

Tryggve Duklæt

Indexicality, identity, and authenticity in Norwegian hip-hop code-switching

Master's thesis in Language Studies with Teacher Education

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Sammendrag

Denne oppgaven undersøker bruken av norsk-engelsk kodeveksling i norsk hiphop og hvordan det kan indeksere hiphop-identiteter og konstruere autentisitet. Gjennom en triangulering av tekstanalyser og dybdeintervju studeres kodevekslingen hos tre norske hiphop-artister, en fra hver av Norges tre største byer. Dette gjøres med mål om å også undersøke den potensielle virkningen regional tilhørighet kan ha for bruk av engelsk i norsk hiphop. To forskningsspørsmål utarbeides, et for analysen av engelske elementer i norsk hiphop og det andre for artistenes egne syn på bruk av slike elementer i rap og på regionale forskjeller. Flere indekseringsfunksjoner ved engelsk blir funnet. I tekstanalysen avdekkes det at engelsk indekserer hiphop-identiteter ved å koble artisten til den globale hiphop-nasjonen (GHHN) og hiphopens amerikanske røtter, ved å demonstrere rapperens ferdigheter og kommunikasjonskompetanse i hiphop-språket, som en markør på gruppetilhørighet og som en ressurs i balanseringen av globale og lokale aspekter ved hiphop-glokalisering. Artistene identifiserer selv noen måter hiphop bidrar i deres identitetskonstruksjon, som å demonstrere deres ferdigheter og bringe dem nærmere den globale hiphop-scenen, men de legger langt mer vekt på de musikalske fordelene ved bruk av engelsk, som at det gir økt beskrivelsesevne, en bedre flyt og et sterkere budskap. Engelskens rolle i norsk hiphop-autentisitet blir funnet å være et omstridt tema. Artistene presenterer sine egne syn på autentisitet samtidig som de nevner de motstående synene de har observert hos mange andre i det norske hiphop-miljøet. Ved spørsmål om deres oppfatninger av regionale forskjeller i bruk av engelsk i norsk hiphop svarer artistene at de selv er for lite kjent med hiphop fra de relevante regionene og derfor ikke kan gi konkrete svar på dette spørsmålet. Selv om det blir funnet forskjeller i bruk av engelsk på tvers av disse tre artistene, betyr studiens begrensede deltakerutvalg at disse funnene ikke kan generaliseres til en større populasjon.

Abstract

This study investigates the use of English-Norwegian code-switching (CS) in Norwegian hip-hop and how it may serve to index hip-hop identities and construct authenticity. Through a triangulation of textual analyses and in-depth interviews, it studies the use of CS in three Norwegian hip-hop artists, one from each of Norway's three largest cities. It does so with the aim of also looking at the potential impact of regionality on the use of English in Norwegian hip-hop. Two research questions are formulated, one pertaining to an analysis of English elements in Norwegian hip-hop, the other aimed at the artists' own views on using such elements in rap music and on regional differences. Several indexical functions of English are identified. In the textual analyses, English is seen to index hip-hop identities through linking the artist to the global hip-hop nation (GHHN) and the roots of hip-hop, demonstrating the rapper's skills and communicative competence in hip-hop language, as a marker of group membership, and as a tool for balancing the global and local aspects of hip-hop globalization. The artists themselves identify a few ways in which English could factor in the construction of their identities, by demonstrating their skills and bringing them closer to the global hip-hop scene, but they emphasise much more heavily the musical advantages of English in Norwegian rap, in providing increased descriptive capacity, a better flow, and a stronger message. The role of English in Norwegian hip-hop authenticity is uncovered to be quite a contentious subject, as the artists present their own views as well as the opposing views of other members of the Norwegian hip-hop community. When asked about their perceptions of regional differences in the use of English in Norwegian hip-hop, the artists are unable to provide any substantial answers, owing mostly to the fact that they themselves claimed to not be familiar enough with rap from other regions to make any such statements. Although the artists exhibit differences in their use of English, the smaller sample size of the study renders these findings inconclusive as evidence for regional differences.

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1. Introduction

Hip-hop is one of the best-selling genres in the world today, and its influence on youth culture and identities is undeniable. Since its conception in the 1970s in the New York borough of The Bronx, hip-hop has continued to spread throughout the world (Mitchell, 2001) and throughout every crack and crevice of Norway, from the rural town of Ørsta with groups like *Side Brok* (Holen, 2004) to the nation's capital with likes of *Karpe* and *Nico & Vinz*, reaching national and even international success (Holen, 2018). Hip-hop inspires music, dancing, fashion, artwork, language and other aspects of life, leading authors like Taylor & Taylor (2007) to state that, for some, hip-hop is a lifestyle. While aspects typically associated with hip-hop such as violence, drugs, the degradation of women, expensive clothes, etc. (Greene, 2008; Burkhalter & Thornton, 2014) still persist to this day, the hip-hop identity is in continuous development, and one does not necessarily see the exact same identities the world over. Part of this might be owing to the phenomenon of *glocalization*, where the global framework of hip-hop enters into local scenes and is adapted to local culture (Dyndahl, 2008). It is therefore highly valid to investigate how artists from different parts of the world and different parts of the same country construct their identities differently.

Considering hip-hop's outreach and influence, it seems worrisome that Terkourafi in 2012 identified a dearth of research on the Norwegian hip-hop scene, especially compared to scenes in e.g. Germany, the U.S. and Korea. This thesis aims to contribute to the growing number of works on Norwegian hip-hop identities by investigating specifically the influence of the English language on Norwegian rap, and how it may serve to index hip-hop identities and construct authenticity in modern Norwegian rap. The project arose in part from the empirical observation that there seem to be significant differences in the amount of English use depending on the artist's regional affiliation. Therefore, the paper investigates the use of English by three artists from Norway's three biggest cities, Oslo, Bergen and Trondheim, and also asks whether there are discernible differences between them.

The role of English in non-English rap lyrics has been studied quite extensively (see e.g. Androutsopoulos & Scholz, 2002; Higgins, 2009; Hare & Barker, 2017). It is most often associated with a reference or link to the global hip-hop nation (GHHN) or the 'roots of hip-hop' described earlier. However, as will be discussed, there are several other aspects of the hip-hop identity which the use of English elements may come to index, such as authenticity, street

flavour, communicative competence in hip-hop language, originality, poetic proficiency, and more (Androutsopoulos & Scholz, 2002; Barrett, 2018).

Guiding the research project are two research questions:

1. How can the English/Norwegian code-switching of Norwegian hip-hop artists serve to index hip-hop identities and construct authenticity?
2. How do artists themselves view the use of English/Norwegian code-switching in constructing identity and authenticity, and are there perceptions of regional differences in the use of English in the hip-hop of Norway's three largest cities?

In order to analyse this, a textual analysis is carried out, inspired by Androutsopoulos & Scholz' (2002) framework for the comparative analysis of rap lyrics. Additionally, in-depth interviews and an analysis borrowing elements from Tjora's (2017) stepwise-deductive induction (SDI) will be conducted. Thereby, the thesis not only investigates *how* English is being used in Norwegian rap lyrics, but also the critical question of *why*, from the perspective of the artists themselves, a perspective thus far rather largely unexplored, at least in the Norwegian context.

2. Theoretical background

2.1 On identity in general

To understand identity construction within hip-hop, it is necessary to understand how identities are conceptualized and how they come to light in hip-hop discourse. Hall (2011) first points to the distinction between the *essentialist* and the *non-essentialist* views of identity. The former regards identities as fixed and stable and maintains that members of a particular identity category are fundamentally similar to members of the same group and different from members of other groups (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 374). By contrast, the non-essentialist view sees identities as varying and continuously changing, and it recognizes possible intragroup differences and intergroup similarities, often with regard to these identity categories (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Hall, 2011). This is integral to this study, as even though it adopts a non-essentialist view of identities, it studies identity within a very particular category, namely that of Norwegian hip-hop artists from Norway's three largest cities.

Bucholtz & Hall (2005) locate identity not in individuals or groups, but in situations. As attributes of situations, identities may shift and recombine to meet new circumstances (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). In a similar vein, several authors have argued for a view of identity construction as a state of becoming rather than being (e.g. Hall, 2011; Stjernholm, 2019). As Stjernholm (2019) puts it, identities are not something we are, but something we 'do'. This study is concerned with the verbal-communicative aspect of this 'doing', following Bucholtz & Hall's (2010) argument that identities emerge and circulate in interaction, with language being a substantial part of this interaction. Bamberg et al. describe the construction of identity by seeing the individual as "actively-interactively involved in answering the who-am-I question" (2011, p. 195). Eckert (2005) discusses interactive identity construction in light of the term *communities of practice*: "The individual constructs an identity – a sense of place in the social world – in balancing participation in a variety of communities of practice, and in forms of participation in each of those communities" (Eckert, 2005, p. 17). The hip-hop scene and the various interactions within it can be seen as such a community of practice, as "an aggregate of people who come together on a regular basis to engage in some enterprise" (Eckert, 2005, p. 16). The idea of interactive identity construction in communities of practice is highly relevant in relation to how hip-hop artists position, perceive and portray themselves through code-switching (CS) in their lyrics. Rapping is viewed as a social, active-interactive navigation of the traits, characteristics, and dispositions (see Edwards, 2009) available to the artist.

2.2 Language and identity

Bucholtz & Hall present a framework for analysing "identity as constituted in linguistic interaction" (2010, p. 18). This framework is based on five fundamental principles: *Emergence*, *Positionality*, *Indexicality*, *Relationality*, and *Partialness*. The principle of emergence states that identities are not fixed attributes inside the mind of the individual, but rather emerge in interaction as discursive constructs. Positionality expands on the broad social categories of essentialism (e.g. gender, age, ethnicity) to also include local, ethnographically specific cultural positions and temporary participant roles (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010, p. 21). Indexicality is best described by Bucholtz & Hall themselves, as "the mechanism whereby identity is constituted" and fundamental to "the way in which linguistic forms are used to construct identity positions" (2010, p. 21). Indexicality relates social action, in this case language, to social meaning (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010; Schleef, 2020). The principle of relationality builds on a set of relations to express how identities are never independent "but always acquire social meaning in relation to other available identity positions and other social actors" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010, p. 23). This principle also challenges the oversimplified view of identities as being limited to a relation of sameness/difference. Finally, the principle of partialness offers a description of how and why any account of identity is necessarily an incomplete, intersubjective representation constructed from several partial relations (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010). To illustrate this, Bucholtz & Hall provide such examples as that "any given construction of identity may be in part deliberate and intentional, in part habitual and hence often less than fully conscious" (2010, p. 25). Since identities are relational, they are also partial (Ivushkina, 2017), constructed in part in the individual, in part in those around the individual, and in part by broader ideological processes (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010).

Indexicality is of particular interest to this study, as its data centres on the use of English elements in Norwegian rap lyrics and how they may be linked to aspects of hip-hop identity. As argued by Ivushkina, the principle of indexicality allows one to correlate "words with different aspects of people's life and consider them as multifaceted linguistic units communicating identity of the speakers" (2017, p. 96). Associations between language and identity are said to arise from ideological structures and beliefs about "who (can or should) produce particular sorts of language" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010, p. 21). Applying these concepts, associations of particular instances of English-Norwegian CS (CS) with hip-hop identities will be rooted in cultural beliefs about hip-hop language and the people who use it.

2.2.1 Indexicality in hip-hop language

Bucholtz & Hall (2010) provide four categories of indexicality in language: *labelling*, *implicature*, *stancetaking*, and *linguistic structures*. This final category is further divided into *style-marking* and *code-choice*, for micro- and macrolevel linguistic structures, respectively. First and most obvious is labelling, the "overt mention of identity categories and labels" (Bucholtz & Hall, p. 21). Ivushkina defines this class of words as those which "immediately and explicitly" (2017, p. 97) index the social meaning or identity category with which they correspond. Examples of such labels within hip-hop include *rapper*, *breakdancer*, and *MC* (master of ceremonies), as in the following example from rapper Oral Bee (glosses for non-English song lyrics are available in appendix C):

- (1) Alle hater Oral Bee
Fordi han er en G MC

(*Oral B*: Alle hater Oral Bee)

Here, the overt use of the label *MC* immediately indexes the identity category associated with it, and in this instance, applies the aspects of the MC identity to Oral Bee himself.

