JULIA AIGNER

LOVING, TALKING, BEING MUSIC

Fan Discourse and Its Role in Identity Construction in Different Music Genres

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Music has a fundamentally social life. It is made to be consumed – practically, intellectually, individually, communally – and it is consumed as a symbolic entity. By 'consumed' I mean socially interpreted as meaningfully structured, produced, performed and displayed by varieties of prepared, invested, or otherwise historically situated actors. How does this happen? What does it mean? [...] What does music communicate? [...] What does speech about music communicate?

(Steven Feld, 1984, p. 1)

1. Introduction

The social dimension of music which Feld (1984) proposes in his quote cannot be denied. It shows in decisions such as which kind of music I listen to and which not; which concerts I attend, or also which I feel I even *can* attend (Can I go to a classical music concert if I have never been to one? Can I, as a pop music fan, attend a heavy metal concert?); which music I talk about with my friends and colleagues; how I form an opinion about the music (what do I like about the music and why); why I develop music preferences (Which aspects of music do I appreciate?) and how I communicate these preferences; or simply why and when I even listen to music. All of these decisions are embedded in one's social identity, which influences – and is respectively influenced by – music preferences. Naturally, when these negotiations only happen internally, it is difficult to ascertain reasons for music preferences or characteristics of music fans of one or another genre. However, when music fans talk – or write – about their music preferences, their discourse, as a way of constructing identity, can serve as a starting point for examining strategies and concepts at hand.

This publication is concerned with tying discourse about different kinds of music to identity construction. The focus will lie on the very broad genres of pop, jazz and classical music; similarities and differences regarding identity construction among listeners of these genres will be examined. The research questions this work seeks to answer in the course of the analysis are:

- How is identity constructed by discourse about music, in particular in written online settings such as the YouTube comment sections?

and as a second step:

- Are there different identities constructed by comments on videos representing the different genres pop, jazz and classical music?

I assume that certain stereotypes which are prevalent in our Western society – for example, classical music being a "higher art form" – will be perpetuated by the discourse; however, it remains to be seen whether and how these stereotypes are indeed maintained or whether music fans of the respective genres do not adhere to such prejudices at all.

By firstly consulting relevant literature in the field of identity and identity construction as well as interrelations between language, identity and music, I will create a conceptual framework. Embedded in this framework, various facets of

(music) fan discourse will be analysed, in order to detect concepts of identity construction via language about music. The representation of the music fan as well as the representations of artists will be studied. Furthermore, whether certain music fans show a desire for appearing sophisticated or a desire for being different will be examined. In the course of the analysis, similarities of and differences between the three genres in question will be scrutinized. This publication seeks to be a starting point for investigations of the connections between fan discourse about music and identity construction, attempting to detect tendencies and establish strategies which are prominent in the language use of music fans.

2. Contextualization and Theoretical Framework

After having introduced the topic of this work, and before diving into analyses of fan discourse and scrutinizing implications for identity construction, I will have to lay the groundwork for my study. Therefore, the first part of this publication will be concerned with defining and explaining the underlying concepts and theories on which the analysis will be based. The concept of identity construction and its relationship to language and music as well as the connection between these two domains will be explored. Relevant literature will be reviewed and set in relation with the topic at hand.

2.1. Identity and Identity Construction

In order to talk about identity construction via language, music or other aspects, we have to ask one apparent question: What is identity? And as a perhaps even more important follow-up question: How is it constructed? As a first instinct, one might argue that identity is, to put it boldly, "what makes somebody the person that they are"; how they define themselves, how they are seen by others, which worldviews and morals they embrace, accept or reject, their characteristics and traits, their opinions and ideologies. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*), for example, supports the notion of certain features that are self- or other-ascribed, by defining identity as "[w]ho or what a person or thing is; a distinct impression of a single person or thing presented to or perceived by others; a set of characteristics or a description that distinguishes a person or thing from others." (Oxford English Dictionary, 2022) Interestingly, the *OED* marks identity as being ascribed to an individual person (or more broadly, an individual entity) and as a concept of difference. This raises the question whether identity is a construct that is used primarily by individuals (rather than, say, groups) and, more importantly, whether identity foregrounds difference rather than sameness. In other words, does identity construction primarily happen via differentiating oneself from others or via emphasizing similarity to others?

Partly in accordance with the *OED*, the *Cambridge Dictionary* states that identity is "the fact of being, or feeling that you are a particular type of person, organization, etc.; the qualities that make a person, organization, etc. different from others.". (Cambridge Dictionary, 2022) Again, the idea of identity being created by difference is foregrounded, while at the same time the concept is extended by adding "organizations, etc." to the solely individual identity that is proposed by the *OED*. The fact that concepts such as group identities are taken into account here can also

be seen in the examples that are given by the *Cambridge Dictionary*, which mentions identities of several people, but also those of firms or countries.

There are far too many aspects that would have to be covered for a comprehensive description of how identity as a whole can be understood. A broad understanding of identity with all its features is not necessarily expedient for the present work – take, for example, the approach of embodied identity, i.e., identity being grounded in one's body (cf. Goffman, 1971; Gowland and Thompson, 2013; Jenkins, 2008), as one aspect that would be important for a comprehensive understanding of identity, yet not crucial for the present analysis – hence, I will be more concerned with the second question asked above: How is identity constructed? I would argue that both dictionary entries presented above already hint at a possible way of constructing identity, namely by isolating characteristics (or categories) in which I (or a group) differ(s) from others. For examining this process of identity construction, I will turn to a number of scholarly debates in the field of social theory as well as other linguists that have done research on identity construction.

Judging by the two dictionary definitions that were presented above, one could get the impression that identity is a rather fixed entity that simply "is", rather than being more of an ongoing process. When looking at the wording of the definitions – "the fact of being", "the qualities" or "set of characteristics" that you have – the notion of identity being a state or a certain condition is foregrounded. However, I agree with Jenkins (2008) that "[t]here is something active about identity that cannot be ignored: it isn't 'just there', it's not a 'thing', it must *always* be established." (cf. Jenkins, 2008, pp. 94–95, emphasis is his) Otherwise, a discussion of how identity might be constructed by talking or writing about music would be irrelevant. Additionally, as already briefly mentioned, the dictionaries hint at the concept of difference being most decisive for creating identity. What or who I am not, in comparison to others, seems to be the crucial question to ask in order to define my identity. This emphasis is in line with a number of scholars, such as Stuart Hall (1996) and Judith Butler (2006), who see identity primarily as an issue of building and highlighting difference. In a lengthy discussion of this approach, Jenkins (2008) argues that "difference on its own is simply not enough to establish who's who" (Jenkins, 2008, p. 22) since a focus merely on difference would mean that an individual can only ever say what or who they are not and never establish who or what they are; to think this through to the end would mean that one would have to reject all possible kinds of persons (i.e., identities) that one is not in order to fully establish what they are. This, of course, would be an impossible endeavour. Moreover, classifying oneself (or others) as a certain thing always entails not only determining what makes it different to others but also stating which properties it

has in common with others. Thus, similarity seems to be as much of an issue as difference when it comes to identity construction, which can also be experienced in everyday life – a sense of community and solidarity, of belonging to a group, is a feeling that almost everyone will be able to relate to. Having established that "identity is always [...] as much about difference as about shared belonging" (Gilroy, 1997, p. 301), I will now move on to examining how difference and similarity are established and which other aspects need to be considered in identity construction.

Díaz-Andreau et al. (2005) propose that identity is not only self-perception in isolation, but that it is a highly relational construct. The way we view ourselves but also how others perceive us plays an important role in identity construction, i.e., both individual self-agency as well as social structures perpetuate and reinforce one's identity. (cf. Díaz-Andreu et al., 2005, pp. 1–2) Along the lines of self-perception and other-perception, we can assume that even though all forms of identity construction are "social", i.e., influenced by societal norms and views, a distinction between "who I am" as an individual and "who we are" as members of a group can be made. The first concept, the individual identity, is as much a social construct as the second one, and according to Thoits and Virshup (1997) it must not be mistaken for what the authors call "personal identity", which are "self-descriptions referring to unique or highly specific details of biography and idiosyncratic experiences". (Thoits and Virshup, 1997, p. 107) This understanding of "personal identity" is in line with Goffman's, who sees personal identity as a combination of consistent embodied uniqueness and specifically individual biographical facts. (cf. Goffman, 1968, as cited in Jenkins, 2008, p. 95) However, other scholars understand "personal identity" as self-interpretations and other-interpretations of oneself in terms of broader social categories (Jenkins, 2008; Marko, 2012; Olson, 2022; Tajfel, 1978), thus including both specific, biographical details as well as socially related interpretations of self, since they argue that "*all* human identities are [...] 'social' identities." (cf. Jenkins, 2008, pp. 94–95, emphasis is his). The distinction between individual and personal identity becomes redundant with this line of argumentation. Consequently, my framework for identity construction will use the term "personal identity" for all interpretations that relate to "me" as a concrete individual person, including social influences, rather than "individual identity" since, in my opinion, personal experiences (i.e., biographical details about a person) and self-conceptions in relation to society are intertwined concepts that cannot be easily separated and should thus both be incorporated in one term.

Coming back to the distinction of "who I am" and "who we are", the latter category refers to identities that are constructed by sameness to one group or difference to

other groups, also called "collective identity" by Jenkins (2008). Jenkins differentiates between groups and categories or, to be more precise, between group identification and categorisation. The former is an internal process, i.e., the members of the group acknowledge their membership, define their group as such and maintain the internal similarities as well as differences to others outside the group. Categorisation, on the other hand, is an external process whereby the category and its characteristics (or the requirements that need to be met in order to be part of the category) are defined by an external instance with the members of the category not necessarily having to be aware of or effected by the categorisation. Nevertheless, usually, the members of a category are aware of their categorisation; however, they might not realize the possible implications and consequences of the process. Thus, categorisation, as Jenkin argues, might be more significant for the categoriser than for the categorised. (cf. Jenkins, 2008, pp. 102–108) To sum up the very core of the distinction between groups and categories, "[c]ollective internal definition is group identification; collective external definition is categorisation." (Jenkins, 2008, p. 109)

These categories and groups that individuals might (knowingly or unknowingly) belong to are called social identity categories by Marko (2012). These SICs are "categories that are accepted and are (made) available in a society as something that I can be and something that might have an impact on who I am." (Marko, 2012, p. 246) I have already established above that the categories might differ with respect to their definitions (internal vs. external) and consequently concerning the awareness of its members. Additionally, Jenkins (2008) as well as Marko (2012) differentiate between the nature of the relationship among group/category members. A syntagmatically defined SIC sees members having an interactive, sometimes complementary, relationship (e.g., teachers and students), while a paradigmatically defined SIC emphasizes shared similarity within the group and contrast to others outside the group. (cf. Marko, 2012, p. 247) As a third feature that distinguishes different SICs, Marko (2012) introduces institutionalization, which is a kind of identification that Jenkins also focuses on. With respect to institutionalization, the question of how strictly defined a category is, arises. The stricter the meanings and forms of interaction are determined, the more limited interaction between members can take place. (cf. Jenkins, 2008, pp. 156–168; Marko, 2012, p. 247) SICs can show each of the features defined above, being positioned somewhere on the scales between each of the poles of external-internal, unawareness-awareness, syntagmatic-paradigmatic as well as non-institutionalized-institutionalized. For the present work, the aspect of institutionalization will be less important than the other aspects, but to avoid a negligent description of the

most important distinguishing features of categories and groups (i.e., SICs), it has to be included as well.

Naturally, collective identities and personal identities do not exist as separate concepts but are interrelated. Thus, an important question in the field of collective identity construction is not only "who we are" as a group but "what I am" in relation to that group. Collective identities have an impact on one's personal identity, as interpretations of self can never be made in isolation from society's influences. How I construct and perceive myself always stands in relation to who I am talking to and interacting with and their reaction to my behaviour (e.g., acceptance or rejection). Additionally, one person, does not only draw on one collective identity (i.e., one "group membership") at a time, but can relate and belong to (as well as be categorised with relation to) several ones simultaneously, varying according to biographical and situational circumstances. (cf. Marko, 2012, pp. 246–247) To adapt Marko's (2012) example to the context of this work: depending on the situation and context they find themselves in, one SIC might be more prevalent than others; while being at a jazz concert with a friend, a jazz-loving maths teacher who has three children will find that the SIC "jazz lover" will be more prominent than "teacher" or "mother" at that particular moment.

To sum up this discussion of identity construction, in this publication, along the lines of Díaz-Andreau et al. (2005), identity will be understood as "individuals' identification with broader groups on the basis of differences socially sanctioned as significant". (Díaz-Andreu et al., 2005, p. 1) Moreover, in agreement with Jenkins' (2008) views on identity construction, the acknowledgement of difference necessarily and simultaneously entailing similarity plays a role in the present framework for identity. This focus on differences to other groups and sameness to one's own group in order to build identity supports the subsequent analysis of identity construction among fans of certain music genres, since one important aspect of the discussion of the findings will consist of juxtaposing the different ways of language use in the three genres jazz, pop and classical music and in how far the discourse supports the notion of group membership and difference to other groups. Additionally, drawing on the different features of social identity categories, with consideration of the difference between groups and categories that was established above, it is argued that among the more general SIC of "music preference", sub-categories of music genres play an important role in identity construction and in the sense of belonging to one SIC or another (i.e., what does it mean to be a jazz enthusiast or a classical music aficionado). This connection between music (preferences) and identity will be examined in the following.

2.2. Music, Genres and Identity

Presumably, nobody would disagree that tastes in music differ among cultures, societies, groups and people. Acknowledging something such as music preference already entails an implicit or explicit knowledge of differences between different kinds of music, i.e., music genres. While I assume that most people are not aware of the exact stylistic characteristics that comprise a certain genre, the majority is able to distinguish between music styles, roughly assign genres to music pieces and vice versa, and naturally, decide whether they like it or not. Putting this lay knowledge into academic terms, the following sections will discuss the relevant music genres (jazz, classical, pop), musical preferences as well as possible implications for identity construction.

2.2.1. Genres

In order to understand musical preferences and be able to examine fan discourse with regard to different genres, a basic comprehension of the genres in question – i.e., jazz, pop and classical music – is needed.

A genre is "a category of artistic, musical, or literary composition characterized by a particular style, form, or content." (Merriam-Webster, 2022) The word *genre* has its origin in the Latin term *genus*, which, due to its root *gen-*, refers to entities in a particular category having the same origins. Most genres also have sub-genres; take for example the literary genre of novels with the sub-genres romance novels, detective novels or historical novels. In music, numerous sub-genres can be distinguished for each broad genre. Especially in recent years, due to globalisation and digitalisation and the subsequent easier access to various music styles, sub-genres have blended, with artists incorporating diverse styles in their compositions. Thus, boundaries between the genres have become increasingly difficult to define, and "insisting upon too rigorous a separation of types runs the risk of ignoring their intersections and overlaps, and denying their numerous commonalities." (Glahn and Broyles, 2020) Nevertheless, especially when examining very broad genres such as classical music, pop and jazz, some distinct features that are inherent in only one of the three genres can be determined. Since the chosen genres are, as already said on several occasions, very broad ones, a comprehensive definition which does each genre with all its sub-genres justice would suffice as subject matter for a thesis on its own. The following attempt at a brief and concise description of each genre should serve as an insight into the main characteristics of each genre. For each genre, entries in the online version of the *Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, one of the most comprehensive music

encyclopaedic dictionaries, as well as other relevant articles were consulted and my own knowledge and experience as a music graduate and musician were included.

Jazz, according to Tucker and Jackson (2020), "describes an extended family of styles, with all members sharing at least some traits in common yet none capable of representing the whole." (Tucker and Jackson, 2020) While this is certainly true of all broad music genres, it is especially so for jazz, as it fulfils functions as diverse as one can imagine. Ranging from concert jazz, which is meant for close listening, over background music at events (especially such that are now deemed "upper middle class") to spontaneous, improvised music that invites the listeners to become participants, the occasions on which jazz is played and consumed are manifold. Yet, the question remains – what is jazz? Leaving its roots and its extensive historical development aside, musically, the majority of jazz music is characterized by rhythmic features such as swing (eighth notes are played with a triplet feel) and polyrhythms (several different rhythms that are played simultaneously), melodic features such as blue notes (certain notes that are decreased by a half step) or call and response (a phrase is sung/played by the caller and evokes a certain melodic response that is related to the call), harmonic features such as complex chords (chords that have four or more different notes in them, often preferring tensions that give the harmony a certain edge) and special harmonic sequences, and by structural features such as improvisation (music that is invented spontaneously). (cf. Ferris, 1993, pp. 228–233) The one feature that is certainly crucial for jazz music and sets it apart, especially from pop and classical music, is the act of improvisation. While pop and classical music rely on scripted music (especially for the act of performance and/or recording), jazz thrives through lengthy improvised passages. I would argue that the spontaneous improvisation of music is its most distinctive feature, more than special music language (melodic and harmonic), since an increasing number of "jazz" harmonies and melodies have found their way into pop music, and simultaneously have their roots in (especially baroque) classical music. Additionally, jazz-specific rhythmic aspects are characteristics that cannot be found often in pop or let alone classical music.

Classical music, as the second genre to be discussed, has an even longer and richer history than jazz music, encompassing arguably even more sub-genres, which are quite diverse in a number of respects. Terms which are often used interchangeably with classical music are art music or serious music, which already hint at the attitude this genre is approached with and at the same time also expects from its listeners. Ranging from early Renaissance (if not earlier) up to contemporary music, classical music stands in a Western tradition (not ignoring other cultures' influences) and is widely considered to be music of high(est) artistic quality. Even

though classical music has a history of having a function similar to popular forms of music nowadays (e.g., entertainment, dance music or background music at events), in modern times it is seen as a genre that addresses an elite, well-educated audience and is to be consumed in serious settings such as concert halls. (cf. Glahn and Broyles, 2020) While the high status of classical music above all other genres is more and more challenged especially by music scholars, art music is still held in high esteem among the majority of people. To give an example, mothers often play Mozart to their unborn children because they want them to be surrounded by high-quality music, even though there are no scientific findings that actually suggest art music supporting child development. (cf. Jäncke, 2012) To make out specific musical features of classical music is an almost futile endeavour due to its vast number of sub-genres with their own respective characteristics. Suffice it to put forth several distinctive features which sets art music apart from the other two genres relevant to this thesis. Classical music usually is not amplified or electronic (with the exception of some contemporary art music), its "orchestration" can vary from one soloist to a full orchestra, depending on the piece. Additionally, the separation of composer and performer (as opposed to especially pop, where the performer is often the composer) plays an important role. While there are artists, ensembles and orchestras that enjoy international recognition and attract audiences to their concerts because of their reputation and popularity, more often than not audiences decide based on the concert programme (i.e., which composers, styles and pieces are played) whether they want to attend a performance. Moreover, classical music is rather formal and scripted with little to no improvisation, which stands in stark contrast to jazz, and is often quite complex concerning form, harmony, melody, rhythm as well as orchestration, which sets it apart from pop music.

