual features that are corrected. Based on the findings in previous sections, we should be able to predict a feature's likelihood of being corrected based on two factors:

1) Its index score in the questionnaire.
2) The frequency of preferred pronunciation usage.

The table below attempts to predict whether a feature will be corrected based on the interaction of these two factors.

		INDEX SCORE	
		LOW	HIGH
PREFERRED VARIANT USAGE	LOW	?	Yes- frequently
	HIGH	No	No/ rarely

Table 6.2: Interaction of factors determining whether a feature is corrected

The table shows that, where the index score is high but the use of the preferred variant is low (high-low), a feature is expected to be corrected in the rehearsal. This is because conductors' perceptions of the problems match the choristers' reality, and so conductors' corrections will reinforce the expected norms. Where the index score is high and the frequency of the preferred variant is also high (high-high), features are expected to receive little or no correction. In this case, the singers' use of the preferred variant exceeds the conductors' expectations, and so correction is not required. At the same time, dispreferred pronunciations in this setting might be especially marked, and likely to be pointed out to encourage the more consistent use of the preferred variant. Where the index score is low and the use of the preferred variant is high (low-high), features are not expected to be corrected, since once more the conductors' beliefs are in sync with what the singers actually do, which in such instances requires no correction. It is difficult to predict what should occur in cases where both the index score and the frequency of the use of the preferred variant are low (low-low). On one hand, one might expect uses of dispreferred variants to go uncorrected, since the conductors are not sufficiently aware of them to report them as problematic. On the other hand, that the features were not reported as problematic in the relatively abstract context of the questionnaires, does not mean that the use of dispreferred pronunciations will go unnoticed.

Let us now consider Table 6.2 in light of the information expressed in Figure 6.2. The only feature in the high-low set was consonant cluster reduction. This, it will be recalled, had one of the highest average index scores (0.91), but the lowest overall frequency of use of the preferred variant ($\approx$ 40 percent). Now, we see that it was also the most frequently corrected feature,

receiving 22 percent of all accent corrections. Examples of these corrections can be seen in Extracts 6.4a and 6.4b above. Moreover, if we consider NEAR usage and corrections in boys' choirs only (since girls never had the opportunity to produce this sound), we arrive at similar findings. NEAR, with its high index score of 2.36, and its virtually non-existent rate of preferred variant usage (only 2 out of 53 instances of NEAR used the compromised preferred variant, [iː], and then only at the prompting of the conductor), was, after reduced consonant clusters, the second most-corrected feature in the boys' rehearsals (see above).

Both the voiced and voiceless dental fricatives were among the words with high-high factor interactions. Corrections of [t] for [θ] accounted for a minority of all corrections received (3 percent), while [d] for [ð] was never corrected. This is hardly surprising, since [ð] use was almost categorical overall, and so there was no need for the feature to be corrected.

The lexical sets with slightly below average index scores included PALM, MOUTH, and LOT. Of these, it will be recalled that PALM and MOUTH had higher rates of preferred pronunciation use than did LOT. Thus, we will address PALM and MOUTH first, and LOT afterwards. PALM, along with h-dropping, accounted for only 1 percent (each) of all corrected segments. This figure is unsurprising for several reasons. Firstly, it has already been established that the conductors trusted that the singers would pronounce words as they were told without having to be reminded continuously, thus eliminating the need to give a correction on each occasion of dispreferred pronunciation use. Furthermore, it is clear both from the singers' interviews and from the frequency of TRAP hypercorrection to PALM that the singers themselves were aware of any stigma attached to [a] use instead of [ɑː] in PALM contexts. This once again reduced the need for external correction, since the singers were able to monitor their use of this feature themselves. MOUTH's frequency of use of preferred pronunciation was 75 percent, and corrections of words in this lexical set accounted for 9 percent of all corrections. The case of MOUTH, however, warrants more careful consideration.

Words in the MOUTH set could be divided into two groups, words like TOWN, which had the dispreferred pronunciation [ɒŋ], and the preferred pronunciations of [aʊ] or [ɔʊ], and words like HOW, which for some respondents had the dispreferred pronunciation [ɔʊ] with the preferred pronunciation [aʊ], and which for others had the preferred pronunciation [ɔʊ]. While [ɔʊ] was used most frequently overall (75 percent of the time), [aʊ] usage was not insignificant either, occurring either exclusively or co-occurring with [ɔʊ] 22.4 percent of the time. Only 2.6 percent of all MOUTH tokens used the most dispreferred variant [ɒŋ]. The corrections of MOUTH which occur, however, do not seem to match the frequency of use of the different variants. Only two of the MOUTH corrections were of a word in the TOWN subset, corrected on one occasion away from the dispreferred [ɒŋ] to [ɔʊ] and on another occasion, notably in the same rehearsal, away from [ɔʊ] to [aʊ]. These are seen in Extracts 6.9a and 6.9b below. The other corrections of MOUTH corrected away from a form that was only ever identified as preferred, [aʊ], which the singers produce relatively frequently, to the form that was sometimes identified as dispreferred and other times as preferred, [ɔʊ]. This is seen in Extract 6.9d below.

Extract 6.9: MOUTH corrections

a) (POS Boys)He stops them around 4:07 to correct “Boston town”. Has them repeat TOWN. Model he gives is [tɔʊn]. Says “I hearing [bʌstʌn tɔŋ jɔ]”.

b) (POS Boys) He also corrects OUT although he retains [ɔʊt], it seems that the boys are perceived to be singing [ɒʊt] .

c) (POS Boys) get to “town” when he stops them. One boy produces an exaggerated [taʊn], another, nearby, comments “That’s a really weird” .

d) (Belmont Senior Girls)
<$Frank><#>[ɔʊt əv ðə wɔ:tɜ ɹɑɪz]
<$Choir><#>[aʊt/ɔʊt əv ðə wɔ:tʌ ɹaɪz]
<$Frank><#>Not [aʊt] it is [ɔʊt]
<$Choir><#>[ɔʊt]
<$All><#>[ɔʊt əv ðə wɔ:tə ɹɑɪz]

The findings for MOUTH lend an intriguing insight. For this feature, the singers had competing preferred pronunciations. Based on the questionnaire and interview results, we would expect that the more SBE feature, [aʊ], would be more favourably received. What actually happens, though, is that while singers were discouraged from using the TE/C [ɒŋ], they were encouraged to use TE/C [ɔʊ], rather than the SBE [aʊ], in spite of the claims made in the interviews and questionnaires. Hence, we see that SBE and TE/C provide, in this situation, equally viable competing standards, with the TE/C feature being preferred in practice. Furthermore, this finding allows us an initial glimpse into how we can more systematically divide phonetic features into Trinidadian English Creole on one hand, and Standard Trinidadian English on the other hand, where [ɒŋ] could be a candidate for the first variety and [ɔʊ] for the second.

The second most corrected feature, LOT, had a relatively low index score (0.29), but also had a low frequency of preferred variant use (49 percent). In total, corrections of the LOT vowel accounted for 20 percent of all corrections the singers received in the course of the choral rehearsals. Choristers produced two dispreferred pronunciations of LOT, an open front unrounded vowel [a], and an open-mid back unrounded vowel [ʌ]. Both these dispreferred pronunciations received correction, as seen in Extract 6.10 below.

Extract 6.10: LOT corrections

a) (POS Junior Girls) “Is not [ga:d] either”.

b) (Belmont Senior Girls)

c) <$Frank><#>And the word is not [fɹam] it is <{><[>[fɹɒm]</[> <#>I just said over-exaggerate

d) (POS Boys) “And is [stɒp] not [stap]”. One boy repeats [stɒp] in an affected manner three times.

e) (POS Boys) No one says [stap] but several voices [stʌp]. When he stops them again, he says “Is not [stʌp] ye winds, is [stɒp]”.

Relatedly, and somewhat surprisingly, realisations of the LOT vowel identified as dispreferred in the interviews, namely the lengthened open-mid back rounded vowel [ɔː], particularly in words like <god> went uncorrected. This is despite [ɔː] occurring with regular frequency in both junior girls' choirs, and claims by Dana and Shauna that this pronunciation was frequently corrected by their conductor, who also conducted the POS Junior Girls' Choir. This will be explored in subsequent discussions.

Vowels with low index scores included words in the FACE and GOAT lexical sets. For both these lexical sets, the TE/C variant was identified as the preferred variant, i.e. [e] and [o] respectively. Furthermore, we have already seen that [o] use in GOAT contexts was categorical, thus making it unsurprising that there were no instances in which GOAT was corrected in the data. Similarly, [e] was used in FACE contexts on over 90 percent of all occasions, and there was only one correction of FACE that can be considered accent related (accounting for 1 percent of all accent corrections). On that occasion, singers in Belmont Senior Girls' Choir were perceived as singing the vowel in <came> as a diphthong, relatively similar to the RP diphthong though not identical, and they were encouraged instead to use the TE/C variant. This is seen in extract 6.11 below. There were corrections of FACE that are more clearly linked to style, and these will be discussed below.

Extract 6.11: FACE corrections

(Belmont Senior Girls) <Frank><#><&>claps</&> <#>How you going to sing <quote>came</quote> [kem] or [kɛɪm] <#>Sing <quote>[kem]</quote> for me please <#>Three four

No index scores were found for words in the NORTH and STRUT sets, though the interview results seemed to suggest that any index score for STRUT may have been quite low, since no one interviewed seemed to believe that the vowel in STRUT would be problematic for singers. Nonetheless corrections of words in the NORTH set accounted for 14 percent of all corrections, while corrections of words in the STRUT set accounted for four percent of all corrections. This figure is somewhat high for words in the

NORTH set, where (presumed) preferred variant use[2] is relatively high for all three groups, and indeed categorical for the senior girls. Corrections of NORTH generally involved the dispreferred allophone, [a], and less frequently, the dispreferred allophones [ə] or [ɜː]. Examples of these corrections can be seen in extract 6.12 below.

Extract 6.12: NORTH corrections

a) (SANDO Boys) Corrects vowel in Lord. He perceives that they are singing [lɜːd], wants [lɔːd].

b) (SANDO Boys) Stops them to correct vowel in NOUGHT, which he perceives they are singing as [nət]. He demonstrates both [nət] and [nɔːt].

c) (Belmont Senior Girls)
<$Frank><#>What is that word
<$First sopranos><#><unclear>mumbling</unclear>
<$Frank><#>What is that word
<$First sopranos><#>[ɔːl ðat]
<$Frank><#>[ɔːl] I didn't understand it I got [aɪl]

d) (Belmont Senior Girls)
<Frank><#><[>It is not out of the [watʌ]</[></{> <#>It is not out of the [watə] <#>It is out of the [wɔːtə].

It should be noted that corrections of NORTH seen in 6.12c and especially 6.12d correlate exactly with Dawn's claim in Extract 4.7, where she said that "some people in the Trinidad dialect will say[ˈwaːtə]and that obviously won't be right". This is particularly important because she provided this example without the prompt of the word list.

In addition to these corrections, there were corrections made of dispreferred pronunciations of the vowel in words <lovelier>, which belongs to the STRUT lexical set. Singers in Belmont Senior Girls' Choir were chid for

[2] Presumed preferred variant use is based on the variant that is modelled in the conductors' corrections.

their perceived use of [a] in this context, illustrated in extract 6.13. However, instead of insisting that the singers use the [ʌ] allophone, which they used in the word <dust>, the conductor provided a hypercorrect pronunciation, influenced no doubt by the word's orthography. Thus the singers were expected to sing [lɒvliə].

Extract 6.13: STRUT corrections

a) (Belmont Senior Girls) "Right is the word [lavliə] or [lɒvliə]. Girls reply [lʌ/ɒvliə]. "I tell you doh give me Congo-Bara English".

b) (Belmont Senior Girls) "Is not [la:], <?>I'm hearing</?> [lɒ:v]".

Another feature with no index score was rhoticity. This is because both SBE and TE/C are non-rhotic varieties, and so there was little reason to believe that this feature could be potentially problematic to singers and conductors. However, we saw that in the interviews, about half of the choristers interviewed produced a rhotic pronunciation of NURSE as their preferred pronunciation. We also saw that this pronunciation occurred quite frequently in NURSE contexts during the rehearsals. However, where rhoticity was corrected, it did not occur in the NURSE environment. Instead, singers' use of rhotic variants was corrected in NORTH contexts and in TEACHER contexts, as illustrated in the extracts below.

Extract 6.14: Rhotic Corrections

a) (SANDO Boys) At least one voice sings [lɔɹd]. He compliments them, but corrects rhotic singer, trying by using an alternative spelling LAWD and not LOR:D. "Is not ahm we're not Barbadian, we're Trinidadian."

b) (POS Junior Girls) I'm getting [ovɜɹ], I don't want that. Not [ovɜɹ]

It should be noted that, during the interviews, two boys from two different choirs suggested a preferred pronunciation for <hear> and <here> as [hɛəɹ] and [hiɹ] respectively, though in the latter case this suggestion was rejected by his (female) interview partner.

6.2.1 Summary

Several important points emerge from this discussion of corrections related to accent. First of all, we saw that there was an important interaction between the index score of an individual phoneme, the frequency of preferred allophone usage, and the frequency with which it was corrected. Those sounds with high-low index score-preferred allophone frequency interactions, such as consonant clusters, were most likely to be corrected. The corrections themselves also illuminated which sounds are more stigmatised than others, with uncorrected dispreferred sounds having little negative stigma attached to them. On the other hand, some sounds, such as [a] in LOT, NORTH, PALM, and STRUT contexts, were consistently, and at times emotively (cf. Extract 6.13a), corrected. Furthermore, we saw that corrections could move in one of three directions. In some instances, corrections moved singers' pronunciations away from a known TE/C variant and in the direction of a variant that is found in SBE, as in the case of the NEAR vowel for the boys. In spite of claims made in interviews and questionnaires which purport the use of SBE for choral singing, these corrections actually account for the fewest of all corrections. Other corrections had the opposite effect, moving singers away from a known SBE pronunciation and towards a known TE/C variant, as in the case of FACE and some MOUTH corrections. Finally, corrections could also be in the direction of a variant that occurred both in SBE and TE/C, as was the case in the corrections of LOT and NORTH. Corrections in this group are especially important since, in moving singers from one possible TE/C form to another, conductors unwittingly help us to identify which sounds belong to the Trinidad Creole repertoire, and which belong to the Trinidad and Tobago Standard English repertoire.

In the next section, we go on to examine the language corrections that the singers receive with regard to language style.

6.3 Corrections related to style

The remaining linguistic corrections the singers received in the course of the choral rehearsal could more appropriately be attributed to style than to accent. This is because the linguistic element to which the singers were being

attuned did not involve variants that were different between TE/C and SBE. Instead, these corrections required exaggerated pronunciations not typical of other oral communicative forms, which in spoken English would be perceived as marked. Style-related corrections can be grouped into four major sub-divisions:

- Corrections related to the pronunciation of vowels.
- Corrections related to the treatment of word final consonants that were not part of consonant clusters.
- Corrections related to the treatment of word-initial consonants that may or may not have been part of consonant clusters.
- Corrections in which features of connected speech were explicitly discouraged.

Each of these will be addressed in turn.

6.3.1 Corrections related to the pronunciation of vowels

We saw in Section 6.2 (above) that choristers' vowels were corrected away from dispreferred variants towards either TE/C or SBE variants. In addition to these, there were instances in which vowels that occurred either in the shared inventories of TE/C and SBE or which were identified as the preferred pronunciation were corrected by the conductors. These corrections typically involved vowels that were relatively close and front, namely the close front vowel /iː/ (the FLEECE vowel for both varieties), the close-mid front vowel /e/ (TE/C's FACE vowel), and, to a lesser extent the close to close-mid front vowel [ɪ] (both varieties' KIT vowel). Examples of these corrections can be seen in Extract 6.15 below.

Extract 6.15: Rounding unrounded vowels

a) (SANDO Boys) He stops after "deed or word" and again corrects vowel [dyd] rather than [di:d]. "You have more resonance on that".

b) (SANDO Boys) Elongate your vowels when first basses sing "For these we undergo…days". Stops them at DAYS, does not want [dez] but again [døz].

c) (POS Boys) “Remember what we said about the pronunciation of the letter E, anybody remembers? Kyle how you do it.” Kyle demonstrates, but since other boys are talking what he says is not clear. “So E is” and several boys begin to make [y]

d) (Belmont Senior Girls)
<$Frank><#>And I taught you in your technical work when you have an E to sing to superimpose it on an [u:] <#>Do you remember that
BELG104<#>Yes miss
<$Frank><#>Right good

e) (Belmont Senior Girls) <$Frank><#>Give me that note
<$First altos><#>[ke.em]
<$Frank><#>Not enough through the nose
<$First altos><#>[ke.em]
<$Frank><#>Can you round it <#>And
<$First altos><#>[ke.em]
<$Frank><#><}><->Put the</-> <=>superimpose</=></}> the [e] sound on the [u:] <#>Three four
<$First altos><#>[ke.em/kø.øm]
<$Frank><#>And yours your came
<$Frank><#>Together
<$Second altos><#>[ke.em/kø.øm]
<$Frank><#>Together and
<$Altos><#>[kɛ.ɛm/ ke.em/kø.øm]
<$Frank><#>Do you think yours sounds as round as theirs<,> <#>Round it
BELG111<#>What
<$Frank><#>Three four
<$Altos><#>[ke.em/kø.øm]
<$Frank><#><unclear>word</unclear> on the notes with some depth <#>And
<$Altos><#>[kø.øm]

f) (POS Junior Girls) “You gotta drop your jaw.” Corrects them “[i] but you still gotta drop your jaw”. Someone does it as [y], and she commends them “Yeah, thank you. You didn’t think I was looking at you.”

Extracts 6.15 a-f all illustrate instances in which singers were required to round a front unrounded vowel i.e. [i] and [e] are corrected to become [y] and [ø]. These corrections, it should be noted, correspond exactly with the responses given in the interview section; particularly those responses given by the choristers (cf. Extracts 4.33-4.34), displaying a high degree of reflexivity on their part. The exhortation to round vowel sounds that in spoken English are unrounded thus appears to be a specific requirement of singing. It is a request made by all but one of the conductors, and something about which the singers have clearly been instructed on previous occasions (6.15c, “remember what we said…”; 6.15d “And I taught you…”). Furthermore, though it was often specifically linked to [i] and [e], roundedness appeared to be generally desirable for all vowels. Conductors often reminded singers to “drop [their] jaws” or to remember that vowel sounds were more desirably produced from “north to south not east to west”.

6.3.2 Corrections of word final consonants

Previous sections showed that, not only were consonant clusters often reduced when teenaged choristers sang, they were also quite frequently corrected to the preferred (non-reduced cluster) variant. During the rehearsals, it was also the case that the singers were asked to attend to the pronunciation of word final consonants that were not a part of consonant clusters. With regard to these consonants, the conductors’ concerns seemed to hover around their concise and uniform realisation i.e. that all singers should simultaneously produce these sounds. The major sounds in this category were the alveolar stops /t/ and /d/, and to lesser extent the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/. There were also more general requests for singers to pay attention to the ends of words. Since these requests did not necessarily occur in contexts in which singers could have produced a consonant cluster,

they were included in the corrections related to style. Examples of these corrections are seen in Extract 6.16 below.

Extract 6.16: Corrections of word final consonants

a) (SANDO Boys) <word> […]. When he talks about <word> he tells them to put on the D, which was actually there anyway.

b) (POS Junior Girls) Borne up by a [gɒ]. I don't know what is a [gɒ].

c) (POS Junior Girls) "You're holding that S for too long, it's just a [s]. A slight es not [s::] like if is snakes you charming."

d) (POS Junior Girls) "Yes, thank you to the person who put the D at the end as I told the other girls. I heard one person do it. When you're singing a word that ends in D, um Teneisha don't talk. When you're singing a word that ends in D, you put a slight T and the end (unclear). To the listener, it will sound like a D. If you don't do that then it, just has no end".

e) (SANDO Junior Girls) "There are ends of words. I am so sure you heard no words".

Once more it is noteworthy that the corrections the signers receive correspond exactly with the comments regarding appropriate pronunciation they made during the interviews. For example, in Giselle and Clare's interview, Giselle noted that, in the pronunciation of words in the CHOICE lexical set, there should be "no kinda [ʧɔɪs:], no kinda snake sound up in there", which corresponds exactly to the conductor in 6.16b's comment. This is not simply a case of a singer repeating what she has heard her conductor say, since Giselle is not a member of POS Junior Girls' Choir. Giselle and Clare, in their discussion of the pronunciation of <land> (see 6.17 below), on one hand discussed some singers' tendency to reduce the [nd] consonant cluster to [n] but also further mentioned that, where a consonant cluster is sung, singers were likely to devoice the final [d], as suggested by the conductor above. Similarly, Kyle, in his interview, also said that, "When you saying something like D you would have to give it a slight T sound so the audience could hear it properly."