Second is the category of implicature: "implicatures and presuppositions regarding one's own or others' identity position" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010, p. 21) which "require additional inferential work for interpretation" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010, p. 22) beyond that of the immediate action-meaning links explicit in the previous category. Drawing on the identity label of *rapper*, instead of stating that someone is a rapper, one might point to a characteristic or practice commonly associated with rappers, such as their way of dressing or speaking. Consider the following example by rapper Fretex:

- (2) Navnet mitt er Fretex, mine bukser er fra Armani
Sipper på no' Bacardi, jobber for et anarki
Drifter 66, du vet jeg sparer til en Ferrari

(*UNDERGRUNN*: UG SOMMER)

Brand clothing, alcohol consumption, expensive cars, and other similar topics are known to be quite stereotypical of hip-hop culture and rap discourse (Greene, 2008; Burkhalter & Thornton, 2012). Thus, these topics can be said to index aspects of the rapper and thereby of the hip-hop identity.

Third is the indexicality of stancetaking, or "displayed evaluative and epistemic [and affective] orientations to ongoing talk, as well as interactional footings and participant roles" (Bucholtz

& Hall, 2010, p. 21). Du Bois explains stancetaking in the following way: "I evaluate something, and thereby position myself, and align with you" (2007, p. 163). According to Bucholtz & Hall (2010), different kinds of stances may become associated with particular identity categories, and through these associations, stance may serve to index these categories. Consider the following example:

(1) "trøndersk høres jævlig wack ut"
fakk det

(*Bulmboy*§: "Trøndersk høres wack ut")

In (3), Xalomon expresses a clear evaluation of the statement quoted in the first line of the excerpt. If this rather aggressively assertive stance is associated with the hip-hop identity, which it may well be, it would also index it, according to Bucholtz & Hall (2010). However, it is hard to say what specific kinds of stance are associated with the hip-hop identity, and a lack of research on the topic makes it quite difficult to make any solid statements on the matter.

Bucholtz & Hall move on to discuss the indexicality of linguistic structures, divided into code-choice and style-marking. Code-choice regards the indexicality of macrolevel linguistic systems such as languages or dialects, tied to particular identity categories (2010, p. 23). An example of code-choice as an index of identity, admittedly not from hip-hop but illustratively relevant nonetheless, is the use of northern English accents by the indie rock band Arctic Monkeys (Beal, 2009). Beal argues that the Arctic Monkeys' use of this variety of English indexes a local, Northern identity, and also acts as a tool for constructing authenticity (Beal, 2009). Style-marking entails "the use of linguistic structures and systems that are ideologically associated with specific personas and groups" (2010, p. 21). Style is understood as "a repertoire of linguistic forms associated with personas or identities" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010, p. 22). Variants of hip-hop language, e.g. the common mixing of native language and Hip-Hop Nation Language (HHNL), could in this way be viewed as repertoires of linguistic forms associated with hip-hop identity and/or particular hip-hop personas. HHNL is a term which originally referred to the unique and shared vocabulary and linguistic style choices of African American hip-hop artists in the U.S., with deep roots in African American Vernacular English (AAVE) (Higgins, 2009). However, as Higgins (2009) argues and as evidenced in e.g. Cotgrove (2018), HHNL has spread "far beyond the dominion of African American Hip Hop artists in the United States" (Higgins, 2009, p. 98). One obvious example of style-marking can be seen in Cotgrove's (2018) paper on German Gangsta Rap, where the artist Nura frequently mixes in elements of both standard English and HHNL (standard English in *italics*, HHNL in **bold**):

(2) Du bist kein **Gangsta**, nein, weil du **dealst** mit **Dough**
Du bist nicht **real**, du bist nur *Show*

(Cotgrove, 2018, p. 78)

Cotgrove argues that while standard English is linked to the expression of 'coolness' (2018, p. 78), HHNL directly indexes the gangsta rap identity.

2.2.2 The indexicality of code-switching in hip-hop

Having established a theoretical framework for locating identity in language and for understanding how hip-hop language may index identities, the paper now turns to the specific matter of CS and its place in all of this. As defined by Mohamed, CS is "switching between two different languages or two varieties of the same language" (2017, p. 159). Reasons for code-switching include lack of proficiency, accommodation (see also Bell, 1984), contextualisation, and the expression of group membership or origin (Mohamed, 2017, pp. 159-160). It is primarily in these last two notions where indexicality becomes relevant. Contextualisation refers to how CS may provide context to communication by reflecting the identity or social role of the speaker, in other words indexing their identity. In the expression of group membership or origin, the use of CS may index even more about the speaker's identity, as they express sameness with those belonging to that group. Barrett (2018) argues that CS in hip-hop is somewhat different from everyday conversational CS. By using CS, hip-hop artists "engage in a unidirectional flow of language through which they craft and deliver messages for an imagined audience", a process which "creates in-groups who follow the lyrics and out-groups who don't" (Barrett, 2018, p. 3). This notion of in-groups and out-groups is highly relevant in this study, as it may help frame the phenomenon whereby artists use English to mark themselves as members of the hip-hop in-group, as well as other in-groups within hip-hop they may be members of.

An important aspect of CS in hip-hop comes from the global-local relation so often touted as one of hip-hop's defining characteristics (e.g. Dyndahl, 2008; Barrett, 2018). This interplay between global and local is often presented through the term *glocalization*. In the words of Holen, hip-hop is a glocal movement in which people all around the globe use the same global framework to construct their own, highly personal and local variant of hip-hop (2004, p. 11). Barrett (2018) claims that mixing in English with native language rap serves to link the local and the global, creating such a *glocality*. Barrett (2018) argues that the local language, e.g.

Norwegian, is locally meaningful, while English creates a tie to the broader hip-hop community. In other words, local language seems to index local identity, while English indexes hip-hop identity and global identity. Cutler & Røyneland (2015) state that many rappers all around Norway draw on HHNL to some degree but that there is a dominant trend toward rapping not only in Norwegian but also in one's own dialect, and it is thereby most common for elements from HHNL to be inserted into this matrix language. Cutler & Røyneland (2015) argue that this makes Norwegian rap distinct from U.S. rap, as artists in the U.S. typically adopt the same hip-hop language no matter where they are from. Thus, it seems regional differences are prominent in Norwegian hip-hop. In this study, one of the central questions is whether these differences affect the use of English in rap lyrics, a topic thus far unexplored, at least in the Norwegian context. Dyndahl (2008) details how the Norwegian hip-hop community has evolved in terms of language preference, and reasserts the most recent development of rapping in local dialects as an index of local identity. However, the evolution of the role of English in Norwegian rap is treated more or less on a national scale, offering no treatment of how this might differ across regions. This paper aims to fill a small portion of that gap in our understanding of language, identity and authenticity in Norwegian hip-hop.

2.3 An analytical approach to CS in hip-hop

In their study of local European recontextualization of the global hip-hop framework, Androutsopoulos & Scholz (2002) present some very important findings on hip-hop in Europe. For this study, the relevance of Androutsopoulos & Scholz' (2002) paper is most obvious in their discussions of the use of English elements and their development of a framework for the comparative analysis of hip-hop lyrics. This framework consists of three levels, each of them containing a number of major analytical categories:

(i)	socio-cultural frame	(1) social base of hip-hop culture in each country (2) market and media infrastructure
(ii)	rap discourse	(1) song topics (2) genre-typical verbal actions (speech act patterns) (3) cultural references in rap songs
(iii)	linguistic patterns	(1) language variation (2) rhetorical patterns (3) English elements in non-English lyrics

Table 1: A framework for the comparative analysis of rap

(Androutsopoulos & Scholz, 2002, p. 4)

The *socio-cultural frame* regards the extralinguistic features of a particular hip-hop community, or the organization of hip-hop culture in that community, including its demographic composition, market and media infrastructure (Androutsopoulos & Scholz, 2002, pp. 5-7). *Rap discourse* is related to the topic of lyrics and songs, to particular speech act patterns, and to cultural references. In short, this level pertains to what rap is about and what rappers do with their words (Androutsopoulos & Scholz, 2002, pp. 8-21). While this second level is concerned with the content of the lyrics, the third level of *linguistic patterns* focuses in on the language variation, language patterns, and particular elements in use (Androutsopoulos & Scholz, 2002, pp. 21-27). *English elements in non-English lyrics* are given a separate category of their own, as they seem to occur very frequently and as many of the English elements analysed within Androutsopoulos & Scholz (2002) are said to be specific to hip-hop culture.

2.3.1 English elements in non-English rap lyrics

While all these levels and categories play some part in the analysis of hip-hop identities from any particular sample of non-English rap lyrics, this study has a specific focus on the indexicality of English elements within the non-English lyrics of Norwegian rap artists. Thus, it is most concerned with Androutsopoulos & Scholz' (2002) level three category of English elements in non-English lyrics. This category is further divided into six subcategories: *cultural terminology*, *slang items*, *discourse markers*, *formulaic expressions and patterns*, *CS on verse/utterance level*, and *CS over large stretches of text*:

(i) cultural terminology e.g. <i>flow, funk, skills, to kick a rhyme</i>
(ii) slang items e.g. <i>homies, bitch, shit</i>
(iii) discourse markers e.g. <i>yeah, yo</i>
(iv) formulaic expressions and patterns e.g. the phrase <i>X is in the house</i> or the spell-out pattern
(v) code-switching on verse / utterance level
(vi) code-switching over large stretches of text including refrains and choral parts

Table 2: *English elements in non-English rap lyrics*

(Androutsopoulos & Scholz, 2002, p. 26)

First and foremost, most English elements, in particular elements from HHNL, are said to index hip-hop identities, as an extensive use of English links the music to hip-hop's roots and expresses proficiency in hip-hop language (Androutsopoulos & Scholz, 2002). Cultural terminology refers to "the major roles, activities and objects of rap music and hip-hop culture" (Androutsopoulos & Scholz, 2002, p. 27). Characteristic of this cultural terminology is its referential importance, referring to the major roles of hip-hop culture as a whole. They are argued to index a belonging to the GHHN and/or the roots of hip-hop. Slang items are said to provide a 'street-flavor' balance (Androutsopoulos & Scholz, 2002, p. 27). These elements, being borrowed from AAVE/HHNL (see e.g. Higgins, 2009) and thus having clear connections to the African American roots of hip-hop and rap, seem to index some aspect of global hip-hop culture. The category of discourse markers "comprises a number of discourse particles, especially interjections, which occur both in English and "native" contexts" (Androutsopoulos & Scholz, 2002, p. 27), including *yo*, *yeah*, *ay/ey*, or *wow*. Critical for this category of English elements seems to be their function in aiding the flow of rap, as in the below excerpt:

(3) *Ay ay*, hvorfor skal du gå nå?

Travel kar, masse planer

Tjener lægsa på nå

(612, *T_boyofficial*, *Lille Leon* – "Papir")

In Lin (2011), English discourse markers inserted into a non-English matrix, in their case Cantonese, are argued to emphasise or reassert a global, multilingual identity, and thus these items also seem to index these aspects of the hip-hop identity, similar to Cotgrove's (2018) discussions of English in German gangsta rap. Formulaic expressions and patterns include what Androutsopoulos & Scholz term "ready-made catch phrases" (2002, p. 27), as in the example provided in table 2, as well as the common practice of spelling out certain words:

(4) R-A-G to the motherfuckin E

Back with my nigga S-N double O-P

(*Snoop Dogg feat. Rage*: "G Funk (Intro)")

Androutsopoulos again asserts that, at least on the surface, such elements of English clearly index hip-hop affiliation (2008).