Lastly, pop music, deriving from the term *popular* music, is a genre that is quite difficult to grasp with regard to specific characteristics. While other genres have identifiable sonic markers and stylistic properties, pop music does not incorporate a coherent style. Even though it is typically seen as a distinct genre and set apart from others such as rock or country, its qualities are, to use Frith's (2011) expression, slippery. With the exception of classical and art music, pop's musical features such as the use of certain instruments (drums, guitar, electric base, piano, synthesisers), electronic amplification, specific song forms (verse, chorus, bridge, etc.), vocals with lyrics that relate to certain topics (e.g., love, home, or friendship), can often be found in other music genres as well. Pop music is thus often defined in negative terms, by stating what it is not. (cf. Frith, 2007, pp. 94–95) Performers and artists in pop music often borrow and adapt stylistic features of other music

genres, leading to new combinations and pop-versions of other styles. Due to this borrowing and imitation of characteristics of other genres, pop is often spoken ill of in terms of originality and has to face accusations of banality. On the other hand, producers and writers of pop music often venture into new areas of technology use, sounds and styles, leading to pop frequently accomplishing pioneer work in certain domains. Nevertheless, not only by highly regarded music critics such as Theodor Adorno is pop often deemed less worthy than other music styles, not least due to its simplicity as well as its aim at making profits. This lack in complexity, while arguably often deceiving, is – also based on my own experience – often the reason for other genre-enthusiasts or musicians to look down on pop music, not take it seriously as an art form as well as ascribe its fans musical inanity, unsophistication and passiveness. (cf. Warwick, 2020) However, pop music's simplicity is not seen as a shortcoming by all music scholars. Warwick argues that

> *[u]nburdened with any claim to serious artistic worth, a pop song can articulate profound personal sentiment with breathtaking immediacy. Urging its listeners to dance or sing along, pop music offers transparency, directness, and access to innermost feeling. (Warwick, 2020)*

If not by specific stylistic characteristics, pop can at the very least be described concerning its aims. Pop music is music that is "accessible to a general public" (in contrast to other genres which are rather aimed at elites), and it does not require pre-knowledge or listening skills. It is produced commercially and aims at making profits. (cf. Frith, 2007, p. 94) What has to be added here as a last point, especially for the discussion of profits, is that even though songs in this genre aim at gaining popularity and subsequent commercial success, this very success is not a prerequisite for music to belong to the genre. Pop music is thus a classification that cannot be made on empirical evidence of popularity, but rather on other aspects as described above. (cf. Warwick, 2020)

Jazz, classical and pop music possess different characteristics and qualities which are often rather difficult to pinpoint. While improvisation is one of the most distinct features of jazz, a formal, scripted and high-quality style of classical music is crucial for this genre. Pop music, in contrast, is characterized by its aim at commercial success and its simplicity and immediacy.

2.2.2. Musical Preference

What does it now mean to like a certain kind of music and why are there even differences in music taste? Various studies have been conducted, investigating psychological factors responsible for different tastes in music. Schäfer and

Mehlhorn's (2017) meta-analysis of studies which explores correlations between personality traits and musical preferences shows that "personality traits barely account for interindividual differences in music preferences" (Schäfer and Mehlhorn, 2017, p. 265). As a small exception, findings suggest that the personality trait "openness to experience" (i.e., a general aesthetic appreciation, openness to emotions and unusual ideas, as well as curiosity) correlates to a limited extent with a preference for more complex music such as jazz or classical. However, the authors state that research is still far away from establishing a theory or model that allows predictions for music preferences. Schäfer and Mehlhorn (2017) conclude that personality is more likely to influence how people use music in various situations (focusing on the function music has to fulfil, e.g., relaxation vs. stimulation) than which styles they like generally. (cf. Schäfer and Mehlhorn, 2017, pp. 270–272) In line with this assumption (also represented in this publication) that suggests that music choices function as part of identity construction, Behne (1997) asserts that "individual characteristics of music appreciation must be interpreted in the context of individual history as individual ways of coping with life." (Behne, 1997, p. 154)

There are also numerous studies exploring the notion of individual and situational influences on preferences as well as the functionality of music. Correlations between music preferences and gender, age, mood, movement, and culture, to name a few, were investigated (for more information see e.g., Chamorro-Premuzic et al., 2009; Nusbaum and Silvia, 2011; Schwartz and Fouts, 2003; Sedlmeier, Weigelt and Walther, 2011; Stupacher and Wood, 2018). One aspect that seems quite apparent, but should be mentioned here as it is relevant to the already established differences among the genres, is the influence of familiarity and complexity on music preferences. North and Hargreaves (1995) assert that while there is a linear relationship between familiarity and liking, the relation between complexity and liking of music can best be described by an inverted U; with increasing complexity, appreciation rises as well, up to the point where listeners feel overwhelmed by the too complex music, which leads to a decrease in appreciation.

> *The clear finding that familiarity and subjective complexity exhibit markedly different relationships with liking can be explained in terms of the joint contributions of conscious selection and cultural exposure to the former, and of the interaction between objective complexity and the listener's experience in determining the latter. (North and Hargreaves, 1995, pp. 88–89)*

Thus, drawing a connection to the three genres in question, one could argue that while pop music might be rather "simple" and thus not fulfil some listeners' desire for complexity, at the same time it is not at risk of getting too complex (hence becoming less likeable) and it has a certain advantage of being familiar as pop music is played not only on the radio but in supermarkets, restaurants and shops, thus subconsciously accustoming listeners to the style in their everyday lives. Naturally, the category of "familiarity" overlaps with cultural influences, as cultural customs have a major impact on knowledge about music (e.g., which music styles I even know and have heard of), music practices as well as which music styles are sanctioned as acceptable by a culture, thus influencing music preferences as well.

Additionally, what is especially relevant for the present publication are surveys which examined individual differences in music preferences with regard to self-perception and desired other-perception. Chamorrro-Premuzic et al. (2010) have found that music preferences might be influenced by the way an individual wants to be perceived and Rentfrow and Gosling (2003) show that individuals tend to select music styles that reinforce their self-views; for example, active and athletic self-views may lead to a preference for arousing music while conservative self-views may steer individuals towards more conventional styles of music. (cf. Chamorro-Premuzic, Fagan and Furnham, 2010; Rentfrow and Gosling, 2003) The scholars' assumption that self-perception and desired perception by others play a role in music choices and preferences and their proving this correlation supports the assumption underlying this study, namely that music preferences and identity construction are intertwined.

To sum up, music preferences are developed for a number of reasons of which not only but especially familiarity, complexity, self-view and presentation to others seem highly relevant for this work. Even though scholars have not found clear psychological indicators for musical preferences and have not established a model that enables predictability of musical tastes (especially in relation with personality), the relevance and validity of the present analysis is not diminished; the analysis takes the opposite approach, by not trying to predict which "types" of individuals like certain genres but rather examining the existing data in the form of YouTube comments and attempting to draw conclusions about how the commenters' discourse about music (preferences) facilitates their identity construction.

2.2.3. Musical Preference Identity

After having examined causes for music preferences, their impact on people's identity construction – such as an influence on appearance and behaviour, and how they communicate their identity with respect to their music taste – shall briefly be discussed. Moreover, in this section, musical preferences as a SIC, i.e., as something that defines me and my life and behaviour, will be examined. While I will distinguish between genres in the analysis in order to answer the research questions and to ascertain differences in discourse between various genres, the overall category of "musical preference" should suffice here to establish an understanding of features of this SIC.

Especially in specific genres such as (heavy, death, black) metal, hip hop or rap, openly identifying with the genre often goes hand in hand with making a public statement about oneself. Frequently through clothes and general outer appearance (e.g., all-black dress code for metal audiences; caps, baggy trousers, gold necklaces and hoodies for hip hop fans) does the sense of belonging to these genres become apparent. Usually, the genres that allow these distinctive identifications via visual appearance have their origins in (or are strongly connected to) cultural movements. (cf. Cummings, 2018; Weinstein, 1991) However, not only when the music genre entails specific visual or behavioural signifiers can a music fan identify with it. I would argue that also for genres that are not as specific or are not as intertwined with certain cultural movements, music fans can and do identify with the music genres and thus act upon this sense of belonging. Maintaining the issue of clothing, also jazz, classical and pop music show different expectations of their audiences; while formal attire is required for classical concerts (imagine going to the Metropolitan Opera in shorts), jazz concerts are less formal and especially for pop concerts, wearing a suit or a gown would be considered highly inappropriate. Similar requirements apply to the performers. While these dress codes are to some extent temporary and thus differ from wearing special clothes, make-up or having certain visible tattoos all the time, at least for the time of the occasion (e.g., a concert) they influence a music fan's presentations and identity. Clothes as one aspect of visual appearance and presentation to others shall suffice here as a typical example of identity construction with regard to music preferences. Which role language assumes in this respect will be part of the subsequent analysis; additionally, the connection between language and music will be illustrated in a section below.

Music preference is probably not one of the areas that is commonly discussed as influential for identity construction. While dimensions such as gender, ethnicity or age are universally accepted social identity categories, scholars have argued that

also music preference has an influence on how I perceive myself and others. Musical taste, similar to any other aspect of identity construction, functions as a social "badge" of group membership. Lonsdale (2020) emphasizes the findings of scholars before him (Bakagiannis and Tarrant, 2006; Selfhout et al., 2009; Tekman and Hortaçsu, 2002) that show that individuals perceive those with similar music tastes to their own more favourably than those with different music preferences. (cf. Lonsdale, 2021, p. 822) The subsequent analysis will, among other aspects, examine attitudes towards other commenters (i.e., other music fans) with regard to group membership and see whether this notion is perpetuated by fans' discourse as well. While most studies in this area have explored how individuals perceive fans of certain music genres, which attributes are ascribed to certain styles and how fans of certain genres perceive themselves, the present thesis has a goal beyond proving that music preference has the power to establish group membership. It is concerned with examining not only whether a fan identifies as a member of a group but what that identification means.

Discussing group membership in terms of the above established scale between internal and external definitions, in my opinion, the "music preference" SIC is expected to be characterized more by collective internal definition than external categorisation. When I comment on a music video, I am aware that I make a statement about myself in relation to the music and thus I either identify with the group which prefers the music genre via praise or, if I comment negatively, with a group that does not like the music. Naturally, the present analysis of discourse in different genres aims at external categorisation with regard to discourse; however, I strongly believe that the fans' language use when commenting on their preferred music style is part of an internal identification process. By establishing my own stance on a certain piece of music, I establish group membership and a connection to like-minded fans.

With regard to the spectrum of syntagmatically or paradigmatically defined SICs, "music preference" can include both, with a tendency towards paradigmatic relationships among the fans who share similarities and establish differences to others ("we all like jazz, but the pop fans don't"). Additionally, a syntagmatic dimension might come into play when considering the performer-fan relationship, as the performer is usually seen as the expert in the music genre while the fan is a lay person, appreciating the expert's performance. However, many music fans are musicians as well and/or have acquired expertise on their subject matter, making it difficult and unreasonable to clearly differentiate between lay and expert. Thus, I would argue that a syntagmatic dimension is negligible in this context.

This publication is concerned with discovering characteristics of the SIC "music preference" as well as the sub-categories of "jazz fan", "classical music fan" and "pop fan" as constructed in and through language use. What does it mean to have a certain music preference and how is that different from other genres? To answer this question, I will examine what language use and discourse can tell us about identity construction with regard to music preferences. Before doing that, I will discuss the connection between language and music in the following chapter.

2.3. Language and Music

To establish the meaningfulness of the present endeavour of analysing discourse about music, the link between language and music has to be made apparent. The current chapter will illustrate several aspects of language about and in relation to music which have been object of investigation in previous studies and which help gain insight into the multifaceted connection between the two domains. A brief overview of the neurological correlation of language and music will be given. Moreover, the concept of music as language will be discussed. While I do not want to spend much time here on discussing the importance of language for identity construction (as this will be explained in more detail in a separate chapter), I will lastly focus on language aspects that are commonly found in music discourse.

In many ways, music shapes our communication and our language use. On a biological level, music and language are processed in similar areas in our brains, which leads to and facilitates the neurological nexus of the two domains. As Besson and Schön (2009) have shown, especially when comparing harmonic processing in music with syntactic processing in language, similarities can be found. Additionally, similar effects in language and music were observed in an analysis of the temporal structure of the brain. (cf. Besson and Schön, 2009, p. 269) This and other biological connections between the two domains have been proven repeatedly and provide more than enough reason to assume a significant relationship between language and music. Numerous studies have been conducted especially in the area of language acquisition. The fact that music in general has a great influence on language acquisition processes (in L1 and in L2, in young and older children and in adults) is well established. While many myths concerning music having miraculous properties such as making children intelligent (e.g., the unproven "Mozart effect") still persevere without scientific proof, studies have repeatedly shown that music can positively influence language learning, in areas such as reading comprehension as well as language production skills. (Arbib, 2013; Bannan, 2012; Benko, 2002; Jäncke, 2012; Sağlam, Kayaoğlu and Aydınlı, 2010; Spitzer, 2013)

2.3.1. Music as Language

In addition to the given example of language acquisition processes and the biological correlations, other connections between music and language can be drawn. Music possesses certain discursive properties, thus it can on the one hand function as a language on its own, and on the other hand might be explained and structured by the use of linguistics. Starting as a new branch of research in the 1970s, researchers tried to prove this latter connection between language and music, including musicologists and linguists such as Roads and Wieneke (1979), Hontanilla et al. (2013), Cruz-Alcazar and Vidal (2008), Pérez-Sanche (2009) or van Kranenburg and Backer (2005), who have applied language models to musical structures.

> *Musical structures are [...] taken as generally analogous to grammatical categories or processes that can be analysed using linguistic approaches to syntax, morphology, and phonology. We consider these analogies under the heading of 'music as language'. (Feld and Fox, 1994, p. 27)*

Proposing music to function as (or even to be) language also leads us into the domain of Conceptual Metaphor Theory as established by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Conceptual Metaphor Theory, in contrast to traditional understandings of metaphors, proposes that metaphors are not merely a literary device or simply a linguistic expression, but that they are ways of thinking about the world. By mapping characteristics of a source domain (in this case "language") onto a target domain ("music"), the target domain receives certain features which influence our thoughts and behaviour with regard to the target domain. (cf. Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) Without going into more detail about Conceptual Metaphor Theory, suffice it to say that in "Music is Language", features of language are mapped onto the domain of music, shaping our understanding of music. To give some examples: the composer is an author or a writer who wants to convey a message; the listener is a reader who wants to decipher the message; the musical piece functions as the medium to transport the message, including melodies as utterances and movements or other large musical structures as longer speech acts; instruments "speak" in a certain way, "answering" each other's phrases or "stating" a theme (i.e., performing linguistics speech acts); and of course performers are interpreters of the "texts". (cf. London, 1996, pp. 49–52)

2.3.2. Language about Music

Furthermore, scholars have been concerned with linguistic analyses of music theory as well as examinations of general ways of describing music. Powers (1980) as well as Jandausch (2012), Zbikowski (1998, 2008, 2017), Antovic (2014) and Krantz (1987) have done important research regarding (conceptual) metaphors in music. They have shown that in music theory as well as in lay discourse about music, the use of metaphors to describe, analyse and interpret music is indispensable. By mapping different domains such as "space", "motion" or "architecture" onto the target domain, music can be thought and talked about in various ways, drawing on several features of the source domains. Especially in (musicological) analyses as well as critical reviews of classical music do the conceptual metaphors play an important role in describing the music. To support this argument further: think of classical pieces that are appraised for the "musical arc" they stretch, the "tension" they build up throughout the piece, or the "structure" a "well-constructed" symphony or sonata may display; one could hardly imagine contemporary pop songs being critiqued in a similar way. While possibly more common and more often employed, conceptual metaphors are not restricted to discourse about classical music. Metaphorical language is expected to be seen in the texts (i.e., YouTube comments) which are analysed below, as it seems to be inherent in our understanding of music. While it would be interesting to see whether different genres make use of different metaphors or whether (conceptual) metaphors are not genre-specific phenomena, an analysis of conceptual metaphors in fan discourse would be a sufficient topic for a separate study. Thus, the explanation of Conceptual Metaphor Theory and its relation to music should be seen as an attempt at a multifaceted depiction of the connection between language and music, rather than a preview of what will be done in the analysis part of the present publication.

In addition to metaphors in music, language in music contexts and lyrics in different genres and styles have been topic of interest with regard to language and music. Especially jargon studies of hip hop and rap as well as metal music have concerned scholars, as their lyrics burst with critique on society and may function as a mirror of socio-cultural concerns. More relevant for the present thesis are examinations of jargon and lyrics in the genres of interest, i.e., jazz, pop and classical music. Even though the song lyrics themselves are not research objects, genre jargon can influence fans' ways of talking, as they (presumably) identify with the music and are thus inclined to take on stylistic and linguistic features of the lyrics. James Hart (1932) maintains that in jazz (tunes), "grammatical laxity" such as unusual abbreviations and contractions as well as the introduction and coining of new terms are features commonly found in jazz lyrics. (cf. Hart, 1932, pp. 241–

244) What I want to stress here is that at the time Hart's article was published, jazz was the popular music of the time, hence it was connotated differently than it is nowadays. The (linguistic) characteristics inherent to jazz tunes in the 1930s may strike one as rather similar if not almost identical to those of pop songs nowadays; and with good reason, as pop music has filled jazz's function of being music for the masses, music for entertainment. In a corpus linguistic study of pop lyrics Kreyer and Mukherjee (2007) have found similar features in pop songs to those Hart describes. Among analyses on the graphemic level, the level of syntax as well as the level of lexis, deviation (concerning both spelling and pronunciation), including coalescences of previously separated forms such as *I'm gonna* instead of *I'm going to* (which seems to appear due to the lyrics' close representation of spoken language) as well as introducing new graphic forms such as *sk8ter* instead of *skater* in order to put emphasis on certain words, is one of the aspects most similar to Hart's observations concerning jazz lyrics.

Metaphors (as already mentioned several times above) are essential elements of pop song lyrics, often with the target domain being human emotions, especially love. (cf. Kreyer and Mukherjee, 2007, pp. 40–53) What thus seems to be inherent in pop lyrics and is still true for jazz standards and classics which Hart discusses in his 1932 article does not necessarily apply to modern jazz and certainly must not be true for the jazz pieces analysed in the current work. Additionally, Hart (1932) as well as Kreyer and Mukherjee (2007) discuss song lyrics and not the language surrounding jazz or pop (i.e., how people talk about the respective music), which stands in the focus of the present analysis. However, it will be interesting to see whether a tendency towards the aforementioned features in fan discourse can be observed, whether jazz-specific jargon (according to Hart) has more or less shifted towards the contemporary pop music or whether common features of lyrics are not represented in discourse about the respective music genre at all.

As a side note concerning jazz discourse: academic, musicological discussions of jazz seem to fail to recognise that jazz is a performance art with improvisation at its heart, as the language of serious analyses is too often taken from the area of classical music, i.e., of scripted, canonised, printed "art" music. However, discourse of jazz musicians themselves seems to almost constantly revolve around improvisation, resulting in a gap between the experienced performance and its scholarly critique. (cf. Johnson, 1993, pp. 1–3) While this finding is not strictly linguistic in nature, it may serve as a further reference point for how jazz fans identify with regard to their favoured music. I assume that if jazz fans strongly identify with jazz, and with being a jazz enthusiast, they will – similarly to jazz musicians – foreground the aspect of improvisation as an important and distinct

feature of the genre in their comments. Even though this is insight on a content level, it might contribute to a well-rounded understanding of what it means to be a jazz fan.