Extract 6.17: Giselle and Clare discuss <land>

<$Clare><#>No people would say <mention> lan</mention> people would say <mention>lan</mention> <#>I'd probably say <mention>lan</mention> too <#>I think a lot of people would say <mention>lan</mention><,> especially if it's a long note <#>Like we're not gonna go <mention>[la::nd]</mention>
<$GW><#>So OK in that song that y'all just sang <&>sings</&><quote>Home</quote>
<$Giselle><#><mention>[lan]</mention> <#>Your favourite song in the world <mention>[land</mention>
<$GW><#>What did people
<$Clare><#><&>sings</&><quote>[ho:mla:n <{><[>[ho:mla:n]</quote></[>
<$Giselle><#><[>Like we were supposed to pronounce</[></{> the D and most people don't
<#>People don't sing [la::n:d]
<$Clare><#>No people don't make a <}><->conscious</-> <=>conscious</=></}> effort to pronounce the [d] <{><[>at the end</[>
<$Giselle><#><[>But Aunty Gretta</[></{> insists and makes you do it
<$Clare><#>Yeah for real <#>Okay she does a [t] and it sounds like a [t] so <mention>lant</mention>
<$Giselle><#>Oh yes the D is pronounced like a T kind of sound that's <{><[><,>what's supposed to happen</[> yes yes
<$Clare><#><[> Yeah so lant</[></{>

Giselle and Clare's discussion is also important here, both because and in spite of the fact that it involves the consonant cluster. This is because it shows that, at any given time, singers must attend both to the linguistic demands of accent (i.e. do not reduce consonant clusters) and the demands of style (i.e. final [d] should be devoiced, whether or not it is part of a cluster).

In addition to producing clear final consonants, singers were also expected to produce them at the same time as their co-choristers, and they also received correction to this end. Examples of these corrections can be seen in Extract 6.18 below.

Extract 6.18: Cutting off together

a) (POS Junior Girls) On last "by a God" GOD [gɔːd̥]. "Aye look at me and cut off together please".

b) (POS Senior Girls)
<King><#><[>No because you</[></{> must finish the word <#>You're not finishing the word right<#>You're not finishing <&>suddenly shouting</&>Don't talk <&>there is complete silence</&><,,> <#>Cha <#>Let's go <#><&>plays note for out</&> <#><&>beating rhythm on piano</&>One two one
<$Altos><#> <#>[ɔʊt əv ðə <?>wɔtə/wɔtʌ</?> <?>ɹaɪz/ɹąɪz/ </?> <{1,2><[1,2>naɪədz]</[1,2>
<$Adanna><#><[1><&>hums her part</></[1></{1><King><#><[2>Okay <,></[2></{2> <#>Some of you did it some of you didn't <#>And it wasn't at all at the same time

In ordinary communication, it is usually undesirable that speakers speak simultaneously, and when they do, it is rare that they say exactly the same thing at the same time. This requirement of synchronized endings, then, is clearly a requirement of singing, no doubt governed by the expectation that singers will adhere to the notes and lyrics on the score.

6.3.3 Corrections of word-initial consonants and consonant clusters

As discussed in Chapter 2, reduction of word-initial consonant clusters is rare in TE/C. Furthermore, deletion of word-initial consonants that are not part of clusters, if it does occur, remains unreported. Nevertheless, word initial consonants and word initial consonant clusters received considerable attention during the rehearsals. Dealing first with word initial consonants, there were many occasions on which the conductors drew the singers' attention to this feature. Often, it appeared that the conductors wanted the singers to place greater emphasis on the first consonant of lexical words (music, glory, moon, gone), as a means of making the word itself more prominent, and thereby communicating the message entailed in the text, e.g.

that music is something special (as opposed to a bush truck, 6.18b). Examples of these can be seen in Extract 6.19 below (and also Extract 6.8b above).

Extract 6.19: Word initial consonants

a) (POS Senior Girls)
<$King><#>And I don't want to say the word because I want the people who have never heard this song <#>So what is the first letter of the second word
<$Choir><#>M
<$King><#>I heard no M <#>I heard no M

b) (POS Senior Girls)
<$King><#>And y'all have gone back to no words on that <quote>when music</quote><#> Is not when<,> a <music>trumpet</music> or the bush truck <O>girls laugh</O> <#>It's when <&>caressing the word</&> music

c) (Belmont Senior Girls)
<$Frank><#>I'd like the G in gone [gɒ] <O>one or two girls try to reproduce it tentatively</O> <#>The consonant begins the word<,> the vowel gives you the <music>tone</music><,> the consonant ends the word <#>So give me the good [g] for gone <#>Say it
<$Choir><#>[gə/ gɒn]
<$Frank><#>[gɒn]
<$Choir><#>[gɒn]
<$Frank><#>[gɒn]
<$Choir><#>[gɒn]
<$Frank><#>The jaw has a hinge it's not going to drop off [gɒn]
<$Choir><#>[gɒn]
<$Frank><#>Again
<$Choir><#>[gɒn]
<$Frank><#>Again
<$Choir<#>[gɒn]
<$Frank><#>Get the jaw down <#>Again
<$Choir><#>[gɒn]
<$Frank><#>Again

<$Choir><#>[gɒn]

d) (POS Senior Girls)
<$King><#>Can you say the word [gɒn]
<$Choir><#> [gɒn]
<$1 or 2 voices><#> [gɔn]
<$King><#>Put a [gə]
<$Choir><#> [gə]
<$King><#>[gɒn]
<$Choir><#>[gɒn]
<$King><#>And you have to shh shh <&>plays notes discordantly on the piano</&>shape the words with your lips<,>so it's [gɒn]
<$Choir><#>[gɒn]<&>they continue chatting noisily</&>
<$King><#>Shh shh let's say those words sh sh sh<#>[gɒn] three four one
<$Choir><#><&>speaking rythmically as if they were singing</&>[gɒːn ɪz ðiː ɜθ/ɜ̈θ aɪ noː]
<$King><#>[nʊo]
<$Choir><#>[no]
<$King><#>You have to put an N on that word<#><{><[>It starts with a K but the K is silent</[> so it's [no]
<$Choir><#><[><&>experimenting with [n]</&> </[></}>
<$King><#>Let's say those words again please and you're saying it in the rhythm in which you're gonna be singing it<#> Okay<,>three four one
<$Choir><#>[gɒːn ɪz ðiː]
<$King><#>Stop<#> I didn't get the [gɒːn ɪz ðiː ɜθ] I got [gɒːː ɪz ðiː ɜː] right <#>There's a beginning and an end you have to get it <#>Three four one
<$Choir><#>[gɒːn ɪz ðiː ɜθ/ ɜ̈θ aɪ noː]

e) (POS Junior Girls) "And give me a little M on the moon, as opposed to the sun." She demonstrates.

f) (SANDO Boys) Asks as well for G on glory.

g) (SANDO Girls) She tells them, "No too many esses and make your esses a zee if you can" (demonstrates)who ztumble.

The examples above highlight the conductors' concern with clear enunciation on the one hand (e.g. 6.19c, "the consonant begins the word […] the consonant ends the word"; 6.19d, "there's a beginning and an end and you have to get it"), and with imagination on the other (e.g. 6.8b "you have to paint a picture; 6.19b "when music, is not when […] the bush truck"). Initial consonants are given particular attention so that the balance between articulation and artistry may be struck.

Special attention should be paid to the case in 6.19g, where the conductor requested that singers use the more sonorous voiced alveolar fricative instead of its voiceless counterpart, possibly hoping the voiced sound would be produced more uniformly. She made two other similar requests in the course of her rehearsals. Her request is important for two reasons. Firstly, she asked singers to produce a different consonant sound, one that is phonetically similar enough to the actual consonant but that can also be phonemically distinct[3]. Secondly, the word that was produced as a bi-product of her request is not an actual English word, since /zt/ is not a possible word-initial consonant cluster in English. However, it is precisely because *ztumble is not a possible English word that she can make this request, since the singers' peculiar voicing is unlikely to lead to listener confusion and may well allow for clearer articulation. Since the correction is linked clearly to a requirement of singing, we can say it is a requirement of singing style.

In addition to this, the examples in 6.19 and also 6.8b show that repetition of the desired forms plays an important part in the singers' education. It should be noted that the words being repeated are not rare or difficult. <When>, <music>, <gone>, and <know> are undoubtedly words with which the singers who were required to repeat them were very familiar, and one might assume that simply instructing the students to make the desired consonant clearer would have sufficed, as it does in, for example, 6.19e and 6.19f. The repetition of <when>, however, gives some insight into why these repetition sequences may be necessary, even if not always done. In 6.8b, the singers were tutored to pronounce <when> as [hwɛn], a very conservative RP

[3] *ztumble is of course not an English word, but in another context, asking singers to substitute [z] for [s] initially can change word meaning completely e.g. a zinger is something quite different from a singer!

pronunciation that is infrequently used. The singers questioned the validity of this pronunciation ("Is not [hwɛn]"), and each subsequent pronunciation was accompanied by a rise in volume and pitch until their final realisation of the entire line was at a markedly higher pitch than the one at which they began. Rampton (2006) lists change in pitch as one feature of stylised speech, and so we can conclude that the [hwɛn] pronunciation may be a stylised pronunciation of the word <when>. Further to this, singers also received correction for word initial consonant clusters, although these are not widely attested as susceptible to reduction in TE/C. Typically, the consonant clusters corrected involved a stop or a fricative followed by an approximant, e.g. /gl/, /fl/ /gɹ/ or /bɹ/. Most instances of these corrections involved vowel epenthesis, specifically the insertion of schwa between the first and second elements of the cluster, as seen in Extract 6.20a and c especially.

Extract 6.20: Correction of consonant clusters

a) (SANDO Boys) Then asks them to sing GLORY as [gəlɔ]. "I don't want [glɔɹi], [gəlɔɹi]".

b) (Belmont Girls Senior)
   1. <$Frank><#>Right <music>sopranos</music> While from times [wu:dz]and it is [wu:dz] <#>Say it
   2. <$Sopranos><#>[wu:dz]
   3. <$Frank><#>Everybody
   4. <$Choir><#>[wu:dz]
   5. <$Frank><#>Again
   6. <$Choir><#>[wu:dz]
   7. <$Frank><#>[brek]
   8. <$Choir><#>[brek/bɹek]
   9. <$Frank><#>[bərek]
   10. <$Choir><#>[brek/bərek/bɹek]
   11. <$Frank><#>[bərek ɪntu dɪstənt spŋ]
   12. <$Choir><#>[brek/bɹek ɪntu dɪstʌnt/ dɪstənt spŋ]
   13. <$Frank><#>[bərek ɪntu dɪstənt spŋ]
   14. <$Choir><#>[brek/bɹek ɪntu dɪstənt/ dɪstʌnt spŋ]

15. <$Frank><#>Use the lips on everything over-exaggerate the lip movements <#>[brek ɪntu dɪstənt sɒŋ]
16. <$Choir><#>[brek/bɹek ɪntu dɪstənt/ dɪstʌnt sɒŋ]
17. <$Frank><#>Now careful you don't say [dɪstant] <#>It is [dʏstənt] <O>several girls repeat her</O> to the front
18. <$Choir><#>[dʏstənt/dɪstənt/distʌnt/dɪstʌnt]
19. <$Frank><#>[brek ɪntu: dʏstənt sɒŋ]
20. <$Choir><#>[bɹek ɪntu: dʏstənt/dɪstənt sɒŋ]
21. <$Frank><#>[ˈbərek]
22. <$Choir><#><&>some with higher pitch</&>[bɹek/ brek]
23. <$Frank><#>[ˈbərek]
24. <$Choir><#>[brek/bɹek]
25. <$Frank><#>I want to get the [b] first
26. <$Choir><#><&>not all at the same time</&>[b/ ˈbərek/ˈbəɹek]
27. <$Frank><#>[ˈbərek]
28. <$Choir><#>[ˈbərek/bəɹek]
29. <$Frank><#>And I'd like the K [ˈbərek^{h}]
30. <$Choir><#>[bəɹek^{h}]
31. <$BELG112><#>[ˈbərek^{h}]
32. <$Frank><#>So it's [ˈbərekˀ ɪntu dʏstənt sɒŋ] come on
33. <$Choir><#>[ˈbɹekˀ/ˈbrekˀ ɪntu dɪstʌnt/dɪstənt sɒŋ]
34. <$Frank><#>It's not just [bɹek]<,> <[ˈbərek^{h}]
35. <$Choir><#>[ˈbərek^{h}]/ ˈbəɹek^{h}]
36. <$Frank><#>A split second before the beat you put the [bə] <#>Try it again
37. <$Choir><#>[ˈbərekˀ/ˈbəɹekˀ ɪntu: dɪstənt/dɪstʌnt sɒŋə/sɒŋ]
38. <$Frank><#>Not [sɒŋə]
39. <$Choir><#>[sɒŋ]

c) (POS Senior Girls)

<$King><#>Try to get the F-L<{><[> [fːələm]</[> and [fːlɑz fːlɑz] and [fːlem]

<$POSA13><#><[>Her [flɑz] or you see</[></{>

<$Choir><#><O>begin imitating her and some begin talking</O>

<$King><#>Use shh<&>bangs several key of piano</&> <#>You gotta use your tongue[flɑz fːlem] right

Extract 6.20b contains many examples of corrections related to style, some of which have been already discussed, e.g. the rounding of the unrounded [ɪ] to [ʏ] in the word <distant>, and the particular attention paid to final consonant in the word <break>, which appears to require especially heavy aspiration. With regard to the treatment of consonant clusters, 6.20b provides a clear example of singers learning to deal with the cluster. It was not initially clear to the singers what was required of them. When their conductor corrected them in line 9, they did not all correctly replicate the model she provides. Although she reproduced it in lines 11, 13, 21 and 23, they still only partially achieved it and it was only after she made it clear in line 25 that she also required them to make the <b> prominent that they more were more successful in producing the preferred variant.

Also noteworthy at this point is the conductor's preferred pronunciation of /ɹ/ in /bɹek/. She required singers to produce an alveolar trill [r] in contexts where [ɹ] would be acceptable in all varieties of spoken English. She is not alone in this request, since the conductor of SANDO Boys' Choir (6.21a) below, also makes this request. Observe that he acknowledged that not all singers would be able to produce this sound. It should also be noted that singers in other choirs, notable POS Senior Girls' Choir (the most experienced choir) use alveolar trills quite frequently, and without prompting. Since alveolar trills are not part of the consonant inventory of either TE/C or SBE, we can say that this is a stylistic requirement of singing.

Extract 6.21: Requests for alveolar trills

a) (SANDO Boys Choir) He stops them to correct the word GLORY. He says, "see if you could just flip the R. I know not everybody. If you can't do it don't worry we'll practise it enough".

b) (POS Senior Girls) "And notice I say [gro:]. Say it." They repeat after her. She says it again, and they repeat, twice more, each time with a slightly higher pitch. Fourth time she says [groʊ]. With higher pitch, girls repeat

it, and several (or even many) of them [groʊ].But then the fifth time they do it [gro:].

These requests are in keeping with the adjudicators' expectations. In a brief interview during the championship round, one of the adjudicators, Carmen Elena Tellez, identified the alveolar trill as one preferred sound that English-speaking singers may find particularly difficult, and suggested that singers ought to develop tricks for dealing with this. In this case, she suggested that singers use an alveolar flap or tap in words like <Gloria>, realising them as [glɔɾiə] if [glɔriə] is not possible. During the same interview, another adjudicator, Jan Harrington, confirmed that these requirements were specific to singing i.e. that they were stylistic requirements of singing in English. He noted that in the "classical repertoire", there was what he called a "standard stage English for almost every English speaker".

6.3.4 Corrections of connected speech features

A final group of corrections the singers receive concerns those corrections where they are discouraged from employing connected speech features. Examples of these can be seen below.

Extract 6.22: Connected speech corrections

a) (SANDO Boys) Warns them about linking R in "For in"- tells them to put a little energy, a glottal attack on in (to avoid linking R).

b) (Belmont Girls) <Frank><#>Right and careful it is not and that goes for everybody not <quote>all that I was a yam all that I was I yam</quote> <#>All that I was I am <#>There's a click [ə ə a]

c) (POS Senior Girls)
<$King><#>And I'm not sure if you did it as effectively as when you were saying it<#>I didn't get that [gɒ:n ɪzə ði: ɪzə ði: ɪzəði:]
<$Several girls><#>[ɪzə ði: ɪzə ði:]
<$King><#><&>plays chord on piano</&>not [ɪzði: ɪzði:] <#>[ɪzəði: ɪzəði:]
<$Several girls><#>[ɪzəði: ɪzəði:]

<$King><#>[ɪzəðiː]
<$Choir><#>[ɪzəðiː/ ɪzːðiː]
<$King><#> You gotta complete the word [ɪzəðiː]
<$Choir><#>[ɪzəðiː]

The examples in extract 6.22 give three different instances in which singers are corrected for the use of connected speech forms, specifically liaison. In 6.22a, the boys were discouraged in the use of a linking /r/, while in 6.22b, the girls were chided for using an intrusive [j] between the words <I> and <am>. In 6.22c, the conductor encouraged the singers to insert a schwa between <is> and <the> to ensure that the words are distinguishable as possible. This form of correction was also reported in the interview with Kristy and Jake, who claimed that their conductor would like them to sing the words "a king is born" as [ə kiŋə ɪz bɔːnə]. This is also very similar to the corrections observed to 6.20.

6.3.5 Summary

The most marked feature of corrections related to style is how far the expectations contained within them are removed from normal speech. In the name of aesthetics and enunciation, singers are required to place exaggerated emphasis on segments which in normal speech might well be elided. In addition to this, singers are trained in the use of phonetic variants that are either not part of the phonemic inventory in TE/C or SBE, violate English phonotactic constraints, or else are archaic or obsolete. These features were found in several rehearsals, and were also reported by many singers in the interviews and questionnaires. As such, these features may be viewed as belonging to a specific language style, and it is proposed here that we label these features, required for choral singing, as classical choral singing style.

6.4 Corrections through comments

The final set of corrections was those labelled comments. These could be related to either accent or style, and for both sub-categories of corrections, comments contributed substantially to the corrections received. For example,

10 percent of all accent corrections were comments. An accent correction was labelled comment if the conductor made reference to a regional or social dialect of English, with or without making reference to a particular feature he/ she wanted corrected. A comment was considered a style correction if it gave singers general advice about the linguistic requirements of singing without instructing them in the pronunciation of specific features.

We will look first at comments made regarding style. Examples of these are seen below.

Extract 6.23:Style Comments 1

a) (POS Junior Girls) "Girls let's try to think about what we are singing. Let's try and shape our words with our lips. Let's try and drop our jaws and sing out, and let's try and sing with some kind of understanding of what we're saying."

b) (POS Senior Girls)
<King> <#>Because you don't believe you think you are saying the words but you are not<,> you are not using your consonants<,> You are not shaping your words with your lips<,> so nobody understands <#>And look at how close they are to you

c) (Belmont Senior Girls)
<Frank><#>Let's go <#>I want a <music>full rich sound</music> and you know how to do it <#>Placement<,> and the vowel sounds you know about the shape of the mouth <#>You use them north south not east west

Most of the comments addressed the attention singers ought to pay to consonants and to the optimal shape for their mouths when singing so that their performance can be understood by their audiences (6.23a and b), and so that their tone is aesthetically pleasing (e.g. full rich sound, 6.23c). We can see from the examples above that the tenor of these comments was generally quite encouraging. For example, the conductor 6.23a used the third person when she speaks to the young choir, giving the impression of a team working together. Similarly, the conductor 6.23c was very encouraging. She reassured

the singers, telling them "you know how to do it" and "you know about the shape of the mouth". The conductor in 6.23b was less accommodating, but it should be noted that she is the same conductor who spoke in 6.23a, though here with a different choir. It may well be that, addressing the senior choir, she expected that they already knew the things she had said to the junior choir[4]. Thus in her correction, she told them what they are not doing, with the expectation that they will subsequently do as she expected.

The conductors' comments on this aspect of style, i.e. the shape of the singers' mouths, are in keeping with the adjudicators' comments during the festival. On one occasion, the adjudicator for the northern leg of the competition invited the choir to remain on stage as he delivered his comments. He commented that the singers' vowels were flat, and recommended they use "tall" or "rounded" vowels instead (Field notes, March 4th 2010).

Comments related to style were sometimes linked to musicality and artistry, as the extracts below exhibit.