CS on verse/utterance level and CS over large stretches of text refer to the phenomenon of CS as described previously (see e.g. Androutsopoulos, 2004; Mohamed, 2017) at the level of single

utterances for the former, e.g. “*We give a fuck what language die leute verstehen mich*” (Androutsopoulos & Scholz, 2002, p. 22), or over longer stretches of text including the relatively regular occurrence of fully English choruses (Androutsopoulos & Scholz, 2002). In Westinen (2007) these two categories are seen as separate from categories i-iv. Drawing on Auer (1999), they (Westinen, 2007) argue that while i-iv are cases of *language mixing* and exist as part of a rapper's 'style', category v and vi are cases of *switching*, where the switch between the two languages is meaningful in and of itself and not seen as part of the rapper's style but rather as a strategic choice. For instance, switching may be used to achieve a change in footing (Westinen, 2007; Auer, 1999), or “the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance” (Goffman, 1981, p. 128).

2.4 Authenticity

Another prominent concept in the discussion of hip-hop identity is that of *authenticity*, perhaps most often expressed in the typical hip-hop phrase ‘keep it real’. In the literature, authenticity is often thought of as a potential quality of the identity, as in Bucholtz’ description of *authentication* as “the assertion of one’s own or another’s identity as genuine or credible” (2003, p. 408). In this study, authenticity is conceptualized similarly, as an aspect of hip-hop identity, not something separate from it. The following is a brief introduction to hip-hop authenticity and how language, and more specifically the use of English elements, may serve to index such authenticity in the lyrics of non-English rap artists.

Moore (2002) offers a valuable perspective on how authenticity functions within music. Of most notable relevance to this study is Moore’s (2002) discussion of the three aspects of authenticity: first-, second-, and third-person authenticity. Moore also term these aspects authenticity of expression (first person), authenticity of execution (third person), and authenticity of experience (second person). According to Coulter, first-person authenticity “is based on the idea that the authentic in music conveys an essential truth about the music’s originator (usually the composer or performer)” (2017, p. 2). In this sense, the artist would succeed in conveying authenticity if they portray themselves as who they are, and not someone else. Second-person authenticity seems to be a little less defined than the other two. Coulter (2017) describes it as “speaking truth about a group, community or subculture” (2017, p. 3) while others conceptualize it as offering “performances displaying what is truly occurring in

the lives of others, and how they feel about it" while providing "the audience with a sense of 'belonging'" (Dangerfield, 2016, p. 9). As such, second-person authenticity is argued to arise on the basis of the listener's view of the world and sense of belonging to a group. Third-person authenticity seems to primarily be a matter of cultural authenticity (see also Barker & Taylor, 2007) and being true to the relevant musical tradition, e.g. hip-hop (Moore, 2002; Dangerfield, 2016; Coulter, 2017). Importantly, Moore (2002) assumes throughout his paper that authenticity is not something the artist can give the performance itself, but rather something that we, the listeners, ascribe to it. What this assumption illustrates is that authenticity arises from some part of the interaction between the originator (performer, composer, etc.), the performance, and the audience. When a performance is perceived as authentic, that is a result of the originator succeeding in conveying authenticating impressions in a listener. In summary, Moore's (2002) three 'persons' of authenticity can briefly be summarized as being perceived as speaking truth to oneself and conveying integrity and genuineness (first person), speaking truth to the listener (second person), and being true to the relevant musical tradition (third person), here delimited to the hip-hop tradition.

Language choice might constitute a conscious effort to construct authenticity as a hip-hop artist. Cotgrove argues that German gangsta rappers make use of HHNL to validate their "identity as a rapper, as it authenticates their link to the wider music genre" (2018, p. 77). This is apparent both in artists who rap exclusively in English, and in those who mix the German matrix language with English elements, in particular elements from HHNL. In Higgins' (2009) study on the use of HHNL in Tanzanian hip-hop, the use of HHNL is linked closely to authentication and identity construction as it is a prime way for artists around the world to express affiliation with a global hip-hop nation, a sentiment which Cotgrove's (2018) findings on German gangsta rap seem to echo. Hare & Barker (2017) report similar results in their study of English-Korean CS in Korean hip-hop. Here however, the use of English slang and curses and the preference of these over Korean equivalents is argued to lessen the authenticity of the performances, as Hare and Barker (2017) claim that this shows an inadequate adaptation of the global form to local culture. Interestingly, drawing from interviews with Korean hip-hop artists, Hare and Barker (2017) also identify disagreements within the field on the function of the use of English. Here, several artists argued against the notion that English was primarily a marker of authenticity and that rather, it was a "marker of coolness" (Hare & Barker, 2017, p. 6) or that its use was purely musically motivated, as artists described English as 'smoother' than Korean.

It seems that the use of English in non-English rap is primarily a marker of third-person authenticity (cf. Moore, 2002), as it indexes an affiliation with the global hip-hop nation (Higgins, 2009) and links the artist to the wider music genre (Cotgrove, 2018). The interesting thing is that there seems to be disagreement within the hip-hop community on whether English adds to or detracts from authenticity (compare e.g. Cotgrove, 2018; Hare & Barker, 2017). Additionally, there appears to be a sort of balancing act between different aspects of culture, on which third-person authenticity is based, e.g. regional affiliation expressed through the use of local language and dialect (Cutler & Røyneland, 2015) and the mentioned affiliation with the global hip-hop nation, constructed through the use of English/HHNL. Thus, while English links the artist to the global hip-hop community, the use of local language might be linked to third-person authenticity in the sense that it portrays the artist's origin. The links between CS, or the use of English, and second- or first-person authenticity are not clear from the existing theories on the topic.

3. Research Design

A triangulated approach, consisting of textual analyses and in-depth interviews, is employed in the investigation of CS and language mixing in Norwegian hip-hop. Interviews were conducted with three Norwegian hip-hop artists, one from each of Norway's three biggest cities, Oslo, Bergen, and Trondheim, and the textual analysis was based on the works of these three artists. The choice of two methods was primarily motivated by the two distinct research questions of this study. Furthermore, triangulation allows the study to not only form a more comprehensive understanding of the indexicality of CS in Norwegian hip-hop, but when applied to the same phenomenon, the use of more than one method allows for results from one method to be tested, supported and supplemented by similar results derived from a different method (Carter et al., 2014).

In approaching research question 1, it seems natural to turn to the lyrics themselves for relevant research material. This will amount to a textual analysis, a methodology that involves understanding the contents of texts to gain information on how people make sense of and communicate life and life experiences (Hawkins, 2017, p. 1754). The aim is to investigate CS in Norwegian hip-hop in terms of the amount, type and indexical function of English elements. Findings in the textual analysis will form the basis for the investigation on this topic, while interview data will serve to support and further enlighten these findings, allowing the paper to not only investigate *what* hip-hop artists do in terms of these phenomena, but also begin to explore the critical question of *why*.

Research question 2 is not answerable through a textual analysis, as it seeks solely the perspective of hip-hop artists themselves. This was primarily what led to the choice of in-depth interviews as one of the methods in this study. The use of this method allows the researcher to investigate the world of the informant, through studying their meanings, attitudes, and experiences (Tjora, 2017).

3.1 The textual analysis

3.1.1 Data collection

As mentioned, and as will be discussed in the presentation of the interview procedure (cf. section 3.2), three artists from each of Norway's three biggest cities were to be interviewed. The participant selection for the interviews had a direct effect on song selection for the textual

analysis, as the decision was made to include 5 songs from each artist. This was done by picking the 5 most recent releases for which there existed printed lyrics. One exception to this criteria is the case of B, for whom lyrics had to be manually transcribed, as there were not enough printed lyrics to fill the quota of five songs. The songs were manually transcribed and then sent off to B for review and finalizing. The recency criteria was motivated in part by the fact that the language use of rappers is said to be dynamic and subject to continuous and rapid change, sometimes existing only for a very brief period of time (Pate, 2010). Additionally, by applying this criteria, it would not be possible to handpick songs which fit better with the established theory or framework.

Of the included songs, O's were released between 2017 and 2020, T's were all released in 2020, and B's were released between 2018 and 2020.

3.1.2 Analytical procedure

In analysing Norwegian-English CS, Androutsopoulos and Scholz' (2002) terminology will be adopted. Androutsopoulos & Scholz' (2002) framework was developed specifically for the comparative analysis of rap lyrics and allows for the identification and categorisation of English elements in non-English lyrics, as well as a foundation for the analysis and discussion of their function. This will provide the appropriate tools for the comparative analysis of CS in Norwegian hip-hop. This paper will not adopt Androutsopoulos & Scholz' (2002) framework in its entirety, as much of it goes beyond the scope of interest for the current research. Rather, it will utilize their presentation of the level three category of English elements in non-English lyrics. As mentioned earlier, Androutsopoulos & Scholz (2002) further divide these English elements into six categories: cultural terminology, slang items, discourse markers, formulaic expressions and patterns, CS on verse/utterance level, and CS over large stretches of text (see table 2). These terms will be employed extensively to classify English elements in terms of type.

The aim of the present study is to compare rap artists' use of English elements not just in terms of the English elements' number and type but also indexical function. Regarding this, this paper has thus far specified the *referential function* of cultural terminology, the *stylization function* of slang and formulaic expressions/patterns, and the function of English as input for constructing and developing a native stylistic repertoire (Androutsopoulos & Scholz, 2002). Extensive use of English is also identified as both a connection to the origins of rap, and a demonstration of

the communicative competence of the artists (Androutsopoulos & Scholz, 2002, p. 27). This would seem to encompass the use of HHNL discussed previously (see e.g. Higgins, 2009), as well as the communicative purposes in Akande (2013), the global-local link in Westinen (2007) and Dyndahl (2008), and the creative functions discussed in Barrett (2018).

Importantly, Pate (2010) states that the language use of rappers is dynamic, meaning that words and expressions hold quite specific meanings within the culture and its subcultures, but these are also highly fluid and subject to continuous and rapid change, sometimes existing only for a very brief period of time. There is also a continuum to consider, where cultural terminology and slang might be specific to the broader culture of hip-hop, to a smaller community of rappers, or even to a single rap group or artists. For these reasons, the analysis of the English elements in the Norwegian rappers' lyrics will be supported by online hip-hop and slang dictionaries, *The Online Slang Dictionary* (Rader, n.d), as well as the author's own knowledge of and experience with hip-hop culture.

3.2 The interviews

3.2.1 Participant selection

The process of data collection and analysis for the interviews borrows elements from Tjora's (2017) stepwise-deductive induction (SDI) in designing a process consisting of empirical data generation, data processing, coding, and finally code grouping.

The first step is sampling. In light of the time and resources needed for conducting the interview (Beitin, 2012; Tjora, 2017), time is often the most pressing factor in determining sample sizes. For each participant in the present study, an interview would at the very least have to be arranged, conducted, transcribed, and coded. To cover research question 2, the three regions of Oslo, Bergen, and Trondheim would all have to be represented, and it was regarded as important to also represent them equally. This led to the decision of including one artist per region, in the interest of covering all three regions while respecting the time needed to adequately process and analyse each interview.

Having accounted for time and resource limitations, the rest of the sampling and recruitment process followed roughly Taherdoost's (2016) sampling process. To be considered eligible, participants had to:

1. have Norwegian as their first language (or one of their first languages);

2. perform their music with Norwegian as the main/matrix language;
3. be relatively active as a hip-hop artist, i.e. having released music corresponding with the above criteria within the last two years, or having performed older songs (not prior to 2016) within the last year

Early on, the plan was to include artists with similar popularity/outreach, age, years of experience, etc. This quickly proved itself challenging and time consuming, and as the recruitment process dragged on, several of these restrictions were dropped. A range of artists were contacted either directly via social media or e-mail, or through their management. Once an artists showed interest in participating, an information and consent form was sent out to the artist, detailing the purpose and procedures of the research project, as well as important contact information and the artist's rights as a participant in the project. This was signed by both the researcher and the participant prior to the interview. The three participants in the interview were all male, aged 19, 32, and 34, and they had all released music within the last year. Their experience as rap artists ranged from about 3 to about 24 years.