In a comment section about music performances, one can expect to find technical language about music, since at least some fans will also draw upon a more technical discourse and exhibit considerable degrees of expertise on the topic. Presumably, the discourse will display specific language about music pieces – especially for classical music, denominations of pieces as well as parts of pieces are expected. Additionally, technical language with regard to skills and techniques (e.g., "vibrato" as a special technique both for voice and string instruments where the pitch of a note is slightly altered repeatedly, giving it a fuller sound) will play a role in the discussion of artists' performance and interpretations. Furthermore, especially for the electronic music pieces (expectedly jazz and pop music pieces), sound effects or technical equipment might be commented on by music fans (e.g., "pedals" which are used for altering guitar sounds by adding certain sound effects to the initial guitar sound, or "auto-tune", which is used in post-production by the music industry to correct possible issues with intonation). It will be interesting to see whether the three genres differ in their level of expertise on specific terminology regarding musical qualities and technical aspects of music.

Lastly, the *language about music* perspective, i.e., the notion that people talk about music and that "music interacts with naturally occurring discourse [...] also in the interpretive, theoretical and evaluative discourses surrounding musical experiences" (Feld and Fox, 1994, p. 32), supports the endeavour of the present work in illustrating the social function of music. Studies conducted in this area are mostly situated in the field of ethnomusicology. Nonetheless, these studies as well as the little research that has been undertaken in Western cultures show a linkage between musical practices and other forms of social knowledge by means of analysing technical and metaphorical discourse about music. Music can function as a symbol of social identity, as a way of socialization, or as a modality for the construction and critique of social categories such as gender or class relations, among others. (cf. Feld and Fox, 1994, pp. 32–35) Feld (1984) proposes that all musical (and sound) structures are socially structured as they on the one hand exist through social construction and on the other hand gain meaning through social interpretation. This interpretation is marked by so-called interpretive moves on the part of the listener, however unconscious or intuitive these might be. Feld identifies five interpretive moves which a listener might make – usually not separately, but rather in relation with one another, and not exclusively, but rather among other decisions, which are biographically, circumstantially and socially situated. A

locational move relates the object that one is hearing to a range within a field of like or unlike items and events. More specifically, *categorical* interpretive moves put the music/sound objects into certain classes of things (e.g., an anthem, a symphony, a ballad), while *associational* moves relate or compare the object to particular visual, musical or verbal imagery (e.g., a song cover might conjure up the original version in one's mind, or an interpretation might remind one of a certain painting or picture). These three interpretive moves might be linguistically realized by phrases such as "it's similar to/different from...", "it's a kind of...", or "it reminds me of...". Moreover, a listener might make *reflective* moves, drawing connections between the item (i.e., the music piece) and some personal and social conditions (e.g., attitudes, emotional states, political views) and related experiences (e.g., of live concerts, of other interpretations of the piece). Lastly, one could also make *evaluative* moves, ascribing the item a certain value (e.g., tasteful, inappropriate, funny, serious, ...). The *reflective* and *evaluative* interpretive moves might be realized in phrases such as "I mean,... on some level...", "for me at least...", "it's not good as...". (cf. Feld, 1984, pp. 7–14) These sorts of linguistic structures that were given as examples above can tell the reader something about the manner of interpretation of music and give insight into the various options for speech about music.

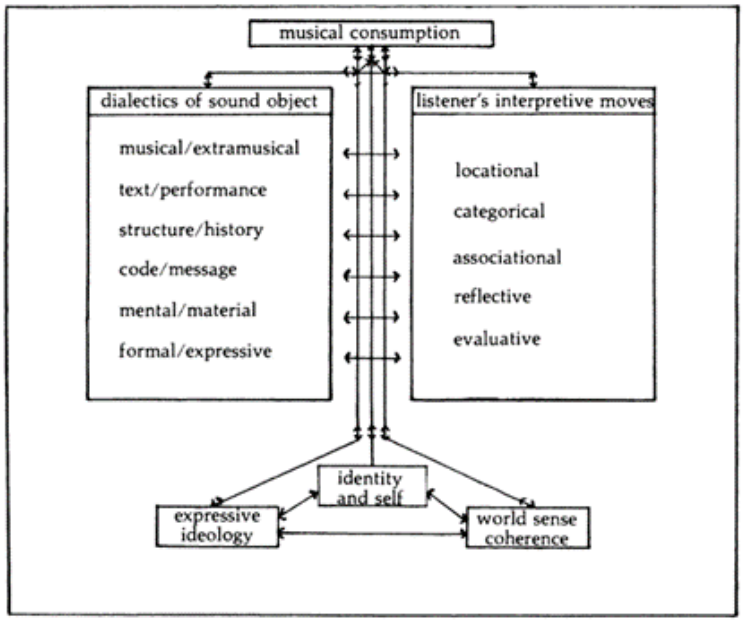

Figure 1: Interpretive moves for music consumption (Feld, 1984, p. 9)

The interpretive moves, as shown in Figure 1 above, are connected to dialectics of the musical (sound) objects, such as musical/extra-musical, structure/history, code/message or formal/expressive. Additionally, the process of music consumption, of interpreting it and of relating it to different aspects of musical items is related to identity and self; interpretive moves are always highly subjective and fluid, as they take into account "foreground and background experience and knowledge in relation to the perceived sound object/event". (Feld, 1984, p. 10)

To sum up, even though connections between language and music are multifaceted and well established, only little research has been done with regard to discourse about music. What can be said is that metaphorical language plays a key role in talking and writing about music. Additionally, specific language that can be seen in lyrics might influence fans' discourse about this music as well. Moreover, as a highly personal and subjective matter, various kinds of interpretive moves of listeners connect music objects with identity and self, relating music with personal experiences and social matters.

Apart from the above presented areas, linguistic studies about general discourse about music seem to be largely missing from the field. Analyses of discourse about music (especially in the form of a corpus-based discourse analysis) and possible implications for (fan) identity construction have yet to be done. The present publication seeks to serve as a starting point for filling this gap by studying fan language in written form, contributing to academic discussions about the connection between language and music.

2.4. Language and Identity

What is still missing from this theoretical framework of identity in relation to language and music is a discussion about the role of language in identity construction. In order to establish this relationship of language use (i.e., discourse) and social structures (and thus, as a further step, identity), the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach taken for the analysis will be illustrated in the next chapter. However, before going into more detail concerning CDA, a short and general overview of the connections between language and identity construction should be given.

Language is one of the ways in which a belonging to certain cultures, set of beliefs, ancestries – in other words, a sense of identity – is signified. What language someone speaks and, maybe even more importantly, how they speak it serves as an essential marker for gaining insight into who they are. Through language things and places can be named, heritage and culture can be recorded and further

developed, views can be discussed and exchanged, and belonging can be communicated, thus shaping both individual as well as collective identities unlike any other form of identity construction. (cf. Joseph, 2016, p. 19) While language may be used as a conscious tool for declaring and forming identity, it might as well function unconsciously, merely for others to observe as an identity marker.

> *Our identities are indexed in the languages we speak and write and in how we speak and write them. This indexicality does not need to be intentional; people will interpret our identities based on our language whether we want them to or not. (Joseph, 2016, p. 30)*

Using language to construct and/or interpret identity makes it a social endeavour, even more so than a mere cognitive one. According to Preece (2016), this shift from viewing language as a discrete entity that merely distinguishes ethnic or national identities to understanding language as a resource for communicative identity work by using linguistic and other multimodal factors results in several principles for locating identity in language. Firstly, identity emerges in and through interaction. Only by interacting (talking, reading, writing) can one communicate one's identity or can another perceive one's identity. Secondly, language users temporarily assume certain roles and stances in the interaction, shaped by the specific circumstances of the interaction. Thirdly, the speaker's identities need to be "indexed" in order to be communicated, either overtly or covertly, through references to identity roles or by the use of language that is associated with particular groups or identities. Fourthly, identities are always constructed in relation to other positions and by communication about the relations. And lastly, identities are always partial, as they are constantly in the process of construction and can thus never be complete. (cf. Preece, 2016, pp. 4–5) Especially the third principle, which includes the indexation of identity through specific language use, and the fourth principle, which foregrounds identity construction in relation to other identities, are highly relevant with regard to music fans' discourse and subsequent identity construction. Moreover, all five principles can be closely tied to the above established SICs; the process of identity construction via language which Preece describes through these principles can be seen largely analogous to the drawing on one or more SICs in order to establish one's identity in a certain context.

How does language now create meaning and identity? Drawing on Derrida's (1987) concept of "différance", one can argue that meaning is produced by two things: on the one hand, the meaning of signs (in our case language) emerges through their difference from other words, sounds or images (the so-called "difference"). On the

other hand, they also gain meaning due to their location within a discursive context, which enables a temporary fixation of meaning, however, disables a truly and finally fixed meaning, as the meaning (which comes from the reading of a text, for example) will always be dependent on the particular context and will change when shifted to other contexts (the so-called "deferral"). (cf. Derrida, 1987) This notion of temporary meaning construction via language use is useful for the concept of identity construction, since the latter concept is always temporary and contextual as well (as was shown in chapter 2.1 with the example of drawing on different SICs – "jazz lover", "mother", "teacher" – depending on the situation). By means of what Benwell and Stokoe (2006) call "micro-level empirical approaches", such as ethnomethodology, conversation analysis or discursive psychology, as well as "macro methods" of narrative analysis or Critical Discourse Analysis, questions such as how exactly identities are discursively produced and performed can be answered. (cf. Benwell and Stokoe, 2006, p. 35) The authors consider the mentioned approaches and methodologies as good tools for analysing how discourse impacts individual and collective identity construction.

To sum up, language (use) and identity construction are deeply connected. The principles which identity construction via discourse follows are similar to the use of different SICs, which again supports the proposal that language use is a crucial aspect for identity construction, both for personal as well as for collective identities. While various approaches might be taken for analysing discourse, the present work takes a corpus-based Critical Discourse Analysis approach, which will be elaborated on in the subsequent methodology section. Even though there are many more aspects to the connection between language and identity, the most important general facets have been mentioned and an explanation and illustration of CDA as the (for this study) essential relation between language and identity follows subsequently.

3. Methodology and Data

In the following, the methodological considerations for the subsequent analysis will be discussed. Corpus-based Critical Discourse Analysis will be explained in detail and its importance for examining identity and identity construction via language will be displayed. Additionally, the data itself as well as related aspects such as how to collect, process, and analyse it will be topic of the following subchapters.

3.1. Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a linguistic approach which, in simple terms, seeks to place language use in a social context and regards language as social practice. It critically examines social and cultural issues and problems and ascertains discourse's role in creating and perpetuating them. In addition to cultural and social issues, the relationship between language and power is of special interest to CDA. The question of how language use reflects, perpetuates or even challenges power relations and narratives of dominance lies at the core of CDA. It assumes that language does not neutrally reflect an objective reality but rather mediates, impacts and constructs world views and identities. (cf. Benwell and Stokoe, 2006, p. 44; Wodak and Meyer, 2001, pp. 1–3) CDA can be understood as more of a "shared perspective on doing linguistic, semiotic or discourse analysis" (van Dijk, 1993, p. 131), and as an overall approach for studying discourse than as a homogenous, cohesive methodology. While all scholars in the field, e.g., Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, Michael Meyer, or Teun A. van Dijk understand CDA to be critical in a sense that it sees language use in context and that it "analyses opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language" (Wodak and Meyer, 2001, p. 2), their specific approaches and theories which they rely on vary to a lesser or greater extent. Each research project adjusts its framework to the demands of the endeavour and to the object of investigation. The range of theories which different understandings of CDA are based on include systemic functional linguistics, conversation analysis, microsociological perspectives, theories on society and power, and theories of social cognition. This variety of theories leads to different foci in the various CDA approaches, which is illustrated in Figure 2 below. While for example Wodak and Reisigl aim at modelling a connection between fields of action, genres, discourses and texts and understand context mainly historically (discourse-historical approach), Jäger puts more focus on social theory, especially the role of social actions/actors as a link between discourse and reality and the relation between discourse and dispositives in a Focauldian sense (Dispositive Analysis) and van Dijk

concentrates on the influence of social structure via social representations on discourse (sociocognitive approach). (cf. Meyer, 2001, pp. 17–23; Zotzmann and O'Regan, 2016, pp. 113–114) Not all approaches need to be explained here, as the point is to establish CDA as an approach that can take several forms depending on the focus of interest, on the subject of investigation and on the desired outcome/application.

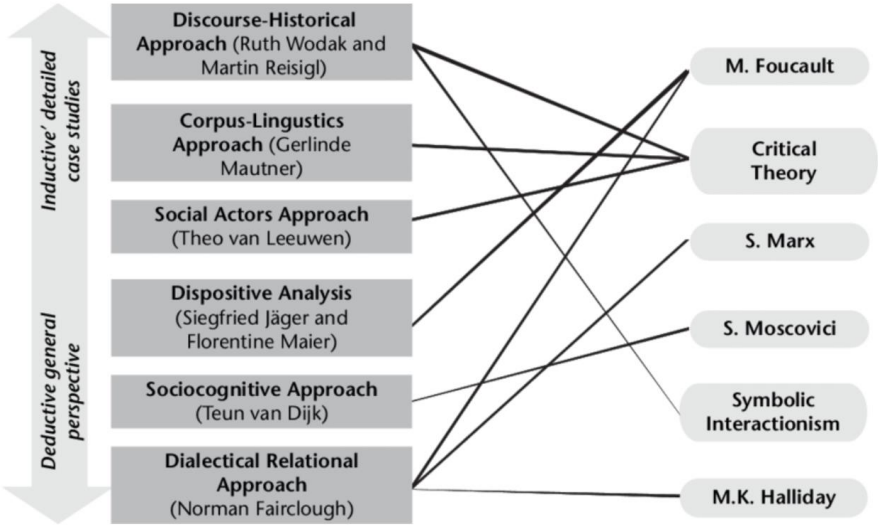

Figure 2: Summary of approaches in CDA and their respective epistemological background (Wodak, accessed 2022)

The present work will take the approach of a corpus-based CDA; the following sections will illustrate what CDA means for this publication and what a corpus-based approach entails. Two assumptions are essential for CDA. Firstly, the research should be grounded on a close engagement with the language of the specific texts. Secondly, language use is a social phenomenon and bound to context, hence it can only be analysed appropriately by taking social and cultural contexts into consideration. CDA is

> *consolidated [...] as a 'three-dimensional' framework where the aim is to map three separate forms of analysis onto one another: analysis of (spoken or written) language texts, analysis of discourse practice (processes of text production, distribution and consumption) and analysis of discursive events and instances of sociocultural practice. (Fairclough, 1995, p. 2)*

In other words, CDA describes and engages with linguistic forms in texts, considers wider discourses and sets the description into relation with meanings these linguistic forms might create and analyses the context of socio-cultural practices such as production, transmission and consumption. (cf. Benwell and Stokoe, 2006, p. 44; Fairclough, 1995; Marko, 2012, p. 251)

In addition, data collection is not seen as an entirely separate step that needs to be completed in order to start with the analysis but rather as an ongoing, recurring process. First data collection leads to a first attempt at analysis and an examination of possible concepts, on the base of which further data might be collected, (re-)evaluated and set into relation with the first findings. This circularity of the data-collection and analysis process ensures the ability to answer new arising questions and to flexibly adapt data (collection) to the findings. (cf. Meyer, 2001, pp. 23–24)

Furthermore, essential for CDA is the examination of and reliance on linguistic categories during the analysis process as well as a basis for interpretation. The focus on linguistic instruments does by no means exclude context and overall topics; on the contrary, it enables establishing exemplified and justified connections of linguistic devices (micro-level) to semantic macrostructures and the consequences of the respective specific language use. While no definitive and complete list of linguistic devices can be given, since the selection varies according to the respective research projects, categories and concepts such as time, tense, mode, argumentation or actors play an important role. Linguistic markers that could be focused on include word order, coherence, lexical style (vocabulary and style), speech acts, rhetorical figures or general figurativeness, syntactic structures, disclaimers, topic choice, implicitness and indirect meanings, idioms, references or actors (persons, pronominal structure). (cf. Meyer, 2001, pp. 25–29)

The present work takes a corpus-based CDA approach. This means that the close engagement with texts that is essential to CDA is combined with the study of large bodies of texts, i.e., corpora. Even though corpus-based studies are not the most common form in CDA, scholars have increasingly become aware of the possibilities and advantages which corpus linguistic can bring to CDA. Mautner (2009) discusses three basic features of corpus linguistics which benefit CDA. First of all, corpus linguistics enables analyses of large data volumes; while CDA – as most qualitative approaches – has on occasions been criticised for not being representative due to its restricted amount of data, corpus linguistics allows for extensive bodies of texts, thus facilitating drawing valid and more general conclusions.

Secondly, working with large corpora reduces researchers' bias in data collection, i.e., the tendency to select texts that are likely to confirm the researchers' expectations. Even though the term "critical" in CDA refers to an awareness of not being completely objective as a researcher and thus paying special attention to such issues by critically evaluating each step of the inquiry (cf. Meyer, 2001, p. 17; Wodak and Meyer, 2001, pp. 4–5), "it [is] difficult if not impossible to be truly objective, and acknowledging our own positions and biases should be a prerequisite for carrying out and reporting research". (Baker, 2006, p. 10) By including great amounts of texts in the analysis and constructing the corpus by means of extra-linguistic objective, valid and reliable criteria, this subjectivity concerning data collection (or corpus construction) can be diminished. Thus, a study's claim of objectivity, intersubjectivity (explicitness of background, procedure and data selection in order to make it accessible to other subjects) as well as systematicity (consistency of use of analytical tools) is strengthened. (cf. Marko, 2008, p. 92)

And thirdly, by the merging of quantitative and qualitative methods, frequencies and measures of statistical significance as well as individual occurrences of words and structures can be examined. Corpus linguistic software, so-called concordance software, makes quantitative data accessible and simultaneously enables qualitative analyses of collocational environments of words, semantic patterns and discourse functions. (cf. Mautner, 2009, pp. 122–123) To sum up, by examining large electronic corpora, quantitative information about frequencies and distributions can be added to a qualitative analysis of linguistic details. In the present work, this computer-assisted approach is undertaken by the use of the software WordSmith Tools 5.0.

Corpus linguistics incorporates a set of tools which can be used for Critical Discourse Analysis. Among these tools are frequency lists, concordances, collocates, and keyness on the lexical level, as well as the analysis of grammatical characteristics such as nominalizations, modality or metaphor. (Baker, 2006) Frequency lists give an overview of which words occur most frequently in the corpus and serve as a good starting point for any further analysis. Frequencies can give insight into lexical choices and semantic categories that might be preferred by specific speakers or by specific kinds of texts. Especially when compared to large-scale corpora, words that occur frequently in one corpus yet not very often in another might reveal ideological positions of speakers or texts. This concept, i.e., words which occur significantly more often in one corpus compared to another, is called "keyness". When certain frequency lists are adapted and specified, in order to focus on lexical occurrences that are interesting and meaningful (and to avoid

frequency word lists that only reveal what has been expected all along), we speak of determining keywords. (cf. Baker, 2006, 47-49, 121-126)

Concordances are "simply a list of all of the occurrences of a particular search term in a corpus, presented within the context that they occur in; usually a few words to the left and right of the search term" (Baker, 2006, p. 71), which can be useful for determining how certain words are used and which words they are frequently used with; i.e., they set search terms in context. Concordances, also referred to as "keywords in context" (KWIC), facilitate the identification of recurring patterns in language use, thus pointing to discourses that are common in relation to the search term. Similar to concordances, information about collocates is a valuable source for determining preferred lexical patterns. Collocates are words which statistically significantly co-occur with a search word, i.e., words that show a high probability of occurring together. Semantic, thematic or grammatic similarities among collocates might hint at respective fields in which the search term is usually found and used in, whereas concordances of collocates might again reveal common underlying discourses and patterns. (cf. Baker, 2006, pp. 71–119)

My study sets out with the application of the listed traditional tools of corpus-based CDA in mind, however, it is not ignorant of possible findings that might lead to analysis of concepts beyond the presented ones; using CDA as a method entails going back and forth between methodology, data collection and analysis, constantly adapting each to the other.