Extract 6.24:-Style Comments 2

a) (Belmont Senior Girls)
<$Frank><#><&>claps and stops them but words unclear</&> <#>Why it is you're suddenly singing <&>broadly and with little rounding</&> [wɛn mju:zɛk saʊnz] <#>I'd like you to blend your instrument <#>You know with the <music>pans</music> although they're <music>tenors and double seconds</music> and so on the <music>tone</music> is <music>blended</music> <#>You cannot take<,> a <music>pan</music> from All Stars and put it with a pan from Despers because their pans are blended differently <#>Despers has a <music>rich full sound</music> <#>All Stars pans are blended differently in that the <music>tone is a little bit thin</music> <#>You can't put a thin with a full sound and expect to get a good blend <#>Are you comprehending where I'm coming from

[4] Further evidence supporting this suggestion is seen by the fact that this conductor explains musical terms like crescendo to the junior choir, but uses them without explicit explanation with the senior choir.

b) (POS Senior Girls)

<$King><#>No you not trying<&> bangs notes on piano</&> <#>Let's go <#>Again<&>plays starting chord and they grow silent</&><,><#><quote>Gone is the earth I know</quote> <#>It's like a wonder<{><[><,><[> <#>When this thing happens you are transported<O>sighs</O> <#>Y'all have no imagination<#> Boring set of young people <&>plays chord on piano once more</&><#>All of y'all
<$POSA10><#><[><O>inhales as if in awe</O></[></{>
<$Choir><#><&>begins to protest but indecipherably</&>
<$King><#>Not just y'all eh the whole generation<,><#>Boring <#>All y'all know is <&>imitating dancehall rhythm</&> boo doop ba do ba doop and wine
<$Choir><#><O>laughs uproariously</O>
<$POSA8><#>And flex

In 6.24a above, the girls' pronunciation was linked to the choir's tone not being blended, but instead of repeating corrections of the pronunciations she has already given, the conductor offered them the metaphor of the blend of two well-known steelpan orchestras. In 6.24b, the singers were required to more convincingly portray the poetry of the song's text, written by Walter de la Mare, something their conductor thought they were not able to do because of their interest with popular dancehall music. The girls protested, and when she insisted she is right, they erupted into laughter at her impression of their musical tastes. Thus, we see the spirit of the correction was friendly.

There were also several instances of comments related to accent. Overall, the tone of these comments was not as encouraging as the comments related to style. Examples of these are seen below.

Extract 6.25: Corrections accent

a) (SANDO Girls)

<$Singh>No, not and old man, an old man<#>Some people talk that way, you know<,> <#>Some people speak that way and actually say and whatever

b) (SANDO Boys) At least one voice sings [lɔɹd]. He compliments them, but corrects rhotic singer, trying by using an alternative spelling LAWD and not LORD. “Is not ahm we’re not Barbadian, we’re Trinidadian”.

c) (Belmont Girls)
<$Frank><#><[>Who is</[></{> still talking like Congo-bara English for me

d) (Belmont Girls) “Right is the word [lavliə] or [lɒvliə]. Girls reply [lʌ/ɒvliə]. “I tell you doh give me Congo-Bara English”.

e) (Belmont Girls)
<$Frank><#><[>It is not [watə] somebody here is saying [watə]
<O>girls laugh</O>
<Frank><#>Where you come from

The examples above show that comments related to accent tended to highlight to the singers their use of a stigmatised form, but did not necessarily achieve this in an uplifting manner. Conductors implicitly or explicitly referred to groups whose language is either marked as different or else completely stigmatised with the expectation that the singers avoid the forms known to be used by these groups. Thus, in 6.25b, the conductor made specific reference to Barbadian speakers of English and their rhoticism, which he singled out as dispreferred. The conductors in 6.25a and 6.25c were more indirect, pointing to unknown groups, “some people”, or places, “where.” The implication of these statements is very important if the choir is to be successful as a unit. “Some people” may speak that way, but those who are members of this choir are not to be counted among them; wherever you come from, people “here” do not pronounce their words like they do there.

The comments in 6.25c and 6.25d deserve closer attention. Congo-bara is a compound made up of two words: Congo, which according to Winer’s (2008) dictionary may refer to a person of African Congo origin, a person with dark-brown glossy skin, a traditional type of African music and dance, or an African drum often used in Shango, a Yoruba religion practised in Trinidad; bara is a type of bread eaten typically eaten with curried chana as part of doubles, a

popular street food historically associated with the Trinidadian East Indian community. The components of this compound would be well-known to the singers, and the comments can therefore be seen as rather derogatory, dismissing the speech of the two largest ethnic groups in the country.

Within this group of comments it is also worth considering comments made by adjudicators during the festival concerning singers' accents. One adjudicator, Jan Harrington, attracted media attention when he advised singers to "watch those vowels." He is reported as having said that the biggest challenge that many of the competitors faced in the vocal classes was, "handl[ing] the vowels properly during their delivery. 'The English Language wherever you live has a different dialect and pronunciation is different in every region. The vowels are too broad'" (Asson 2010: n.pag.). However, Harrington did not identify any specific vowels which the singers should modify.

These comments suggest overall negative language attitudes, although it cannot immediately be said that these negative attitudes are held towards TE/C. This is because the features linked to the comments are not necessarily TE/C features. The correction in 6.25a occurs because of hypercorrection of consonant cluster reduction, but consonant cluster reduction, though prevalent in the data, is not peculiar to TE/C. Rhoticism (6.25b) is also not a TE/C feature, while [a] use in NORTH and LOT contexts is restricted to rural Trinidad communities and Tobago. Thus, the deleterious attitudes expressed are not necessarily towards all TE/C speakers and features, but instead to certain stigmatised groups. All the same, the singers do not appear to make these fine-grained distinctions, and maintain that their conductors hold negative views towards TE/C as a whole (cf. Extracts 4.1, 4.2, and especially 4.22). Language attitudes will be discussed further in chapter 7.

Lastly, it is worth mentioning the distribution of the comments overall. While boys and girls received corrections with regard to pronunciation both in terms of accent and style, only the girls received additional commentary, with the exception of the single comment from SANDO Boys' Choir above. If this is considered in light of the fact that the boys tended to use more dispreferred variants, and in light of the data in Table 6.1 (above), we might gain some

interesting insight into language and gender in Trinidad, at least with regard to choral singing. The senior girls' high rate of correction of vowels, along with their tendency to receive more correction as commentary, and indeed their tendency to hypercorrect implies that there is an expectation towards the use of the standard among girls that is not as stringent for their male counterparts.

6.5 Chapter Overview

The aim of this chapter was to look at the corrections singers received during the rehearsals, in light of the interview and questionnaire data regarding preferred pronunciations, and also in light of the actual distribution of preferred variant use during the rehearsal. We found that overall, language-related corrections occurred about as frequently as musical ones, highlighting the equal importance of music and language in vocal performance. When the language corrections were studied more carefully, we saw first of all that corrections related to accent were less frequent than corrections related to style. We also saw that corrections were not always in the direction of SBE. Instead, there were instances in which conductors encouraged singers in the use of TE/C features, and furthermore in the use of variants that were not known to occur either in SBE or TE/C. The features that fell into this third group were identified as specific stylistic requirements of singing, and were collectively labelled classical choral singing style. Though they were presented separately, it should be noted that it was not always easy to separate accent from style, since there seemed to be instances where they built on one another, or where the variants used in one variety (an accent correction) would receive stylistic favour.

In addition to making quite specific corrections, we saw that conductors also made quite general comments with regard to both accent and style, from which the singers were expected to discern the conductors' specific request. The comments could be encouraging or disparaging, and gave some insight into language attitudes in Trinidad.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION

7.0 Introduction

The first part of this chapter will apply the data obtained with regard to participants' preferred and dispreferred pronunciations, as well as singers' actual use of pronunciations during rehearsals, to the question of understanding the phonological features of TE/C. In particular, the data presented in previous chapters will be used as a starting point in the discussion of the separation of phonological features into mesolectal and acrolectal forms. From there, we will look at the insights that can be gained about language attitudes in Trinidad from choral singing data, and then try to locate Trinidad within Schneider's (2007) Dynamic Model of English. Afterwards, the focus of the chapter will shift somewhat, and we will explore what we can learn about language and style from choral singing, with specific reference to Referee Design, Stylisation, and indexicality.

7.1 Features of Trinidad English/ Creole: evidence from singing

In Chapter 4, the conductors' preference for Standard British English (SBE) in choral singing, as conveyed in questionnaires, was reported. It was also seen that singers, and conductors in interviews, were reluctant to label the variety of English they preferred British or even standard, and instead labeled their preferred accent 'proper'. The second part of Chapter 4 highlighted the specific phonological features that choral practitioners and audiences felt would be 'problematic' for young singers, while Chapter 5 looked at the actual occurrence of vowel and consonant features in the rehearsal data and Chapter 6 presented us with corrections singers received during rehearsals. Considered all together, the results of the previous chapters make it clear that, while conductors claim that they encourage the use of SBE, and singers sometimes perceive this to be the case, actual patterns of usage show that this is not so. The previous chapters showed that some features of TE/C are deemed unacceptable for singing and are thus stigmatized in choral

singing contexts. But it also emerged that many TE/C phonological features are not at all stigmatized, are viewed as desirable for choral singing and are mislabeled SBE. If Deuber is correct in her assertion that formal recognition of the local variety of Standard English in Trinidad is developing more slowly than its adoption (2009, 2013), then it is a reasonable assumption that many of the features that the participants in this study perceived as SBE, or at least as 'proper', are more correctly features of what we can call Standard Trinidadian English. These will be made explicit below. For this chapter and the rest of this thesis, the terms Standard Trinidadian English (STE) and acrolectal TE/C will be used interchangeably, and the terms (Trinidadian) Creole and mesolectal TE/C will be used interchangeably. This is done following Irvine's (2008) similar practice for Standard Jamaican English (SJE) and acrolect, and because the present author finds such terminology productive since it allows both for the treatment of Creole and Standard English as distinct indigenous varieties, and for the acknowledgement that they are indeed part of a related system. Based on the results presented in this thesis, we can further conclude that, in addition to features that may be classified as mesolectal or acrolectal TE/C or SBE, there is a further subcategory of allophones that are relevant and required only for sung English. Table 7.1 below gives an overview of the distribution of allophones found in the data. It refers only to those features that were targeted on the wordlist in the questionnaire and interviews, and does not include incidental commentary and correction received during the rehearsals that were labeled as style in Chapter 6. These will be discussed in 7.4 below, where the final column, sung requirement, will also be discussed. Vowel features are generally listed following Wells' lexical sets, with the exception of DOWN, which is included to illustrate a particular subset of words in the MOUTH lexical set.

Group	Feature	Mesolectal TE/C	Acrolectal TE/C	SBE	Sung
Quasi - exonormative group	Voiced dental fricative	d	ð	ð	ð
	Voiceless dental fricative	t	θ	θ	θ
	Consonant clusters	reduced	retained	retained	retained
	CLOTH/LOT	ɔ:/ʌ/ a	ɒ	ɒ	ɒ
	STRUT	a	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ/ɒ
	BATH	a:	ɑ:	ɑ:	ɑ:
	NORTH/ THOUGHT	a	ɔ:	ɔ:	ɔ:
Endonormative group 1	TRAP	a	a	a/æ	a
	NURSE	ɜ/ɜ˞	ɜ/ɜ˞	ə:	ɜ/ɜ˞
	FACE	e	e	eɪ	ø
	GOAT	o	o	əʊ	o
	MOUTH	ɔʊ	ɔʊ	aʊ	aʊ/ɔʊ
	NEAR	ɛ:	ɛ:	ɪə	ɪə
	SQUARE	ɛ:	ɛ:	ɛə	ɛ:
Endonormative group 2	DOWN	ɔŋ	ɔʊn	aʊn	aʊn/ɔʊn
	lettER	a	ʌ	ə	ʔ
Shared group	KIT	ɪ	ɪ	ɪ	ʏ
	DRESS	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ
	FOOT	ʊ	ʊ	ʊ	ʊ/u:
	FLEECE	i:	i:	i:	y
	GOOSE	u:	u:	u:	u:
	PRICE	aɪ	aɪ	aɪ	aɪ/ɑɪ
	CHOICE	ɔɪ	ɔɪ	ɔɪ	ɔɪ
	happY	i:	i:	i:	i:

Table 7.1 Realisations of various features in TE/C, SBE and sung English (where shaded cells show mismatch between spoken and sung preferred pronunciations).

The table above summarises, based on the responses of the questionnaire and interview participants, the candidates for the allophones of various phonemes of mesolectal and acrolectal TE/C, compared with SBE. It also shows the variant that is preferred in choral singing. The candidates for mesolectal and acrolectal TE/C were isolated based on questionnaire and interview results, as well as based on the actual corrections singers received during the rehearsals,

and the forms that they used there. Dealing first with the candidates for mesolectal and acrolectal TE/C, we see that the phonemes can be grouped into four distinct groups: the large group at the bottom, which we can call the shared group because the features are shared among the varieties in question; a large group at the top of the table, comprising some vowels and all consonants, which we can call the quasi-exonormative group since the acrolectal and SBE features are similar, but are distinct from the mesolectal features; a third which we can call endonormative group 1 since the mesolectal and acrolectal features are the same but are not the same as the SBE features; and finally a small group we can call endonormative group 2 where, where none of the three groups share the same features.

Acrolectal forms could be shared, quasi-exonormative, or endonormative. The shared forms will not be discussed here. The quasi-exonormative forms are thus labelled since the speakers themselves showed little evidence of regarding the prestige features in this group as SBE, even though they acknowledged the existence of an alternative, non-prestige, TE/C form, which they clearly aligned to the mesolectal end of the creole continuum. Acrolectal forms that are endonormative may parallel roughly what has previously been labelled "creolised English" or "creolisms" (Allsopp 1996). Mair (2002) differentiates between creolisms that are used consciously and unconsciously, with the unconscious use of forms signalling that "the speaker is unaware that a particular creole or creole-based feature of his/her language is not part of the common core of international English" (Mair 2002: 40). He goes on to posit that, "where creolisms can be shown to be used unselfconsciously and frequently […] they are signs that a Caribbean standard of English is coming into its own" (ibid.: 55). In as far as we accept that many of the acrolectal forms used by the participants are used unselfconsciously, and in many cases without awareness of alternative forms, we can claim that these forms have come to be viewed as belonging to the local variety of Standard English.

By and large, the features labelled acrolectal TE/C correspond with Winford's (1978) Dialect A speakers, with the notable exception of [iɛ̈], which in fact never occurred in the rehearsal data, and was only reported on one occasion in the interview data. On this occasion, it was reported as a dispreferred variant, with [ɛː] as the preferred pronunciation. This latter form

corresponds with the form attested by Youssef and James, with the form most widely used in the rehearsal data, and thus the candidate for the STE variant. This should not be taken as evidence that [iɛ̈] does not occur in some mesolectal speech, but rather as evidence that, in NEAR contexts, the singers and speakers in this study did not use this form. This may be so because Winford's study included rural and urban speakers, but this study included only urban and sub-urban dwellers, so it may be that, if the form is still in use, it has fallen out of use with urban young people in particular. As such, the distinction that Youssef and James suggest between NEAR and SQUARE on one hand and BEER and BARE on the other hand does not hold for the data examined here, since [ɛː] was generally used in all four contexts. Thus, we see the data providing substantial evidence for the NEAR-SQUARE merger, and also showing that the form arising from this merger is wholly endonormative.

Another finding of this study that contradicts previous work is with regard to dental fricatives. Youssef and James propose that [t] and [d] are "ceasing to be stigmatized even in pseudo-acrolectal speech" (2008: 329), and claim that both forms are generally accepted. In this study, however, quite the opposite was found to be the case. The use of the alveolar stops variants of the /θ/ and /ð/ was remarked upon negatively by almost every person interviewed, with [θ] and [ð] always being identified as the preferred variants. These features also had high index scores, indicating that they were perceived as being problematic. In the rehearsals, singers used [θ] and [ð] consistently, even if not categorically, and there was even evidence of hypercorrect uses of [θ] in the word <water>. Thus, in classical choral singing at least, TH-stopping continues to be stigmatized.

Otherwise, with specific regard to the vowels of the acrolect and the mesolect, the features reported here very often overlap with those reported for decreolized varieties by Youssef and James, exhibiting to a certain extent the variation they propose. Singers were found to use the variants proposed by Youssef and James for the FACE, GOAT, NORTH, MOUTH and to some extent NURSE lexical sets. More specifically, the range of variation reported by Youssef and James for LOT (and CLOTH) and STRUT was also seen in the rehearsal data. Based on this data, and particularly because of the incidence of STRUT hypercorrection in the senior girls' data, we are able to propose that in

the case of LOT and CLOTH [ɒ] is the prestige variable, the quasi-exonormative acrolectal form. With regard to consonants, the relatively low rate of consonant cluster retention seen during the rehearsals is in keeping with the description offered by Youssef and James.

There was one examined instance in which the quasi-exonormative form did not match the form proposed by Youssef and James. For the PALM vowel, the pair suggests that acrolectal and mesolectal speakers would use [aː]. However, the interview data in particular showed that, in fact, [aː] was highly stigmatised, and singers, conductors and audiences all preferred [ɑː] in contexts judged to require standard forms. At the same time, the rehearsal data presented here seemed consistent with Youssef and James' report of [ɑ] and [a]-- as well as [ɑː] and [aː]—merger, and stigmatisation. It is therefore unsurprising that the informants avoid a stigmatised sound, [a], in contexts that they judge as requiring formal language. The high incidence of hypercorrection of TRAP to [ɑː] in the rehearsal data highlights how stigmatised the application of [a]-[ɑ]/[aː]-[ɑː] merger rules in formal contexts is, but is also in keeping with Solomon's observation that "speakers who in general preserve all distinctions of vowel length […] will give a long instead of a short /a/ in words like "Catholic", "candle" and "handle"" (1993: 8), i.e. will tend toward the use of PALM vowels in TRAP contexts. That singers did not categorically use the form they identify as preferred, and that they also over-applied the rules for its occurrence, is worth highlighting since this disconnect makes clear the fact that people may be aware of a form, standard or otherwise, and may have quite positive attitudes towards it, without themselves using it.

In addition to quasi-exonormative acrolectal features, there were also a number of endonormative acrolectal features. One of these, NEAR/SQUARE, was discussed above in relation to Winford's work. Other endonormative features occurring in the data were: the use of [oː] in the GOAT vowel, the use of [eː] in FACE, and the use of [ɔʊ] in MOUTH. Here, the forms used most widely in the data are in keeping with the forms reported by Youssef and James. The results section illustrated that the case of the GOAT and FACE vowels provided a very strong case for endonormativity since, in some cases, participants were aware of competing SBE alternatives, but still preferred the TE/C variant. On other occasions, it will be recalled that singers were corrected away from the

use of the SBE variant and towards the local form. On still other occasions, participants were certain that no other form existed ("There's only one way to say this word in the entire English language, [ɡot]"), hinting at a taken-for-grantedness of the local form. At the same time, the case of the MOUTH vowel shows that a feature need not be uniformly accepted across all sections of the community, and may be established as the standard form for some speakers while still being considered non-standard by others. For, while [ɔʊ] is the form most frequently occurring in the data, both for actual use (rehearsals) and preferred use (interviews), and there are occasions on which [aʊ] is corrected to [ɔʊ], the fact remains that [aʊ] was still listed by a minority of participants as a preferred form. Speakers' responses with regard to MOUTH are in keeping with Shields' (1989) observations for Jamaica. With regard to the task of defining Standard English in Jamaica from the point of view of its speakers, she reports the existence of "dual standards: the one acknowledged traditionally and reflecting metropolitan norms, [here [aʊ]], the other, actually emergent, promulgated in the writing and speech of the majority of prominent, educated Jamaicans," (1989:8). If, as Shields proposed, these features were in competition, then it appears that in Trinidad as in Jamaica (see subsequent work by Irvine, for example), the emergent form has bolted past the finish line.