3.2.2 The interview guide and conducting the interviews

According to Tjora (2017), the interview guide should be formed according to the aims of the research and the preferences of the researcher. Tjora suggest organizing questions into subcategories, in order to make it easier for both the interviewer and the participant to keep track of the many questions within the interview (2017, p. 157). For this study, the interview guide consisted of the following categories: Regional differences, language choice and identity, and language choice and authenticity. A fourth category included at the very start of the interview, titled Introduction/Background, was used primarily to introduce and prepare the participant for the interview situation. The complete interview guide used during all three interviews is included in appendix D.

As Tjora (2017) argues, free conversation and effective follow-up questions are vital aspects of the in-depth interview and are largely affected by the interviewers familiarity with the interview guide. This motivated the choice of piloting the interviews with acquaintances and fellow students prior to the interviews with the hip-hop artists. This also opened up for feedback from others. All three interviews were conducted over the internet, as what James & Busher (2012) call synchronous interviews. This type of internet interviewing is regarded as mirroring the traditional face-to-face interview in the way it allows for real-time responses and a high level

of participant involvement (James & Busher, 2012). As per the university's standards (NTNU, n.d.), Zoom was chosen as the platform for conducting the interviews. This made recording a simple procedure. All interviews were recorded using Zoom's built-in recording feature, and stored on a personal, encrypted external hard drive.

3.2.3 Limitations of the interview

Regarding the limitations of the interview method, it is first and foremost a time-consuming endeavour (Tjora, 2017). As mentioned, each interview would have to be planned, conducted, transcribed, coded, and analysed, and this affected the sample size it was possible to include. Due to both its qualitative nature and its smaller sample size, findings from the interviews in this study also possess very limited generalisability, as described in Taherdoost (2016). There is little grounds upon which one can propose that the statements of a single artist within this research applies to the entire population of hip-hop artists within that region. Due to this, the choice was also made to ask the artists about their perceptions of regional differences rather than attempt to compare them. Nevertheless, this research has produced some valuable insights into the indexicality of English-Norwegian CS in Norwegian hip-hop.

3.2.4 Processing and analysing interviews

The next step in the process is transcribing the recorded interviews into text. As there is no objective way of representing spoken interaction in writing, the form of transcription should be based on what is relevant and useful to the specific research situation (Tjora, 2017). In this thesis, interviews have been orthographically transcribed word-for-word without additional information, unless this information is seen to have had a clear effect on the meaning of what was said.

When it comes to coding, Tjora (2017) argues for what is loosely termed empirical coding, where codes are generated from the material itself and kept as close to it as possible. In this way, the code is often formulated from words or utterances already present in the data. A good code is one that could not be generated prior to the actual coding, and that reflects the specific content of the data segment (Tjora, 2017). One example from this paper's material is given below:

Code	Excerpt from interview
Engelske ord bare glir litt bedre	S2: mens engelske ord bare glir litt bedre og ... jeg vet ikke helt hvordan jeg skal forklare det men ja du skjønner vel kanskje litt hva jeg mener. Engelske ord har en mer flyt, mens norske ord er veldig sånn hardt og sånn

Table 3: Example of empirical coding

This kind of coding will often lead to a vast number of different codes. Therefore, Tjora (2017) argues for a thematic grouping of these codes to begin forming a structure for analysis. During the systematic process of code grouping, each code will either create a new group or fall into one of the existing groups. Tjora calls this approach a *grouping test* (2017, p. 209). The present study ended up with a total of 6 code groups, including a residual group for those codes that were not relevant to the research questions at hand.

3.3 Validity and reliability of the study as a whole

Tjora (2017) describes validity and reliability, as well as generalisability, as measures of quality for qualitative research. Reliability is described as “the ability of a research method to yield consistently the same results over repeated testing periods” (Brink, 1993, p. 35). Validity is concerned with accuracy and truthfulness (Brink, 1993). Tjora specifies validity thusly: Are the results of our research actually answers to the questions we are asking? (2017, p. 232). Further, Tjora (2017) states that the most important factor for ensuring the validity of research is that it is anchored in relevant previous research/theory. Brink (1993) argues that ensuring validity and reliability can be done by approaching potential sources of error, of which they identify four categories:

- (1) the researcher
- (2) the subjects participating in the project
- (3) the situation or social context
- (4) the methods of data collection and analysis (Brink, 1993, p. 35)

The methods and analytical procedures of the project (item (4) on the list) have already been presented in great detail, as well as descriptions of the participants in the interviews (item (2)).

As regards item (1), Tjora (2017) argues that the researcher should make clear their preconceptions. For the present study, the researcher's choice of topic was initially motivated by an interest in the field of hip-hop. Having participated in the music and hip-hop scene both as a writer, performer, and consumer, this has built a significant body of knowledge and experiences. This was helpful in finding participants, forming relevant interview questions and supporting the natural flow within each interview, but naturally also gave rise to some preconceptions and biases. By strict implementation of the presented methodological approach, the use of recordings and direct citations from interviews, complete transparency in representing the lyrics in text, and a solid theoretical foundation, the present paper aims to do away with these biases in the most optimal way possible when discussing and analysing results (Tjora, 2017; Brink, 1993).

Regarding item (3) Brink (1993) mentions the potential effect that the interview situation itself could have on participants. This can be brought about by several factors, such as the thought that one's statements can be traced back (Brink, 1993), or by the participant looking for the answers which they think the researcher is looking for (Tjora, 2017). Brink (1993) therefore argues for repeated interviews in different settings, and specification of the physical, social and interpersonal contexts of data collection. Due to the constraints of the present project, repeated interviews were not possible. The context of the interviews was described earlier (cf. section 6.1.2).

3.4 Ethical considerations

With the analysis of other people's works, here in the form of song lyrics, one must avoid misrepresenting these in any way. Resnik defines misrepresentation as "communicating honestly reported data in a deceptive manner" (2001, p. 10789). Resnik's main importance for the present study is as a guideline for handling song lyrics. Earlier, the choice of only analysing songs for which there exist printed lyrics was described, with the exception of B, for whom considerable measures were taken to avoid misrepresentation.

Most of the ethical considerations relevant to this research project arise from the use of interviews, and in particular, internet interviewing. Most notable of which is perhaps the handling of recordings. Norsk Senter for Forskningsdata (NSD) and the Norwegian University of Science and Technology have guidelines that state specifically how this type of data is to be handled (NTNU, n.d.). In accordance with these, all recordings were stored locally on an

external, encrypted drive, ensuring confidentiality until publication, and thereby upholding the right of the participant to opt out at any point during the project prior to publication.

When it comes to anonymisation and transparency, discussed in Tjora (2017), all participants were made aware of the fact that it would be possible to identify them through material in the textual analysis before agreeing to and signing the consent form. However, artists were ensured that neither their full name nor their pseudonym would be used in the published thesis at any point, in an effort to relieve some of the potential uneasiness associated with possibly having to account for their statements at later times, opening up for what would hopefully be as honest and complete answers as possible. Accordingly, the artists have been given initials in place of their names, standing for their affiliated city: Oslo=O, Bergen=B, Trondheim=T.

4. Textual analyses of CS in Norwegian rap lyrics

English elements from all fifteen songs (five from each artist) are categorized according to Androutsopoulos & Scholz (2002):

	Cultural terminology	Slang items	Discourse markers	Formulaic expressions	CS on utterance level	CS over large stretches	TOTAL
T	6 (6)	37 (45)	1	0	0	0	44(52)
B	1	14 (60)	1(3)	0	0	0	16(64)
O	0	8 (37)	0	1	0	0	9(38)

Table 4: Classification of English elements

This table shows the number of individual occurrences of each of the six categories of English elements. The paper acknowledges that these are somewhat fuzzy categories, but attempts to justify its classification as best as possible. The number of unique items is presented first, and the full number of uses of English is included in parentheses and italicized (if and when there is a discrepancy). This is an important distinction in cases such as B's use of variations of the word *flex*, yielding only a few unique elements but a much greater number of uses in its entirety, and O's use of *come on*, part of the chorus of one of the songs and therefore repeated multiple times. As shown, T has by far the most unique items, both in terms of cultural terminology, slang items, and the total count. However, it is B who exhibits the highest number of total uses of English, although this is achieved through the use of far fewer unique items. O has, by some margin, the lowest number of unique items and total uses. As the table also shows, slang items dominate the use of English by these three artists, with some but way fewer instances of cultural terminology, and not a single case of code-switching. Individual tables for each category are presented below, giving a more nuanced picture of their use. A full glossary of each of the English elements can be found in appendix A.

4.1 Cultural terminology

Trondheim	Bergen	Oslo
trapping trapking trappe	flyt	

barsn		
beatn		
bængers		

Table 5: Cultural terminology

Only T and B exhibited use of cultural terminology. Items included in this category followed strictly Androutsopoulos & Scholz' descriptions of cultural terminology as "culture specific" (2002, p. 27). Therefore, words such as *lowkey*, *shortey*, *twerking*, and *plug* are argued to not be part of cultural terminology, as these terms do not seem to be given new meaning as they are used within hip-hop. Although typical of hip-hop language, they are not specific to it. Words such as *trapping* and *trapking* on the other hand is an instance of cultural terminology, as even though it exist in other cultures and subcultures, it is given specific meanings in hip-hop discourse; *trap* referring most saliently to the subgenre of trap rap.

The paper makes an observation on the use of variations of the term *flow*, a word which in the hip-hop context typically denotes a rapper's rhythm and rhyme. Variations of this term are seen in both T and B's material. For the former, the word is realized in its original English spelling and pronunciation, with the suffix -e, a central Norwegian dialect variant of the standard Norwegian present suffix -er: *flowe*. In B's material, the realization of the term comes in the form of a calque (see Androutsopoulos & Scholz, 2002), or a loan translation: *flyt*.

There is an argument to be made against the inclusion of *bængers* as hip-hop cultural terminology, but with early hip-hop influence (Webb, 2017) in mind, as well as its inherent meaning within the music world as a song of high quality, the decision stands.

4.2 Slang items

Trondheim	Bergen	Oslo
baby (2)	duden	ASAP
baileys	flex	assen
blunt	flexen (6)	baby (3)
bitch	flexer (29)	breakup
breezerrace	flexomoney (4)	come on (28)
bumpe	flexy (11)	down
cash	flexyen	sweet

chatte (2) designer jeans drippe (4) fakk det fakke opp fakke rundt fucked up gamet gig greens henney hoodie J'n lowkey mixe molly water mood (2) move packa sextasy shit shorty sippe (2) slimey spænke trippen (2) væll wasta waste whack	flippe fuckings heavy paye risk shit speed	twerking
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Table 6: Slang items

All three artists exhibited the use of slang items. Adopting some of the topics identified in Androutsopoulos & Scholz' (2002) framework, with additions from Greene (2008) and Burkhalter & Thornton (2012), each slang element is classified according to both its inherent topic and the context in which it is used. The major categories are *dope/alcohol*, *love/sex*, *party/fun*, *money*, *fashion*, and a final group for *other slang items*.

4.2.1 Dope/alcohol

Trondheim	Bergen	Oslo
baileys blunt breezerrace greens henny J'n mixe molly water sextasy shit slimey sippe (2) trippen (2) vællly	speed	

Table 7: Dope/alcohol

The dope/alcohol category consists of slang references to drug use and alcohol consumption and is dominated by T's material, accounting for around a third of its unique slang items (8 of 24). B's material on the other hand, exhibits only a single use of English drug or alcohol related slang, *speed*, a slang for methamphetamine. While *breezerrace* could be argued to be part of the party/fun category, and *sextasy* as part of the love/sex category, their undeniable indexing of alcohol consumption and drugs place them most firmly in the current category. *Shit* is here referring to some form of alcoholic beverage, while *mixe* refers to the act of mixing drinks. *Slimey* is used to describe T's nose, which is most likely a reference to the common side effect of cocaine use. O's material exhibits no use of drug or alcohol related English slang.