As a last point of this chapter, before presenting the data and the data collection process, the following question shall be answered: Why use CDA for the present endeavour of analysing fan discourse and its relation to identity construction? There are several reasons, why CDA seems to be an appropriate choice. Firstly, the concept of identity, as already established in the chapter on language and identity, is of interest to applied linguistics, as this research field views language as a social endeavour rather than a mere cognitive one. Identity is a largely discursive phenomenon, since self- and other-representations are, among material aspects such as appearance, constructed through language and other semiotic resources. Additionally, it is enacted in time and space and as a consequence of events, making it highly contextual. Furthermore, "classifications of self and other are largely influenced by discourses about social groups that are produced and re-produced at different levels of society and in different social spheres" (Zotzmann and O'Regan, 2016, p. 113) and these discourses are conversely influenced by and impact social structures. As a consequence, since identity constructions always include negotiations of self and other, of categorisation and group identification, of society

and culture and of power and ideologies, CDA (being interested in exactly these issues) seems to be an appropriate choice for analysing and conceptualising processes of identity construction.

And finally, as description of the three genres of interest has already shown, also music is highly social. While classical music is deemed to be music for the "elite", pop is often perceived as less valuable, as music for a lower social class. Jazz would likely, in my opinion as a musician and music consumer, take a position between the two aforementioned genres. Even though access to various kinds of music is available to almost everyone via internet, the threshold for coming into contact with classical music is most certainly higher than for pop music. Visiting a classical concert, for example, is considered a leisure activity for the "elite"; it is often expensive, formal attire is required and frequently, without pre-knowledge or pre-listening experiences, it might be experienced as too difficult, too complex to be enjoyed. In contrast, as stated in a previous chapter, access to pop music is characterized by a very low threshold, as we are constantly surrounded by it; even if one wanted to, it would be nearly impossible to never encounter pop music at all. Its mass production and distribution may very well lead to a perceived reduction of worth and uniqueness, thus making it less interesting for those who strive for elitism and singularity. I want to stress here that these notions represent, while to some extent scientifically proven (see chapter 2.2), my own assumptions based on an informed opinion as a musician and music graduate. This classification of music genres and the respective connection of music genres to social classes might be reflected in discourse as well. While a CDA cannot show whether a person who, for example, listens to and comments on classical music actually is well educated or belongs to an academic elite, it can certainly determine whether this person wants to be perceived as such through their language use.

3.2. Data

The corpus that was analysed for the present study contains a selection of comment sections of various YouTube videos. The corpus was compiled in May 2022 and the same approach was taken for all three genres. In the following, the compilation process as well as the tools that were used will be explained. As already mentioned above, the corpus is analysed by means of the concordance software WordSmith Tools 5.0.

There are several reasons for choosing three rather broad genres (jazz, classical, and pop music) for the analysis. From broader genres, more general conclusions can be drawn. Additionally, based on my own experience (as a musician, music

listener and music graduate) I assume that more people can very generally identify with a broad genre such as classical music or pop than with a very specific genre such as late romantic era or hard bop, making broader genres more relevant for the majority of people. Moreover, the broad genres allow an inclusion of music pieces that might not be assignable to very specific sub-genres (for example due to the use of musical elements which belong to different styles).

With the help of the Billboard year-end chart rankings of 2021 – Billboard being mainly a US online magazine for news, events and reviews concerning the music industry – the top ten artists of the genres classical music, jazz and pop were defined. Of the different chart lists in the respective genres, the lists "Pop Songs – Airplay Artists", "Traditional Classical Albums Artists", and "Contemporary Jazz Albums Artists" were used to provide the top ten artists. Of these artists, three were chosen to be representative of the respective genres. Parameters that were considered for the selection were availability of relevant videos/comment sections, recentness of videos and releases, comparability to other artists of other genres (by that I mean that, for example, the London Symphony Orchestra is not easily comparable to a singer of a pop genre) and how representative their music was of the respective genre. Classical and jazz musicians were required to make music that is as different from pop music as possible in order to emphasize the differences between the genres. To give an example of this selection process: a classical musician who mainly plays and records pop music in a classical style (e.g. HAUSER, who is known for his cello arrangements of pop songs) was considered to be not representative of the classical music genre and was thus not selected for the purpose of this study. Of the three chosen artists per genre, three videos and their comment sections were selected to form the corpus of the analysis. All videos were published in the second half of the year 2020 at the earliest, but in late 2021 at the latest, ensuring a connection to the year-end chart rankings of Billboard. Additionally, the clips were selected by the amount of views and by the number of comments, effective 25th of May, 2022. Most viewed videos reflect the preferences of music fans, which makes an analysis of these video comment sections more relevant than examining music videos that are not of importance to the fan community. Additionally, more comments lead to a richer corpus, which is why the videos with most comments among the pre-selection of videos that were published in the relevant time frame and had most views were preferred.

The following table gives an overview of the artists and videos that were chosen for each genre.

Pop music		Classical music		Jazz music	
Ariana Grande	34+35	**Hilary Hahn**	Partita No. 3 for Solo Violin, BWV 1006 – J.S. Bach	**BADBAD NOTGOOD**	Beside April
	Positions		Violinkonzert op. 30 – Alberto Ginastera		Love Proceeding
	Pov		Carmen-Fantasie op. 25 – Pablo de Sarasate		Signal From The Noise
Billie Eilish	my future	**Víkingur Ólafsson**	Organ Sonata No. 4, BWV 528: II. Andante [Adagio] (Transcr. Stradal) – J.S. Bach	**FKJ**	Losing My Way (Live From 02 Academy Brixton)
	Therefore I Am		Rondo in D Major, KV 485 – W.A. Mozart		Just Piano
	Your Power		Rameau: Les Boréades: The Arts and the Hours (Transcr. Ólafsson) – Jean-Philippe Rameau		Ylang Ylang
Lil Nas X	Holiday	**Daniil Trifonov**	Cantata BWV 147: Jesu, Joy of Man's Desiring (Transcr. Hess for Piano) – J.S. Bach	**Tom Misch**	Cranes in the Sky [Quarantine Sessions]
	Montero (Call Me By Your Name)		Contrapunctus 14, BWV 1080, 19 (Compl. by Trifonov) – J.S. Bach		Gypsy Woman (She's Homeless) [Quarantine Sessions)]
	That's What I Want		The Art Of Fugue, BWV 1080: Contrapunctus 9 alla Duodecima – J.S. Bach		The Wilhelm Scream [Quarantine Sessions]

Table 1: Selected artists and videos

The comment sections of the videos form the corpus of the subsequent analysis. For the videos that had 1,000 or less comments, all comments were considered. For all videos that had more comments (which was especially the case for pop music), the most relevant ~1,000 comments according to YouTube were taken. While it would have been a possibility to select the most recent comments, considering the most relevant ones seems a more suitable decision due to three reasons: first of all, comments that are "relevant" according to YouTube are frequently those which have most likes and most replies, i.e., they seem to be most appealing to people who spend their time on the comment sections of the respective videos. Therefore, the increased interaction with these comments might indicate a stronger identification (or non-identification) with the respective videos and genres, leading to a higher validity in results. Second, "relevant" comments show a tendency to be longer and more elaborate, leading to a richer corpus and enhanced opportunities to analyse language use and language patterns. And third, the most recent comments consist of many statements that relate to the number of months/years the video and its comment section is already active while not commenting on the music or artist at all, which is not part of the desired language output that is to be analysed. Consequently, recentness does not necessarily positively influence the quality and validity of the comments.

All in all, a total number of 22,284 comments are being analysed, which amounts to approximately 430,000 word items, later reduced by editing to about 290,000. The corpus has been annotated and edited, inserting posting boundaries and marking editorial elements (i.e., language that is not part of the comments such as posters' names, dates and number of likes) so that it can be either included or ignored for the analysis, depending on the purpose. An annotation of emojis, even though often conveying content or messages, was not feasible, as each emoji would have had to be marked as such and translated into textual elements in order to be identified and analysed by Wordsmith.

The following table gives the general statistical details of the corpus:

Number of comments (all)	22,284
Number of comments in "Pop music"	10,541
Number of comments in "Jazz music"	7,210
Number of comments in "Classical music"	4,533
Number of word tokens (all)	293,275
Number of word tokens in "Pop music"	137,687

Number of word tokens in “Jazz music”	76,475
Number of word tokens in “Classical music”	79,113
Av. number of word tokens per comment	~13.2
Av. rounded number of word tokens per comment in “pop”	~13
Av. rounded number of word tokens per comment in “jazz”	~10
Av. rounded number of word tokens per comment in “classical”	~17

Table 2: General statistical details of the corpus

For the purposes of the present study, no comparative corpus was consulted. One obvious option would have been professional analyses of music pieces or reviews (e.g., in newspapers) in order to compare the language used. However, these genres differ from YouTube comments in attitude, formality, intention as well as emotionality; they do not function as a form of identity construction or expression of one’s own preferences, but rather seek to objectively analyse music or offer well-founded criticism on certain pieces or performances. Therefore, it might be difficult to judge which of the differing factors leads to which differences in findings. Additionally, since one of the main concerns of the thesis is to examine differences between the three music genres, represented by the three sub-corpora, the study will be comparative in nature anyway.

4. Analysis

The following analysis part presents several facets of music identity construction and SIC construction with regard to the three music genres pop, jazz and classical music. The analysis attempts to ascertain features of discourse that are relevant to language use in the domain of music as well as single out certain aspects that are distinctive for the respective genres. Additionally, the consequences for identity construction will be discussed. Since the aim of the present work is to analyse differences in genres, the corpus is mainly split into three sub-corpora, which contain the comments from pop, jazz and classical music videos respectively.

Firstly, a general semantic profile of fan discourse in different music genres will be established. By means of conceptual profiling, semantic domains that seem relevant due to their frequent appearance in the discourse at hand will be detected and discussed. Subsequently, various features and strategies that can be found in the language use will be examined. In Chapters 4.2 and 4.3, the representation of the fans and the representation of the artists will be analysed. In the course of these analyses, expressions of affection, interpretive moves, functions of music, as well as the importance of the artists and their performances, nominations of musicians (including modifiers of these), and the roles of musicians' appearance will be examined. The last two chapters will be concerned with two concepts which are expected to be found in fan discourse, namely sophistication and deviance. The former refers to a desire for appearing educated, sophisticated and intellectual, and to a preference for complex things which require knowledge. The latter describes the desire to be different from others (other music fans among the same genre and fans of other genres), and a preference for things which are special, not mainstream.

4.1. General Semantic Profile

Along the lines of Marko's (2012) approach to corpus-based CDA, first of all, the general semantic profile of the corpus will be presented. Semantic profiling means "looking at particular linguistic structures – usually lexemes – and the semantic categories they represent [...] in order to find out which of these categories are the most salient ones." (Marko, 2012, p. 254) Salience can be measured quantitatively; how often a certain category can be found in the list of content words in a corpus (token frequency) and how many different types belong to the respective categories (lexical variation) provides information about which categories and characteristics might be more or less relevant to scrutinize further.

In order to present meaningful data concerning frequencies (word lists, concordances, etc.) and general semantic profiling, the corpus was lemmatized, i.e., different word forms are subsumed under a single unit and are thus counted as one type (e.g., *like*, *likes* and *liked* or *nice* and *nicer* are counted as one type (or one lexeme) respectively). Additionally, a stop list was used to exclude mostly function words such as articles, pronouns, or prepositions, which are highly likely to occur at the top of any word list yet are not informative of which conceptual domains predominate in a discourse.

Before delving into a more detailed analysis of the corpus with regard to word lists and semantic profiles, I want to mention that without the use of a stop list, the pronouns *I* and *you* can be found rather high up in the frequency list of the comments of all three genres. The high frequencies of the first-person pronoun *I* indicate that personal opinion, experience and emotions play an important role in the comments. Especially in pop music, where *I* occurs with a relative frequency of 2.84% and is at the top of the frequency list (even before the definite article *the*), the discourse seems highly personal. Additionally, *you* hints at a certain interactiveness of the comments. The examination of the occurrences of *you* implies that they are mostly interactions with (or more addressing of) the artists of the music videos, more than interactions between the commenters.

An additional noteworthy result of the wordlist (without lemmatization or stoplist) of classical music comments is that the composer *Bach* is mentioned frequently, thus reaching place 15 in the frequency list, even among all function words. Granted, the majority (five of nine) of the selected classical music pieces were composed by Bach; nevertheless, the fact that the composer is frequently referred to – in contrast to jazz and pop where neither the performers nor the composers appear at the top of the frequency lists – shows the relevance of the composer in the genre classical music. A closer examination of this phenomenon will be conducted below.

Moreover, the high frequency of the term *music* (relative frequency of 0.89% - classical, 0.73% - jazz) shows that commenters discuss the music itself, apparently even more than other aspects such as the video or the performer; in contrast, in pop music discourse, the relative frequency of *music* is comparably low with merely 0.29%. This hints at the fact that in pop music, the discourse might be more concerned with other aspects such as the message of a song, a general attitude or the performers themselves. For all three genres, collocations of *music* indicate that when writing about music, fans refer to the specific music at hand (and not to music as a general concept or thing). In all three genres, determiners such as *the*, *this*,

your, *his* or *her* are among the strongest collocations of *music*. An additional noteworthy observation is that while the positive modifier *beautiful* is found rather high on the list among the most frequent collocates of the term in classical and jazz music, no evaluation ranks among the twenty most frequent collocations in pop music discourse. Additionally, the previously proposed assumption that rather than the music, other aspects such as the performer or the music video play a more important role for pop music fans is supported by the strong collocation of *music* and *video*, since *video* is in sixth place of collocations for the lexeme *music*. This said, I will now move on to the general semantic profile of all three corpora.

The tables below (Tables 3-5) give an overview of the absolute and relative frequencies (types and tokens) of the semantic categories in the three genres classical music, jazz and pop music. For the semantic profile, I used the 1,000 most frequent lexemes of all three word lists respectively. The percentages given in the tables represent the relative sizes with regard to the other categories in the respective genres. The semantic categories have been chosen with regard to which domains seem to be prevalent in the discourse and which categories are relevant for music specific purposes (e.g., differentiation between the artists and the pieces, or a separate category for technical terminology which refers to music).

A short comment on categories which might not seem self-explanatory: the category "Communication and DMs" includes any elements that indicate interaction between the commenters (or between the commenter and the musician), such as greetings, agreement in the form of e.g., *yes*/*no*/*okay*, as well as discourse markers (DMs) such as *well* or *like*. The category "General" includes terms which are fundamental to the human conceptualization of the world, including, but not limited to, entities (persons and objects), events, place and movement, or time. Therefore, the frequencies in this category can be expected to be relatively high. Closer inspections of the sub-categories of "general" terminology at a later point in the analysis, with the present research focus in mind, will be necessary in order to gain insights from this category. As YouTube is an international video platform, English is not the only language used in the comments. Words and comments issued in a different language were put in an extra category, as the translation of these phrases would not be beneficial for the endeavour of a linguistic analysis. As a side note, the most used languages, apart from English, were Spanish, French as well as Mandarin. Lastly, the category "Undefined" includes highly polysemous words such as *keep* or *take*, where an exhaustive disambiguation was not feasible, as well as single letters and phrases which could not be assigned a category, since a clear interpretation was not possible in the given context.

	Types		Tokens	
Communication and DMs	45	4.4%	1,239	4.7%
Categorization	50	4.8%	1,056	4.0%
Causality	7	0.7%	216	0.8%
Epistemology	23	2.2%	718	2.8%
Evaluation	83	8.0%	2,587	9.9%
Mental processes	130	12.6%	3,426	13.1%
General	235	22.7%	4,434	17.0%
Religion and spirituality	22	2.1%	430	1.7%
Social processes and relations	26	2.5%	323	1.2%
Processes of trying and achieving	7	0.7%	124	0.5%
Musical qualities and technicalization	88	8.5%	2,413	9.2%
Composers and pieces	44	4.3%	2,027	7.7%
Artists and performance	57	5.5%	2,447	9.3%
Video and recording	25	2.4%	725	2.8%
Foreign languages	117	11.3%	2,655	10.1%
Undefined	75	7.3%	1,363	5.2%

Table 3: Relative sizes of different semantic categories for the 1,000 most frequent lexemes in the comment sections of classical music videos

	Types		Tokens	
Communication and DMs	60	5.8%	2,046	7.0%
Categorization	40	3.8%	1,088	3.7%
Causality	5	0.5%	456	1.5%
Epistemology	26	2.5%	672	2.2%
Evaluation	86	8.3%	2,866	9.7%
Mental processes	120	11.5%	4,975	16.7%
General	269	25.9%	6,278	21.2%
Religion and spirituality	14	1.3%	379	1.4%
Social processes and relations	52	5.0%	1,025	3.5%

Processes of trying and achieving	7	0.7%	91	0.3%
Musical qualities and technicalization	76	7.3%	2,287	7.7%
Composers and pieces	13	1.3%	595	2.0%
Artists and performance	44	4.2%	1,800	6.0%
Video and recording	35	3.4%	895	3.0%
Foreign languages	110	10.6%	2,137	7.2%
Undefined	82	7.9%	2,053	6.9%

Table 4: Relative sizes of different semantic categories for the 1,000 most frequent lexemes in the comment sections of jazz music videos

	Types		**Tokens**	
Communication and DMs	68	6.5%	4,488	9.1%
Categorization	36	3.4%	1,584	3.2%
Causality	9	0.9%	679	1.4%
Epistemology	24	2.3%	1,338	2.7%
Evaluation	74	7.1%	3,196	6.5%
Mental processes	124	11.9%	7,259	14.7%
General	236	22.5%	9,715	19.7%
Religion and spirituality	29	2.8%	1,137	2.3%
Social processes and relations	65	6.2%	2,196	4.4%
Processes of trying and achieving	5	0.5%	196	0.4%
Musical qualities and technicalization	28	2.7%	1,284	2.6%
Composers and pieces	19	1.8%	2,055	4.2%
Artists and performance	30	2.9%	2,100	4.2%
Video and recording	26	2.5%	928	1.9%
Foreign languages	141	13.5%	6,024	12.2%
Undefined	131	12.5%	5,199	10.5%

Table 5: Relative sizes of different semantic categories for the 1,000 most frequent lexemes in the comment sections of pop music videos

The figures in Tables 3-5 give a first insight into which semantic domains are relevant for music fans of different genres judged by their own language use. Apart from the "General" category, whose predominance will partly be scrutinized in the further course of this analysis, in all three genres, evaluative and especially psychological words (i.e., "Mental processes") show high frequencies as well as lexical variation. This could be interpreted as indicating that the discourse in YouTube comments is highly evaluative, personal and subjective, which was to be expected. Interestingly, words regarding musical qualities and technical aspects seem to be relevant for classical music as well as jazz music, however, they seem underrepresented in pop music. A first assumption concerning the frequencies of the category "Musical qualities and technicalization" might be that a more technical discourse concerning music (e.g., how something is played, which instruments/equipment are used, music theory or other musical terminology) is reserved for jazz and classical music commenters. Whether this reflects expertise in or valuing these aspects remains to be seen in a more thorough analysis below. A similar tendency can be seen concerning discourse about the artists, performances, pieces and composers. While these aspects seem to be important for the commenters in classical music, in jazz and pop music, judging from token frequencies, fewer different words relate to this semantic domain. However, this does not necessarily mean that artists, performances and pieces are not relevant for the SIC of music fans in jazz and pop music; singers might be talked about with a focus on other features or with non-musical terminology. To elaborate on this a bit further: words referring to body parts were put in the category "General"; if pop musicians were discussed with regard to their appearance rather than their musical performance, this would not be reflected in the "Artists and performance" category. Thus, a closer inspection of not only the general semantic profile but of other linguistic details will be necessary.