There were also endonormative forms that were not wholly in concord with the forms suggested by Youssef and James. These were the TRAP and NURSE vowels. Youssef and James suggest alternation between [a] and [æ] in TRAP contexts, the latter form also being the form traditionally used in SBE. Similarly, Deuber and Leung (2013) also attest variation between slightly raised [a̝] as well as [æ] and the expected [a] in TRAP contexts, notably used by the newscaster who received the highest prestige and solidarity ratings. However, in this study, singers were found to consistently use [a]. This difference may arise because of the methodology used here. While Deuber and Leung analysed the speech of individuals, in this thesis the sung productions of several people at once were analysed. It may be that some singers used raised variants, but that these forms were masked by the voices of other singers. It is likely that these sounds might have been differentiated if individual singers were used, and if instrumental analysis was used. However, it is not possible to reliably perform instrumental analysis with sung data, particular on the voices of young

girls. Moreover, Deuber and Leung's study looked at language use in a different context, and it may well be that *different formal contexts, and different activities, have quite different linguistic demands, even at the level of phonology.* Further support for this suggestion can be seen in the fact that, in the context of choral music, monophthongal pronunciations of the GOAT and FACE lexical sets were preferred, but in Deuber and Leung's work, the newscaster who used diphthongal realisations of words in these sets was judged most favourably. But the participants in this study also revealed sensitivities to the phonological fine tunings that context requires, particularly with regard to the realisation of words in the NEAR set. A phone, [ɛː], that in one context, speech, is acceptable, in another context, song, is less so, and in the latter context ceases even to be endonormative, with British [ɪə] preferred, if not always attained. Underlying preferences are strong, if sometimes conflicting, language ideologies. That these beliefs are held by the same people (here singers) underscores the fact that language ideologies are not absolute; people do not, and are not obliged to, hold the same beliefs regarding language in all situations. If language use varies across contexts, then, it is at least partly because language users' ideas about language use varies too. Moreover, different people may hold different beliefs about language use in a single environment, as we saw in the divergence between audience members and practitioners' beliefs about the best accent for choral singing.

Returning then to the question of endonormativity, another form that occurred in the data but that is not attested elsewhere was the r-colouring of the vowel in the NURSE set. Both mesolectal and acrolectal forms of TE/C, as well as SBE, are non-rhotic varieties, and so the incidence of r-colouring is somewhat surprising. However, in chapter 4 it was already noted that, where Trinidadian English speakers are rhotic, it is in words in the NURSE set (Jo-Anne Ferreira, p.c.). What is particularly interesting about the use of r-coloured variants, then, is how it was spread. In the rehearsals, r-coloured variants were found mostly in the senior girls' singing, though it will be remembered that the boys had limited opportunities to produce the NURSE vowel and the junior girls none. At the same time, of the seven singers who reported their own NURSE pronunciation as [ɝ], only two were male and, though it is not clear whether the participants heard the difference between the rhotic and non-rhotic

variants, two boys who reported their own pronunciation as non-rhotic, produced a rhotic variant for the preferred pronunciation. Also noteworthy in this regard were the audience responses, which were also equally split for this feature. All but one of the audience members were female, [1] and so no comments with regard to gender can be made. However, if the audience group is divided by age, a young group aged 22-35 and an older group over 35, an interesting pattern emerges. Five of the twelve audience members were in the second group, and only one suggested [ɜ˞] as the preferred variant for NURSE. The remaining seven form the first group, and four of these identified [ɜ˞] as their preferred pronunciation. Among the conductors, only one conductor clearly identified [ɜ˞] as the preferred pronunciation, with two others giving it as [ɜ˞] on one occasion and as [ɜ] on a subsequent occasion in the same interview. The one conductor who provided [ɜ˞] as the preferred variant is male, the conductor of the boys' choir from which two of the young men claimed [ɜ˞] was the preferred, even if not their own, pronunciation. More tellingly, this conductor is also the youngest conductor. While the other conductors interviewed were between 58 and 70, this conductor was 26 at the time of his interview. It may be, then, that [ɜ˞] is emerging as the prestige variant in NURSE contexts, particularly among young Trinidadians. If this is the case, [ɜ˞] would be a strong candidate for STE phonology, since it is clearly not only linked to singing. If it were a stylistic requirement of singing, it is very likely that the audiences would not have identified it (see 7.4 below). At this point, however, further research is needed in order to substantiate this claim. Although Youssef and James do not aim to separate mesolectal from acrolectal forms, treating all forms instead as decreolised variants, Table 7.1 tries to classify the sounds based on the singers' professed preferences and actual usage. We have already seen that there has been considerable overlap among acrolectal features and those identified by Youssef and James, and that some features are shared among the TE/C varieties and SBE. The section on acrolectal features further presented the case of the endormative group 1, where the mesolectal and acrolectal features are the same, but are together distinct from the features of SBE. Of particular interest at this point, then, are the mesolectal features in the

[1] Admittedly this is not ideal, but it does reflect the typical composition of audiences at choral singing performances in Trinidad and Tobago.

quasi-exonormative group and endonormative 2 group. The former group is particularly interesting since it includes all consonants and a significant portion of the vowels. It will be remembered that in many cases, the audiences only identified consonant features they felt were standard, and could not necessarily identify dispreferred vowel pronunciations. In fact where the audiences did identify dispreferred vowel features, it was almost always the language teachers, i.e. those with explicit knowledge on the subject. Furthermore, it will be recalled that consonants had higher index scores than vowels in the questionnaires, and were also more often reported as problematic in interviews, but nonetheless were less frequently corrected in the course of rehearsals. This seems to indicate that, at least with regard to consonants, where the STE feature is quasi-exonormative, the mesolectal TE/C feature becomes specially marked, even if it occurs relatively infrequently. This finding can perhaps be explained in terms of Irvine's (2008) division of features into load-bearing and non-load-bearing. With reference to front line staff in a Jamaican government agency, Irvine found that only a selection of sub-features were required, or needed to be avoided, for speakers to be judged as proficient users of Standard English. Those features that flagged language use as Creole or Standard were described as load-bearing, while those that did not appear to do so were called non-load-bearing. Thus, with regard to this study, we can say that the mesolectal consonants in the quasi-exonormative group are quite clearly load-bearing, which explains how easily they were identified as problematic by participants, and indeed, why the dispreferred variants were avoided in choral singing. But where does that leave the vowels in this group? In the interview and rehearsal data, it is quite clear that the vowel variants in this group are also load-bearing, even though their lower index scores suggests that they are not immediately perceived as such. As a result, refining Irvine's load-bearing/ non-load-bearing division, I propose that we regard consonant features, especially dental fricatives and consonant clusters, as more load-bearing, and vowel features, such as PALM and STRUT, as less load-bearing. Such a division also allows for fine-grained distinctions among different, especially vowel, features, while still allowing for some features, namely those in the shared (orange) group to be non-load-bearing, since these features occur regardless of language variety.

There are instances where the reported dispreferred variant as well as the variant that is corrected in the rehearsal does not overlap with any of the features identified in Youssef and James for the decreolised varieties, but is in keeping with the features listed in Winford's dialects C and D, or else with features listed by Youssef and James for basilectal Tobagonian Creole. This is particularly true of the occurrence of [a] in LOT, NORTH, and STRUT contexts. As there is no attested basilectal Creole form for Trinidadian English/ Creole, it could be that the occurrence of [a] in these contexts could be the result of acoustic requirements of singing. However, if the speech community is extended to include Tobago, this finding suggests that some features of basilectal Tobagonian Creole may be more widespread than initially believed, and that the Creole varieties on both islands may share this feature in common. Further mesolectal features belong to the endonormative 2 group. Particularly noteworthy in this group is the realisation of DOWN as [ɔŋ], consistent with what Youssef and James report for some speakers for this feature. It should be noted, though, that although participants claim that the mesolectal form might occur in singing, in reality there were very few instances of this. What is particularly interesting about DOWN, however, is that it shows that there are at least three competing variants in the sociolinguistic economies of Trinidadian choirs.

If we turn our attention briefly to the table's fourth column, we see that the pronunciation that is preferred for singing is not always the SBE variant, in spite of the informants' claims. In fact, there is only one occasion in which an exclusively SBE variant is the preferred pronunciation in singing: NEAR. In many other instances, the preferred variant is at best quasi-exonormative, i.e. shared between SBE and acrolectal TE/C, and in still others, it is endonormative. In the case of MOUTH/DOWN, both the SBE and the STE versions are preferred, suggesting a disconnect between metalinguistic preference and actual preference. In questionnaires and interviews, [aʊ] appeared to be the preferred variant, but during the rehearsals, it is [ɔʊ] that was most widely encouraged. Leung (2009), writing on the use of Jamaican accents in Trinidadian ragga-soca music, notes that, as the genre became more developed, some vowel sounds that were not actual features of Jamaican Creole became a feature of ragga-soca artistes' pronunciation pattern. She calls this Perceived Jamaican Creole

English (PJCE). Parallels with her work can be drawn here. Trinidadian choral musicians claim to target SBE and, in the case of NEAR pronunciations and some instances of MOUTH pronunciation, they are indeed doing so. For the most part, however, what they are actually targeting is a perception of British English, and what is in fact the emerging local standard. Also important to note is the presence of preferred features for singing that are distinct, and that are known by the participants to be distinct, from the spoken variants in TE/C and SBE. We will explore these in greater detail in the discussion of style below.

This section has presented phonological features of acrolectal and mesolectal TE/C (STE and Trinidadian Creole respectively), based on evidence gathered from the choral rehearsals, and from questionnaires and interviews. In the next section, we go on to consider the attitudes that participants hold towards these varieties, and to place them into a larger discussion of language attitudes in the Caribbean.

7.2 Language attitudes and choral singing

In Chapter 4, we saw that singers and conductors expressed a clear preference for British English accents in choral singing. Section 7.1 above showed that this preference is more likely for a perceived British English, since with the exception of words in the NEAR lexical set and less frequently those in the MOUTH set, participants could not generally identify features of Standard British English that were not also shared with acrolectal varieties of TE/C, i.e. the local standard. Lack of familiarity with SBE, however, does not prevent it from enjoying prestige among choral singers and conductors. Perceived SBE was preferred, reported by participants as being better, more pleasant, more accurate, and more proper. This predilection for SBE over TE/C matches Taylor's (2001) claim that the lingering side-effect of colonialism is that Caribbean speakers are still dependent on outside, usually formerly colonial, norms, something that Bell (1992) also reports for New Zealand media. It should be noted, however, that in the course of the interviews especially, it became clear that this preference for SBE is restricted to choral singing, and even then to only some sub-genres, notably excluding local compositions. This is in keeping with Mühleisen's observation that "speakers' perceptions may interpret it [language

variation] much more as register and style variation" (2002: 73). Thus, while preference for perceived SBE may be grounded in the country's colonial history, and particularly in the colonial antecedents of choral and classical music in Trinidad and Tobago, it can hardly be argued that this is representative of more general feelings of linguistic insecurity (see Labov 2006) or linguistic self-hatred. Rather, choral singing is seen as a genre that Trinidadians cannot and do not stake exclusive claim too, as they can and do with indigenous genres such as soca or rapso. It is a genre with "international" norms and standards, which for them is linked especially to Europe. Any insecurity they experience, then, is unlikely due to feelings of genuine inadequacy with their own language varieties in general, but rather with an ideology that tells them that their particular variety is unsuitable for the genre in which they are engaged. Preference for SBE is thus genre-specific, and any prestige the variety enjoys among practitioners it enjoys only in this context. Of course, this does not mean that language use in all other contexts is necessarily endonormative, and further studies in a range of other contexts are needed in order to gain a perspective of the overall orientations of language use in Trinidad.

SBE prestige is also tempered by the fact that although singers and conductors claimed to prefer it, the audience members interviewed rejected it as the variety they would like to hear. This presents us with a very difficult situation: the young singers and conductors favoured SBE on the grounds that it will be clearer and more pleasant for the audience, but audiences did not judge SBE as "necessarily best" and complain that when singers use this variety they sound "funny". This is a reservation about which the singers were aware- some of them did acknowledge that using SBE can alienate them from their audiences- but it is a risk they were willing to take. This is likely because local audiences were not the only audiences the singers and conductors have in mind. As participants in an activity that is not limited to Trinidad and Tobago or even the Caribbean, the singers and conductors align themselves with real and perceived international norms, and with an audience from which they are usually removed. The only exceptions to the distant audience for whom the singers model their pronunciation are the foreign adjudicators. Ironically, their efforts are not always enough, as we have seen, and they sometimes are admonished for using "local dialect" features.

In the context of singing, then, SBE can be said to have high competence and authenticity ratings among practitioners, although this does not necessarily hold for listeners . On the other hand, both practitioners and listeners hold some features of TE/C in relatively low esteem, while other TE/C features enjoy as much or more prestige than SBE features. The features identified in 7.1 above as features of mesolectal TE/C are those that are generally judged unsympathetically by singers, conductors, and audiences alike. It is these features that were identified as possible errors by interview and questionnaire participants, were labelled "annoying" by singers with regard to others, were avoided to the point of hypercorrection, were dismissed as "lingo" and "stupidness" by some audience members, and were recipient to harsh correction from conductors. Although many of the interviewees did not have the facility to express this, those that did clearly link these features to mesolectal Creole features (cf. Extract 5.20). These views are in keeping with other recent work on language in the Caribbean. Paugh (2012), for example, reported that villagers in Penville, Dominica, held Patwa in low esteem with regards to competence, believing that it had no place in the school and that children in particular should not speak Patwa, especially to adults. Similarly, Deuber and Leung (2013), in their study of reactions to different accents in the media in Trinidad, found that the speaker with the most Creole features received the lowest prestige ratings.

At the same time, it would be premature to conclude, based on the findings of this study and of those mentioned above, that Trinidadians continue to view mesolectal TE/C in a negative light. Instead, language attitudes here reveal an adherence to domain specification that is in keeping with language ideologies concerning singing, but that appears at first to conflict with the claims by Carrington (2001) and others that Creole has begun to enter into domains where standard once dominated, and that there is generally a high degree of mixing in all but the most formal domains. This apparent conflict is quickly resolved if one moves to include classical choral singing among the most formal domains, where mesolectal TE/C features might still be deemed unacceptable. Thus, even though the participants in this study did not believe that mesolectal TE/C features were suitable for choral singing outside local

choral music, there is no evidence in support of the idea that they had overall negative attitudes to this variety.

Moreover, even where language attitudes are mixed, knowledge about the sociolinguistic situation in Trinidad is detailed. The older choristers revealed quite sophisticated levels of language awareness in terms of linguistic form displayed for example in Jade's use of the term "basilect" in Extract 4.20; the social repercussions of using one form over another, as seen in Joel's and Adam's concerns of separating the audience from the singers and cultural conflict in Extracts 4.13 and 4.14; and in their albeit reluctant acknowledgement that users of mesolectal TE/C forms should not be criticised for their use of the stigmatised forms (Giselle's "Can't judge" in Extract 4.51). Further to this, some of the audience members interviewed also displayed high levels of language awareness of the sociolinguistic situation in Trinidad and, like the singers, seemed to value the use of Creole, particularly in folk music and calypso, as seen in Extracts 4.38 and 4.39. The singers and audience members' high level of linguistic awareness, especially compared even to the conductors, is no doubt a reflection of changes in the English Language and Communication Studies curricula to which they have been exposed in their schools, and is reminiscent of Kouwenberg et al's 2011 report which described the sense of empowerment Jamaican university students felt after they were exposed to linguistics courses which gave them a clearer view of the sociolinguistic situation in Jamaica. This is particularly true of the audience members. Of the twelve audience members interviewed, six were language teachers, and four were involved in the teaching of Communication Studies, even teaching some of the choristers. They displayed the most sympathetic views towards the Creole, a contrast that is clearly illustrated if Extracts 4.38 and 4.39 are compared with 4.40, where Aneefa and Ms Neves are both teachers of Communication Studies, but neither Cecile nor Simone is a teacher at all, and completed school long before the curriculum was implemented. If these results are viewed in light of Mühleisen's (2001) results, they provide a compelling argument for the effectiveness of language awareness education; even the teachers who do not teach Communication Studies appear sympathetic towards the Creole (Extract 4.38), and even the students who aren't completely convinced exhibit the beginnings of tolerance (Extract 4.51). Mühleisen does not make note of it, but her data is

collected after the passage of the Education Act of 1975, in which Creole was officially acknowledged as a language in its own right, an important difference between hers and Winford's study, which she set out to replicate. It may well be that her informants' views were shaped by the intellectual climate of their times, as the teachers and students' views in this study undoubtedly are. And, inasmuch as these attitudes are affected by larger discourses in society, important questions regarding the methodology of both this and Mühleisen's study arise. For, if Creole is legally recognised as a language, how likely is it that a teacher, educated at a state training college, would persist in labelling it 'bad English', even in an anonymous questionnaire? Furthermore, if students' knowledge of the linguistic situation is tested in a regional exam (such as the Communication Studies exam) that bears direct influence on their future job and education prospects, what student would openly uphold beliefs contrary to those expressed in the syllabus? Accordingly, Giselle's "can't judge" becomes very important. Juxtaposed as it is against her claim that the use of [t] instead of [θ] is annoying (see also Dana's claim in 4.52), and Clare's half apology for the linguistic behaviour of others ("It really does [annoy] but some people just do"), Giselle's "can't judge" can be viewed as a sort of social imperative. Judging someone based on their speech is not socially acceptable. But, like so many other prejudices, it persists, even when one is not allowed to articulate it. These unarticulated prejudices surfaced again shortly after, when Clare suggested that some people might sing [ð] as [d], and Giselle objected, saying, "I don't know who you trying to impersonate" and Clare, once more, was forced to apologise, saying, "Giselle some people do honestly I am very sorry".

Moreover, the singers' continued emphasis on the importance of the use of Standard English while granting concession to the importance of Creole, echoes the results of Deuber's 2009 study where teachers showed positive attitudes towards Creole, and even admitted to using it alongside Standard English in the classroom. While Paugh's (2012) informants do not reveal similar levels of linguistic cognizance, continuing to view Patwa as 'broken French', for example, they too grant that the language is an important social adhesive, as Joel and Adam's responses also illustrate. Likewise, Shields-Brodber asserts that "there are many others who affirm Jamaican Creole as the language of national identity" (1997: 69). As such, the young people's views as seen here are part of

a larger, pan-Caribbean acceptance of Creole forms, and not peculiar to Trinidad.

Despite quite progressive attitudes towards the Creole in non-choral singing contexts, the ramifications of using mesolectal TE/C features in classical choral singing are great. At the level of competition, for which the choirs in this study were all in preparation, using mesolectal TE/C features in environments where they are identified as dispreferred can result in having points deducted, and may cost choirs the prize they so desire. Indeed, during 2010, when the observations of the rehearsals took place, the Music Festival adjudicators attracted more media attention than in previous years when they reprimanded singers for their pronunciation, not of consonants, but of vowels. Choirs may also lose public approval, since audiences, although they do not favour the use of SBE, expect that acrolectal TE/C features will be used, and so are likely to judge mesolectal features as inappropriate. But even before the performance phase, during the rehearsal period, choristers are subjected to minor humiliations ("what kind of Congo-bara English is that"), which they clearly take to heart ("she buffs [reprimand by shouting]us and tells us how we're not supposed to sound like Trinidadians"). As a result, even the youngest singers develop into skilled code-switchers, as can be seen in the examples below.

Extract 7.1

From POS Junior Girls:

a) Minutes 20-25
   Someone plays piano. Malia talks to me "She was **macoing**[2] from you know the first time you came? And she was telling me what **you write**. **You write** good in the book and all kind of **stupidness.** Becky**, Becky look** at the book and going so." I deny writing good (because I didn't). "Well she told me that."

b) Minutes 60-65
   Becky asks question about who enters when. Malia corrects her "no **[daz di ʌdə] line**"

[2] From maco (v): to be overly curious about other people's affairs (Winer 2008).

c) *From POS Senior Girls:*
Hilary<#>Now um<,> **we going** from the top<,> to **[di:]** end of the second verse<#>But uhm<,> **allyuh** realise right **[dat]** when it comes to <#>Apparently I don't know if this second verse is **allyuh** favourite of the verse or something so cos **allyuh is** crescendo and **[tɪŋ]** <#>I don't know what happen to **[di:]**first verse <#>**It dry**

When Malia spoke to me, she employed a variety of mesolectal TE/C lexical, grammatical and phonological features (indicated in bold above), including TH-stopping, something that very rarely occurs in the junior girls' data. Likewise, when Hilary addressed her fellow singers, she also stopped TH- in words such as <the> and <that> and used other morpho-syntactic features of TE/C, even though the choir of which she is a member, POS Senior Girls, categorically produced /ð/ as [ð] and near categorically produced /θ/ as [θ]. Hilary even used mesolectal TE/C pronunciations when she was drawing her fellow singers' attention to their pronunciation of words. This highlights the idea that perceived SBE pronunciations are preferred only for singing itself, and not for all activities that take place in the course of the choral rehearsal. It also highlights the fact that the singers are skilled at switching between the codes. Conductors too may employ mesolectal TE/C features in speech, while expecting acrolectal features in song. Finally, when viewed in light of the singers' interviews, we see that this code-switching is highly agentive. Singers were generally aware of the stigmatised and preferred variants and, even if they used them in their speech, especially to their peers or perceived equals, they actively avoided them when singing, in as far as this is possible. In this way, language attitudes directly inform the linguistic forms singers employ.