4.2.2 Love/sex

Trondheim	Bergen	Oslo
baby (2) bitch spænke shorty		baby (3) breakup

Table 8: Love/sex

Both T and O exhibit uses of love/sex related slang, while B does not. For the case of *bitch* used by T, this slang is not innately linked to love or sex, but in the present context, it is used in reference to a woman with whom the artist wishes to indulge in lewd activities. A similar context applies to *spænke*.

4.2.3 Party/fun

Trondheim	Bergen	Oslo
mood (2)		assen twerking

Table 9: Party/fun

This category is defined by Androutsopoulos & Scholz as being "about throwing a party, dancing and having a good time" (2002, p. 11). With that understanding, only T and B exhibit uses of this kind of slang, e.g. *mood* by T, here referring to the mood in a room, and *assen* and *twerking* by O, both referring to some form of dancing.

4.2.4 Money

Trondheim	Bergen	Oslo
cash	flippe paye	

Table 10: Money

As the first addition to Androutsopoulos & Scholz' (2002) topic categories, enough elements were found in the source material to warrant a separate category of varying references to money.

Only T and B exhibit the use of such slang, including the use of the term *flippe* by B, referring most typically to the act of turning a profit (out of something).

4.2.5 Fashion

Trondheim	Bergen	Oslo
designer jeans drippe (4) hoodie		

Table 11: Fashion

Only T makes any reference to fashion, such as the four occurrences of *drippe*, an inflected form of the word *drip*, a reference to cool or expensive clothing and accessories.

4.2.6 Other slang items

Trondheim	Bergen	Oslo
bumpe chatte (2) fakk det fakke opp fakke rundt fucked up gamet gig lowkey move packa wasta waste whack	Duden flex flexen (6) flexer (29) flexomoney (4) flexy (11) flexyen fuckings heavy risk shit	ASAP down sweet come on (28)

Table 12: Other slang items

Last is the residual category, reserved for those terms which are too general or too abstract to clearly belong to any of the previous categories. All artists exhibit some use of English which resides in this residual group, such as B's extensive and creative use of the word *flex*, O's use of the abbreviation *ASAP* (pronounced, not spelled out), and T's use of *wasta* in reference to wasting time.

4.3 Discourse markers

Trondheim	Bergen	Oslo
wow	yo (3)	

Table 13: Discourse markers

Only T's and B's material exhibits the use of discourse markers. T uses the interjection *wow*, while B uses *yo*, which was included by Androutsopoulos & Scholz (2002) in their categories of English elements (see table 2).

4.4 Formulaic expressions

Trondheim	Bergen	Oslo
		bro's before

Table 14: Formulaic expressions

Only O's material exhibited use of formulaic expressions: "bro's before", a shortened variation of the expression "bro's before hoes", denoting a person's prioritisation of their (male) friends over their romantic partner.

4.5 CS on verse/utterance level

No occurrence of CS on verse/utterance level were found in the material.

4.6 CS over large stretches of text

No occurrence of CS over large stretches of text were found in the material.

5. Interview results

Transcription follows the ideals of denaturalism, as described in e.g. Oliver et al. (2005). Being concerned strictly with the information the participants provide, it was regarded as most productive in this study to transcribe the interviews in a manner that makes them most easily analysable according to the aims of the study. In excerpts, the interviewee is tagged as O, T or B, according to affiliated city (cf. section 3.4).

An aggregate of 139 minutes and 14 seconds of interviews yielded a total of 239 codes. These codes were then grouped into 7 code groups, including a residual group for those which were not seen as relevant to the research questions. These groups were as follows:

	Code Groups	Number of codes
1	Amount of English use	14
2	Regionality	17
3	English as a conscious choice	7
4	The origin/source of English elements	16
5	The functions of English	39
6	Authenticity and the role of English	67
7	Residual	79

Table 15: Code groups

While some groups, in particular group 3, may be less substantial in terms of the number of codes, their separate inclusion is argued on the basis of their distinctive relevance to this research and the nuance they provide. This presentation of results bases its themes on the code groups listed, presenting the results from each interview in a structured manner.

5.1 Amount of English use

Introducing this presentation of results are these reports on the artists' responses when discussing if and how much they employ English in their lyrics. O expresses that he 'thinks' he uses a lot of English elements in his lyrics. He believes this to be a remnant of his past experience and practice as a rap artist, arguing that it would not be a problem to do away with English today, but that English remains a part of his language because it was central to it around a decade ago. T answers much more briefly, stating two times throughout the interview that he does indeed use a lot of English in his lyrics. B's case is interesting, as the interview shows him

making new realizations about his own use of English as the interview goes on. B begins by stating that he imagines that he uses a lot of English. Then, having had some time to think, B corrects this and states that he uses very little English in his lyrics. Later on, having brought out his phone to look at his own lyrics, B makes the statement:

B: *Det er så norsk som du får det det her altså.*

5.2 Regionality

The artists also made a few comments on the use of English in hip-hop in their own city/region. O explains that English is common in Oslo hip-hop, but that it is mostly the newer generation of rappers, of which many have immigrant backgrounds, that have brought with them this practice of using other languages along with Norwegian in their rap. Before this new generation, O adds, hip-hop was predominantly white and predominantly Norwegian.

O: *Hip-hoppen i Oslo fram til jeg var ... ja, fram til for syv-åtte år siden vil jeg påstå var erkehvitt da. Hip-hoppen var jo bestående av hvite artister utelukkende. Det var veldig norsk.*

B explained that in Bergen hip-hop, people employ extensive English use in their lyrics and in their everyday speech, as it is a part of their natural language. Some are even frivolous in their English use to the point where others mock them for it, B adds. On the same topic, T responded that there was not much going on in Trondheim hip-hop and therefore had no perception of how artists in Trondheim use English.

Furthermore, the artists were asked about their perception of differences between their region and the two other regions with regard to the use of English. However, all artists responded that they either knew much too little about rap in the other regions, as with O, or that they almost never even listen to Norwegian music, as with T:

T: *Selv om jeg lager norsk musikk så hører jeg nesten aldri på det.*

Apart from O's remarks that Bergen has created its own 'thing', referring to the Bergen trap rap which is discussed in section 6.1.1, no statements were made pertaining to regional differences.

5.3 English as a conscious choice

Being the smallest code group in terms of number of codes, the question of whether using English is a conscious choice or not is nevertheless important to a discussion of identity construction in hip-hop lyrics. On this topic, all artists explained that for them, using English is not a conscious choice.

O: *Jeg er ganske sikker på at jeg gjør det, men jeg er ikke bevisst på det.*

T and B both make statements that they simply write whatever they want to or whatever comes to mind, any instance of English being natural rather than conscious or forced. B adds that it is his belief that when one is too conscious when writing, they lose something. B did not elaborate on this.

5.4 The origin/source of English elements

On the topic of where the English words and expressions come from, the artists gave a range of answers. For O, the most prominent factor seemed to be his affiliation with *russ music*. 'Russefeiring' (russ celebration) is a Norwegian high school graduation tradition (see e.g. Bakken et al., 2017 for further descriptions). O informs the interviewer that russ music brings with it a number of English elements, particularly in the names of *russ groups*, and that this definitely has influenced his rap language. For clarification, russ group names normally consist of a word or phrase, often in English, followed by their graduation year, e.g. Eyecandy 2019, Descendants 2018, Culture 2017 (Olsson, 2018). O also mentions the potential impact of other artists and their language use, as well as his surrounding environment. However, both of these, unlike the statement about russ culture and its impact, are prefaced with a degree of uncertainty. O later adds that where he grew up, everyone listened exclusively to English music. T explains that he believes most of the English elements he uses in his rap comes from English music, and primarily English hip-hop. In addition to this, some English elements might come from social media, and perhaps a few from movies and such. However, these two, and especially the latter, are given less prominence than the influence of English music.

T: *som sagt så hører jeg jo jævnlig mye på engelsk musikk så det er sikkert der jeg får de fleste uttrykkene fra da*

B makes no mention of a clear source of the English elements he uses in his lyrics. This may be linked to the conclusion B reached during the interview that he uses very little English.

5.5 The functions of English

When discussing the functions of English in rap, answers were again similar, but with interesting variations. The analysis was able to identify the following functions: Descriptive capacity, freedom in writing, aiding flow, creating originality, as a poetic tool, bringing the artist closer to the global music world, and strengthening the message.

Shared by all artists was the idea that there are differences between Norwegian and English which dictate that sometimes, they will use English words to describe things in ways which Norwegian cannot do. Building on this idea, T explains how using English gives him more freedom when writing, as he has more words from which to choose.

O argued that Norwegian and English, as well as other languages such as Spanish, may flow better or worse than each other at different times, and advocated switching to whatever flows better at any given time. Similarly, for T, one of the most salient functions of English was in aiding the flow of the rap.

T: engelske ord flyter mye bedre på en måte enn norske siden norske er veldig sånn hakkete hvis du skjønner.

As expressed in this excerpt, there seems to be some quality of Norwegian, or perhaps of particular Norwegian dialects, that renders it less *singable* (see e.g. Low, 2003) than English, at least at times. This is similar to findings in Hare & Barker's (2017) study of Korean hip-hop.

Another important function of English seems to be its role in creating originality. Both T and B specifically mentioned English as a tool for creating originality. T explains this as creatively mixing the languages to create cross-linguistic rhymes and new rhymes that might never have been used before.

T: hvis du rimer et norsk ord med et engelsk kanskje det er mye mindre sjanse for at det rimet har blitt brukt før så da blir det ganske originalt og sånt.

T: "for eksempel" da, det rimte jeg med "jeg er quick scoper, du er camper" er forleden. Det er et norsk rim og et engelsk rim og da blir det kult.

T made numerous remarks on English as a poetic tool, as described in Barrett (2018), arguing that by using English and Norwegian together, he could create more interesting and original rhymes. He favours cross-linguistic rhymes, rhyming English words with Norwegian ones (see also Barrett, 2018), over monolingual rhymes, as exemplified in the above excerpt.

Interestingly, this is argued to go both ways, not just in terms of Norwegian-Norwegian rhymes but also English-English rhymes.

O also mentions how using English may bring the artist closer to the music world, in a global sense. He also presents the idea that using English, or language choice in general, may serve to bring the artist closer to the environment in which they wish to be. O makes explicit mention of how he was able to come closer to the russ community through, among other things, the use of English.

Finally, O describes another function, not just of English, but of language choice in general. The idea presented here is that artists use the words and expressions, as well as the language, which strengthens their message. The specifics of how this can be done are unclear and not specified by O, but he points out that he himself uses English to strengthen the message of his music.

5.6 Authenticity and the role of English

Regarding the relationship between the use of English and authenticity, the artists seem to agree quite strongly that the use of English does not or should not affect the authenticity of the product. O argues that using English, in and of itself, has nothing to do with a song's authenticity, arguing rather that this kind of authenticity depends on the song's message, not its language. T expresses the belief that the use of English, or any language for that matter, does not necessarily have anything to do with authenticity, as long as what is being said is true and believable. These perspectives would seem to encompass all of Moore's 'persons' of authenticity, as they would entail speaking truth regardless, both to oneself, one's audience, and one's culture. English, however, does not seem to be an important factor.