4.2. Representation of the Music Fan

After having established the general semantic profile and drawing some preliminary conclusions, I will now move on to various other linguistic details which should help shed some light onto the question of identity construction of music fans. As a first step, the representation of music fans, which is naturally mainly concerned with identities, should be examined.

Reisigl and Wodak (2009) elaborate on different discursive strategies, among which nomination and predication play an important role for analysing how persons (in this case music fans) are linguistically referred to and what characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them. Simply speaking, nomination looks at which

nouns are used to name and refer to music fans, while predication examines verbs and adjectives as well as verb phrases and adjective phrases that are used to describe these social actors and the processes they are involved in. Additionally, predication includes explicit comparisons, similes, metaphors or other rhetorical figures, among other concepts. (cf. Reisigl and Wodak, 2009, p. 94)

Even though nomination is generally a concept worth considering, for the present analysis explicit nouns which are used to refer to music fans are negligible. The term *fan* itself has an absolute frequency of 120 occurrences in the whole corpus (i.e., comments of all three genres), which corresponds to a relative frequency of 0.04%, two thirds of which are from the pop music corpus; other nominal expressions which refer to people who enjoy (certain types of) music such as *X lover*, *listener* or even *X person* (as in e.g., *music person* or *pop person*) show even lower frequencies. Even a specific nomination such as *Arianator*, which is a neologism for a fan of Ariana Grande, occurs only 9 times in the whole corpus. These numbers lead to the conclusion that music fans, even though clearly having an opinion strong enough to comment on a video, hence indicating a fan identity, seldomly refer to themselves as such. One might argue that when positively or negatively commenting on a piece of music or a music video, explicitly referring to oneself as a fan of the respective genre is redundant, which could be a reason why nomination is a rarely found strategy in the corpus. Thus, the assumption that music fans mainly construct their identities through other linguistic strategies and moves suggests itself.

4.2.1. Establishing Relations

Since commenters seldomly refer to themselves by using nominal expressions, predication seems to be a more relevant and informative strategy to examine with regard to identity construction. As already mentioned above, the personal pronoun *I* is used with a comparatively high frequency, especially in pop music, indicating a rather personal and subjective discourse. 7,557 occurrences of *I* (i.e., a relative frequency of 2.58%) can be found in all three corpora combined; the pop music corpus shows the highest frequency (3,915 occurrences, 2.84%), followed by the jazz music corpus (2,081 occurrences, 2.72%) and the classical music corpus, which contains the fewest occurrences (1,555 occurrences, 1.97%). Fan discourse is thus primarily about posters themselves and about their views.

A full analysis of *I* is not feasible due to the large number of occurrences. Therefore, I have decided to concentrate on occurrences in which fans express emotions and preferences by the use of verbs such as *like*, *love*, *hate*, or *prefer*. These verbs do

not only express feelings, they also have a relational dimension, as loving/hating/preferring also need an object which the lover/hater refers to. In the word frequency lists of all three genres, *like* and *love* rank among the most frequent lexemes, which even further justifies the selection of the two words for a closer analysis. In order to present a well-rounded analysis, also opposites (i.e., *hate* and negations such as *I don't like*) should be considered. In line with the conceptualization presented above, not only establishing what I like, but also what I don't like should play an important role in identity construction and in the construction of SICs, which is another reason why negations of the analysed forms should not be neglected. Moreover, since the present thesis is also concerned with music preferences, the word *prefer* will be taken into consideration as well. Thus, occurrences of *I like*, *I love*, *I hate* and *I prefer* as well as their respective negations (*do not/don't*)– however, not more complex verb constellations including modal verbs (*I would like*), other tenses (*I have always liked*) or other verbs (*I wanted to hate, I used to like*) – are analysed and sorted into semantic categories to get a feel for semantic domains which music fans of the respective genres use in order to express their emotions towards the respective music.

An examination of the expressions of positive or negative relations shows that there are some significant differences between the genres regarding the most important domains of objects to *like* or *love*. Despite these differences, in all three genres posters generally use *I love* more frequently than *I like*. Especially when referring to the performers of the music pieces in question, fans favour *I love X*, which might indicate a tendency towards intensity in order to express "true" fandom and affection. *Loving* something or someone implies a stronger relationship than *liking* it, which inherently results in a greater impact on the construction of one's identity. Moreover, even though the thesis is concerned with analysing music preferences, the lexeme *prefer* is hardly ever used by fans; the only occurrences can be found in classical music and, interestingly, do not compare other music styles to classical music (in the sense of *I prefer classical music to pop music*), but they set different interpretations of the same music piece or composer by different classical musicians in relation to each other. However, these occurrences are so rare that they will not serve as data for a closer analysis.

Classical music discourse clearly puts an emphasis on the skills and performance of the musicians, with a third of all occurrences of *I love* and 43% of *I like* referring to said domain. Posters focus on the musicians' interpretations of the pieces and on their performative qualities. In second place come positive relations to the genre as such (including comments on the music style as well as a general appreciation of composers of the genre) with 15% (*I love*) and 20% (*I like*), followed by comments

about the respective pieces (*love* – 9.9%, *like* – 13.3%). Similarly, for jazz music fans, skills seem important as well – skills and remarks of the performance amount to 25.5 % (*I love*). Another similarity can be seen with *I love*-concordances regarding the music pieces, which make up 15%. However, the biggest difference lies in references to the artists. While, as mentioned above, *I like X* is not realized in discourse, *I love X* occurs with a relative frequency of 34.9% in jazz music discourse, which is more than double the frequency displayed in classical music discourse. The difference to pop music discourse is even greater: almost 40% of all *I love* concordances relate to the singers of the pop music songs. Additionally, the second-highest frequency occurs with expressing affection for the pop songs – e.g., *I love this song* – with a relative frequency of 32.4%. Not only does this set pop music discourse apart from especially classical music discourse, the frequencies of the two domains which are "loved" most by pop music fans are also significantly higher than those of any of the other domains such as skills/performance, appearance or video. In sum, classical music fans seem to appreciate skills, technique (e.g., *I love her playing; I love how Mrs. Hahn projects and plays exactly right; I love the perfect precision of her work*) and genre-specific qualities (e.g., *I love Daniil's interpretation of Chopin; I love his interpretation of Art of Fugue; I love complex and delicate baroque music*) the most. Jazz music discourse displays a preference for both skills/performance and the artists, while pop music fans clearly steer their affection towards the musicians and the specific songs. I would argue that by expressing what I like (or love) I establish a sense of identity – a focus on skills and performance indicates a general desire for things that require specific skills and probably also knowledge about those skills. On the contrary, a focus on the artists or the songs implies an identification with the personalities, the melodies and probably also the contents (lyrics) of the songs, indicating a more emotionally-influenced preference and less desire to emphasize specific knowledge. This tendency will be elaborated on in more detail in Chapter 4.4 (Sophistication). Moreover, expressing affection for a specific artist rather than on general stylistic features or skills might also imply that the music preference is more closely tied to the artist than to the overall genre. Thus, for the SIC "pop music fan", an identification with an artist (with their personality, with what they stand for) might be more relevant than, say, skilful performances.

There are hardly any occurrences of *I hate* or *I don't like*, which might have several reasons. One reason could be that YouTube favours positive comments, thus pushing them higher up in the "most relevant" ranking. However, an argument which contradicts this reasoning is that especially for the videos where all comments were considered (and not only the first 1,000), negative utterances in the

form of expressing hate or dislike are absent from the discourse as well. I would thus argue that mostly fans of the respective genres and music videos comment on them, or, in other words, that hardly any people who strongly dislike a certain music piece or style participate in the comment sections in question. While the lack of utterances regarding what commenters don't like mitigates the initial assumption of creating identity by establishing differences, it also gives more weight to the present and following analyses which mostly assume that the comments are written by people who identify with the music because they like it. If more commenters established a dislike of the genres they comment in, a discussion of the "music fan" would be nonsensical.

This subchapter has shown that while music fans usually do not nominate themselves, they express their fandom through forms such as *I like* or *I love*, mostly establishing a relationship with the artist, their pieces and their skills, depending on the genre. In classical music discourse, fans also establish an appreciation of the genre itself, regularly referring to the genre, to composers or styles inside the genre. For the respective SICs, I would argue that establishing positive relations plays an important role for constructing an identity. By determining aspects to *love*, and by agreeing on more and less relevant features of the different music genres, fans establish group membership and a sense of identity. In contrast to what was expected, establishing negative relations in the form of dislike, and thus emphasising difference, so far does not seem relevant for the SIC construction of "music preference". Apart from expressing likes and appreciation, fans also talk and write about the respective music styles with regard to comparisons, personal opinions and evaluations, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

4.2.2. Interpretive Moves

In the previous chapter I illustrated how music fans establish (more positive than negative) relations with the respective music genres, realized in forms such as *I love* or *I like*. In addition to these forms, I also want to discuss the various interpretive moves which music fans make when writing about the respective songs and genres. In the conceptual framework presented above, I established different interpretive moves and explained their relation to identity construction. In the present subchapter I want to examine which interpretive moves are being used by music fans and whether differences between the three genres can be found.

Locational, categorical and associational moves are generally used to classify music objects; comparison (*X sounds like Y*), classification (*X is a symphony*) and relation to imagery (*X reminds me of a painting*) are used to contextualize music pieces and

to relate them to personal experiences. A disambiguation of the lexeme *like* shows that in a comparative sense (*X is like Y*), occurrences amount to similar frequencies for all three genres – classical music discourse displays 258 occurrences (0.33%), jazz discourse 322 (0.43%) and pop discourse shows 401 occurrences (0.29%). Locational moves seem to be used by music fans of all three genres alike. Categorical moves, on the other hand, are not as evenly distributed throughout the corpora. An examination of the semantic domain "Musical qualities and technicalization" shows, that in classical music discourse, commenters make categorical moves by classifying and specifying various pieces (in the form of *BE a X*). They use specific terminology such as *sonatas*, *etudes*, *symphony*, *or movement*, thus categorizing the musical piece and classifying it as a specific type. As will be discussed at a later point of the thesis, this displays specific knowledge on the part of the commenters and shows that for the SIC "classical music fan", categorical interpretive moves play a bigger role than for other genres.

Concerning evaluative and reflective moves (i.e., ascribing a value or expressing attitudes and emotional states), the semantic categories of "Evaluation" and "Mental Processes" should provide the greatest inside into which moves are made by the fans. I do not want to go into detail about positive or negative evaluations here, since this discussion is more concerned with generally examining interpretive moves. Additionally, a closer analysis of mental processes will be carried out in the following subchapter; an overview of evaluative and reflective moves should thus suffice here. For each genre, evaluation and thus evaluative moves seem to play a significant role; this is not surprising, as being a fan is inherently about valuing one's favourite genre. In pop music discourse, lexemes belonging to the semantic domain of "Evaluation" amount to a relative frequency of 6.5% (with respect to the token numbers of the lexemes considered), and classical and jazz music discourse show an even higher number of occurrences, both with relative frequencies of 9.9% and 9.7% respectively. For all three genres, the discourse comprises a clear majority of positive evaluative terms. Nevertheless, a distinction between pop music discourse and the other two genres can be made here as well: with only roughly 10% of negative evaluative lexemes, classical and jazz music fans seem to focus even more on positive aspects than pop music fans, who evaluate negatively in one fifth of their evaluative moves. All in all, I would still argue that for all three genres, positive aspects of the respective music genres as well as their surroundings seem to be predominant in the discourse.

Reflective moves become manifest in phrases such as *I think* or *I mean* which were assigned to the semantic category of "Mental Processes". Reflective moves seem to be more prevalent in pop music discourse than in the other two genres, with 860

occurrences and a corresponding relative frequency of 0.6% throughout the whole corpus (which includes all occurrences of lexemes of "Mental Processes" preceded by *I*). While this does not seem much at first, the fact that reflective moves represent roughly half of all cognitive processes of the pop music discourse helps with setting this percentage into perspective.

To sum up, all interpretive moves which were introduced in the conceptualization of the present thesis can be found in fan discourse about music. While especially categorical and evaluative moves seem more important for the identity construction of classical music fans, pop music fans seem to establish their SIC by focusing on reflective moves. Jazz music fans, on the other hand, draw on all interpretive moves alike, leaning slightly more towards similar tendencies like those of classical music fans. This means that categorization does not seem to play a crucial role for pop music fan identities, who rather prefer personal reflections on their music style. Subsequently, one might argue that pop music fans might be guided and influenced more by emotions (evaluations and personal reflections), while especially classical music fans emphasize more objective categorizations. Even though there are differences with regard to the reflective and categorical moves, for all three genres, highly subjective locational and evaluative moves play a relevant role in the fans' discourse.

4.2.3. Music to Fulfil a Function

Music fans do not only represent themselves and establish their identities by explicitly talking about themselves; by analysing mental processes which are evoked by listening to music and participating in commenting on the respective music pieces, the functions which music fulfils for the listeners can be examined. This might also give an insight into why music fans listen to their respective favourite music and what the music "does" for them. Subsequently, implications for the SIC construction might be deduced. Therefore, this subchapter will be concerned with scrutinizing the functions music may fulfil for different listeners by taking the semantic category "Mental processes" of the general semantic profile into account.

Mental processes are aspects related to the mind and are, for the purposes of the present analysis, divided into three main sub-categories: cognition, emotion and desire, and perception. "Cognition" contains all processes related to knowing and thinking; "Emotion and desire" includes feelings and needs; "Perception" entails both active and passive perception. These three categories of mental processes can,

and must, be divided into yet more specific subcategories in order to explore which mental processes exactly seem to be prevalent in music fans' discourse.

Before delving into the said close analysis, I want to briefly comment on some general observations. In all three corpora, the semantic domain "Mental processes" shows relatively high frequencies (see Tables 3-5), indicating that this is a salient category. Additionally, also the sub-categories of this domain seem to be similarly distributed in the three music genres, with "Emotion and desire" amounting to the largest proportion, followed by "Cognition" and "Perception". Thus, a general assumption might be that music fans, regardless of the music genre, emphasize their emotions and emotional reactions as well as needs and wishes in the discourse about the music. Considering the theoretical background of the present thesis, this does not seem too surprising, since music is often found to function on an emotional level, catering to emotions and needs the listeners might feel or have. Now, what is interesting to look at is whether these emotions and desires differ regarding the music genres, or, in other words, if music preferences might correlate with a tendency towards certain emotions. Moreover, considering the question whether music aficionados of the respective genres think of music in more cognitive and thus intellectual terms will be necessary in order to fully examine different functions of music.

The emotional dimensions which can be found in the discourse about music are manifold. While some functions such as "Pleasure", "Excitement" or "Relaxation" were expected to be prominent in the discourse (these are emotions which are likely to be evoked and amplified by music), others such as "Gratitude" or "Surprise" might not seem obvious at first. Occurrences of elements of "surprise" might correlate with Schäfer and Mehlhorn's (2017) proposition, as established in section 2.2.2. (on music preferences) above, that an "openness to experience" can be found among listeners of more complex music styles, such as classical or jazz music. This claim is supported by the fact that lexemes regarding "Surprise" (e.g., *stunned*, *surprised*) are found mainly in jazz music discourse, and to some extent in classical music discourse. Furthermore, commenters regularly express gratitude, often towards the musicians, thanking them for their performance; this notion of gratitude is also realized linguistically in all three genres by means of words such as *glad*, *grateful* or *appreciate*. This gratitude indicates that the musician-fan relationship characterizes the overall SIC of "music preference". Moreover, the establishment of (positive and negative) relations is another prevalent strategy of the fan discourse. By that I mean expressions of emotions such as "love", "respect" or "hate", which inherently need an object to project these emotions on and, by doing so, establish a certain relation with the target object. These relationships,

especially between a first-person commenter and the musician, have been examined in more detail above. Consequently, one function of the discourse might be to establish relationships, and subsequently establishing group memberships.

Coming back to the emotional functions of music, the classical music corpus, again, appears to be the linguistically richest one, with the greatest variety of (emotional) functions at display. Commenters not only express pleasure, gratitude and surprise (or fulfilled expectations), their discourse also draws on matters of responsibility (to *care*, something *matters*), creativity and inspiration (*fantasy*, *inspired*), as well as awareness (*ignorance*, *distracting*). These domains mentioned are hardly found in the other two genres, which implies that, for example, creativity and inspiration play a much bigger role in classical music discourse. To me, this comes as a surprise, considering the fact that classical music is, of the three genres in question, the most scripted one with arguably the least (musical) liberties. One possible explanation might be that due to the supposedly higher quality of classical music (see prejudice and stereotypes explained in the "Genres" chapter), commenters feel the need to stress the inspiring quality of the supreme music and its performers.

At this point I also want to discuss the cognitive dimensions which are displayed in the discourse, as this notion of classical music being the "highest art form" also seems to be reflected in this semantic domain. For the analysed data, processes relating to "cognition" can be mainly separated into four categories: knowledge, comprehension, memory and thought. The examined discourse suggests that knowledge and comprehension are significant factors for the genre classical music. By contrast, especially in pop music discourse, cognitive processes relating to thought (including ideas as well as opinions) and memory are prevalent. The prominence of knowledge and comprehension indicates that for classical music fans, a certain level of expertise, of knowledge, and a certain ability of understanding and learning is necessary for "being a classical music fan". This ties in well with the concept of sophistication which will be discussed in Chapter 4.4 and which shows similar tendencies, namely, that classical music fans have a (greater) desire to appear knowledgeable. Conversely, one might argue that for pop music fans, forming and expressing personal thoughts, ideas and opinions is regarded as a relevant factor of being a pop fan. Jazz music discourse seems to be "in between" the other two genres, displaying a relatively even distribution of all cognitive processes, which might imply that both personal opinions as well as knowledge and understanding are important for jazz music aficionados.

What has not been discussed yet, but takes on a prominent role in the semantic domain of "mental processes", is the "desire"-part of "emotion and desire". All three

genres show a clear tendency towards expressing needs and wishes, with words ranging from *hope* and *wish* to more stronger expressions of desires such as *need* or *want*, and including even utterances regarding the absence of something desired, such as *miss*. These occurrences imply that music and discourse about music function as a way of expressing and fulfilling needs and desires, whichever form these might take on. Similar to the emotional function of bringing "pleasure" to the listener, expressing and fulfilling "desires" seems to be a universal function of music, regardless of the genre.

All in all, music fans represent themselves in discourse about music in various ways. While self-nomination is not common, other means of self-representations are prevalent in the fan discourse. By means of expressing affections (e.g., *I (don't) like*, *I love*, ...), music fans establish identities. A distinction between the genres can be made with regard to the aspects of music which fans relate to the most; classical music fans favour skill and performative qualities, jazz music aficionados focus on skills and artists, while pop music fans show a clear preference for the respective musicians and their songs. Other than expressing affection, music fans make interpretive moves when writing about music. All interpretive moves are present in the three corpora; however, classical music fans seem keener on categorizations (categorical and associational moves) while pop music fans draw more on reflective moves. Additionally, music seems to have some functions (such as "pleasure" or "gratitude") which are universal among all genres; nevertheless, several aspects are distinctive for the classical music genre, such as "inspiration" or the tendency to emphasize "knowledge" and "comprehension". In sum, the representations of the music fans show a tendency for classical music fans to foreground knowledge and skills, while pop music fans seem to focus on personal opinions and a close relationship to their favourite artists and songs. Jazz music aficionados seem to draw on various aspects and appear to be the "middle ground" between classical and pop music fans.