Where participants may be seen to have had negative attitudes towards mesloectal TE/C features in choral singing, the opposite appears to be true for acrolectal TE/C features. And, even though they do not necessarily label it thus, there is a clear sense among many of the participants that there is something that is not SBE that is also not necessarily mesolectal TE/C, and which enjoys high prestige. Recall, for example, the interview participant who argues: "but what is British about that? I don't find anything British about that. So what you think just because we is Trini we supposed to say [la:d]?"

Her protestations make it clear that the preferred variant for words in the NORTH lexical set, [ɔː], is not felt to belong exclusively to SBE, but also to acrolectal TE/C, and that [ɔː] is preferred not because it is British, but because it is something else, an implied local standard. Claims such as these are reminiscent of Deuber's (2009: 101) assertion that there exists in Trinidad a "local variety" of Standard English (i.e. acrolectal TE/C), characterised in part by distinctive phonological features. In attuning ourselves to the distinctive features of acrolectal TE/C, however, we run the risk of overlooking those features that are shared between the Trinidadian and other standards, the use of which should not be taken to signal affinities with "a foreign, ex-colonial social order, but with contexts of working life and formal interaction in which it is the appropriate mode" (Youssef 1990 in Deuber 2009: 101).

Furthermore, where participants were aware of differences between mesolectal and acrolectal TE/C forms on one hand and acrolectal TE/C and SBE forms on the other hand, they often, though not always, showed preference for the acrolectal TE/C forms. This is particularly true of the conductor in Chapter 5 (Extract 5.7) who cautioned against the label British and, in in the case of the FACE and GOAT vowels, acknowledged the SBE diphthong while allowing singers to use the TE/C monophthong. Elsewhere, she said of the NURSE vowel:

<$Taylor><#>It's like you say it nurse <#>I wouldn't and eh you see this is where it's difficult to say British pronunciation because they don't know that sound [nɜs] it's [nəːs]<#>That is British I don't insist on that right <#>I would say [nɜs].

Despite her awareness of the SBE alternative then, in these situations, the conductor nevertheless preferred the acrolectal TE/C variant. Other conductors did not necessarily possess the same level of linguistic awareness as Mrs Taylor, but, in not correcting the acrolectal TE/C forms to the SBE forms in the course of the rehearsals, acrolectal TE/C unwittingly becomes the de facto Standard of choral singing, even if it is not thus acknowledged. This is in keeping with Deuber's (2009: 101) claim that "[o]vert recognition of this

variety seems to be lagging behind its development as a de facto Standard." Moreover, the participants' willing acceptance of local norms, even in the face of competition from and knowledge of British norms, indicates a tendency towards endonormativity similar to that which Irvine (2008) reports for Jamaica. Like Standard Jamaican English (SJE), Standard Trinidadian English is being developed in situ, and can be phonologically distinguished from other varieties of Standard English and from mesolectal TE/C, even though it may also share features with both. Thus, Irvine's (2008) claim that the acrolect develops locally and is "particular to the specific community in which speakers operate" holds for Trinidad as well. Additionally, because the acrolect is a home-grown variety, it, too becomes a candidate as a marker of solidarity and in-group membership, though in a way that is quite different from and perhaps complementary to mesolectal TE/C. For, when Youssef (2004) claims that Trinbagonians embrace the Creole as "we own", implicit in her discussion is a "we" who participate in the ordinary, the relational, distinct from the "we" who are involved in the official. However, in as far as we acknowledge the conscious or unconscious preference for the local standard rather than the exonormative standard, we must also allow for this variety to do attitudinal and identification work. And it does. When we consider statements made to the singers by conductors during rehearsals, such as "where you from" and "some people actually talk like that", and we consider that the same conductors often correct in the direction of the acrolectal TE/C feature, then we can claim, with some confidence, that solidarity work is not the exclusive domain of non-standard or mesolectal Creole features, and that solidarity work does not only work to link grassroots speakers, as sociolinguistic tradition might have us believe (cf. Trudgill 1983). In this case, the local standard is being viewed favourably; both more favourably than the Creole and than the external standard, and its use shows solidarity with a privileged group who does not rely on exonormative models to show that they are intelligent, educated members of society.

Moreover, the results here mirror Deuber and Leung's (2013) findings for attitudes towards Trinidadian accents in the media. The pair found that, of eight possible sound bites, Trinidadian listeners judged the speaker with the most acrolectal features most favourably, and the speaker with the most

mesolectal features least favourably. In this thesis, it has been shown that choral practitioners and audiences also held acrolectal speech features in higher regard than they did mesolectal TE/C features. Deuber and Leung, following Irvine (2004), argue therefore for a notion of Standard English defined in negative terms; a feature belongs to Standard English in Trinidad because it is not Creole. At the same time, this thesis has shown that distance from Creole is not the only factor that determines whether a feature is considered standard or not, and indeed there are instances in which a feature deemed standard by participants is also a mesolectal TE/C feature. The acrolectal pronunciation of the FACE and GOAT vowels would be examples of this, since acrolectal singers use an extended monophthong, similar to mesoectal TE/C pronunciations, for both these vowels.. Such features then are shared between mesolectal and acrolectal TE/C, and their use and acceptability are strong indicators of the endonormative nature of acrolectal TE/C.

Critically, distance from the Creole may resemble metropolitan varieties; take for example the preferred realisation of /θ/ as [θ] or of words in the LOT set as [ɒ]. Users lay claim to these forms as STE features which contrast to Trinidadian Creole features, but which are for them nonetheless Trinidadian features. Indeed, if we are to persist in the argument that in Trinidad, as in the Caribbean in general, a local English-derived Creole (what I have also called mesolectal TE/C) exists alongside a local variety of Standard English (what I have called acrolectal TE/C), then we must also allow for speakers to lay claim to both varieties, and thereby not only those features that idiosyncratically mark the variety as local, but also those that are shared with other, including British, varieties of standard English. By extension, we must be mindful that the use of these shared features need not necessarily signal exonormativity.

7.3 Colonial practice, postcolonial English?

Commentators have labelled classical choral singing in Trinidad an “adopted art form”, in part because of its colonial origins, and in part because of the apparent Euro-centricity of classical choral repertoire. We have seen

above that though those involved in choral singing in Trinidad wished to align themselves linguistically with Great Britain, they nevertheless made use of and expressed positive views towards acrolectal TE/C forms. The choral rehearsal, then, becomes a site of tension between language attitudes and language applications, making choral singing a sociolinguistic concern particularly with regard to the study of language in formerly colonial, independent settings. In this section, the discussion tries to situate TE/C within Schneider's 5-phase Dynamic Model of postcolonial Englishes (PCE's), using evidence from the data collected.

The phases of Schneider's model (foundation, exonormative stabilization, nativization, endonormative stabilization, differentiation) were explored in Chapter 2 of this thesis. The Dynamic Model is attractive because it considers political and historical factors alongside linguistic ones in determining the various phases of the development of different varieties of English. Critically, Schneider proposes that all the elements of a phase need not occur simultaneously, so that a country may, for example, have achieved political independence, a historical feature of the third phase, but may nevertheless exhibit sociolinguistic behaviours typically associated with earlier phases.

The evidence discussed above strongly favours the placement of TE/C within Phase 4, endonormative stabilization. Turning to structural elements, we see that TE/C, in both its acrolectal and mesolectal forms, exhibits a high degree of endonormativity. This endonormativity, however, is different from that proposed in the Dynamic Model. For Schneider's conceptualisation does not readily allow for endonormative local standards. In his examples for Jamaica and Barbados, he clearly equates the codification and elaboration processes linked to endonormative stabilization with the creoles spoken on the respective islands, even though he acknowledges that Standard English would also be spoken there, and then with a Caribbean accent. The data presented here paint quite a different picture. It is undeniable that the features labelled mesolectal TE/C are endonormative, and, in overlapping with Winford's much earlier findings as well as Youssef and James (2008) inventory, we can say that they are stable. At the same time, the results presented here also illustrate a local standard that can be distinguished both from the metropolitan norm and from the creole norm. Admittedly, Schneider does

concede that PCE's in Phase 4 do exhibit some variation, but this variation is far more limited in his discussion. To more adequately account for the language situation in the Caribbean, then, Schneider's model ought to be adapted to allow for both endonormative creole and local standards to emerge, and further to allow for them to emerge simultaneously.

On the surface, language attitudes less obviously place TE/C within the endonormative phase. This is because the antipathetic views towards creole and the apparent orientation towards SBE are more typical of a variety at Phase 3, the nativisation phase. These attitudes, however, were context specific, and were not held by all participants, notably least of all by audiences. Thus, these attitudes are more reminiscent of what Schneider calls "residual conservatism" (2007: 56), whereby a minority of speakers continue to value the outside norm over local ones. In the case of classical choral singing, evidence of this residual conservatism is perhaps unsurprising. It is after all an art form restricted to elite groups in society, in this case students at highly selective schools with nineteenth and early twentieth century colonial foundations. Furthermore, classical choral singing is viewed by some as an "adopted art form" with European antecedents to which many of the practitioners would like to remain true. There is nonetheless a cleavage between even the most conservative respondent's views and their actual language usage; in reality they too make use of the acrolectal TE/C features.

Moreover, being a European import does not make classical choral music the sole property of Europeans. As Jean Devonish Huggins put it "all countries have the beginnings of songs and all countries aren't made up of only a whole lot of soloists you know. The people come together and they sing" (2011). Informants pointed to an, albeit small, increase in local composers, particularly in the early post-Independence period, as well as the inclusion of local musical instruments, notably the steelpan, as musical accompaniment to choirs. Moreover, they identified a shift in the repertoire, even in the Music Festival selections. Thus, one retired conductor reported that in previous festivals, "there were always English songs. I remember one of the first was 'Do you ken John Peal?' […] a real English hunting song […] Well today you wouldn't put that before children or before people […] but at that time it was accepted […]. As a choir mistress myself I wouldn't ask no school to sing it now

cos it was past its time. That time has passed. You get something that, either a locally composed thing or something with another kind of a, not celebrating English countryside hunting" (Devonish-Huggins 2011). Her views were reflected in part in the festival repertoire for 2010, when this data was collected. Many of the compositions were set to texts such as well-known poems (e.g. Non Nobis Domine is by Rudyard Kipling, When Music Sounds is by Walter de la Mare), but the composers, other than Quilter, are not British and, more importantly, the themes explored in the texts are not restricted to British culture. This move towards thematic universality (that music moves all who hear it, that the sun is impressive to all who see it) is important, since it validates the singers' claims to ownership of the art form, and frees them of any obligation, real or imagined, to use an external linguistic form. The socio-cultural context, then, also supports Trinidad's placement in the fourth endonormative phase. It is after all in this context that Joselyn Sealey, retired organiser of the Music Festival, exclaims in response to a question about her reactions of criticisms of the singers' pronunciations by adjudicators, "There's nothing wrong with the children's vowels!"

7.4 Referee Design, Style, and Singing

7.4.1 Style and Singing: Classical Choral Singing Style

We have already seen that for many of the participants in this study, the ideal choral pronunciation was equated with British English pronunciation patterns. This was seen particularly in the questionnaires, and is in keeping with earlier writings on the topic. Trudgill (1983) notes, in a footnote, that "English English" accents are the default accents for choral singing, a speculation supported by Potter, who notes that "recordings of vocal [classical] music in English use RP whatever the linguistic origin of the performers" (1998: 65). Thus, in Gibson and Bell's (2012: 161) terms, British English has become institutionalised with regard to choral singing- it is so consistently associated with choral singing that it has begun to function as the default style of this activity.

Furthermore, this finding is interesting when considered in light of Potter's (1998) proposition that changes in vocal technique in classical singing

during the 18th and 19th centuries-changes that are entrenched in contemporary classical singing technique- coincided with the rise of Received Pronunciation (RP) as the standard spoken accent. He asserts that RP and vocal technique operate on the same basis, namely the lowering of the larynx which facilitates among other things the creation of a more rounded tone (Potter 1998: 64, 192). Potter reports that research looking at the exact relationship between RP and technical requirements is still lacking, but the findings of this study may provide some preliminary insights. In the case of the Trinidadian conductors and choristers, the distinction between technical and dialectal requirements seems to have been blurred, with both becoming subsumed under the heading, technique. In a response to the pilot study that was carried out with her choir, Gretta Taylor emphasises that "**classical music requires its own system of diction, and is not a matter of conductor choice or local political correctness in favouring the localised language"** (December 2009, emphasis in original). It is an opinion echoed by some of her choristers, notably Clare, who asked, "Isn't there like a choral pronunciation?", and a view that she (Taylor) reinforced in her interview, when she said that, "there seems to be an international standard now so that everybody strives for that so that it's not so much where you come from or because it is British or because it is American but because it is easier on the ear and it makes more musical sense." In both these examples, she separated the 'system of diction' required for classical singing from regional pronunciation patterns; there is a special way for pronouncing words that is a-national and that singers must learn. Yet in the same interview, she conceded that the vowel sounds she finds most suitable may be associated with British English:

Extract 7.2

Well I wouldn't say neutral <#>I think the sound of it made more sense because music is sound singing is sound and uh the kind of more open and the longer vowels which you might associate with the British are more satisfactory because English is such a horrible <.>sa</.> language to sing in right so you use the vowels that are I suppose rounder uhm therefore in my ear more musical right and more pleasant on the ear

Further illustration of this can be seen in Extract 4.31, where we saw that the conductor identified specific technical elements (diaphragm control and

projection) that ensured that singers would not "have to worry about diction because it just comes out correct because you're pinging [=creating the correct resonances] in the right way". Elsewhere, the same conductor shares:

Extract 7.3

My style of teaching is Anglicized so that when um you know so I get them to say the word in a particular way <#>I don't like broad um open vowels <,>you know so I will always <}><->con</-> <=>um correct</=></}> them and get them to lengthen <}><->the</-> <=>the</=></}> mouth or <}><->to</-> <=>to</=></}> project it in a different way or somehow <#>Uh so yeah so I deal with it but very much from the perspective of technique

Anglicisation of Creole phonological features is treated here as a technical issue, no different from diaphragm control. Adjudicators, too, complained about the pronunciation of vowels in particular. One adjudicator at the Music Festival in 2010, Jan Harrington, was reported as having stressed to competitors "that despite the dialect of a country, words must always be pronounced the way the composer meant them to sound" (Asson 2010: n.pag.), but his assessment that "the vowels are too broad" was not assumed (by many practitioners) to be linked to his own personal preference, but rather to technical requirements of classical singing. In a short interview, Harrington explained that, particularly with regard to classical music repertoire, there was a "standard stage English for almost every speaker" which involved the use of "pure vowels" to "project the voice" (personal communication, March 16th 2010). Linking the preferred pronunciation to technique rather than dialect makes it possible to overlook ideological biases underlying accents in singing. By accepting certain patterns as "ma[king] more musical sense, " "more effective" ,"more pleasant on the ear", by believing that certain patterns "take [singers] to a higher level," or by stressing that performance "cease[s] to be ethnic", participants not only accept but also reinforce an ideological hegemony that, even if well-established for choral singing, is anything but neutral, as the conductor in Extract 7.2 admits. While it may not be possible to overturn such a long-established practice, it may be productive to make people aware of the ideologies that influence their daily practices.

All the same, Table 7.1 above illustrates that the preferred pronunciation for singing is not always an SBE feature. In fact, there was only one case, NEAR, in which the desired pronunciation for singing was the same as the spoken British variant only, and it will be recalled that, in the case of SANDO Boys' Choir, an alternative [i:] was presented as the ideal pronunciation for choral singing during the rehearsal. In several other cases— notably all consonants, the vowels in the CLOTH, PALM, and NORTH lexical sets, and many, but not all of the vowel features in the shared group-- the preferred pronunciation when singing was the same as a spoken variant that was identical for Standard Trinidadian English and Standard British English, and there was one case, MOUTH/DOWN, in which the sung variant could be either the spoken STE or the spoken SBE variant, so long as it was not the mesolectal TE/C variant. In several cases, namely TRAP, GOAT, NURSE and SQUARE, the preferred variant for singing was the variant that was shared between mesolectal and acrolectal TE/C. In the remainder of the cases, however, the preferred variant for singing was different from all possible regional variants, even when the features belonged to the shared group. This group of features is important because it provides the most overwhelming evidence for the existence of a separate system of choral pronunciation that is partly independent of a regional variety. In each of the cases in this group, the production of the preferred or one of the preferred pronunciations for singing involves rounding or backing the spoken variant. For KIT and FLEECE, this variant is produced by rounding the shared standard variant, whereas for FACE it involves rounding the endonormative variant, [e]. The KIT and FLEECE vowels are singled out in diction guides for singers as vowels which "may need [to be] darkened", by imposing an "'oo' sound" (Kaplan 1985: 131). In all three cases, the result is a sound that is not part of the regular phonemic inventory of spoken English in either national variety, and therefore can be said to be unique to singing in English. The cases of FOOT, STRUT and PRICE are interesting because the spoken variant is acceptable in song to some participants. In the case of FOOT, the possibility of using [u:] rather than [ʊ] is grounded in advice found in diction manuals, which suggest that "lips should be moderately protruded, rounded, but with the rounding slightly larger than for" [u:] (Marshall 1953: 142). Ideally, [ʊ] and [u:] will remain distinct and,

though the conductors' suggestion to the singers would actually result in merger of the two sounds, when the singers actually sing the features remain distinct. With regard to STRUT, the sung variant preferred by some participants involves opening and rounding to [ɒ]. In the previous chapter, this tendency was associated with hypercorrection, on the grounds that LOT-STRUT merger in [ʌ] has been reported as a typical feature of TE/C (Youssef and James 2008). I maintain this is a hypercorrection, either of the application of the LOT rule, or else of the preference for round tones in singing, since none of the diction manuals I consulted suggests that this vowel should be altered, and there are no choral recordings of performances by choirs not in this study (either in Trinidad or elsewhere), that attest its use. On the other hand, the use of [ɑ] as the first element of the diphthong in PRICE will not be viewed as hypercorrection, in spite of the tendency reported to hypercorrect TRAP to the PALM vowel. This is because *The Singer's Manual of English Diction* expressly lists this sound as the first element of the diphthong in PRICE (Marshall 1953: 166)[3].

In addition to those features listed in Table 7.1, there were several features that could have been candidates for the choral singing style. These were discussed at length in chapter 6.3. Many of these are indeed attested in the literature on diction in singing. For example, Kaplan (1985: 63) says that "words that begin with wh should be treated as if they begin with the letter h." Elsewhere, Marshall devotes considerable attention to the use of the "flipped r" (1953: 95 onwards) as well as final consonants that may or may not be part of word-final consonant clusters.

Therefore, the results of this thesis testify to the existence of what we can call a classical choral singing style. This choral singing style is based largely on a technical ideology that favours round tones (Potter 1998: 191), and that is also linked very closely to Standard British English. Where others have reported distinct phonetic features associated with pop singing (Trudgill 1983, Simpson 1999, and more recently Gibson and Bell 2012), folk singing (Morrissey 2008), and ragga soca (Leung 2009), this study has begun to

[3] Please note that this text, despite its date of publication, remains the definitive text on the subject and is still in print.

identify actual features used in classical choral singing. The features of style discussed here are different from those in other genres, however. Other musical genres, such as pop singing, do not provide pronunciation manuals for practitioners, whereas a simple Google search yields several results for diction in English and other languages for classical singers. This difference is important for our understanding of style in general. Singing styles, such as the use of American accents in pop singing or the maintenance of speaking style when singing traditional folk music (Morrissey 2008), become relatively fixed over a period of time, but singers are free to infuse styles with elements of self, or to even abandon style completely, as a means of creating their distinctive mark as performers. Thus, Beal (2009) shows how the British band Arctic Monkeys' use of northern and Sheffield features allows the band to authentically lay claim to being a British band, and allows them to reject the American domination and capitalist ideals in mainstream pop music. Similarly, Gibson and Bell (2012) show how pop singers in New Zealand generally use American accents in song, except where they explicitly exploit New Zealand accents in songs dealing with local themes. Classical choral singing style, in contrast, affords less flexibility. The style is more rigid, so that rehearsal becomes a site of recreation of the "prototype performance" (Potter 1998: 164), and performance becomes a display of authenticity and virtuosity in the specific genre that has little tolerance for innovation and hence intertextual gaps, i.e. "gaps that are maximised when performers innovate away from the genre norms, and maximised when performers want to claim the 'authority' of performing in conservative, generically normative ways" (Coupland 2011: 582). This fixedness was acknowledged by the singers themselves. Dana explained, "We have a <u>set standard</u> so is not like okay we singing for Trinidadians we could pronounce it any way. Is a <u>set way</u> we have to do things a <u>set way</u> we have to say things." In this way, classical choral singing style resembles religious classical, which is "characterised by a rigidly closed form […] and guarded by precise and agreed rules on grammar, syntax, phonology and morphology- themselves archaic and decided upon many centuries ago" (Rosowsky 2012: 615). In his work with faith-based complementary schools in Britain, Rosowsky shows how young Muslim boys' recitations of the Qur'an gain the approval of older listeners in the worshipping community based on

"aesthetic considerations of aural satisfaction" (2012: 624), that is, based on the boys' ability to memorise and perform with the pronunciation and intonation patterns that are well-established within the community. Likewise, the singers in this study seek audience approval not through innovation and originality, as is the case with the Arctic Monkeys, but through the desired reproduction of a well-established norm.