B expresses his opinion that English should not be a factor for authenticity. However, he adds that this is not a universally held belief among all rappers in Bergen, as many ascribe authenticity to mastery of the hip-hop language, in which English plays a major role, and if a rapper is not familiar with the English that is used in hip-hop, these people might perceive them as less authentic. Here, B seems to be pointing to a kind of third-person authenticity, as authentication relies on the artist being familiar with hip-hop language and not deviating from it, thus staying true to the culture. B provides the example of another artist, King Skurk One, and how he is able to portray himself as authentic through the use of English:

B: Gjennom bruk av mange engelske ord så blir King Skurk One oppfattet som en ekte artist som er oppdatert på hiphop-språket.

Next, the artists were asked whether they viewed authenticity as something important to them. T responded that for him, authenticity is important because, according to him, no one likes people who are fake. B explained that authenticity was important to him, but only personally, stating that keeping it real was something he did for his own sake. O, on the other hand, was adamant in his opposition to the expression 'keep it real', arguing that it was of no importance at all whether other people perceived his persona or music as authentic or not.

The artists were asked to imagine how it would affect their authenticity if they were to reverse their current practice of English use. That is, artists who responded that they used some or a lot of English were asked to imagine avoiding English, while those who responded that they used little or no English were asked to imagine what it would mean if they were to consciously use a lot more of it. O responds that, largely due to his affiliation with russ music, it would seem less authentic if he were to abandon any and all uses of English, suggesting some aspects of second- and third-person authenticity as integral to the authenticity within that culture. T expressed the belief that it would make his music less authentic if he were to stop using English because it would go against how he speaks normally. Adding to this, T claims that maximal authenticity is achieved by rapping in the manner in which one speaks normally. Thus, there seems to also be an aspect of first-person authenticity in the use of English elements in rap, as its use should reflect the 'true language' of the artist.

After conclusively stating that he uses very little English in his lyrics, B was asked whether it would tamper with his authenticity if he was to start using a lot of English. B did not believe it would inhibit his ability to 'keep it real', and adds the interesting point that, on the contrary, others might perceive him as more authentic if he was to start using English more extensively.

B: den normale rapperen i gaten ville ansett meg som mer kunnskapsrik hvis jeg kunne noen kule engelske ord og klarte å vimse litt rundt med de sant.

Interestingly, earlier in the interview, B expressed a recent development where he had tried to distance himself from the hip-hop community. This would seem consistent with his perceived minimal use of English and his perception of how other hip-hoppers ascribe authenticity. Wishing to distance himself from the community, B might well want to limit his English use, if this would make him 'less authentically hip-hop' in the eyes of others.

6. Discussion

The findings suggest that English is a well-used and valuable resource among rap artists in Norway's three largest cities. This is coherent with Androutsopoulos & Scholz' (2002) findings in their comparative study of European rap. Through the textual analysis, all three artists were shown to exhibit the use of English elements in their lyrics, although to a varying degree and in quite different ways. In the interviews, O and T reported that they themselves used English extensively in their lyrics, while B initially assumed the same but eventually retracted this assumption and identified very little use of English in his own lyrics. On the use of English by rap artists in their regions in general, O and B reported on sizeable amounts of English use, while T made no hard statements on its use in Trondheim.

6.1 The indexicality of English/Norwegian code-switching

Returning to research question 1, how can the English/Norwegian CS of Norwegian hip-hop artists serve to index hip-hop identities and construct authenticity? As mentioned, all artists use English elements in their lyrics, which at the most general level is argued to index hip-hop identities and typically an affiliation with the GHHN (see e.g. Androutsopoulos & Scholz, 2002; Cotgrove, 2018). Slang items seem to dominate the English use in Norwegian hip-hop, judging by the findings in this study. Cultural terminology was also used extensively, but only by one of the artists. Very few or no instances of discourse markers, formulaic expressions, or CS were identified.

6.1.1 English as a reference to GHHN

As established, cultural terminology is primarily referential in function, marking out the major roles and activities within hip-hop culture (Androutsopoulos & Scholz, 2002). In this regard, major differences are observed between the three artists. While cultural terminology makes up a substantial part of T's English elements, B exhibits the use of only a single cultural term, and O exhibits no uses at all. Through the use of terms such as *trap*, *flow*, *beat*, and *freestyles*, T portrays himself as part of hip-hop culture and a member of the in-group (Ivushkina, 2017; Barrett, 2018) that these terms may serve to define. *Trap*, *trapping*, and *trapking*, all of which being variations used by T, index most saliently the hip-hop subgenre of trap rap. In this way, T may not only be seen as indexing hip-hop identity, but also a more specific in-group within

hip-hop. Interestingly, it is often in context of Bergen and western Norwegian rap that the term trap is used, as the subgenre seems to be regarded as a defining characteristic of that region's major hip-hop output (Rønningen, 2018). However, the text material from this region, B's material, shows not a single use of reference to the genre of trap rap. This could be down to the smaller selection of participants. The only cultural terminology employed by B is the word *flyt*. Regarded as a calque, this term is not only seen as indexing hip-hop identity, but also as playing a specific role in the aforementioned process of glocalization, a topic which the paper will return to momentarily. In the interviews, B expressed a more recent wish to distance himself from the hip-hop community at large. While no links between this and the use of English elements were explicitly mentioned, wanting to distance himself from the hip-hop community may have some role to play in the use of cultural terminology, and hence might partly explain why B exhibited the use of only a single English cultural term.

6.1.2 English slang and the communicative skills of subcultural experts

What this aforementioned repetition of identical elements may not be as effective in doing is in presenting the artist as "'underground' or a 'subcultural' expert", or in demonstrating the "rappers' communicative skills" (Androutsopoulos & Scholz, 2002, p. 27). Through the extensive use of unique English items, T is here argued to more clearly index these aspects of his hip-hop identity, as he shows his familiarity with and mastery of HHNL. This is not only due to the number of unique items, as Androutsopoulos & Scholz (2002) also explicitly name slang items as a primary index of this '*undergroundness*' and subcultural expertise. Here, T employs not only a higher number of items in general, but also a range of items which are argued to be more encompassing than the other two in terms of hip-hop identities. This is argued on the basis of the identified slang item categories (see table 16 below). Thus, T can be said to index a hip-hop identity both directly, through the use of cultural terminology and an extensive range of unique slang items, and in general, through a large number of unique English items. O and B, on the other hand, are argued to not as saliently index their hip-hop identities directly, but more often indirectly, by virtue of English being inherently linked to the origins of hip-hop (Androutsopoulos & Scholz, 2002; Cotgrove, 2018).

The categories identified in the analysis of slang items may aid this discussion in determining in more specific detail how these artists use English in constructing their hip-hop identity. As mentioned, five major categories/topics were identified, drawing on traditional hip-hop

identities (see e.g. Greene, 2008; Burkhalter & Thornton, 2012), in addition to a residual group. The distribution of slang items for each artist according to category is as follows:

	Trondheim	Bergen	Oslo
Dope/alcohol	15(17)	1	0
Love/sex	4 (5)	0	2 (4)
Party/fun	1(2)	0	2
Money	1	2	0
Fashion	3(6)	0	0
Other	15(16)	11 (57)	4 (31)

Table 16: Distribution of slang items for each artist

These numbers illustrate some notable differences between the three artists. Firstly, T is the only one to include slang items from all five categories and the residual group. As such, this paper argues that T's use of English slang items index a more encompassing or more nuanced hip-hop identity. On the other hand, B and O only include some of the categories. O avoids the categories of dope/alcohol, money, B makes no reference to love/sex or party/fun, and none of them refers to fashion. Note that this is not stating that the artists do not discuss these topics in other ways, only that they do not use English to do so. Notably, B makes numerous mentions of drugs, but apart from the one occurrence of *speed*, these are all realized in Norwegian or referred to by their medical name. From the specific perspective of the present research question, the paper acknowledges that only T makes use of English to cover all topics identified within the text material. B uses English to index his identity relating to dope/alcohol and money, and O uses English to index aspects of love/sex and party/fun. The items within the category of 'Other' are not seen as indexing established aspects of hip-hop identities, but do become relevant with regard to other aspects of indexicality, as has already been shown, e.g. in the way the extensive use of English serves as a connection to rap's origins (Androutsopoulos & Scholz, 2002).

As presented, B did not identify any prominent sources of English items, perhaps owing to his conclusion that he uses very little to no English at all in his lyrics. T, on the other hand, mentioned that the primary source of English items was English hip-hop, in addition to possible influence from social media and popular media. Finally, O drew most attention to his affiliation with Norwegian russ culture and russ music, and added later that some influence might have come from other artists and the surrounding environment, but primarily in the earlier years of

his music career. T's explicit mention of English hip-hop artists, compared to O's focus on Norwegian russ culture and B's lack of a clear source of English items, may go some way in explaining why the artists exhibited such varied use of English slang items. It may be the case that T's extensive interaction with this type of hip-hop has influenced his language and linguistic repertoire, thus amounting to a more nuanced vocabulary of English HHNL items. With B seeking to distance himself from the hip-hop community, and O focusing his discussions on Norwegian russ culture, these assumptions seem to add up in the context of their English use being lower than T's.

6.1.3 In-groups and out-groups and the native stylistic repertoire

A somewhat peculiar finding pertains to the large numbers of B and O in terms of total number of uses of English. This is brought about by the previously established repetition employed by both artists. O repeats *come on* 28 times in the span of the material and thus the total number of uses is inflated. Notably, B's repetition of *flex* and variations of it is argued to be quite different, and is here seen as a primary factor in two other aspects of the function of English elements, "the creation of a 'native' stylistic repertoire" (Androutsopoulos & Shcolz, 2002, p. 27) and the creation of in-groups and out-groups. Firstly, B's uses of *flex* and its variations is the clearest example of an artist creating a native stylistic repertoire identified in this study. B uses *flex* in six different variants, a total of 52 times throughout the material, accounting for around 80% of the English in his lyrics. In this way, B is argued to make the term *flex* a staple of his stylistic repertoire and his persona as a rapper. Only one of the five songs analysed did not include the use of *flex* in some way. T's native stylistic repertoire on the other hand is quite different from B's. As seen, T has by far the largest amount of unique English items, but very rarely repeats these items. Thus, his stylistic repertoire seems to be characterised by a more diverse use of English, including the use of hip-hop culture specific items. Finally, O's repertoire seems to be less substantial in terms of English influence, not to say that his repertoire is in and of itself less nuanced, only being so in terms of English. His repetition of *come on* does not function in the same way as B's use of *flex*, partly due to the fact that *come on* is a more common and standardized expression, and partly because it occurs in only one of the five songs analysed.

Another way in which B's extensive use of *flex* indexes identity is in the creation of an in-group. To understand the lyrics and the identity of B, one must be familiar with all permutations of *flex* (see e.g. Ivushkina, 2017), and thus part of the in-group B creates when using these

variations so extensively (Barrett, 2018). T, on the other hand, uses an extensive range of English elements to construct his in-group, very rarely repeating the same words. Thus, to be part of this in-group, one must have a much broader understanding of English and HHNL, while B's use of English was more defined to the term *flex*. While O also constructs an in-group, this in-group is here argued to be more generally accessible than that of e.g., T. This is primarily due to two factors. Firstly, O uses way fewer unique English elements and thus, his lyrics require less in the way of familiarity with HHNL to be accessible. Second, the English elements in O's lyrics are seen as more commonly understood. Compare e.g. T's use of *trapping*, *breezerrace*, *sextasy*, and *vællly*, and B's use of *flexomoney* and *flexy flexen*, to O's use of *baby*, *assen*, *come on*, and *sweet*. It is the current paper's interpretation that O's use of English elements generally is closer to standard English than those of B and perhaps T in particular.