4.3. Representation of Artists

While the previous chapter illustrated different forms of representations of the music fans, this chapter is concerned with the representations of artists by the commenters of YouTube videos in the three genres pop, jazz and classical music. First, I will examine the use of proper names. Second, domains which are present in the discourse around the artists and their performances will be analysed. As a third step, nominations of musicians will be scrutinized; which words are used in combination with different (nominations of) artists and what that might reveal

about what commenters feel is worth emphasising will be discussed. Lastly, the artists' appearance will be subject of examination.

4.3.1. Proper Names

Before conducting a more detailed analysis of the (semantic) surroundings of the artists, it is also interesting to briefly illustrate how often the musicians themselves are being named in comments. For Table 6, all occurrences of the artists' proper names with variations, such as first and/or last names (all counted as separate occurrences), stage names and birth names, as well as nicknames and misspellings were considered. All realizations of the names are displayed next to the artists' names in italics.

	Artist	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
Classical Music	**Hilary Hahn** *(Hilary, Hahn, Hillary)*	268	0.34%
	Víkingur Ólafsson *(Víkingur, Ólafsson, Vikingur, Olafsson)*	109	0.14%
	Daniil Trifonov (*Daniil, Trifonov)*	105	0.13%
Jazz Music	**BADBADNOTGOOD** *(BBNG)*	96	0.12%
	FKJ *(French Kiwi Juice, Vincent)*	266	0.34%
	Tom Misch *(Tom, Misch)*	391	0.51%
Pop Music	**Ariana Grande** *(Ariana, Grande, Ari)*	410	0.3%
	Billie Eilish *(Billie, Eilish, Billy)*	512	0.37%
	Lil Nas X *(Lil, Nas)*	182	0.13%

Table 6: Absolute and relative frequencies of the nominations of the nine artists in the three YouTube-comment corpora

Table 6 shows that all three corpora display a very low percentage of proper names of the artists. Added up, in classical music proper names of the musicians featuring in the videos are used with a relative frequency of 0.61%, in jazz with a relative frequency of 0.97% and in pop with a relative frequency of 0.8%. Even though the frequencies are in general quite low, the difference between 0.61% in jazz and 0.97% in classical music, relatively speaking, is 50%, i.e., proper names are used 50% more often, relatively speaking, in jazz comments than in classical comments.

This shows that the concrete personal performance is foregrounded more in jazz than in classical music, where the abstract piece of music is also important.

Additionally, what was interesting to see was the different use of full names versus first names and even nicknames. For some artists it does not make sense to look at the occurrences of full names, since they mainly appear with a stage name (FKJ, BADBADNOTGOOD as well as Lil Nas X), which is why a comparison of classical music to pop music will have to suffice here. Differences between the genres can be seen in the use of the artists' last names. In classical music, it seems to be common to either use the artists first name, their full name or simply their last name. By contrast, in pop music, the artists are almost never referred to by their last names only. While there is no clear tendency towards full name or first name only, the use of the artists' last name seems to be very unusual for discourse about pop music. This might indicate that in pop music commenters want to establish a more personal discourse about and with the musicians. This notion is supported by the above depicted strong collocation of *I love [artist]* in pop music discourse. Moreover, the use of only last names hints at comments *about* the artists, while the use of the first names indicates a more "direct" conversation – *Ariana, I love you.* seems preferrable to *Grande, I love you.* This assumption is also supported by the high frequency of the pronoun *you* in the pop music comments and more specifically the high frequency it occurs together with the respective artists' names. For Billie Eilish, the pronouns *I* and *you* even show a stronger tendency to co-occur with *Billie* than the singer's first and last name.

The uses of the artists' names are not the only ways in which the musicians are being referred to. In the following subchapters also occurrences of nominations (e.g., *singer*, *artist*) will be analysed; however, an analysis and disambiguation of other aspects such as personal or possessive pronouns (e.g., *she*, *her*) is not feasible. Thus, apart from the previous illustration of the use of the proper names, the semantic category "Artist and Performance" (see Tables 3 to 5), as well as the depiction of the artist with regard to appearance will be scrutinized.

4.3.2. Artist and Performance

In the general semantic profile in Chapter 4.1, the semantic category "Artist and Performance" was introduced. Words regarding artists include proper names as well as general nominations such as *musician* or *violinist*. Concerning performance, words that refer to actually performing music (e.g., *play*, *perform*), to the individuality of the performance (e.g., *version*, *rendition*, *expression*) and to the overall setting of performances (e.g., *audience*, *concert*) were assigned to this

semantic category. For the purpose of analysing this semantic domain, sub-categories have been established by looking at the concrete results yielded by the analysis. The sub-categories shall briefly be illustrated below.

- "**Doing music**" includes any words which describe the act of playing or performing music, e.g., *play*, *perform*.
- "**Individuality**" refers to words which emphasize the individual performance and interpretation of a piece, e.g., *rendition*, *version*, *energy*, *expression*.
- "**Musician**" includes nominations such as *singer*, *pianist*, *musician*, *violinist*; however, excluding proper names.
- "**Performance**" words concern the overall settings of a performance, such as *concert*, *performance*, *show*, *live*.
- "**Proper name**" is probably self-explanatory; however, it should be noted that not only proper names of the performing musicians are included here, but also any names of other artists which appear in the comments.

A first look at the data already reveals that the semantic domain of "Artist and Performance" is, compared to the other two genres, over-represented in the discourse about classical music. Additionally, while in jazz and pop music many other musicians' names are included, in classical music, the majority of proper names refers to the musicians who perform the music in the respective videos. Interestingly, in classical music there also seems to be a focus on individuality, especially the word *interpretation* being used quite often. This might indicate that for the performance of classical music, the artist's individual interpretation is crucial. Moreover, I assume that the commenters know various versions of the same piece, otherwise they would not comment on a specific interpretation. *Interpretation* connotes that the performance takes on a specific characteristic which is different to other performances and that the listener is aware of the differences. In contrast to what was assumed about jazz music discourse, namely that improvisation and individuality would take on a big role due to the improvised nature of the music, no such tendency is shown in this semantic domain. Granted, "individuality" still seems to be more important for jazz music discourse than for pop music, however, with only 4.2% of "Artists and performance", words emphasising individuality make up only a very low portion of the whole semantic category.

As a next step, nomination of musicians will be examined. More specifically, I will focus on modifiers in the form of adjectives which are used in combination with the

nominations to analyse which semantic dimensions are being foregrounded. The sub-category "musician" includes the following nouns:

performer *violinist* *soloist* *pianist* *artist*
musician *maestro* *conductor* *player* *singer*

These nominations are not evenly distributed among the three genres. Classical music discourse shows a higher amount (293 tokens, roughly 12% of the category "Artist and performance") and a higher variation of words referring to musicians, including all of the above except for *singer*. In the jazz music comments, only three different words are used to describe musicians (*artist*, *musician*, *player*). Compared to the low lexical variation, the total token number is quite high, amounting to 147 occurrences which amounts to a relative frequency of 8.2%. Even less variation occurs in the comments of the pop music videos, with *artist* and *singer* being the only nominations concerning musicians. Similar to jazz music, despite the lack in variation, with 199 occurrences (8.9% of "artist and performance") its frequency is comparably high. There are several reasons why classical music aficionados use more different words to describe musicians. One might argue that, while in pop music the musicians are mostly perceived as singers (other instruments are rarely mentioned, as will also be discussed in more detail below), in classical music (especially in the case of the selected videos), musicians play different instruments, thus leading to a higher number of words being used to refer to the respective artists. However, also jazz music comments show very low lexical variation with regard to musicians, even though the artists in the videos play different instruments as well. Thus, a first conclusion might be that classical music fans put more emphasis on musicians and in general show higher lexical variation. Moreover, in pop music the singer is the most important musician, thus it is hardly surprising that *singer* is among the prominent words to describe a person playing music.

How the musicians are depicted can be seen through an examination of modifiers of the different nominations of musicians. The table below shows all adjectives in L1 position (the position directly preceding the search word) which are used in order to describe the sub-category "musician". Occurrences of compound adjectives are included, orthographic variations (e.g., *favourite*/*favorite*) are presented as one lexeme.

Classical Music		Jazz music	Pop music
aging	*good*	*accomplished*	*16-year-old*
alien	*good enough*	*amazing*	*amazing*
amazing	*graphic*	*best*	*bad*
awesome	*great*	*Brazilian*	*beautiful*
beautiful	*greatest*	*brilliant*	*best*
beginner-	*greatest living*	*contemporary*	*boring*
intermediate	*gypsy*	*dope*	*capable*
best	*Icelandic*	*fave*	*controversial*
better	*incredible*	*favourite*	*creative*
brilliant	*individual*	*few*	*excellent*
chosen	*legendary*	*gifted*	*fabulous*
classical	*living*	*good*	*fake*
Colombian	*mature*	*great*	*false*
contemporary	*musical*	*greatest*	*famous*
cool	*new*	*grounded*	*fav*
emotional	*noisy*	*important*	*favourite*
enriching	*old*	*legendary*	*female*
excellent	*outstanding*	*natural*	*gay*
exciting	*performing*	*original*	*gifted*
expressive	*professional*	*phenomenal*	*good*
exquisite	*real*	*most-played*	*great*
extraordinary	*romantic*	*real*	*greater*
famous	*serious*	*relaxing*	*heart-wrenching*
fantastic	*skillful*	*sick*	*incredible*
fav	*sophisticated*	*talented*	*legendary*
favourite	*special*	*top*	*mainstream*
favourite Bach-	*sublime*	*top notch*	*male*
favourite living	*talented*	*true*	*mind-blowing*
first	*tortured*	*underrated*	*overrated*
first class	*true*	*unique*	*overweight*
generous	*uninvited*	*upcoming*	*perfect*
genius	*wonderful*	*well-rounded*	*real*
gentle	*world class*	*young*	*talented*
gifted			*teenage*
			true
			twelfth
			unique
			wonderful
			younger

Table 7: L1 positioned modifiers of nominations of "musician" in the form of adjectives of all three corpora

In line with the higher number and variation of nouns for "musician", also a higher number of modifiers is being used by commenters in the section of classical music, increasing the lexical variation in this corpus. Almost all modifiers are positively connoted, with very few exceptions, which can mainly be found among pop music comments (e.g., *bad*, *overrated*, *boring*). The majority of adjectives in L1 position, regardless of the genre, are used to emphasize the quality, ability and to some

extent also uniqueness of the musician. This supports the underlying assumption of the present thesis, and the finding of the chapter on representations of the music fan, that most commenters are fans of the respective genres they comment on. Naturally, I assume that also people who show a dislike for the respective music pieces, artists or genres, post comments; however, at least in the first 1,000 comments, they do not seem to dominate the discourse.

Looking at the various modifiers for musicians, there are some adjectives which can be found in all three corpora. Common positive modifiers such as *good*, *great*, or their superlatives (*best* or *greatest*) were expected to be included in any fan discourse. More interesting for the present analysis is which other modifiers are being used to express fandom. In all three corpora, evaluative modifiers are among the most prominent ones. Additionally, adjectives relating to general aspects such as geographic or temporal specifications can be found throughout all three comment sections. Discourse on classical music and on jazz music also shows a preference for specifying the musician with regard to their skills – 25.9% and 27.3% of modifiers (percentages relating to token numbers), i.e., more than a fourth, relate to the musicians' capability. Additionally, while jazz music discourse does not display many modifiers which express emotional reactions, classical and pop music discourse do to some extent (roughly 8-10%). Interestingly, in pop discourse there are more modifiers regarding epistemology, i.e., features regarding truth, than in both other genres. While *true* and *real* also occur in jazz and classical music, the modifiers *fake*, and *false* can only be found in pop music comments. This raises the question whether matters of truth and authenticity might play a bigger role in pop music discourse than in the other two genres. Additionally, I want to mention that matters of "uniqueness" seem to be relevant for all three genres, even if in different ways; in classical and jazz music discourse, adjectives emphasising the uniqueness of the artists are found regularly, whereas in pop music the opposite (namely *mainstream*) is also being used. In a section on "deviance" below, I will follow up on the question of the importance of being unique and different for the identity construction of music fans, but a first tendency seems to show here already.

The list of modifiers above shows that for all three SICs, the foregrounding of positive aspects regarding the musicians seems to be relevant. While it would also be possible to establish the quality of a music genre or musician by comparing it to another and by devaluing other genres, in this case, music fans seem to prefer emphasising the skills and assets of the musicians in their favoured genre. Additionally, by regarding them as their *favourite* artists, they establish a relationship and identify with them. The three genres differ to some extent in their use of semantic domains; while classical and jazz music fans, again, emphasize

skills, pop music fans focus on emotional reactions as well as matters of truth and authenticity.

4.3.3. Appearance

In this subchapter I will illustrate if and how appearance plays a role in fan discourse and how fans perceive musicians. The previous depiction of modifiers has already shown a small, yet noticeable, tendency for pop music discourse to include more adjectives relating to appearance and personality of the artists than the other two genres (see Table 7). Thus, whether the genres put a focus on appearance and looks and possible implications for the SIC construction of the respective genres will be discussed. Considering appearance in the present analysis also takes the fact into account that the corpora are comprised of YouTube comments, i.e., comments of a platform which does not only serve an auditory but a visual purpose as well. Moreover, as was illustrated in the theoretical framework, appearance can be an important factor in identifying with social groups, thus, an analysis of the discourse regarding looks of musicians might prove useful for determining the role of appearances in the SICs for the three genres. For this endeavour, words belonging to the domain of "body and appearance" (a subcategory of the semantic category "General" used in the semantic profiling) will be scrutinized. The results should provide some information on whether appearance (and if yes, which aspects specifically) plays a role in fan discourse and, subsequently, identity construction.

In classical music, there are mainly two body regions which seem to be relevant for the fans – the head as well as the arms and hands. A closer look at these two areas shows two opposing tendencies in the discourse. The hands of the musicians are relevant as they are the most obvious body part responsible for playing the instruments. Classical music aficionados discuss the technique as well as the function of left or right hand (with regard to the performance). The commenters express their knowledge and expertise by valuing the musicians' skills and expression (e.g., *probably has the best left hand I've ever heard*; *his hands are so soft on the keys*; *how does he make his left hand sound like a cello doing pizzicato?*), as well as by commenting on features of the music piece (e.g., *with Bach, the right hand has to know what the left hand is doing*; *A faster part in the right hand*; *...which are tricky to play with the same hand as the melody in 16th notes*). However, the discourse is also concerned with looks, especially negative aspects of the musicians' appearances. Commenters seem to complain about Hilary Hahn's hair, falling over her face while playing and they seem especially outraged by the appearance of Daniil Trifonov, displaying long hair and long fingernails. This focus

on the negative aspects of the artists' looks might indicate that classical music fans desire their favourite classical musicians to not only musically reach perfection but also to look the part. Additionally, as was established above in the theoretical framework, certain genres require certain appearances; according to these social norms, artists in classical music are required to appear elegantly, even flawless.

Similar to classical music comments, also jazz music discourse shows a preference for body parts related to the head and to the hands of the musicians. However, unlike in classical music, the hands and fingers of the artists are not judged by their technical abilities, they are rather set into context with emotions they are able to elicit and rather metaphorical language is used (e.g., *you have been blessed with spirit fingers*; *his fingers on the piano make me feel like [...]*; *your fingers massage our minds and souls [...]*). Moreover, regarding the appearance and looks of the artists, jazz music aficionados comment on the facial expressions of the musicians, as they seem to *pull a face* while playing their music, especially while improvising. In contrast to classical music, where commenters seem to be taken aback by any features which might not be appealing and near-perfect, jazz fans write positively about the musicians' facial expressions (e.g., *I like the strained face*; *You can't enjoy music without pulling a face*; *I'm pulling my face when he pulls his face cause I agree.*). For them, expressing emotions about the music, even if resulting in a non-appealing appearance, is crucial for a full musical experience. Additionally, one artist's hair is commented on, as it seems to be rather wild and uncombed. Again in stark contrast to the discourse about the classical music artists, the dishevelled appearance is not being criticised by the fans; on the contrary, commenters seem to appreciate FKJ's looks (e.g., *He is an entire aesthetic. His house, his outfits, his hair, all of it.*; *His hair is so cool.*; *Next time someone tells you a guy with long hair and dirty clothes doesn't have nothing good to offer just send this masterpiece.*), and in a later video even comment on missing his hairstyle as he seems to have cut it. Therefore, jazz fans do not focus on artists' elegant and pleasing appearance; they rather appreciate authenticity and expression of artistry in the artists' music as well as their outer appearance.

In pop music discourse, body parts which are frequently included in the comments relate to features of the face (*eyes, face, mouth*), the head, as well as the full body. Additionally, in contrast to the other two genres, the words *ass* as well as specific movement of the said body part in the form of *twerking* can be found among the most frequent lexemes. Taking into account that also *mouth* is among the most frequent lexemes, as another sensual body part, the question arises whether discourse about pop musicians might be sexualized to some extent. Generally, the examination shows that body parts are frequently commented on specifically in

relation to the music videos. To better explain this: *twerking* occurs only in one of the nine comment sections, namely in "Call me by your name", due to the fact that the singer is twerking in the music video. Moreover, *ass* is mainly used in citations of the lyrics of the same song. Thus, the focus on this body part is limited to primarily one music piece and correlates with the contents of the song and video. Similarly, the body part *mouth* mainly occurs in the lyrics citations of "Call me by your name" and "Therefore I am". Therefore, I would argue that any sexualizations that might occur in the discourse about pop music are mostly elicited by the contents of the lyrics and music videos; a generally tendency to focus on sexuality of pop musicians could not be found in the data. Naturally, I cannot rule out that other underlying structures foreground sexuality, but an extensive analysis of this aspect would not be feasible here. Another occurrence which is special for the pop music discourse is *clothes*, however, its frequency can once again be set into relation with song lyrics (this time of the song "Power").

Coming back to other body parts in pop discourse, with the exception of *hair*, the majority of occurrences of body parts can be found among the citations of various song lyrics. This strong relation of discourse and song lyrics (in this case on a content level) highlights the lyrics' overall influence on the discourse in pop music, as was proposed in the conceptualization of the thesis. The female singers' hairstyles seem to be the only aspect of their appearance which is commented on regardless of the content of the songs. Commenters appraise the different hairstyles and discuss the best hair colour. Hence, *hair* seems to be one aspect connecting all three genres; for all three comment sections, hairstyles and issues regarding a musician's hair are relevant for the commenters. One might argue that, similar to clothing, hair and hairstyles are intertwined with one's identity (or with the depiction of one's identity); I can easily change my hair and thus my appearance, and it makes a difference for identity construction and categorization whether I wear my hear in dreadlocks or in a formal up-do. Thus, musicians' overall appearance, as well as their hairstyles, might have an impact on whether fans identify with them and the respective genre.