How successfully the singers replicate this norm is a separate consideration. Based on the adjudicators' feedback throughout the festival (see Chapter 6), it appears as though, even after months of extensive rehearsal, all singers do not achieve the highest levels of proficiency with regard to classical choral singing style. Or do they? On one hand, there are some practitioners who concede defeat, and believe that:

Extract 7.4

<#>If we're singing their [British and American] songs<,> well then they would be better equipped to tell us <quote>okay you're pronouncing it badly</quote> <#><}><->And the</-> <=>and also</=></}> our accent would affect how they're hearing it<,> <#>Even if say we are making an effort<,> our accent might still put them off.

Alternatively, practitioners can become defensive in the face of criticism. When asked about the adjudicators' comments regarding the singers' language, Jocelyn Sealey responds:

Extract 7.5

<$JS><#>I did not<,> pay any much attention to that […] the Americans tend to have totally different way to sing than the British and the ahm and if you go to to to Italy or you come out of Guildhall or even when you come out of Manhattan School of Music <#>We have people studying at <.>Man</.> <#>There's a girl right now a West Indian girl in London and she's doing her masters and there's nothing wrong with her vowels so what <}><->we didn't</-> <=>we didn't</=></}> worry with them[…] <#>I myself <}><->am a</-> <=>am a</=></}> graduate out of McGill and I nothing is wrong with the children's vowels absolutely nothing is wrong with their vowels <#>Maybe

they<,> you see Americans have a different vowel sound you know <#>When you hear their children sing <}><->they</-> <=>they</=></}> it's different <#>Well we I not going and follow Americans <#>What on earth is that you know[…]<#>The formal training that we've had from all the graduates we've had from Guildhall I'm from McGill which in Canada <#>There are people from Manhattan School of Music and all of that <#>Our vowel sounds are absolutely correct

Audience members, too, grow quite defensive, though their arguments are different from those offered by Mrs Sealey.

Extract 7.6

<$C>So <}><->I</-> <=>I</=></}> don't understand his statement [regarding singers' vowels] but I find quite frankly is time we overs<&>dismiss_or_finish</&> this adjudicator from a foreign thing
<$A><#>So you think we should have local adjudicators<{><[><,>for festival</[>
<$C><#><[>Yes </[></{> <#>Or at least regional at least regional <}><->if you want to</-> <=>if you want to</=></}> be so <#>Perhaps it's time for a regional competition a regional music festival<,> why not you know <#>But I find that they come here<,> they<,> especially when it comes to judging the folk and the calypso and so on <#>They haven't a clue <#>I don't care what you say <}><->they just</-> <=>they just</=></}> don't have a clue

And elsewhere:

Extract 7.7

<$C><#> I don't feel an accent is the issue right I think because<,> if you are speaking a good Trinidadian standard English and you pronounce your letters well

The extracts above represent three different standpoints in relation to classical choral singing style, and particularly its association with SBE. All parties view the adjudicators as a sanctioning authority, albeit an external one. In the

first instance, their role as gatekeepers is welcome, or at least goes unchallenged. In fact, other young singers accept the criticism on the grounds that "he probably studied it cos if he's a professor he would have had training". In the second instance, their role is challenged on the grounds that the speaker, too, is- or at least believes herself to be- a gatekeeper on account of her training at a prestigious international institution (McGill University). She, like the young singers, believes that classical choral singing style involves the use of SBE, and she maintains that singers do, in fact achieve this ("nothing is wrong with the children's vowels", "our vowel sounds are absolutely correct"). The last two extracts show a rejection of SBE in favour of a local standard in singing, and thereby a re-imagining of the normally rigid classical choral singing style. This is not a singular occurrence in the data; other audience members comment that singers can use local standard features successfully in performance (see Extracts 4.42 and 4.43). In this way, the findings in this study are reminiscent of Billings' (2009) findings regarding beauty pageant contestants in Tanzania. In Tanzanian beauty pageants, the ability to speak English is regarded as a valuable commodity, and often separates the winners from those who are unsuccessful in the competition, Billings reports. The competitions are divided into regional, zonal, and national pageants, and Billings reports that contestants whose English is sufficient to ensure success at regional-level pageants are sometimes revealed as "linguistic phon[ies]" (Billings 2009: 599) at higher levels of competition, where English proficiency has as much bearing as physical attractiveness in determining who becomes Miss Tanzania, and where audiences, who themselves may be proficient users of English, taunt prospective queens with pronunciation problems. Parallels can be drawn with the experience of the Trinidadian singers. When they perform to local non-specialist audiences, classical choral singing style ought to be standard, but not British. Consequently, local audiences judge singers' attempts at classical choral singing style favourably, on the grounds that (1) audiences also do not have sufficient contact with SBE to determine when singers have not reached the target (a point I return to below); (2) local audiences do not necessarily make the same link between classical choral singing style and SBE discussed above; and as such, (3) local audiences may not be aware that SBE is singers' supposed target. When choirs perform to local specialist audiences, like Mrs

Sealey, their performances are also successful because they draw on the technical elements associated with choral singing as well as the features of SBE that were judged as necessary for singing, i.e. NEAR. When choirs sing for international audiences, however, complications may arise. Endorsement by local specialists may lead singers to believe that they have mastered classical choral singing style and so they may not believe that they need to make any further changes to their pronunciation to achieve this style. Not doing so, however, creates intertextual gaps (Bauman 2001, Coupland 2011; see Chapter 2) that in turn affect their claim to virtuosity as choral singers. In everyday terms, in the same way insufficient English proficiency can make the difference between attending the Miss World competition or receiving a local modelling contract, intertextual gaps might cost choirs the prestige of a prize at the Music Festival.

On a more general level, the findings discussed above can enrich our understanding of style from a sociolinguistic point of view in two ways. Firstly, Johnstone (2011) exhorts us to be more mindful of the interpretative schema that audiences bring to performance in our understanding of performance style. For example, she shows that radio skits parodying bad mothers are funny in as far as audiences share the "cultural schema of the bad mother" (Johnstone 2011: 665) and are able to draw on it. Coupland (2009a) further stresses the importance of "acculturated audiences" (292) who, ideally, will share the performers' language ideologies and "semiotic associations" (Coupland 2007: 153). In this study, however, we have seen that audiences and performers do not necessarily share the same language ideologies, which means that audiences' expectations of singers may be quite different from the product performers place on offer. Were singers to attend to the audiences' expectations, it might be possible to envision a situation where greater innovation is allowed into a quite inflexible stylistic structure. As it is, and in spite of the acknowledgement that "performance involves on the part of the performer an assumption of accountability to an audience" (Bauman 1975: 293 in Bauman 2011: 710), and Bell's insistence that language style involves essentially attuning to the needs and demands of the audience, we see that players are loyal first to their craft, and second to their public. Genre trumps audience. Thus, even though some of the singers regret that using SBE might

separate them from their audience emotionally, they do not move to suggest that they use something else, since SBE is part of classical choral singing style. And, even though a happy audience is desirable, several conductors make it clear that "I usually use my own judgement regardless of how much they rave for something I know how I feel about it" (Taylor 2011).

The second lesson for our understanding of style is a reminder that style remains fluid and dynamic. Classical choral singing style may be more fixed than, say, pop or rock music, which allow considerably more innovation and extemporisation in performance, but that does not mean it is static. Pennycook (2007), writing about the spread of hip-hop, notes that as hip-hop spread from its African American origins to countries around the world, there was a turn to localisation, and hip-hop artistes began to address local themes in their lyrics, use local instrumentation, and use local languages in their lyrics. In classical choral music, where the text is fixed by the composer, the choirs themselves have little chance to exercise the role of lyricist, so that the chance to address local themes or to make use of local languages, at least at the levels of grammar or lexis, is rare. Nevertheless, we have already seen that localisation via the use of musical instruments is not uncommon and, even if it is not intentional, the tendency to conflate endonormative standard and exonormative standard features has allowed for the entry of acrolectal TE/C features into classical choral singing style. These innovations are, admittedly, small-scale and, were it not for the presence of non-Trinidadian adjudicators, would have likely gone unnoticed by practitioners and audiences alike. These phonological innovations are not, as in the case of local language hip-hop, "political decisions to do with language, identity, authenticity and diversity" (Pennycook 2007: 106). Yet they serve similar functions in that they signal, however unwittingly, the fact that singers are involved in an activity that they do not necessarily believe belongs to England any more than pop music belongs to the United States. They lay claim to the genre, and adapt it, however minimally, to their local context.

7.4.2 Referee Design

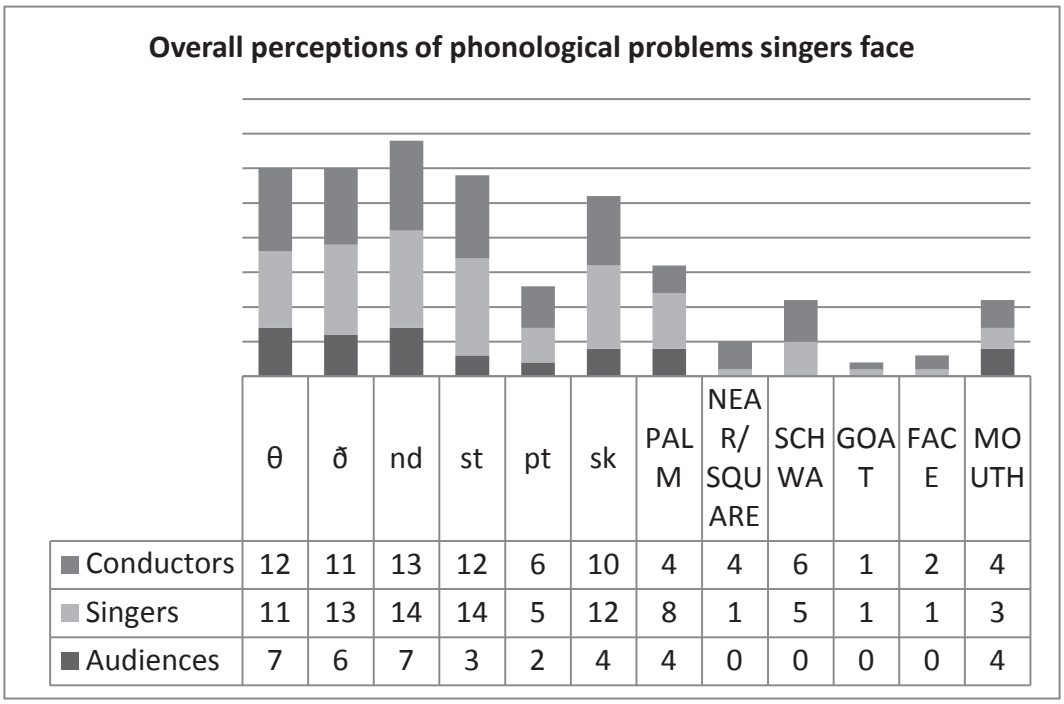
This cleavage between the singers' target accent and the accent they actually use in performance can also be understood in terms of Referee Design. Firstly, there can be little doubt that informants' expressed preference

for British English in song is an instance of outgroup referee design. There is, among the informants, a feeling that 'British is best', as seen in the comments expressed in extracts 4.3-4.5. Spatially and historically removed from Great Britain, however, few of the informants have had or have any sustained contact with varieties of British English. The exceptions to this are the two conductors with British spouses, both of whom are resident in Trinidad for over 20 years. These two conductors, and a third one who participated in the questionnaires, also spent prolonged periods in England. Otherwise, and especially among the choristers, many of whom had never visited Great Britain, participants had virtually no contact with British English. In Bell's 1992 study, he reports considerable variation in the New Zealand media landscape, with about 25 percent of television programming at the time coming from Britain and employing speakers with RP accents. This is not the case in Trinidad twenty odd years later. There, the vast majority of television programmes, even on local television stations, are US imports, though there are local news and entertainment programmes. Radio listeners do have access to the BBC World Service, and there may be some news items from the BBC in television and radio news broadcasts, but these are not popular with younger listeners. The BBC also discontinued its Caribbean Service in March 2011. As such, the singers in this study have even less contact with British English than do the actors using British accents in Bell's advertisements; the outgroup the singers are targeting hovers between the absent and the mythical.

The lack of contact between the singers and their target makes the findings reported in Chapters 4 and 5 unsurprising. There, we saw that even though people claimed to want to sing in British English, they were unable to accurately identify phonological features of the target accent. We also saw that overall, vowels were judged in questionnaires as being less problematic than consonants for singing in British English, and they (vowels) received lower index scores. This finding is problematic first of all on a general level because differences among accents are more often differences among vowel inventories and on a particular level because, as we have already seen, while acrolectal TE/C shares many of the consonants of Standard British English, the two varieties differ substantially in their vowel inventories. This result can also be explained in terms of referee design. For New Zealand advertisements

using British accents, Bell found that, though NZ English and British English phonology differ more in terms of the vowel systems, "the consonants do much more than their share of the work" (1992: 335). In other words, the speakers in the advertisements exploit consonants' potential to mark dialectal differences much more than they do vowels. This, according to Bell, is due to the relative "difficulty of achieving native-like control of an alien vowel system" (1992: 336). Indeed, in Bell's later work on German actress Marlene Dietrich's performance of an American English target, he counts 27 vowels but only 14 consonant features that are clearly produced non-natively in Dietrich's 1930 performance of 'Falling in love again' (Bell 2011: 640). Somewhat similarly, Wray (1999) documented her experiences coaching a professional choir in the pronunciation of Early Modern English vowels. She reported that singers could not consistently achieve "phonetic accuracy in a phonological system that is unfamiliar" (Wray 1999: 201), and that their success was further impeded by interference from their L1, in their case contemporary English.

Figure 7.1 below allows us to revisit the results in greater detail.



	θ	ð	nd	st	pt	sk	PALM	NEAR/SQUARE	SCHWA	GOAT	FACE	MOUTH
Conductors	12	11	13	12	6	10	4	4	6	1	2	4
Singers	11	13	14	14	5	12	8	1	5	1	1	3
Audiences	7	6	7	3	2	4	4	0	0	0	0	4

Figure 7.1: Overall perceptions of phonological problems singers face, highlighting the differences in responses by group

The graph is a summary of the data found in Chapter 4, showing the overall numbers of participants who reported a certain feature as problematic. So that comparable numbers could be gained, the conductors' results are based on the questionnaires, while the results from the other two groups are based on the interviews. The graphs show consonants to the left and vowels to the right. If we pay attention first to overall numbers, we see that, with the exception of /pt/, consonants were regarded as more problematic than vowels by more participants, a finding that confirms the index scores. What's more interesting about this graph, though, are the differences between audiences and practitioners. For every consonant feature reported problematic, fewer audience members identified it as a problem than either singers or conductors. This may be due to the fact that there were slightly fewer audience members (12 versus 14 each for the other two groups), but when the results were normalised over the lowest common multiple, the large differences still existed, as seen in Table 7.2 below. Furthermore, with the exception of the PALM vowel, audiences never identified vowels as being potentially problematic for singers, and oftentimes did not even hold that singers should use a British accent in classical choral music. This means that singers targeting a British accent may be perceived as achieving their target, or at least of singing with standard pronunciations, without ever making use of an SBE vowel, so long as they use the consonants that are considered to be British (but which, as we have already seen, may in fact be shared between the two varieties).

Feature	Audiences	Singers	Conductors
θ	49	66	72
ð	42	78	66
/nd/	49	84	78
/st/	21	84	72
/pt/	14	30	36
/sk/	28	72	60
PALM	28	48	24
MOUTH	28	18	24

Table 7.2 Normalised values for perceptions of phonological problems faced by singers by group

Bell's early work made it clear that success in referee design was not contingent upon accuracy, but Bell did not approach audiences in order to ascertain whether or not the advertisers' attempts were truly felt to be successful. The findings here, however, reinforce Bell's proposal since they make it quite clear that local audiences were indeed more overtly aware of differences and difficulties that arise due to consonants but not for vowels, and so only require British-like consonants to judge performances as successful. Furthermore, the results of this thesis highlight the importance of the audience in determining the performers' success in reproducing a foreign accent. Non-local audience members, i.e. adjudicators, do not judge the singers' attempts as wholly successful. If New Zealand advertisements using British accents were targeted at British viewers and listeners, the accents may not have been judged as successful. Referee design, then, involves some degree of inauthenticity.

The findings also complicate Bell's referee design somewhat. In all his presentations of referee design, Bell assumes that audiences and performers share the same language ideologies. Pop music listeners in New Zealand are assumed to accept the institutionalisation of American English as the default accent for pop singing, and would therefore find it marked if singers did not use American English features in performance, a sentiment that is also expressed by some of the singers interviewed in Gibson and Bell (2012). The performers' success in each of these cases is therefore judged by audience members sharing the same semiotic associations as one another, and presumably also the performers. This, however, is not the case for the choral singers in Trinidad. We saw above that local audience members did not have the same schema for classical choral singing style as choristers, notably rejecting the association that this style has with SBE. Trinidadian audiences listening to classical choral singing expect to hear standard pronunciations, but do not necessarily expect those pronunciations to be British, even if they sometimes are, and even if the performers intentionally draw on (or aspire to draw on), SBE features in song. The disjoint between choristers' and audiences' ideologies is clear when audiences judge attempts at SBE as "strange". In assuming shared language ideologies, it is likely that Bell envisions audience as a relatively uniform speech community. For the

advertisements, the audience is comprised of New Zealanders, and for Marlene Dietrich's early work in the United States, native speakers of American English. Trinidadian choral audiences can be divided into at least three distinct groups: non-professionals, local professionals, and non-local professionals. It is possible that members of each of these groups may experience the same performance but may judge it quite differently. Although at this point there is no data from this study to substantiate this claim, since performances were not considered, one only needs to look at films that are successful at the box office but receive poor reviews from critics to show that audiences come with different interpretational schemata to performances and take different experiences away from them. As a result, further work drawing on referee design should more carefully consider the heterogeneity of audiences, and endeavour to ascertain which specific subgroups in an audience language use is being tailored to.

Even though both Bell's work as well as the results of this study show that performers draw on consonants far more than they do on vowels in referee design, it is certainly not the case that vowels are never exploited. Indeed, Gibson and Bell (2012) document acoustic changes in the vowels of New Zealand pop singers when they speak and when they sing, and find that they use a number of American-like vowels associated with the USA-5 (Simpson 1999) in song. In this study, participants were found to pay particular attention to the vowels in words belonging to the LOT and PALM sets, which they were keen to show they did not merge with STRUT and TRAP. They also reported paying special attention to the NEAR vowel, even if similar attention was not given to SQUARE. The participants' concern seemed to be that the two be made distinct from each other, thus avoiding homophones that occur in all varieties of TE/C, but not in other varieties of English. The SBE [ɪə] in NEAR is possibly perceived as more different from the TE/C variant, [ɛː], than the SBE SQUARE [ɛə]. NEAR's salience thus makes is a good candidate for a vowel to be exploited. Its use may signal to audiences, "I'm singing with a British accent now," or, less dramatically, "I'm using classical choral singing style now." This sort of feature-specialisation is typical of referee design, where Bell argues that speakers "focus on few variants (even one) to the exclusion of others and keep on repeating them" (Bell 1992: 337). When the

data from the rehearsals is considered, we see that for none of these vowels did the singers categorically pronounce the words containing these sounds with their preferred variant for singing, although PALM comes very close (see figure 5.4.1). This is also true of the consonant features. In terms of referee design, this is unproblematic, since "[r]eferee design is more a matter of individual occurrences of salient variants than of quantitative summings and relative frequencies. It is more important that a marked variant […] occurred once out of ten possible occurrences than that the unmarked variant occurred nine times" (Bell 1992:336). In other words, it is more important that singers retained consonant clusters 40 percent of the time than it is that they reduced them 60 percent of the time. Further to this, when coupled with the more consistent use of other features associated with the target accent, the cumulative effect is likely to be that of a successful performance.