6.1.4 Degrees of glocalization

Returning to the previously presented concept of glocalization (see e.g. Dyndahl, 2008; Barrett, 2018), the paper identifies some interesting differences in how the artists treat English elements. This regards how English elements are imported and adapted to the Norwegian language context, similar to the topic of Skrzypczak's (2013) study of how Norwegian hip-hop artists import, inflect and adapt English loan words to fit the Norwegian matrix language. On one hand, the artist may simply import the English element as it is, such as in the case of e.g. *baby*, *cash*, or *heavy* in this material. Artists may also translate the imported item, yielding a calque (Androutsopoulos & Scholz, 2002), such as B's use of *flyt*. However, many of the English elements in this material seem to fall somewhere in between, where English words receive Norwegian inflection or are in some other way adapted to the Norwegian matrix language, without fully translating them, e.g. *flowe*, *pluggen*, and *flexer*. This might illustrate how artists lean more towards the global or the local in the process of glocalization. Again, O's discussion of how English may bring the artist closer to the global music world and hip-hop culture become relevant. A spectrum of different kinds of appropriation of English items to the Norwegian hip-hop context, from direct loans to the creation of calques, may be another way in which artists balance the global and the local in the process of glocalization. The paper recognizes no notable differences between T, B and O on this matter, beyond those identified in earlier points.

6.1.5 A new perspective on authenticity

Looking at the theoretical background on hip-hop authenticity, one can quite easily draw parallels to the artists in this paper and their use of English. A reasonable preliminary conclusion could be that Norwegian hip-hop artists reflect these established theoretical perspectives, using English words and expressions to give their music and their persona a certain hip-hop authenticity. The use of English, especially in terms of HHNL, can be said to validate their “identity as a rapper, as it authenticates their link to the wider music genre (Cotgrove, 2018, p. 77). This would be regarded as a kind of third-person authenticity (Moore, 2002), and is the way in which most of the literature on the subject has treated the topic of authenticity in hip-hop, as staying true to the craft, or true to hip-hop itself. However, throughout the interviews, the artists paint a picture of authenticity in Norwegian hip-hop as a contested subject, and none of them tout English as a primary factor in hip-hop authenticity, rather arguing that the use of English is insignificant with regard to authenticity. Additionally, all three artists emphasise the first-person aspect of authenticity, and even go as far as to mock the traditional third-person authenticity just described. However, they do identify certain others within Norwegian hip-hop who subscribe to a concept of authenticity favouring its third-person aspect. For these reasons, authenticity will primarily be treated as a topic of research question 2 below.

6.2 Artists' takes on using English in Norwegian hip-hop

Moving on to research question 2, how do artists themselves view the use of English/Norwegian CS in constructing identity and authenticity/an authentic product? The statement that English is a valuable resource for Norwegian hip-hop artists is reinforced throughout the interviews. O and T both responded that they use a lot of English in their lyrics, while B and O made comments on how English is very common among rappers in their cities. In general, the artists identified a multitude of possibilities with English and quite few potential negatives in using it in terms of the construction of identity and authenticity. However, the use of English was by all artists portrayed as subconscious, as even T with his high number of unique English items explained his use of English as simply a reflection of how he speaks normally. Additionally, the role of English with regard to authenticity and authentication, often touted as one of its primary functions in non-English rap, was indicated to be of little significance compared to other factors in the endeavour to 'keep it real'.

6.2.1 The function of English: An index of hip-hop identities?

The artists described multiple functions of English, some aligning closely with the established indexicality of English in non-English rap. Similarly to Barrett (2018), T and B emphasised the possibility for English to be used as a poetic tool to create originality. T was most adamant with regard to this, giving several examples of how English can be used to create originality, most importantly in creating cross-linguistic rhyme (Barret, 2018). T also added that by using English in this way, the artist can show off his competence, a function closely aligned with Androutsopoulos & Scholz' "demonstration of rappers' communicative skills" (2002, p. 27). With communicative competence, creativity and originality being core concepts of the hip-hop identity (Androutsopoulos & Scholz, 2002; Barrett, 2018; Cotgrove, 2018) – also recalling such remarks as B's statements of how mastery of hip-hop language is by many tied directly to one's identity as a hip-hopper – the use of English as a poetic tool and to show off a rapper's competence seem to firmly index these aspects of the hip-hop identity.

In tune with the culturally referential function of some English elements and English serving as a "connection with rap's origins" (Androutsopoulos & Scholz, 2002, p. 27), O explained that using English may bring the artists closer to the global music world and to the community with which they wish to be associated. Thus, by using English, the rapper can index both global aspects of the hip-hop identity and membership in a particular in-group. O illustrated this through his own affiliation with rapping in russ music. Here, O explained how he uses English words and expressions to get closer to russ culture and to be seen as part of that community. Simultaneously, this use of English would according to O also index global aspects of the hip-hop identity, bringing the artist closer to the GHHN.

On the other hand, some of the most emphasised functions of English seem to fall outside the realm of indexing hip-hop identities, at least directly. The artists seemed much more focused on the musical advantages of English, or the ways in which English could facilitate 'better' or more impactful music. This included the argument that English can sometimes describe things better than Norwegian can, and using English was said to provide the artist with more freedom when writing, not just by giving them more words to choose from but also through increased descriptive capacity. Furthermore, English can aid the flow of the rap. As T stated, Norwegian words may sound quite 'choppy' at times, and using English can mitigate this choppiness, suggesting that English is deemed more singable (see e.g. Low, 2003) than Norwegian within the genre of hip-hop. Finally, O argued that English was often used to strengthen the message of his rap songs. O did not specify how English could be used to this extent.

In sum, there are ways in which the artists in this study use and conceptualize the use of English and English elements as indices of the hip-hop identity, e.g. in the way English links the artist to the GHHN, although they all expressed the perspective that his use of English was largely subconscious. In discussing the functions of English, the artists were much more focused on how English could serve to make their music better, more singable, or more impactful, as T described the advantages of using English to improve the flow of rap, and O discussed the potential for English to strengthen the lyrical message. While English in general seems to be common across regions, the artists were not able to produce statements on regional differences, leaving this question open.

6.2.2 Does English matter when it comes to authenticity in hip-hop?

As mentioned, findings from the interviews motivated the choice to preserve the discussion of authenticity for this part of the paper. The most important factor in this decision was that while the literature discusses how the use of English is linked to authenticity (see e.g. Cotgrove, 2018), and while it is completely possible to analyse the textual material from this point of view, the artists all had clear opinions on the relation between English and authenticity which seem to render any such analysis unhelpful. As it turns out, answering the question in the title of this section is not as simple as it might seem. While this group of artists agreed that English is not or should not be a factor in authenticity, it often seems to be.

The use of English elements was argued by all artists to be, in their view, of little significance in the construction of authenticity. All artists employed English elements to some extent in their lyrics, and none saw this as interfering with their authenticity as rappers. B did however ponder whether using more English might make him appear as more knowledgeable (streetwise) and thereby more authentic to other hip-hoppers. T made the clear statement that if a Norwegian artist wants to convey something in English, then they should be allowed to do so. The artists were also particularly critical of hip-hop authenticity in the third-person sense. T explained how he feels no obligation or need to do anything that would be regarded as true to hip-hop, stating that he makes the music that he wants to make. O was even more critical, arguing that the misuse of "keep it real", in the sense of staying true to hip-hop and its roots, has washed out whatever weight the expression might have held before.

However, this is where the artists acknowledge that their opinions on the matter are not universally shared in the hip-hop community. First is B's discussion of a certain group of 'others'

within the hip-hop community, people who ascribe an aspect of authenticity to a rapper's familiarity with hip-hop language, including English elements from HHNL. This is an expression of Moore's third-person authenticity, as it places expectations on the artist to stay true to the relevant musical tradition of hip-hop (Moore, 2002; Dangerfield, 2016; Coulter, 2017). As such, the use of English indexes an affiliation with the global hip-hop nation (Higgins, 2009), links the artist to the wider music genre and the roots of hip-hop (Cotgrove, 2018), and thereby authenticates them through the lens of hip-hop culture.

Furthermore, O expressed how, largely due to his affiliation with russ music, it would seem less authentic if he was to abandon any and all uses of English. Thus, being affiliated with this type of music and culture seems to bring with it certain expectations of second- and third-person authenticity, being integral both to the audience's feeling of belonging and group membership, as well as the importance of staying true to established cultural practice. Although probably not the only factor, English was argued by O to be an important factor in meeting these expectations. When russ music includes rapping, which in the case of O's music, it often does, it seems these expectations of authenticity and of using English are transferred over to the rapper, their identity, and their concept of what it means to 'keep it real'.

Thirdly, while having argued that English does not matter when it comes to authenticity, T also argued that it would make his music less authentic if he was to stop using English because it would go against the language he uses outside of rap. T added to this his opinion that a rapper should rap in the same way in which they speak, and not change when they get on the mic. This is directly linked to Moore's (2002) first-person authenticity, as it bases authentication on staying true to oneself. Successfully conveying first-person authenticity would thereby seem to rely on the artist not changing their way of speaking when they rap, only including English if it is part of their everyday language, and only including the elements of English which are part of this language.

Considering these points together, what seems to arise is a potential conflict between the different persons of authenticity. As B clearly states, many within the hip-hop community judge others on their mastery of hip-hop language and use of English, but at the same time, T argues that if English is not a part of the rapper's everyday language, then they should not use it in their rap either. Thereby, an interesting question would pertain to how a rapper who never uses English in their everyday speech would achieve both first- and third-person authenticity, and whether this is at all possible.

As well as this, and perhaps more immediately relevant, the differing views presented by the artists, both their own and those they ascribe to others, illustrate how the role of English in Norwegian hip-hop authenticity is a contested subject. Putting it rather directly, B argued that many within hip-hop misunderstand what keeping it real means. T makes specific mention of a group of hip-hoppers he calls 'old heads', referring to people who have been in the scene for a long time. T states that these 'old heads' often have a specific variant of hip-hop which they characterise as real. T seems to suggest that these 'old heads' are more concerned with the third-person aspect of hip-hop authenticity. To 'keep it real' is often discussed in terms of what it means to be a real rapper, and discussions of hip-hop authenticity are predominantly concerned with hip-hop's roots and African American heritage and how the rapper may stay true to these aspects, or 'stay true to hip-hop'. Often, as in e.g. Cotgrove (2018), English is given a prominent place in this endeavour. As seen, this approach to authenticity received quite substantial critique throughout the interviews, but the artists also acknowledged the existence of these opposing perspectives.

In conclusion, according to the findings in this paper, Moore's (2002) theory of authenticity is as relevant as ever. As described earlier, authenticity is not something the artist can give the performance itself, but rather something that we, the listeners, ascribe to it. This paper attempted to investigate the links between English and authenticity in Norwegian hip-hop, but it seems more and more evident that authenticity cannot simply be given to a song or an artist through the use of English. Rather, authenticity will depend on the listener. T's 'old heads' would presumably have quite different parameters for judging authenticity than, say, T himself, and thus different perspectives on the use of English. Returning to the question which has become the title of this section, does English matter when it comes to authenticity in hip-hop? In the eyes of the three artists interviewed in this paper, no, but in the eyes of many others within the hip-hop community, it certainly seems so.

7. Summary, limitations, and suggestions for future research

This study investigated the use of English/Norwegian CS in Norwegian-matrix-language hip-hop and the ways in which it may index hip-hop identity and construct authenticity. Through the textual analysis, supported by findings in the interviews, a range of ways in which English indexes a hip-hop identity were identified, as a reference to the GHHN, a demonstration of the rapper's communicative skills and familiarity with hip-hop language, a marker of group membership, as well as a tool for balancing the global and local aspects of hip-hop globalization. In the interviews, the artists identified a few ways in which the use of English contributed to the construction of their hip-hop identities, in terms of reflecting the artist's rap skills, as well as indexing global aspects of hip-hop and bringing the artist closer to the GHHN. However, this was by no means the primary function of English in the eyes of the artists. For them, English was primarily a resource for the facilitation of better, more impactful music, including the increased descriptive capacity offered by using more than one language, aiding the flow of rap, and strengthening the lyrical message. Regarding authenticity, findings suggested that Norwegian hip-hop authenticity is a rather contested subject, as the artists discussed how others within the scene hold very different views to them on what it means to 'keep it real'. This seemed to boil down to a debate of whether first- or third-person authenticity is more important. Previous literature has often attempted to paint hip-hop authenticity with a rather wide brush, conceptualizing the third-person aspect of hip-hop authenticity as something universal to the entire hip-hop community. However, these findings suggest that in the future, researchers might want to revisit the concept of hip-hop authenticity, giving more room for its first-person and also second-person aspects. The interviews found inconclusive evidence for the perception of any regional differences to back up the differences observed in the textual analyses.