In sum, musicians of the three genres are represented in different ways. While the use of proper names seems similarly unpopular in all three genres, classical music discourse shows high lexical variation with regard to nominations of the artists. Moreover, this genre once more focuses on skills via the commenters' use of modifiers and discourse about musicians' body parts. The fans of classical music also seem to adhere to stereotypical social norms which require classical musicians

to appear in an elegant, almost perfect way. Showing some similarities, jazz music discourse foregrounds skills with regard to modifiers of "musician" (and respective nominations), while displaying differences with respect to discourse about appearance – jazz music aficionados tend to prefer authenticity and expression of emotions to perfection. Pop music discourse establishes a more personal relationship to the artists than the other two genres, which can be seen in the avoidance of using the artists' last names. Additionally, pop fans focus on emotional reactions regarding their favourite artists and they seem to emphasize aspects of "truth" or "fakeness", which implies a certain relevance of the question of authenticity in the genre. Lastly, pop music comments are highly influenced by the song lyrics which indicates the importance of the message of a song for identifying with it.

In both analyses so far, classical music fans have shown a tendency to foreground skills and a preference for complex matters which require knowledge. The following chapter seeks to examine this phenomenon further.

4.4. Sophistication

Starting with an assumption about conceptual strategies at hand and then examining the data with regard to the strategy is another valuable approach to researching data within corpus-based Critical Discourse Analysis. This is what I will do in the following two chapters, focusing on two conceptual strategies that might play a role in identity construction for music fans.

One of the main hypotheses of the present work is that the comments show a difference in sophistication between the gernes. Sophistication, in this context, means the desire to have a preference in taste for things that are complex and require knowledge, information, and education. This desire, if it exists, can be seen in various linguistic elements such as complexity of syntax (e.g., sentence structures) or the use of low-frequency words as well as content-related elements such as the incorporation of music-specific terminology and knowledge. The concept of sophistication ties in with the concept of representation and plays an important role for identity construction and the construction of the music fan SIC, since it is an active (even if at times unconscious) move on the part of the music fan.

4.4.1. Music-Specific Knowledge and Terminology

First of all, the semantic category "Musical qualities and technicalization" should be analysed in more detail. As can be seen in Tables 3-5 above, words belonging to this category occur with different relative frequencies with respect to the three music genres. While classical and jazz music show relative frequencies of 9.2% and 7.7%, respectively, in pop music, words regarding musical qualities and technical aspects in music only amount to a relative frequency of 2.6%. A closer look at the lexemes in this category is necessary here. Therefore, I have created a semantic profile for all words in this semantic domain, sorting them into sub-categories. The following tables show the absolute numbers of types and tokens in each sub-category for the respective genres.

Sub-categories of "musical qualities and technicalization"	Types	Tokens
Genre	9	200
Instruments	12	561
Musicians	2	51
Piece	28	407
Music theory and specific terminology	37	1,194

Table 8: Sub-categories in the semantic domain of "Musical qualities and technicalization" in the word frequency list of classical music

Sub-categories of "musical qualities and technicalization"	Types	Tokens
Genre	7	104
Instruments	8	462
Musicians	4	89
Piece	8	173
Music theory and specific terminology	49	1,459

Table 9: Sub-categories in the semantic domain of "Musical qualities and technicalization" in the word frequency list of jazz music

Sub-categories of "musical qualities and technicalization"	Types	Tokens
Genre	1	47
Instruments	0	0
Musicians	2	51
Piece	8	197
Music theory and specific terminology	14	914
Industry	3	75

Table 10: Sub-categories in the semantic domain of "Musical qualities and technicalization" in the word frequency list of pop music

In jazz, there seems to be a focus on technical issues as well as a frequent use of subject specific terminology. A closer analysis shows that especially the way the pieces are performed, e.g., whether the artist uses specific tools (such as *pedals*, *effects* or devices such as a *DAW* or a *looper*) or how the artist improvises and which notes he plays (e.g., represented with the words *riff*, *lick*, *improvise*, or *solo*) is of great interest to the fans who comment on the music videos. Considering the fact that, as was established in the description of the different music genres in Chapter 2, one of the most important features of jazz is its improvised and spontaneous nature, with the artist shaping a piece mainly with their improvisations and individual musical decisions, it seems only natural that this aspect is also focused on in discourse about jazz. This assumption was also put forth in the discussion of language about music (Chapter 2.3.2) where the difference between professional and lay discourse about jazz music was illustrated. The initial hypothesis that lay discourse will mirror musician's discourse, i.e., a focus on improvisational aspects of the performed music, is supported by the findings of this semantic profile. Moreover, by commenting on musical and technical specifics, the fans (want to) appear as experts in the field, displaying their knowledge content-wise, genre-wise as well as by their choice of music-specific terminology. In addition, there is more lexical variation in this sub-category than in classical and especially in pop music, which indicates that jazz fans not only put an emphasis on specific technical terminology in the semantic domain of "Musical qualities and technicalization", but they also show higher expertise with regard to terminology.

Additionally, while in classical music and in jazz, instruments play a relevant role in the discourse about the music, this category is completely absent from pop music. Even though the voice and lyrics are frequently included in pop music comments, no instruments or instrument-related lexemes can be found among the

most frequently used words. This hints at the fact that especially in pop music, the singer is the most important aspect of this music, while the backing music only plays a subordinate role. One might argue that the main "instrument" used in pop music (and especially in the selected songs) is the voice; however, even though there is vocal music in the selected jazz music videos, the lyrics and the vocal performance do not dominate the discourse in this genre in contrast to the comments in pop music. Moreover, even though the solo instruments of the respective classical music pieces (i.e., the piano and the violin) are discussed with the highest frequency, also other instruments are mentioned and commented on. Applying this to pop music would mean that even though the voice as an instrument is discussed most, also other instruments should be at least mentioned; however, this is, as already established, not the case. Thus, for the identity of being a pop music fan, specific knowledge about instruments, technical terminology or expertise in music theory does not seem to be important. The SIC "pop music fan" does not draw upon expertise but more on the concept of "lay listener", i.e., it foregrounds being very accessible since no pre-knowledge seems to be necessary, not pretending to be something "complex" or music for the elite, and even seems to cherish being "average" and "mainstream".

Furthermore, the composer and thus also the piece itself plays a major role in classical music. This claim, which was already briefly introduced above when illustrating the high number of occurrences of the composer's name *Bach*, is supported by the analysis of the semantic domain of "Musical qualities and technicalization". Table 8 shows that in classical music, numerous words relate to pieces (terminology such as *theme*, *melody*, *sonatas*, *concertos*, or even *notes*), indicating that while the performance is still important, the compositions themselves are highly relevant as well. Moreover, not only names of (kinds of) pieces which are performed in the selected music videos are discussed. Commenters includes specific terminology concerning musical pieces such as *etudes*, *sonatas*, *concertos*, *partitas*, *zigeunerweisen*, *cantata*, *prelude* or even *czardas*, as was also already displayed in the chapter on "Interpretive moves". A reason for this might be that the classical music fan is not satisfied with simply commenting on the music piece at hand, but feels the need to compare and contrast it to other music pieces, thus showing their expertise in the genre, both generally (knowledge about different classical pieces) and musically (the ability to compare the musical qualities of different pieces). The SIC "classical music fan" is thus characterized by a level of expertise in the genre and the ability to compare and contrast different pieces.

4.4.2. Syntax

Another aspect which can shed light onto the concept of sophistication with regard to the three respective music genres, aside from lexical choices, is the syntax which is incorporated in the comments. Comment length, complexity of sentence structures, as well as features such as punctuation or even the use of emojis might help understand which role sophistication (or the desire to appear sophisticated) play in the SIC construction.

Table 2 shows that the average amount of words per comments is 13 for pop music, 10 for jazz music and 17 for classical music. The higher average length of comments in the classical music comment section might be another indicator for more complex, thus more sophisticated, discourse. However, average length alone does not suffice to establish and support such a claim; so far, jazz discourse has been found to be more technical and specific, but with the fewest average number of words per comment, the assumption of jazz fans wanting to appear sophisticated is undermined to some extent. Nevertheless, other syntactic features need to be examined in more detail to reach a well-founded conclusion.

Syntactic complexity can be defined as "the range and the sophistication of grammatical resources exhibited in language production." (Ortega, 2015, p. 85) Including and being related to concepts such as variety and degree of linguistic elaborateness, syntactic complexity is strongly interrelated with formality; formal, academic texts favour diverse and elaborate language. (Larsson and Kaatari, 2020, pp. 1–2) Therefore, I assume that if music fans want to appear sophisticated, they will draw upon more elaborate and complex language, which not only includes specific terminology as has been discussed on several occasions above, but also syntactic complexity. This can manifest itself in features such as use of punctuation, sentence length and clause length. As not every single sentence can be analysed individually, the number of uses of punctuation marks which end a sentence (full stop, exclamation mark and question mark) will be set into relation to the overall number of words in the extracts of the comment sections. With this approach, I have to be aware of the fact that fewer occurrences of punctuation marks might indicate two opposing tendencies: on the one hand, longer sentences lead to fewer punctuation marks, i.e., a small number of such might support the notion of syntactic complexity. On the other hand, a lower number of punctuation marks might also simply indicate that commenters do not adhere to punctuation rules and show a tendency to omit punctuation, which would contribute to a lower syntactic complexity and less formality in the corpus. A look at the WordSmith statistics (without stoplists or lemmatization), which include sentence numbers for the corpus, helps shed light onto this ambiguity. Even though the corpus of pop

music comments is considerably larger than the one of classical music and jazz music comments regarding the word count, the number of sentences is not proportionally higher (sentence numbers according to WordSmith: classical – 6,596, jazz – 5,911, pop – 6,951). Therefore, I assume that of the two presented tendencies regarding punctuation and mean sentence length, the latter, i.e., a lack of punctuation throughout the corpus, is the case. Unfortunately, this also means that a statistical mean sentence length as well as a comparison to the other two corpora is not necessarily meaningful for the pop music comments. Apart from the relatively low number of full sentences, the pop music corpus also shows fewer occurrences (in relation to the word count) of other punctuation marks such as commas, semi-colons (which, as a side note, are very rare throughout all three corpora), or hyphens. Thus, a preliminary conclusion might be that in comparison, the pop music comments show the lowest degree of formality, hence also displaying a lower level of sophistication.

Since classical music comments and jazz music comments show rather similar statistics concerning punctuation, the comparison of these two corpora seems more relevant. With a mean sentence length of approximately 13 words, the jazz music comments show a slightly higher mean sentence length than classical music comments with an average length of approximately 11 words. Nevertheless, the classical music corpus displays a significantly larger amount of punctuation marks in total, especially when comparing full stops, commas and semicolons. Interestingly, with regard to exclamation marks, the jazz music corpus shows almost a third more occurrences than classical music comments, leading to the impression that in jazz music, commenters appear more emotionally involved or want to be more persuasive. All in all, the classical music comments display a slightly higher level of formality due to the relatively high number of punctuation marks used. Slightly higher in a sense that in general, formal use of syntax and punctuation does not seem to play a crucial role in YouTube comment sections, be it those of pop, jazz or classical music. Moreover, while these statistics might provide some information on syntactic complexity with regard to punctuation, one has to be aware of the fact that the sentence and clause lengths as well as punctuation in general are by no means evenly distributed among the comments. While some commenters use longer phrases and more complex syntax, others might not use any punctuation at all, simply comment with one- or two-word phrases or even just by means of emojis (see elaboration below).

If syntactic features such as punctuation and clause length do not provide enough insight into syntactic complexity of the analysed discourse, a look at a word class which is used for building complex structures might do so: conjunctions and

conjunctive adverbs. They usually make a sentence more complex since they add information or integrate information represented as clauses into the former. Linguistically speaking, conjunctions "are words used to make connections and indicate relationships between events." (Yule, 2014, p. 81) While conjunctions such as *and*, *but* or *because* are quite common in everyday spoken and written language, conjunctive adverbs such as *however* or *moreover* are usually found in more formal settings, foremost in written contexts. The corpus will be examined with regard to the lexemes *and*, *but*, *because*, *if*, *since*, *although*, *before*, *after*, *while*, *whereas*, *however*, *moreover*, *therefore*, *thus*, *additionally*, and *furthermore*. An examination of conjunctions in the fan discourse shows that classical music comments show the highest relative frequency of conjunctions (in sum and for each respective conjunction) with a total of 3.37%, followed by pop music comments (3.25%) and jazz music comments (2.58%) in second and third place. Considering the fact that especially in pop music, commenters often cite the lyrics of the respective songs, which include some of the more common conjunctions (*and*, *but*), the fact that pop music comments still show fewer words in this word class than classical music is significant. When roughly ruling out the occurrences which relate to song lyrics, pop music is most likely to show the least amount of conjunctions of all three corpora, fostering the already established tendency of being the music genre which displays the least formal discourse. Moreover, with the exception of *therefore*, hardly any conjunctive adverbs are used in pop music discourse. The relatively high number of occurrences of *therefore* can be easily explained when examining the chosen songs – one of the analysed songs is called "Therefore I am", thus, occurrences of the conjunction can be set into relation with citations of the song lyrics or the title. In contrast, in classical music discourse, more than three times as many conjunctive adjectives, with *however* being the most frequent one, than in jazz or pop music comments are used. Nevertheless, the relative frequency of conjunctive adverbs in classical music comments amounts to roughly 0.05%, making up a very low percentage in total. This might again support the assumption that, while classical music fans seem to show a slightly higher tendency for formality, all in all, the YouTube commenters' first and foremost concern does not seem to be syntactic complexity and formality.

Another aspect which might indicate sophistication with regard to syntax is the use of structures which indicate objective statements. In academia and scientific writings, subjectivity is often avoided by phrasing sentences in a way that the author is not linguistically present in the sentence. In order to achieve this, *I* is often avoided, structures that suggest more objective views and general knowledge as well as passive structures are preferred to expressing personal opinions. Pursuing

this line of thought, one might argue that fewer occurrences of *I* in a corpus might indicate less subjectivity and subsequently more sophistication. In the comment section of classical music, *I* occurs 1,555 times, which corresponds with a relative frequency of 1.97%. In the jazz music corpus, 2,081 occurrences of *I* can be found (2.72%), while in pop music there are 3,915 (2.84%) uses of *I*. All three corpora show a relatively frequent use of the pronoun *I*. Nevertheless, classical music discourse seems to use some fewer structures with the first-person pronoun, supporting the already established tendency of pop music discourse being less sophisticated, or, in other words, pop music fans showing less desire to appear sophisticated than classical music fans. However, also jazz music discourse seems to be more personal and more objective than its classical equivalent, continuing to undermine the initial assumption that the SIC "jazz music fan" is characterized by sophistication as well. While this aspect alone could not serve as a decisive aspect for sophistication, it does underpin the overall notion that especially for the SIC of "pop music fan", sophistication plays a less important role than for the other two genre-related SICs.

As a last point, I also briefly want to comment on the use of emojis here. Usually, emojis are being used in more informal discourse such as text messages. Naturally, also YouTube comments include numerous emojis, sometimes supporting the text in the comments, sometimes also being comments on their own. A close examination and disambiguation of emojis would not be feasible, as each emoji would have to be annotated separately in order to statistically analyse which emojis are being used for which purposes by which music fans. However, the overall analysis shows that in pop music discourse and in jazz music discourse, commenters use 1.5 times more emojis in order to express themselves than commenters in classical music discourse. This means that while in classical music comments, on average only every third to fourth comment includes emojis, in pop and jazz the frequency amounts to about every second comment. These results contribute to the overall notion of discourse of classical music aficionados appearing to be more sophisticated than discourse in the genres pop and jazz music. This supports the underlying assumption that classical music fans want to appear more educated and that sophistication plays a more important role for the SIC "classical music fan" than for "pop music fan".

To sum up, all examined aspects of "Sophistication" – some more and some less significant – hint at a distinction between classical and pop music fans with regard to the desire to appear educated and knowledgeable. Classical music fans show their desire for sophistication in features such as lexical variation, specific music-related expertise, comment length, sentence length, use of punctuation as well as use of emojis. Jazz music fans seem to display a certain tendency towards

sophistication in their level of expertise regarding musical qualities and technical aspects, as well as in their overall use of punctuation and sentence length. In contrast, for the SIC "pop music fan", sophistication does not seem to play a relevant role.

4.5. Deviance

After having analysed the representation of the music fans and the artists as well as the aspect of sophistication, the concept of deviance will be examined. Tying in with the conceptualization of the present thesis, identity construction is not only about what I am and which group I belong to (as well as identifying with any aspects that come with that social group), but also about what I am not. Thus, difference to others, to other individuals as well as to other social groups, is crucial for the construction of the respective SICs. The similarities to one's own group and the differences to other groups also relate to what was explained as a paradigmatically defined SIC. At this point deviance, namely the desire to be different, comes into play. In the present chapter, various forms of deviance will be scrutinized. First of all, occurrences of *I am* as well as *I am not* (including their contracted forms *I'm* and *I'm not*) will be studied in order to establish how fans of the respective genres represent themselves with regard to what they are or are not. Secondly, if and how fans establish differences by incorporating other genres in their discourse (e.g., comparing their preferred music to other songs or genres) will be examined. Lastly, differences in specific semantic domains, which have not been subject of discussion yet, and how these differences might or might not set the music fans apart will be discussed.

4.5.1. Self-designation

In the chapter on the representation of the music fan, several ways of (self-) representation have been discussed. However, one important aspect has been omitted so far, namely self-designation realized as *I am* or *I am not* (as well as their contracted forms). In what way these phrases contribute to deviance, i.e., fans distancing themselves from other genres or from a majority in general, will be examined. Any occurrences which simply cite the lyrics of the respective songs were not included in the analysis. Statistically, all three corpora show a preference for the contracted form *I'm*, which reflects the informality of the discourse. Nevertheless, classical music discourse, again, displays a tendency towards being slightly more formal than the other two genres – in classical music, 62.5% (out of all occurrences of *I am* and *I'm*) are realized in the contracted form, whereas *I'm* amounts to 76% in jazz music and 77.3% of all occurrences in pop music comments.

As a general observation, classical music as well as pop music show a clear preference for noun phrases as well as adjectives following the *I am/I'm*, while jazz music discourse shows a more balanced distribution between noun phrases, adjectives and progressive tense (e.g., *I am thinking*). This means that all three genres seem to prefer representations of states of being to representations of ongoing and progressing events; however, jazz music fans show a tendency to include progressive aspects to some extent. Moreover, classical music discourse displays more uses of *I'm not*/*I am not* than the two other genres, indicating a tendency towards SIC construction by establishing difference. Since this chapter is concerned with "deviance", the following paragraphs will focus on aspects of self-designation which might imply the said desire to be different, such as noun phrases or descriptive adjectives. Hence, a general discussion of how music fans represent themselves by means of *I am*/*I'm*, including semantic profiling, an analysis of all collocates or grammatical structures, will not be pursued here.

I assume that with most noun phrases which do not explicitly state that the posters are fans, the commenters seem to have a reason for stating who or what they are, in addition to (or also in contrast to) being a fan of the respective music genre. Thus, any phrases including *I am an X* might indicate a desire to set oneself apart from other commenters. This kind of self-designation might be used to justify an opinion or to give even more weight to the following (or preceding) comment. To give an example for my reasoning: when writing *I'm a religious person* I feel the need to emphasize this identity, assuming that not everyone would think so anyway in the context of music video comments. Moreover, I do not feel like I am amidst a community of religious people (in contrast to saying "I'm a religious person" in a Christian group, which would be redundant), which leads me to explicitly expressing my religious belief and by doing so, setting me apart from others who are not religious. Since posters regularly express such different identities, I also assume that they want to be perceived as different to some extent; otherwise, there would be no need to stress these differences in the comments. Similarly, ascribing oneself certain qualities such as age, gender, sexuality or ethnicity might function along the same line as noun phrases.