7.4.3 Is this stylisation?

Studies of high performance generally report that performers' language use is stylised, involving the exaggerated use of linguistic features as a means of caricaturing or parodying. Most of the studies of stylisation have looked at the humorous effects of such language use (e.g. Bennet (2012) on stylisations of chavspeak; Bucholtz and Lopez (2011) on AAVE use by non-black actors in Hollywood film; Coupland (2009b) on the pantomime dame; Gibson (2011) on New Zealander duo Flight of the Conchords; and Sclafani (2009) on parodies of Martha Stewart). The major difference between these works and this one is that the performers in the previous studies are attempting to be funny, and are exploiting language as a means of doing so. The singers in this study, however, were not attempting to parody choirs; they were involved in a continuous process of being and becoming choral singers. They were aware that they could exploit their SBE target for humorous effect, but this is not their aim. As Matthew explained in his interview:

Extract 7.8

<$Matthew><#>Singing <}><->using</-> <=>imitating</=></}> the British I find is kinda funny <#>Sometimes you know it adds you know a little comedy which could be<,> fun cos we're entertaining the audience.

Otherwise, the singers want to be taken seriously in their role as performers, and their target use of SBE (what is actually classical choral singing style), facilitates this. The use of classical choral singing style, then, is stylistic, but it is not stylised. In so far as classical choral singing style is the expected norm in choral singing, its use remains purely stylistic, and, in so far as British features are tied to this style of singing, their use becomes an example of what Bell has termed "institutionalised referee design." Gibson and Bell note that, "[o]nce institutionalised, referee design no longer needs to be *stylised* […and] is not a case of *crossing*, since the speaker has full 'ownership' of the style in this restricted context" (Gibson and Bell 2012: 161, italics in original).

This does not mean, however, that there are no examples of stylisation in this data. The repetition sequences, for example, contain instances of exaggerated language marked by high pitch (see Extract 6.8b), and the interviews contain moments of performativity where singers produced parodied examples of preferred and dispreferred pronunciations that were clearly meant to entertain both their interview partners and me, the interviewer. The instances of stylisation, however, were fleeting, just as Rampton (2005) says is characteristic of stylisation in what is essentially low performance; the singers at these moments were not directly engaged in their craft, but were speaking. It would be interesting, and worthwhile, to study the rehearsal and interview data once again with the aim of seeing when these moments of stylisation occur, how they can be characterised, and what they mean. As it is, it is only within the remit of the present study to conclude that when they are singing, choristers' language is stylistic, but not stylised.

7.5 Singing: indexing standard, indexing style

The final aim of this thesis was to use the data gathered from choral singing to gain insight into the indexical orders that exist in Trinidad. Labov's (1972) study proposes, among other things, that linguistic variables can be organised into indicators, markers, and stereotypes, a division that Silverstein (2003) later revises in his discussion of orders of indexicality (see Chapter 2). These orderings are possible because of shared language ideologies within the

speech community, which provide a shared basis for the creation of social meaning. The results of this study reinforce this notion of indexical order, and suggest that it is also possible to provide a similar ordering of the linguistic variables within the Trinidadian speech community. Table 7.3 is a proposal of possible indexical orders that exist among choral practitioners and audiences in Trinidad. Where Silverstein divides indexical orders into n^{th} order indexicals, $(n+1)^{th}$ order indexicals and $(n+1)+1^{th}$ order indexicals, and Johnstone and Kiesling (2008), as well as Anderson (2008) assign numerical values (1^{st} order etc.), I instead divide features into higher, middle and lower order indexicals, since I believe that such terminology allows for the type of flexibility Silverstein envisioned in moving away from Labov's earlier categories. This terminology is not altogether new; Silverstein himself uses it when referring to indexical orders in more general terms.

The assignment of indexical orders was based on the cumulative analysis of the questionnaire data (particularly index scores), interview responses, and rehearsal data, particularly the corrections received, and the actual rates of realisations of the preferred and dispreferred variants. Based on these results, it became clear that sounds could index dialect, be it Trinidadian or British, or they could index classical choral singing style. It was evident that not all groups assigned the same value to sounds, and this is captured in Table 7.3 (below).

Indexical Order	All groups	Practitioners only	Singers only	Conductors only
Higher Order indexicals	[ð], [θ], [ɪŋ], [-nd],[-st], [sk]	NEAR, FACE, FLEECE, [r]		
Middle order indexicals	PALM, MOUTH/DOWN			NORTH, STRUT, LOT
Lower order indexicals	GOAT, FACE, TRAP,		NURSE	

Table 7.3 Proposed orders of Indexicality in Trinidad, where shaded areas are indexes of style and unshaded areas are indexes of dialect.

Higher order indexicals correlate roughly to Labov's stereotypes and Johnstone and Kiesling's third-order indexicalities. These were features about which many participants had a great deal of metalinguistic knowledge, and could speak and write about freely and openly in questionnaires and interviews. In this way, they fulfil Labov's criteria for a stereotype in that they are "strongly stratified and recognized social variable[s]" that "are the subject of public discussion" (Labov 2001a: 205, 272). Calling them higher order rather than third order indexicals at the same time acknowledges the fact that some of these features do more indexical work than others, are more readily available in talk about talk, without either the fixedness implied by assigning a number, or assigning further numerical categories where they are not immediately needed. Higher order indexicals generally had high index scores (over 0.8), and were judged as problematic by a large number of singers and audiences in interviews. Further evidence for this was seen in the fact that participants sometimes provided commentary regarding these features (see for example the girls' judgement of TH-stopping as "annoying") or else parodied performances of the dispreferred pronunciation. For example, Keisha, one of the interview participants, on producing the dispreferred pronunciation of <best>, added, "Yeah she [bɛs] boy" and then laughs, applying <best> not as a superlative form, but instead with the meaning as used in contemporary Trinidadian youth slang, meaning "attractive" when applied to people or "tasty" when applied to food. Keisha, a young teacher, probably does not (or does not often) use <best> with this meaning herself, or else would not find its use funny, and this can be interpreted as her mimicking her students' use of the term. Critically, previous authors have noted that the existence of a stereotype does not reflect current usage trends, and indeed Labov claims that stereotypes may eventually fall out of use (1972). The higher order indexicals in this study behave differently from one another, thus defying generalisation. For the consonant clusters, we saw that participants' expectations about singer retention of consonant clusters coincided with their actual use, contrary to what earlier authors have claimed. This may be because participants for some reason had a heightened awareness of consonant cluster reduction, though the cause of this awareness is not clear to me. In the case of the dental fricatives, we saw that high rates of perception

of a feature being problematic did not coincide with high rates of dispreferred pronunciation use, but this should not be taken as evidence that the replacement of dental fricatives with alveolar stops is becoming less of a characteristic feature of TE/C. We have already established that the dental fricative variants are the preferred form in acrolectal TE/C, and this would explain why their use is so pervasive in the sung data, where more standard pronunciations were required. However, the stopped variants continue to be present in speech, as seen in the extracts in 7.1 above. In this way, higher order indexicals can also be understood as being more load-bearing (Irvine 2008), since they do more work in identifying the speaker or singer as using the acrolectal or mesolectal, prestige or stigmatised, variants. Interestingly, higher order indexicals of dialect were shared by all three groups of participants, where higher order indexicalities of style were only known to practitioners. Singers and conductors may attach the same meaning to features due to their involvement in a common activity in which the audiences are only passively involved. In the case of the higher-order indexicalitiess of style, participants were able to speak about the preferred forms with some fluency, but, like the consonant clusters, did not always produce the preferred forms in rehearsal. This is particularly true of NEAR. Recall that only the boys' choirs had phono-opportunities (Coupland 1980) for words in the NEAR set, but, in spite of all the interviewed boys citing the preferred pronunciation as [ɪə], and corrections of NEAR accounting for nearly 20 percent of all the corrections the boys receive, the boys never actually achieved this pronunciation. This highlights that fact that a form may become enregistered (Agha 2003) as a marker of a prestige accent without being accompanied by speaker proficiency in the production of this form, what Agha (2003: 234) refers to as "asymmetries of competence". Thus Trinidadian singers, like Agha's general British population, are able to recognize prestige forms, but not necessarily replicate them. This may also explain why the higher order indexicals of style were known only to singers and conductors, and not to audiences.

Middle order indexicals are features that received middling index scores (between 0.2 and 0.8), but were nonetheless judged problematic in the interviews and received considerable correction in the course of rehearsals.

An important difference between higher and middle order indexicals is the level of abstraction with which people are able to discuss them. For higher order indexicals, speakers could discuss them, and hence identify them as problematic, without an aural aid. In the questionnaires, participants presumably did not read the list aloud, were not explicitly asked to think of and produce alternative pronunciations (although they were asked to write as best they could their dispreferred pronunciations), and did not have an interview partner with whom they could discuss possible replies, as in the audience and singer interviews. In spite of this, conductors were able to isolate the features subsequently labelled higher order indexicals easily, and this label is supported by the fact that these features were objects of extensive comment in rehearsals and interviews, often before participants even encounter the wordlist task. Middle order indexicals, on the other hand, must be made apparent before they can be discussed. No one mentioned them without the prompt of the wordlist, and they were not unanimously identified as problematic during discussions, though they receive overt correction during rehearsals. Furthermore, middle order indexicals that were peculiar to the conductors deserve some attention. Firstly, in being restricted to only one group, it is difficult to determine whether they index style or dialect, and this difficulty underscores the close relationship between dialect and style. However, it was decided that it was best to link these features to dialect since the corrections received for all of these features were often accompanied by comments related to the singers' place of origin (see e.g. Extracts 6.13, 6.14). Why, then, should dialectal features be more apparent to conductors that to any other group? It may be because these are middle order indexicals with less indexical strength than other features but still more indexical strength than lower order indexicals. As such, these features are not really available for commentary in questionnaires and interviews. In the rehearsal setting, however, language use is less abstract, and conductors are especially attuned to linguistic features, so that these vowels receive greater attention.

Finally, there are the lower order indexicals, which coincide with Labov's (1972) indicator and Johnstone and Kiesling's (2008) first order indexicality. These features are identified as idiosyncratic of a particular region by

outsiders, but are not apparent to users themselves. Both GOAT and TRAP, with their wholly endonormative TE/C preferences, and lack of acknowledgement of alternative pronunciations among all but the most linguistically aware singers, fall into this category. The third phonological candidate for lower order indexicality status is NURSE. We saw that, among the singers in particular, there was a tendency towards a rhotic pronunciation of words in the NURSE set. Unlike other instances of rhoticisation, which were overall much less, rhotic pronunciations of NURSE were neither rejected by interview partners nor were they corrected in rehearsals (see Chapter 5.2). When the distribution of NURSE in the data is further reviewed, it emerges that of the 7 rhotic pronunciations of NURSE among the singers, 6 were produced by girls. Thus NURSE rhoticisation seems to be a lower order indexical of femininity. Indeed, it meets Labov's criteria for indicators, since users "show zero degree of social awareness [of their existence, in contrast to, say, TH-stopping], and are difficult to detect for both linguists and native speakers" (Labov 2001a: 196). In fact, I did not notice this feature during the interviews during the period where the recordings were being transcribed. This may also be evidence of the beginnings of change from below, which Labov notes often arises from indicators. Interestingly, one of the boys did produce a rhotic NURSE as the preferred pronunciation (as opposed to his own pronunciation) for words in this set, but it is not clear whether the difference in pronunciations was clear to him. Moreover, four of the youngest audience members (all female) also produced a rhotic NURSE, though a fifth -older- audience member did the same. She, however, was a teacher (of accounting) at the school where 5 of the 6 rhotic NURSE producers were students. It may well be that her constant interaction with girls has led to her adoption of this feature into her own speech. At this point, this conclusion is highly speculative, but it is not unlikely that this may well be the case, since teenage girls as heralds of linguistic change is something that is well-attested in sociolinguistic literature (see, e.g. Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2004 on "be like" use among Canadian youth).

While Table 7.3 appears to suggest that features can be distinctly grouped into different orders of indexicality, in reality such orderings may be better understood as existing along a continuum. We saw, for example, that

while dental fricatives and consonant clusters can all be considered higher order indexicals, the former group seems to have more indexical power than the latter (despite Keisha's parodied <bes> pronunciation, commentary on reduced consonant clusters as being annoying, for example, is sparse). Arguably, these differences could be represented numerically, since Silverstein's n+1 configuration theoretically allows for an infinite number of orders of indexicality, so that dental fricatives may be assigned a fourth order of indexicality while consonant clusters are viewed instead as third order indexicalities. This, however, is neither feasible nor desirable, since it does not move us away from the linearity that Silverstein and later Eckert discourage (see Chapter 2), and does not help us to create more fixed criteria by which we may assign features to orders of indexicality. In this thesis, index scores, interview responses and rates of correction were used to guide the assignment of features to the different orders, and it may well be that criteria for assigning orders of indexicality can only be determined post-hoc i.e. after the data for the relevant context have been analysed.

The findings of this study enrich our understanding of orders of indexicality in several ways. Firstly, the findings here support the idea that indexical orders, like the language ideologies underlying them, need not be uniform across an entire speech community. Therefore, although there are variables that clearly index Standard Trinidadian English to all groups of participants, there are some that are high order indexicals for some sub-groups and not others, and there are indexical features that are known to some and not to others. This underscores the context-specificity of indexical orders, an idea that was established in Silverstein's introduction of the concept, where he showed how wine talk becomes a type of "life-style emblematization (convention-dependent indexical iconicity)" (Silverstein 2003: 222). Just as the accurate application of lexical elements in the tasting note indexes an individual as a wine connoisseur, so too does the use of the appropriate phonological feature in the necessary context index a singer, or indeed an entire choir, not only as competent but also as authentic. This study bears the reminder that these orders of indexicality are not automatically known, but have to be learned, and sometimes even explicitly taught and reinforced. The locus of this learning is the choral rehearsal – the place where

musical, linguistic, disciplinary and other norms are created and re-created by the singers and conductors. In this way, we see that indexical orders are learned in communities of practice, a concept based on the notion of "the importance of *doing*, and, more particularly, doing things in a way which reinforces membership in that community of practice" (Davies 2005: 3, italics in original). Individuals who are not members of a given community of practice do not have access to modes of creating meaning used in that group. Eckert (2001) and Mendoza-Denton (2008) have already begun exploring how orders of indexicality emerge in communities of practice, and looking at how different types of membership in the community of practice (full, peripheral, marginal) are indexed linguistically. A worthy area for further research would be to continue similar work in other contexts.

Secondly, this study shows that in any given speech community, made up of several communities of practice, multiple ideologies circulate simultaneously, and, while it may be convenient to envision the subsequent orders of indexicality as running parallel to one another, in reality they are intertwined. Thus, it was seen that the linguistic practices of choral singers in Trinidad are affected both by standard language ideologies in some ways peculiar to postcolonial Englishes, and by language ideologies linked to what I have labelled classical choral singing style, which themselves arise out of separate, but not completely unrelated, standard language ideologies. The intertwining of ideologies and indexical orders is important, because it means that a variable that might do very little indexical work in one sphere may be an important bearer of meaning in another sphere, which is something we see with FACE. It will be recalled that FACE had a very low index score, and that very few participants reported it as problematic in their interviews. In terms of Trinidadian English, then, the FACE vowel can be said to be a lower order indexical, correlating with Labov's indicator, marking the speaker as Trinidadians to outsiders but not doing any identity work otherwise, and not generally available for metalinguistic discussion. However, when the FACE vowel is analysed in the context of classical choral singing style, its indexical power increases. The rounding of the vowel in FACE, like the rounding of the FLEECE vowel, indexes the use of classical choral singing style.

This study is unique because of the multiplicity of data collection and analysis methods used throughout. We may have been able to arrive at similar conclusions viz. the endonormative nature of language use in Trinidad by other means (e.g. corpus data) or with regard to language use in singing style by analysing recordings of choirs from Trinidad or elsewhere, but these methods would not have given us the insights into orders of indexicality that we have gained here. By drawing on participants' views and by looking closely at how they exploit language, we have come to see what features are truly meaningful to participants in the context of choral singing. The fact that some of the features that received particular attention were not on the wordlist, or that participants sometimes rejected the researchers labelling of accents, for example, reinforces the argument that analysts may sometimes assign meaning where language users themselves do not (Johnstone and Kiesling 2008). Thus I can only underscore Johnstone and Kiesling's (2008) call for a more phenomenological approach to the study of indexicality, using a variety of methods and a variety of informants.

7.6 Summary

This chapter began with a proposal of the phonological features of mesolectal and acrolectal TE/C based on the data gathered in questionnaires, interviews, and rehearsals. It then went on to look at the evidence for language attitudes in Trinidad, and found that participants held very positive views towards those features that belonged to acrolectal TE/C, but were less positive towards mesolectal TE/C features, particularly in classical choral singing. From here, I attempted to locate English in Trinidad within Schneider's Dynamic Model of Postcolonial Englishes, but found this difficult since the model does not seem to accommodate an endonormative variety of Standard English, but only an endonormative Creole variety. The focus of the chapter then switched to discussions of language and style. I considered the participants' desire to use SBE alongside the features singers were found to actually use in rehearsals, and examined these within the theory of Referee Design, suggesting that one part of the singers' inability to completely achieve an SBE accent was due to the fact that their target accent was spatially and

historically quite removed. Looking more closely at style, I further proposed that singers' actual target was classical choral singing style, which did contain some phonological elements of SBE, but also had pronunciation requirements that were not known to any variety of spoken English. Finally, I created a system of indexical orders for the phonological features studied in this thesis. It was seen that a feature's indexical order was not constant, but could change depending on who was using it, and what it was being used to index.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

8.1 Concluding Remarks

In her poem, 'Colonial Girls' School', Jamaican poet Olive Senior records the psychological torment of being a pupil during the colonial period. She writes:

"Borrowed images
willed our skins pale
muffled over laughter
lowered our voices
let out our hems […]
harnessed our voices to madrigals
and genteel airs […]
Months, years, a childhood memorising
Latin declensions
(For our language
-'bad talking'-
detentions)
Finding nothing about us there
Nothing about us at all."

The extract highlights how Caribbean students in colonial schools had their language use regulated, were made to sing songs associated with Western European classical music, and were denied the right to learn about themselves and celebrate their culture. It is almost macabre then, that, fifty years after independence, girls and boys at schools built during the colonial period seem to persist in cultural and linguistic practices from which previous generations recoiled. And yet they do, often submitting themselves to the same humiliations regarding their language use. That they persist in this "adopted art form" makes choral singing in the early part of the 21st century a

potentially important resource in understanding Trinidadian language and culture half a century after the end of colonialism.

Typically, studies of language in Trinidad tend to focus on Creole, attitudes towards it, and particularly its use in the classroom and its place in education overall. Such studies are worthwhile and necessary, and illuminate to us many of the issues surrounding the teaching of English Language in Trinidad, but if we are to understand how Trinidadians use language stylistically, we have to move beyond studies that restrict our research to the language arts classroom. This study is one attempt to do so. Admittedly, the choir room, located as it is within school walls, and with its prescriptive language practices, bears some resemblance to the language arts classroom. But the aims of the two exercises are different, for in the choral rehearsal, the singers are engaged in stylistic shifts that reveal different aspects of language ideology and use that looking at the language arts classroom alone could not tell us. For instance, several authors reported the increased use of and acceptance of Creole in the classroom (cf. Carrington 2001, Mühleisen 2001, Youssef 2004), as well as in other contexts where Standard English previously dominated. This study, however, shows that classical choral singing is not one of the domains in which Creole use is accepted, and also shows that singers are very often able to use the forms required by classical choral singing style.

Despite the focus on language in education in linguistic research in Trinidad and Tobago, I can think of no study in which school-aged students were actively engaged in the research process. There are, of course, countless studies in which the students' spoken and written language were used as sources of data, or in which the students' classroom interactions were observed (cf. Winer 1982, Garcia 2010), but in most studies, pupils have been subjectified- works are written about them, and about how to help them, but not with them. In this study, too, the young singers' language use was the main area of interest, but, particularly through the interviews, the young people were given an opportunity to express their beliefs with regard to language use, and to explain how they make sense of the dialectal and stylistic demands placed upon them as they engage in what is a quite specialist musical and linguistic enterprise. This helped us to remember the agentive nature of language style. Much linguistic work in other countries has focused

on the language of young people. They have been an invaluable source of information about language change and language and identity among other themes. I have already proposed that a study on the realization of words in the NURSE lexical set be undertaken in Trinidad, since it appeared as though rhotic pronunciations in this context are being used as a marker of teenage-girlhood in Trinidad. More generally, our understanding of language in Trinidad would be greatly enhanced by more ethnographic work along the lines of Rampton (2006) and Eckert (2000), that would first of all allow young people to participate more actively in the research, making them co-investors rather than subjects, and that would allow us to look more closely and carefully at language use.