The analysis of said structures shows that in all three genres deviance is established to a comparable extent by means of establishing "who/what I am (not)". In all three genres, some commenters (roughly 15% of occurrences of *I am* and variations) appear to set themselves apart with the use of noun phrases as well as adjectives relating to character traits and facts about oneself. Thus, I would argue that deviance, in the sense of establishing difference inside a group of expectedly

similar people, plays a noticeable, yet probably subordinate role for music fans of all three genres.

The previous discussion of deviance was focused on differences other than the music preferences; the subsequent subchapter seeks to extend the concept of "deviance" by examining the establishment of differences concerning music preference through discourse about music gernes.

4.5.2. Genres

By means of explicitly discussing genres – both the genre the respective video belongs to as well as other genres – one can establish one's own relationship to the various genres. Examining and characterizing this relationship can help understand the fans' attitudes towards specific genres as well as strategies which might be used to dissociate themselves from other genres and their fans, thus also from other SICs.

In both classical music and jazz, the genre that is most often mentioned is the respective genre itself, as Tables 11 and 12 show. In addition, other genres such as the respective other genre as well as pop or rock music are mentioned several times as well. In pop music, on the other hand, only *pop music* itself as a genre is mentioned (absolute number: *pop* 47) among the most frequent lexemes. This might lead to the conclusion that pop fans rarely explicitly compare their preferred music to other music styles and do not focus on deviance.

Genre	Occurrences
classic(al)	73
gypsy	47
baroque	18
contemporary	14
rock	13
folk	12
pop	12
opera	11

Table 11: Occurrences of different genres among the 1,000 most frequent lexemes in the comment sections of classical music videos; absolute frequency

Genre	Occurrences
jazz	47
pop	15
gypsy	14
funk	10
rock	9
classical	6
soul	3

Table 12: Occurrences of different genres among the 1,000 most frequent lexemes in the comment sections of jazz music videos; absolute frequency

The contexts in which different genres are being discussed may provide insight into how music fans use discourse about music genres for establishing their own identity with regard to their preferred music style. I will start with the comment section of classical music videos. When analysing the use of the word *classical*, most commonly realized as the collocation *classical music*, what becomes apparent is that very often, commenters feel that they (would) need to possess specific knowledge in order to comment on classical music or to express their thoughts. This means that phrases like *I don't know much about classical music, but* are found in the corpus of classical music comments. By stating that I do not know much about something, I can mitigate what follows, explaining why my comment might be not entirely correct, and still being allowed to share my thoughts on the topic. It serves as a way of apologizing while still legitimizing my thoughts. Additionally, collocations such as *understand classical music* or *know classical music* indicate that a certain level of expertise is necessary for commenting on this music style. Similar results are found in an analysis of the few occurrences of *Baroque*: collocates include *master of Baroque*, *studying Baroque music*, *complex*, and *Baroque specialists*. All these collocations again indicate that Baroque music itself is complex and needs a great level of expertise to be understood. These findings mainly support the above presented aspect of sophistication, i.e., that fans of classical music show a certain desire to appear educated and knowledgeable.

Deviance, on the other hand, becomes apparent when the use of *pop* and its variations is scrutinized. Together with occurrences of *popular music*, a clear tendency for the desire to set oneself apart from pop music and pop music fans can be seen. Pop(ular) music is referred to as *lacking in X* and *less satisfying*; additionally, the music style is devalued in phrases such as *Why do people buy a speaker even when they listen to pop music?* (in this case, *even* lessens pop music's

value) or *X is so much better than pop*. Even though quite a number of commenters feel the need to defend popular music (e.g., *Depends on the popular music! Some [songs] are great too.* or *Popular music is not per se lesser!*), the defense itself and the fact that it is necessary clearly shows that classical music is felt to be of higher standard and value. Thus, deviance seems to play a role in identity construction of classical music fans. Also tying in with the theoretical framework of this thesis, I would argue that the SIC "classical music fan" is paradigmatically defined, i.e., by establishing differences – in this case also evaluative differences – to others.

In jazz music, only few mentions of other genres can be found. *Classical* is used to comment on the classical qualities and similarities of one of the selected music pieces; the rare occurrence, however, does not allow for a meaningful linguistic analysis of the use of the word. The word *pop* is mainly used in order to compare the more complex harmonies of the jazz pieces to, according to the commenters, simpler harmonic structures of pop music. In contrast to the discourse of classical music fans, degrading of pop music does not seem to occur; while pop music's simplicity is foregrounded, it does not hold the same negative connotation as it does in classical music discourse. This might be due to the fact that jazz is perceived as more similar to pop music than classical music. Another explanation might be that jazz music fans – similar to pop music – do not feel the necessity of comparing themselves to other genres to a large extent in order to construct their own identity. This assumption might be supported when examining the occurrences of *jazz* within the comments on jazz music. Almost a third of the occurrences of *jazz* specify the genre further, i.e., the commenters use terms such as *blues jazz*, *contemporary jazz*, *modern jazz*, *standard jazz*, or *avante guarde jazz*. By using these modifiers the commenters achieve two things: firstly, they show their knowledge of sub-genres of jazz music, identifying the music pieces to be one specific kind of jazz or comparing it to a specific sub-genre. Secondly, they describe their favoured genre and thus form their fan identity not by focusing on differences (they do not, like in classical music, describe the music piece by saying what it is not, e.g., *It's better than pop.*), but by specifying the genre itself, describing it in more detail. Thus, similar to pop music, the aspect of deviance – at least with regard to explicitly setting oneself apart from other genres – does not seem to play as much of a crucial role for jazz music fans. Considering the fact that jazz music is characterized by its individuality with its unique improvisations and the ever-changing performances of the same pieces due to the spontaneous and improvised nature of the genre, the desire to be different and not mainstream was expected to be reflected in the discussion of genres as well. However, the findings presented above indicate that while the crucial role of improvisation is mirrored in the general

semantic profile, the expertise shown with regard to musical qualities and technicalization, and the close analysis of modifiers of "musicians", fans of jazz music do not realize deviance by verbally distancing themselves from other genres.

4.5.3. Music Industry and Music Video

One noteworthy mention concerning the genre pop is that for the means of semantic profiling of "musical qualities and technicalization" in the previous chapter, the sub-category "industry" was introduced. *Industry*, *studio* and *marketing* were put in this separate category, as these words only occurred in the context of pop music and could not be assigned to any other already existing semantic domain. The music industry being present in fan discourse influences a music fans identity construction in a way that they are aware of the major influence the music industry has on especially pop music. One might argue that the SIC of "pop fan" includes the aspect of profit and marketing and, as a further step, also the aspect of authenticity. The *studio*, which influences the outcome, i.e., the end product which is then sold, as well as *marketing*, which is important to sell a music piece or an artist as best as possible, usually make changes, enhance and optimize a music piece (or in this case, pop song). Pop fans, at least to some extent, being aware of this – otherwise it would not appear in the discourse about pop music – may lead to the assumption that they identify with an optimized production for the masses, thus focusing on sale figures, profit and appreciation by a great majority more than on musical qualities or individualism. Moreover, the fact that the modifier *mainstream*, as was shown in chapter 4.3., only occurs in pop music discourse caters to the notion of pop music fans being aware of this aspect of their favoured genre. Consequently, the SIC "pop music fan" does not draw upon deviance as much as other genres, especially classical music, appear to, which means that for pop fans, the desire to be different does not play a relevant role for their own identities.

As a last point, what is interesting is that many occurrences of *pop* appear within the context of the music videos. This tendency was also already shown in a first analysis of collocations of the term *music*. While classical music often does not come with a specific music video but mainly either shows a live performance or no video at all, some of the selected classical music pieces are accompanied by specific music videos. With regard to the videos, commenters draw a connection to pop music, claiming that music videos play a major role in the genre pop, which seems to be influencing the conception and presentation of classical music. On a content level, the fans' opinions seem to be divided whether this trend is positive or negative, some arguing that videos distract from the music's quality, others

claiming that inventive and artistic videos might freshen up the otherwise *too rigid* and *dusty* genre of classical music. The fact that classical music aficionados compare the aspect of videos to the pop music genre, thus establishing the difference between the genres ("Classical music does not have or need videos, while pop music does.") supports the assumption that the genre classical music draws on the concept of deviance, presumably more than the other two genres.

All in all, the concept of deviance, i.e., the desire to be different, seems to be important for the SIC construction of "classical music fan". Classical music discourse foregrounds difference, especially to pop music, in various ways, usually with the connotation of pop music being of lesser value. While jazz music discourse was expected to incorporate deviance due to its improvised and thus highly individual nature, no such tendency could be found. Moreover, for pop music fans, deviance appears to be not desirable at all; on the contrary, the notion of being "mainstream" – in a positive sense, as in being accessible and likeable by a vast majority – seems more relevant for the construction of the SIC "pop music fan".

5. Conclusion

The question this study set out to answer is how identity is constructed by discourse about music and whether there are different identities constructed with regard to the different genres pop, jazz and classical music. The underlying assumption was that there will be some features of fan discourse which are universal for all music genres, while other aspects will differ with respect to the different genres. Whether certain stereotypes which are established by society's expectations and depictions of the three music genres would be reinforced by the discourse was another interest of the present thesis.

As a first step, a contextualization of the topic was provided. Based on relevant literature in the field, a disambiguation of the term *identity* and its various senses were defined and relevant features of identity construction were discussed. Moreover, the connection between language, music and identity was explained by illustrating the relationships between each of the concepts. How language shapes identity and vice versa was examined; which influences music preferences might have on identity construction was depicted; and lastly, how language about music functions was displayed.

With the approach of corpus-based Critical Discourse Analysis, my goal was to answer the research question as well as underlying implications by analysing three corpora, including a total sum of 293,275 words. The corpora were built by using YouTube comments of respectively three music videos of the three most popular artists in the three genres of classical music, jazz music and pop music. The analysis started by creating a general semantic profile, giving an overview of the semantic domains which are prominent among the 1,000 most frequent content lexemes of the three corpora. As a next step the representations of the fans as well as the musicians were examined. Subsequently, two major concepts which were expected to be underlying concepts of fan discourse, namely "Sophistication" and "Deviance", were scrutinized.

All in all, the analysis of music fan discourse has shown that while some underlying concepts and strategies are universal for the general SIC of "music preference", differences between gernes – especially between classical music and pop music – are relevant for the construction of the SICs "pop music fan", "jazz music fan" and "classical music fan". A common strategy used by all three genre-specific discourses is the establishment of relationships by explicitly expressing affection, realized in forms such as *I like* or *I love*. Moreover, commenters of all three genres draw on interpretive moves when discussing the respective music pieces;

locational, categorical and associational moves are used to compare pieces and set them in relation with individual pre-knowledge; evaluative and reflective moves are used on a more subjective level in order to evaluate pieces emotionally and to establish personal opinions. With regard to the representation of the artists, an underlying concept for identity construction is, again, the establishment of relationships as well as the positive modification of nominations of "musicians". Hardly any negative descriptors of musicians can be found, which leads to the assumption that fan discourse in the form of YouTube comments focuses on what the listeners like rather than what they do not appreciate. Thus, for the collective identities of "music fan", expressing evaluations and mostly positive relations are relevant features of identity construction. Contrary to what was expected, identity construction by foregrounding difference was – with the exception of classical music fan identity – not a universal concept used by all music fans.

One significant aspect which sets one music genre apart is the concept of sophistication. Throughout all analyses, classical music fans have shown a clear preference for things which require knowledge. Their desire to appear educated, sophisticated and intelligent is displayed in various aspects such as the high lexical variation in the corpus, their constant foregrounding of the musicians' skills, their categorization of the pieces, their focus on interpretations, their music-specific knowledge and expertise in terminology, as well as their implementation of syntactical complexity. Thus, I argue that in the construction of the SIC "classical music fan", sophistication plays a crucial role. In order to belong to the SIC, fans need to display a certain amount of education and knowledge; this notion is also in line with a broader prejudice which is prevalent in our society, namely that classical music is a "higher" art form which requires education, which is not easily accessible and which is music for the elite. Therefore, in my opinion, these societal issues and differences are perpetuated in the YouTube comments on classical music, maintaining the requirement of education and sophistication for being a classical music fan.

The concept of deviance poses as a second considerable difference between the three different SICs. While classical music fans regularly establish identity by foregrounding difference (especially to other genres), jazz and pop music discourse display no such notion. For pop music fans, the idea of being mainstream, of being a majority and of liking music which is produced for the masses, does not seem to be negatively connoted; if so, pop music fans at least do not express such a connotation. On the contrary, the SIC "pop music fan" strongly draws on the concept of being mainstream, leading to the assumption that pop music fans identify with being part of a majority. Classical music fans, on the other hand,

construct their group identity by emphasizing deviance, more often than not also devaluing pop music in doing so. Thus, not only sophistication is a crucial aspect of the SIC "classical music fan", but also deviance seems to be relevant for being a member of the fan group of this genre.

Unfortunately, the discussion of jazz music discourse has often taken a back seat in the present thesis. Classical music and pop music were regularly juxtaposed, leaving jazz music to be some kind of a third wheel. The reason for this is simple: jazz music discourse displays features which both classical music discourse and pop music discourse possess as well. Depending on the context, jazz music leans more towards one or the other genre, however, never significantly tipping in one direction. Nevertheless, one underlying concept which seems significant for jazz music discourse is a considerable degree of expertise in technical aspects of music as well as an emphasis on the musicians' skills. The initial assumption that jazz music discourse would focus on individuality due to its improvised nature was only shown in parts of the discourse; however, the emphasis on musicians' skills as well as the technical expertise can be interpreted as one way of focusing on distinctive features of the genre, since for (jazz) improvisation a considerable degree of skills is required. Hence, I propose that for the SIC "jazz music fan", technical expertise and knowledge about individual (technical) choices regarding the interpretation of a piece are crucial.

In sum, the analysis of music fan discourse could show the connection between discourse about music and identity construction. While many more aspects could have been examined, the present work was successful in detecting some underlying concepts and strategies which music fans of different genres employ for their identity construction and the construction of the respective SICs "classical music fan", "jazz music fan" and "pop music fan".

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Corpus

Links to the YouTube videos of which the comments were taken:

Pop music videos:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fLFvbwrWLQY

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tcYodQoapMg

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B6_iQvaIjXw

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QDYDRA5JPLE

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9vMLTcftlyI

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6swmTBVI83k

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RUQl6YcMalg

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fzeWc3zh01g

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dm9Zf1WYQ_A

Jazz music videos:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J2OPefyJHrk

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ct6vbezIneQ

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2WRp4o2GlGg

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LRDmyRJsPwM

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aqJxKXO0TEk

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gMEto80a2HY

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pfU0QORkRpY

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AmmFD2OIs_k

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WZTq5do8v4s

Classical music videos:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lDAqyl6C-Do

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wEJruV9SPao

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LrEKm3m5tmw

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h3-rNMhIyuQ

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qTwqBVt2Clw

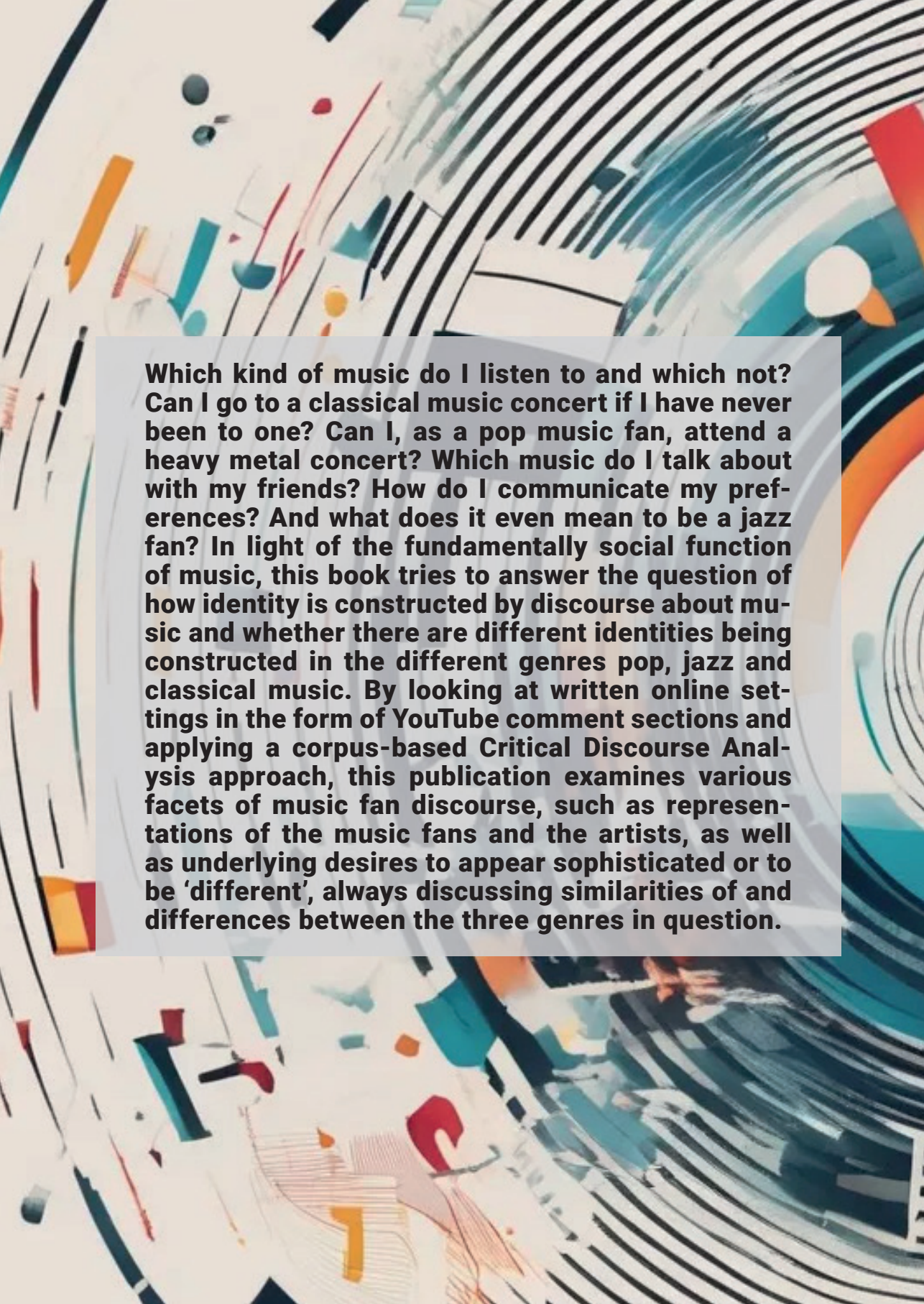
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cD2nO6xTfik

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2-oHLG0oB20

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pr_gK9fzwSo&t=3s

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6UKzuLXhYCI

For further information concerning the corpus please contact: julia.aigner@uni-graz.at



Which kind of music do I listen to and which not? Can I go to a classical music concert if I have never been to one? Can I, as a pop music fan, attend a heavy metal concert? Which music do I talk about with my friends? How do I communicate my preferences? And what does it even mean to be a jazz fan? In light of the fundamentally social function of music, this book tries to answer the question of how identity is constructed by discourse about music and whether there are different identities being constructed in the different genres pop, jazz and classical music. By looking at written online settings in the form of YouTube comment sections and applying a corpus-based Critical Discourse Analysis approach, this publication examines various facets of music fan discourse, such as representations of the music fans and the artists, as well as underlying desires to appear sophisticated or to be 'different', always discussing similarities of and differences between the three genres in question.