Furthermore, if we are to better understand how *language* looks and functions in Trinidad, then we have to consider language that is not mesolectal TE/C. Indeed, if we are to truly understand how a concept such as varilingualism functions in everyday language use, we also have to pay greater attention to the local variety of Standard English that has emerged, to invest more time into describing it and looking at how it is used, and to consider its relationship with the standard that it has begun to replace (Standard British English), the Creole alongside which it has evolved, and the other varieties of Standard English in the Caribbean and beyond that will shape its future forms and functions. This study has been one attempt to do this. I proposed that discussions of English in the postcolonial Caribbean consider not only the Creoles that exist there, but also the local standards that have arisen. With specific regard to Trinidad, I proposed possible phonological features of Trinidadian Standard English or acrolectal Trinidadian English/ Creole, and found that, at least in the context of classical choral singing these features are not only accepted but also expected. Future work can look more closely at phonological rules governing this variety, especially with regard to how it interacts with mesolectal TE/C, or can pay greater attention to morpho-syntactic or discourse features, both in speech and in writing.

Studying choral music in Trinidad, especially as it is sung by young singers, has given us a fresh understanding of language use, and the ideologies underlying it, in Trinidad. It is, unarguably, a somewhat restricted understanding, but it is an important one nonetheless. It became very clear

that, even within this selective group of musicians and audiences, not everyone had the same ideas about how language ought to be used, and not all features carry the same indexical values for all subgroups. In a wider sense, that the results of this study are applicable to a small section of society is irrelevant. What is needed are similar studies, looking at similar groupings in society, so that we can begin to establish indexical fields of meaning similar to those Eckert (2008) does in the US, and begin to more fully comprehend how meaning is made in Trinidad.

One major shortcoming of this study is that data from Tobago is not considered. In fact, three Tobagonian choirs were recorded during rehearsals, but the practicalities of time and space meant that I could not include them in the other forms of data collection and eventually in the data analysis. It is my hope that I will be able to return to this data in the near future.

Other than work on Englishes around the world, sociolinguistic theory is devoid of any reference to language use in the Caribbean. In this study, I have applied well-established theories of style, and particularly style in performance, to Trinidadian data. This was in many ways quite productive. Firstly, this thesis is able to contribute to general discussions of language style and performance, particularly with regard to music, because it shows that, like other genres of music, classical choral singing also has several stylistic requirements. It also showed that, like performers in other genres, choral singers and audiences in Trinidad must negotiate issues of ownership and identity, not simply of the musical genre, but of the language variety they use in its performance. This thesis can also contribute in a meaningful way to discussions of indexical orders in language. I found that several indexical orders may co-exist and may be co-activated, even as people are involved in a single activity, with the result that meaning making and meaning sharing rely on all participants activating the same indexical orders at the same time.

In 2012, two years after the data for this study was collected, there was a major change in the Trinidad and Tobago Music Festival. That year, instead of foreign adjudicators, local-born adjudicators were used at all levels of competition. The adjudicators, Drs Roger Henry and Richard Tang Yuk, both received their professional training in the United States, but had also

participated in the local Music Festival as young musicians. The newspaper coverage of the event available online reported no instances of either adjudicator making reference to the singers' pronunciations. This does not mean it wasn't an issue; the adjudicators may have commented on it on the score sheets that the choirs received or their comments could have not been reported. Either way, the use of local-born adjudicators at the Music Festival was a welcome change, one that one of the adjudicators noted in a letter to the editor following the festival. He wrote, "We received so much positive feedback from the audience members about our adjudication and we felt so welcome and appreciated in an arena where British adjudicators were the norm for so many decades" (Tang Yuk, Trinidad Guardian, April 1 2012). Norms then, can change, and perhaps the new era of classical music adjudication in Trinidad will usher in a new set of norms in classical choral singing.

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APPENDIX

Conductors' Questionnaire

General information: This questionnaire is in 3 parts. If you lead more than one group, please fill in a separate questionnaire for each group if possible. If not, please fill in this questionnaire with reference to only one of the groups you lead. Thank you for your time.

SECTION A: Background information

1. Name:
   Would you prefer your name to be anonymised? □ No □ Yes
2. Gender: □ Male □ Female
3. Age group: □ 18-25 □ 26-45 □ 46-65 □ 66 +
4. Highest educational level completed:
   □ secondary □ tertiary (degree(s):_____)
5. Have you ever lived abroad:
   □ No □ Yes (country:_____ ; duration of stay_____)
6. Type of choir : □ Primary School □ Secondary School □ University □ Community Children's (up to age 12) □ Youth Community (up to age 24) □ Community Adult □ Church
7. Gender of the singers: □ Male only □ Female only □ Mixed
8. In what part of Trinidad does your choir rehearse:
9. For how many years have you been conducting:
10. Please give details of your musical training and experience:

*SECTION B: For each question, circle the answer(s) that are most relevant to your choir members **when they are singing**, as in the example below. Where required, write your answer to the question in the space provided. Please note that your answer may or may not be a real English word. That's okay. Also note that you may find that you have more than one answer for a slot. That's okay too. You can put as many answers as you like. If you'd like to comment further on a specific question and need more space, just write at the back of the paper.*

Example

a. None/Few/Many/ All of the singers in my choir have difficulty pronouncing the 'M' sound in words like ***m***ap.

b. Those singers who find it difficult say something that sounds like *mwap* .

1) a. **None/Few/Many/ All** of the singers in my choir have difficulty pronouncing the 'TH' sound in words like ***th***in and an***th***em
b. Those singers who find it difficult say something that sounds like _____.

2) a. **None/Few/Many/ All** of the singers in my choir have difficulty pronouncing the 'TH' sound in words like ***th***em and o***th***er
b. Those singers who find it difficult say something that sounds like _____.

3) a. **None/Few/Many/ All** of the singers in my choir have difficulty pronouncing the 'ING' sound in words like spinn***ing*** and laugh***ing***
b. Those singers who find it difficult say something that sounds like _____.

4) a. **None/Few/Many/ All** of the singers in my choir have difficulty pronouncing the 'ING' sound in words like s***ing*** and str***ing***
b. Those singers who find it difficult say something that sounds like _____.

5) a. **None/Few/Many/ All** of the singers in my choir have difficulty pronouncing the 'ND' sound in words like *la**nd*** and *sta**nd***
b. Those singers who find it difficult say something that sounds like _____.

6) a. **None/Few/Many/ All** of the singers in my choir have difficulty pronouncing the 'ST' sound in words like *be**st*** and *va**st***
b. Those singers who find it difficult say something that sounds like _____.

7) a. **None/Few/Many/ All** of the singers in my choir have difficulty pronouncing the 'NT' sound in words like *commitme**nt*** and *conve**nt***
b. Those singers who find it difficult say something that sounds like _____.

8) a. **None/Few/Many/ All** of the singers in my choir have difficulty pronouncing the 'PT' sound in words like *ke**pt*** and *sle**pt***
b. Those singers who find it difficult say something that sounds like _____.

9) a. **None/Few/Many/ All** of the singers in my choir have difficulty pronouncing the 'H' sound in words like ***h**eaven* and ***h**appiness*
b. Those singers who find it difficult say something that sounds like _____.

10) a. **None/Few/Many/ All** of the singers in my choir have difficulty pronouncing the 'LE' sound in words like *litt**le*** and *batt**le.***
b. Those singers who find it difficult say something that sounds like _____.

11) a. **None/Few/Many/ All** of the singers in my choir have difficulty pronouncing the 'G' sound in words like ***g**arden* and ***g**alvanise*
b. Those singers who find it difficult say something that sounds like _____.

12) a. **None/Few/Many/ All** of the singers in my choir have difficulty pronouncing the 'K' sound in words like ***c**at* and ***ca**nnot.*
b. Those singers who find it difficult say something that sounds like _____.

13) a. **None/Few/Many/ All** of the singers in my choir have difficulty pronouncing words like ***pound*** and ***down***
b. Those singers who find it difficult say something that sounds like _____.

14) a. **None/Few/Many/ All** of the singers in my choir have difficulty pronouncing the word ***ask***
b. Those singers who find it difficult say something that sounds like _____.

15) a. **None/Few/Many/ All** of the singers in my choir have difficulty pronouncing the vowel in words like *st**a**rt* and *p**a**lm*
b. Those singers who find it difficult say something that sounds like _____.

16) a. **None/Few/Many/ All** of the singers in my choir have difficulty pronouncing the vowel in words like *l**o**t* and *b**o**dy*
b. Those singers who find it difficult say something that sounds like _____.

17) a. **None/Few/Many/ All** of the singers in my choir have difficulty pronouncing the sound at the END of words like *lett**er*** and *teach**er***
b. Those singers who find it difficult say something that sounds like _____.

18) a. **None/Few/Many/ All** of the singers in my choir have difficulty pronouncing the sound at the END of words like *happ**y*** and *actuall**y***
b. Those singers who find it difficult say something that sounds like _____.

19) a. **None/Few/Many/ All** of the singers in my choir have difficulty pronouncing the vowel in words like *n**u**rse* and *b**i**rd*
b. Those singers who find it difficult say something that sounds like _____.

20) a. **None/Few/Many/ All** of the singers in my choir have difficulty pronouncing the vowel in words like f**a**ce and ***ei**ght*
b. Those singers who find it difficult say something that sounds like _____.

21) a. **None/Few/Many/ All** of the singers in my choir have difficulty pronouncing the vowel in words like *h**ow*** and *d**ou**bt*
b. Those singers who find it difficult say something that sounds like _____.

22) a. **None/Few/Many/ All** of the singers in my choir have difficulty pronouncing the vowel in words like *ch**oi**ce* and *v**oi**ce*
b. Those singers who find it difficult say something that sounds like _____.

23) a. **None/Few/Many/ All** of the singers in my choir have difficulty pronouncing the vowel in words like *g**oa**t* and *b**oa**t*
b. Those singers who find it difficult say something that sounds like _____.

24) **None/Few/Many/ All** of the singers in my choir pronounce ***hair*** and ***hear*** in the same way

Section C: This section consists of 7 multiple-choice style questions pertaining to diction in your choir. For each question, please circle the statement that best corresponds to you and your choir.

a. Do you pronounce words for your singers and require them to repeat after you?

i. I often pronounce difficult words for the singers, and require them to repeat after me
ii. I sometimes pronounce difficult words for the singers, and require them to repeat after me
iii. I often pronounce difficult words for the singers, but do not often require them to repeat after me
iv. I pronounce difficult words for the singers, but never require them to repeat after me
v. I never pronounce difficult words for the singers

b. What pronunciation do you use if you pronounce words for the choir?

i. If I pronounce words for the singers, I use the Standard British pronunciation, except for local songs
ii. If I pronounce words for the singers, I use the Standard American pronunciation, except for local songs
iii. If I pronounce words for the singers, I use the Standard Trinidadian pronunciation for songs that are not from Trinidad or the Caribbean
iv. I do not pronounce words for singers

c. What pronunciation do you think is most appropriate for singing?

i. I prefer if the choir sings using British pronunciations, except when singing local songs
ii. I prefer if the choir sings using American pronunciations, except when singing local songs
iii. I prefer if the choir sings using Trinidadian pronunciations for all songs, regardless of whether or not they are local
iv. I prefer if the choir sings using Trinidadian pronunciations for local songs only

v. I don't think it is a matter of preference- I think that there are neutral pronunciations for singing and these are what I would like the choir to produce

d. How successful are the singers in producing the words after you have pronounced them

i. Very good- after the first time most singers get it right
ii. Good- many get it right but a few have to be reminded at subsequent rehearsals
iii. Fair- many don't get it and most have to be reminded at subsequent rehearsals
iv. Poor- many never get it, not even on the day of the performance

e. How aware are the singers of the difficulties they may face in pronouncing certain words?

i. I think singers are aware of the sounds that give them trouble, and most look out for them
ii. I think singers are aware of the sounds that give them trouble, but few look out for them
iii. I do not think singers are aware of the sounds that give them trouble

f. Is diction in singing even an issue?

i. I think diction is a major problem facing choirs in Trinidad
ii. I think diction in is a problem facing choirs in Trinidad, but only a minor one
iii. I don't think diction is a problem

g. Is diction in singing an issue for your choir?

i. I think diction is a major problem facing my choir
ii. I think diction is a problem facing my choir, but only a minor one
iii. I don't think diction is really a problem for my choir

Please include any additional comments below:

Thank-you!

Conductors' Interview

1. Please tell me a bit about your choir e.g. its early formation, its repertoire, and the role you believe it plays in the musical landscape of Trinidad and Tobago today
2. I've read that singers are different from other musicians because there's the element of text- how much emphasis do you place on the text when you're introducing a song to your choir?
3. I recently completed a questionnaire with conductors of different types of choirs in T&T in which every conductor questioned said that they used British pronunciations when pronouncing words for singers to repeat. Many, but not all, also said that they felt British pronunciations were most appropriate for choral singing, though one or two seemed to feel that the British pronunciation was the most neutral for singing, and it wasn't a matter for individual preference. What are your own thoughts on this?
4. I have a list of words here and I was wondering if you could do two things. The first is to read each word how you would like singers to pronounce it when they are singing, and then, if they don't quite say it like that, if you could produce the different variants of what they say, please. Why do you feel these differences arise? (word list at end of questions).
5. Have you ever prepared a choir for the Music Festival?
6. What are the important elements of preparation?
    a. Do you receive many guidelines from the organisers?
    b. Are you given guidelines as to what the adjudicators will be looking for? (or do you just go with your gut
    c. Do you think there should be more explicit guidelines?
7. In the 2010 Music Festival, adjudicators commented, several times, about the vowel choices young singers made being incorrect. Did you agree with them?

8. Do you think the nationality of the adjudicators led to these statements, or do you think that, even if there had been local adjudicators, the comments would have been the same? Why/why not?
9. Imagine you've prepared your choir for a concert or competition and, while the find great favour with the audiences, adjudicators and reviewers are less complimentary, whose opinion matters more?
10. Do you think there are parts of the country, or different types of choirs, for whom diction is more of a problem than others?
11. Can most people in choirs read music? Do you think it is important that they can?
    a. If they can't read music, how do they know what to do (e.g. get louder)?
    b. And how do they know what directions mean? Do you explain it to them? Or do other members of the choir?
12. How does a person become a member of your choir? By joining only? Or are there other things they have to do? What does membership mean? Are there different types of membership?

Word list

1. THIN
2. THEM
3. SPINNING
4. SING
5. LAND
6. BEST
7. COMMITMENT
8. KEPT
9. HEAVEN
10. LITTLE
11. GARDEN
12. CANNOT
13. DOWN
14. ASK
15. START
16. LOT
17. LETTER
18. STRUT
19. HAPPY
20. NURSE
21. FACE
22. HOW
23. CHOICE
24. GOAT
25. HAIR
26. HEAR
27. HERE

English Seminar

University of Muenster

2011-02-12

Dear Parent/Guardian,

Thank you for allowing your son/daughter to be a part of this study. This thesis looks at diction in singing in order to learn more about language in Trinidad and Tobago. The teenaged participants were asked to take part this study because of their involvement in choral music. They will participate in a forty- forty five minute interview with a peer from their choir, and they'll mostly be answering questions about pronouncing words when singing and talking about their experiences. For the thesis, the young people will be anonymous, and their answers will not be shared with members of their choirs, or their conductors.

Please fill in the form below, and have your teenager bring it with them to the interview. If you have any questions, please don't hesitate to contact me at guyannewilson@gmail.com

Thank you for your help,

Regards,

Guyanne Wilson AKC

University of Muenster

I _____give permission for my son/daughter to participate in the PhD study of Guyanne Wilson of the University of Muesnter.

Signed

_____.

Song Lyircs

Boys 1

Blow Ye Winds (traditional)

T'is advertised in Boston town, New York and Buffalo
Five hundred brave Americans a-whaling fore to go
Singin' blow ye winds of the morning, blow ye winds heigh-ho
Haul away your running gear and blow ye winds heigh-ho

They send you to New Bedford fair that famous whaling port
And give you to some strangers there to board and fit you out
Singin' blow ye winds of the morning, blow ye winds heigh-ho
Haul away your running gear and blow ye winds heigh-ho

They tell you of the clipper ships a-runnin' in and out
And say you'll take five hundred sperm before you're six months out
Singin' blow ye winds of the morning, blow ye winds heigh-ho
Haul away your running gear and blow ye winds heigh-ho

And now we're out to sea me boys, the wind begins to blow
One half the watch is sick on deck, the other half below
Groaning, stop ye winds of the morning, stop ye winds don't blow
Haul away your running gear and stop ye winds don't blow

T'is advertised in Boston town, New York and Buffalo
Five hundred brave Americans a-whaling fore to go
Singin' blow ye winds of the morning, blow ye winds heigh-ho
Haul away your running gear and blow ye winds heigh-ho

Boys 2

Non Nobis Domine (Rudyard Kipling)

Non Nobis Domine, not unto us, O Lord
The praise and glory be of any deed or word.
For in thy goodness lies to crown or bring to nought
All knowledge and device that man has reached or wrought

And we confess our blame, how all to high we hold
That noise which men cal fame, that dross which men call gold.
For these were undergo our hot and godless days.
But in our souls we know, not unto us the praise

O Power by whom we live, Creator, Judge and Friend
Upholdingly forgive, nor leave us at the end.
But grant us yet to see, in all our piteous ways
Non Nobis Domine, not unto us the praise.

Junior Girls

The Sun is a Luminous Shield (Navajo Indian translated by Eda Lou Walton)

The sun is a luminous shield,
Borne up the blue path
By a god.

The moon is the torch of an old man
Who stumbles over stars.

Senior Girls

When Music Sounds (Walter de La Mare)

When music sounds, gone is the earth I know
And all her lovely things even lovelier grow;
Her flowers in vision flame, her forest trees
Lift burdened branches, stilled with ecstasies.

When music sounds, out of the water rise
Naiads, whose beauty dims my waking eyes,
Rapt in strange dreams burns each enchanted face,
With solemn echoing stirs their dwelling place.

When music sounds, all that I was I am
Ere to this haunt of brooding dust I came;
While from time's woods break into distant song
The swift-winged hours, as I hasten along.

Analysis: Second Listener's Results

Please listen to the extracts provided. For each extract, one table with selected words that appear in the song is provided. For each word, please provide phonetic transcriptions for all possible pronunciations you hear when you listen to the extract for the relevant song. You may listen to the extract as many times as you need to, but please be sure to indicate how many times you listened to each extract and what apparatus the listening was done. You have been provided with six extracts. Thank you for your help!

Choir: POS Boys

Listening apparatus: laptop , headphones

Number of attempts 15

Song text	Possible transcriptions
advertised	[ədv3təɪzd] [ədvətəɪzd]
Boston	[bʌstʌn]', [bʌstən]
town	[tʌŋ], [tawń]
brave	[bɹev]
Whaling	[weliŋ] [welɪn]
Singing	[sɪŋɪn]
Blow	[blo]
Winds	[wɪnz]
That	[θat']
Send	[sɛnd]
Haul	[ɔl]

Choir: SANDO Boys 2

Listening apparatus: laptop , headphones

Number of attempts 10

Song text	Possible transcriptions
advertised	[ədvɜtəɪzd]
Boston	[bʌstən]
town	[tɒwn]
brave	[bɹev]
Whaling	[weliŋ]
Singing	[sɪŋɪŋ]
Blow	[blo]
Winds	[wɪnz]
That	[ðatʰ]
Send	[sɛnd]
Haul	[ɔl], [hɔl]

The Sociolinguistics of Singing

Guyanne Wilson

This study looks at issues of dialect and style that arise in classical choral singing in Trinidad. It poses the question of what accent is preferred, and then goes on to look closely at perceived and real difficulties secondary school choral singers face in producing the target accents. It considers these findings in light of larger discussions of norm-setting and language attitudes in post-colonial contexts, and afterwards with reference to debates about language style, particularly in performance.

The data reveal a preference for Standard British English pronunciations, while the use of features associated with mesolectal varieties of Trinidadian English/Creole is highly stigmatized. There is further evidence for endonormativity in the Trinidadian language context, the data indicative of two varieties in Trinidad: a Creole and a local variety of Standard English. The data also reveal several features that are part of neither the British nor the Trinidadian English phonemic inventories, but that are nonetheless identified as necessary for choral singing. These features were labeled classical choral singing style.

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