Also, given the smaller sample size of the analyses, it does not provide conclusive evidence for the existence of regional differences in the use of English in Norwegian hip-hop. Other factors might also be highly relevant in determining the artist's language choices, such as the aforementioned generational affiliation. There was a notable age gap between the participants, and the study recognizes that the younger artist used English much more frequently than the other two. This indication warrants further investigation, particularly in the form of larger textual analyses and discussions with artists in the form of surveys or interviews. Additionally, although all three participating artists fall somewhere within the genre of hip-hop, they construct their own styles of music which vary significantly from each other. That separates

this study from e.g. Cotgrove (2018), who focused specifically on gangster rap. Further investigation into the language choices of artists within specific subgenres of rap, such as the aforementioned trap rap, as well as comparative analyses of intergroup variation will be necessary before making any concrete claims on the matter.

In conclusion, English seems to be a valuable resource for Norwegian hip-hop artists in terms of indexing aspects of the hip-hop identity. While the artists themselves emphasise more heavily the musical advantages of English, there is no denying the indexical links the use of English, and especially HHNL, has with the global hip-hop identity. On the other hand, perspectives on the role of English in Norwegian hip-hop authenticity seem to be highly varied and contentious. Whichever perspective one subscribes to, it seems there is a great challenge associated with the task of keepin' it real.

8. References

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9. The study's relevance for the teaching profession

From the perspective of the teaching profession, the most immediate relevance of this study is perhaps in its ties to youth culture. As mentioned in the study, hip-hop has immense influence on modern youth culture, and being familiar with hip-hop custom and code can only be beneficial to any teacher wishing to grasp the culture of their students. Naturally, the teacher must not necessarily partake in it, but understanding specific aspects of youth culture is a significant part in understanding how one can or should approach their students, both in terms of learning activities and social interaction. By giving a glimpse into modern Norwegian hip-hop culture, this study is a valuable asset in such an approach to teaching.

Secondly, hip-hop is a significant part of the culture in many places around the world. Through hip-hop, students can learn about other cultures, and because hip-hop is so globally ubiquitous, hip-hop can provide an accessible framework through which students can study cultural similarities and differences. This study provides a perspective on Norwegian hip-hop identities and Norwegian hip-hop authenticity, and can thus be a resource in learning about these topics and comparing them to hip-hop and culture in other parts of the world. Hip-hop also has an interesting and important history, perhaps especially linked to African American culture and struggle, a highly relevant topic in e.g. English and social science.

Hip-hop is not just a musical genre. It is a culture, a community, a deep history, an oral and written tradition, a political device, and so much more. As long as teaching involves any aspect of language, social science, or music, hip-hop can be a valuable resource for teachers in the 21st century

10. Appendices

Appendix A: Glossary of English items

Explanations of terms and expressions are done according to how they are used in the present material. Several items, e.g. 'shit', have other potential meanings which are not realized here.

ASAP | abbreviation of *As Soon As Possible*;

assen | definite form of *ass*, inflected with -en according to Norwegian morphology;

baby | a slang for a female, often the speaker's girlfriend;

baileys | a popular whiskey-based liqueur;

barsn | definite form of *bars*, the lines and utterances of a rap verse;

beatn | definite form of *beat*, the instrumental part of a rap song

blunt | a marijuana cigarette, or more specifically, a cigar containing marijuana;

bitch | typically a reference to a woman or a pejorative slang for a person;

breakup | the ending of a romantic relationship;

breezerrace | a popular drinking game involving the alcoholic fruit-flavored drinks known as Bacardi Breezers;

bro before | a shortened version of the formulaic expression *bro before hoes*, denoting a person's prioritisation of their (male) friends over their romantic partner;

bumpe | present form of *to bump*, as in moving around to the beat of a song;

bængers | plural of *banger/bænger*, a really good song;

cash | money;

chatte | present form slang for speaking or conversating;

come on | a request towards someone, typically for them to join in on an activity;

designer jeans | an expensive pair of jeans (legwear);

down | slang term meaning to be willing to do something or partake in some activity;

droppe | to perform or release music;

drippe | a 'verbing' of the noun *drip*, referring to cool or expensive clothing and/or accessories;

duden | definite form of *dude*, referring to a male person;

fakk det | used in reaction to a statement in order to express disagreement;

fakke opp | to waste an opportunity or generally act foolishly;

fakke rundt | to spend time doing nothing of value or importance;

flexer | present form of *to flex*, typically meaning to show off;

flexen | definite noun form of *flex*, in this material used in reference to self;

flexy | adverb form of *flex*;

flexyen | definite noun form of *flexy*, in this material used in reference to self;

flexomoney | portmanteau of *flex* and *money*, also used in self-reference;

flippe | typically meaning to make a profit (out of);

flyt | calque of *flow*, referring to a rapper's rhythm and rhyme;

freestyles | plural form of *freestyle*, from the verb *to freestyle*, meaning to rap over a beat with little to no preparation;

fucked up | referring to a person being either physically, mentally, morally or otherwise damaged

fuckings | intensifier;

gamet | used in reference to the *rap game*, or the rap/hip-hop industry;

gig | a live musical performance;

greens | marijuana;

heavy | fleeting definition, but often referring to something as serious or very good;

henny | a shortened form (slang) referring to Hennessy cognac;

hoodie | a hooded sweatshirt;

J'n | definite form of *J*, short for *jay* or *joint*, a marijuana cigarette;

lowkey | modifier, denoting something or someone as discrete, secret or moderate;

mixe | present form of *to mix*, referring to mixing drinks/cocktails;

mood | here in reference to the *mood* in a room or at a party, referring to whether

molly water | water containing the drug MDMA;

move | an action toward an objective;

packa | adjective referring to a marijuana cigarette being filled to the brim and/or rolled in a particular manner;

paye | infinitive form of *to pay*, meaning to exchange something of value for something else, typically money for an item or a service;

risk | a dangerous or otherwise unsafe or insecure act;

sextasy | a portmanteau of *sex* and *extasy*, otherwise referred to as MDMA;

shit | either a reference to alcohol or another intoxicating drink, e.g. purple drank;

shorty | a slang for a female, often the speaker's girlfriend;

sippe | infinitive form of *sip*, denoting the act of drinking alcohol;

slimey | referring to a slimy or runny nose as a common side effect of cocaine use;

speed | a slang for amphetamine;

spænke | to hit or smack a bottom;

sweet | the characteristic of someone or something to be generally positive and good;

trappe | infinitive form of the verb *trap*, from the noun *trap rap*, referring to a subgenre of hip-hop;

trapking | a portmanteau of *trap*, referring to the hip-hop subgenre of *trap rap*, and *king*, a ruler;

trapping | a gerund referring to the act of engaging in the practices associated with the hip-hop subgenre of *trap rap*;

trippen | definite form of the slang *trip*, typically referring to the effects of drugs, often hallucinogenics, inflected with -en according to Norwegian morphology;

twerking | a popular dance involving excessive movement of the hips and buttock;

vællly | slang for Valium, given a semi-phonetic representation with the Norwegian vowel *æ*;

wasta | past form of *to waste*, or to use or exhaust something with little to no care;

waste | present form of *to waste*, or to use or exhaust something with little to no care;

yo | a discourse marker or informal greeting;

Appendix B: Glosses for interview excerpts

Interview with O (Oslo):

O: Hip-hoppen i Oslo fram til jeg var ... ja, fram til for syv-åtte år siden vil jeg påstå var erkehvitt da. Hip-hoppen var jo bestående av hvite artister utelukkende. Det var veldig norsk.

[O: Up until I was ... well, up until about seven or eight years ago, I would say that the hip-hop in Oslo was fully white. It consisted exclusively of white artists. It was very Norwegian.]

O: Jeg er ganske sikker på at jeg gjør det, men jeg er ikke bevisst på det.

[O: I am pretty sure I do it, but I am not conscious of it]

Interview with T (Trondheim):

T: Selv om jeg lager norsk musikk så hører jeg nesten aldri på det.

[T: even though I make Norwegian music I almost never listen to it]

T: som sagt så hører jeg jo jævlig mye på engelsk musikk så det er sikkert der jeg får de fleste uttrykkene fra da

[T: as I mentioned, I listen to a lot of English music, so most of the English expressions probably come from there]

T: engelske ord flyter mye bedre på en måte enn norske siden norske er veldig sånn hakkete hvis du skjønner.

[T: English words flow way better in a way since Norwegian words are really choppy, if you get me]

T: hvis du rimer et norsk ord med et engelsk kanskje det er mye mindre sjanse for at det rimet har blitt brukt før så da blir det ganske originalt og sånt.

[T: if you rhyme a Norwegian word with an English word then maybe there is a much smaller chance that that rhyme has been used before so then it becomes original and that]

T: "for eksempel" da, det rimet jeg med "jeg er quick scoper, du er camper" er forleden. Det er et norsk rim og et engelsk rim og da blir det kult.

[T: I rhymed "for eksempel" with "I'm a quick scoper, you're a camper" the other day. That is a Norwegian rhyme and an English rhyme and that makes it cool]

Interview with B (Bergen):

B: Det er så norsk som du får det det her altså

[B: It is as Norwegian as it gets, this is.]

B: Gjennom bruk av mange engelske ord så blir King Skurk One oppfattet som en ekte artist som er oppdatert på hiphop-språket.

[B: Through the use of a lot of English words, King Skurk One is perceived as a real artist who is up-to-date on hip-hop language.]

B: den normale rapperen i gaten ville ansett meg som mer kunnskapsrik hvis jeg kunne noen kule engelske ord og klarte å vimse litt rundt med de sant.

[B: the average rapper on the street would have seen me as more knowledgeable if I knew some cool English words and was able to play around with them.]

Appendix C: Glosses for excerpts from lyrics

- (1) Alle hater Oral Bee
Fordi han er en G MC

*[Everybody hates Oral Bee
Because he is a G MC]*

(Oral B: Alle hater Oral Bee)

- (1) Navnet mitt er Fretex, mine bukser er fra Armani
Sipper på no' Bacardi, jobber for et anarki
Drifter 66, du vet jeg sparer til en Ferrari

*[My name is Fretex, my trousers are from Armani
Sipping on some Bacardi, working for an anarchy
Drifting 66, you know I'm saving up for a Ferrari]*

(UNDERGRUNN: UG SOMMER)

- (2) "trøndersk høres jævlig wack ut"
fakk det

*["trøndersk sounds fucking wack"
fuck that]*

(Bulmboy\$: "Trøndersk høres wack ut")

- (3) Du bist kein **Gangsta**, nein, weil du **dealst** mit **Dough**
Du bist nicht **real**, du bist nur *Show*

*[You're no gangster, cos you deal with dough
You're not real, you're only show']* (Cotgrove, 2018, p. 78)

(4) Ay ay, hvorfor skal du gå nå?

Travel kar, masse planer

Tjener lægsa på nå

[Ay ay, why are you leaving now?

Busy man, lots of plans

Earning money on now]

(612, T_boyofficial, Lille Leon – "Papir")

Appendix D: Interview guide

NOTE: The interview guide was identical for each artist, with changes only in the way some questions were framed in terms of city (see e.g. 2a.). The included interview guide is from the interview with B, the artist from Bergen.

Intervjuguide – Kodeveksling i norsk hip-hop

Om prosjektet: Mitt mål med denne studien er å undersøke bruken av engelsk i norsk hiphop. Dette er et fenomen som kan utarte seg i form av enkeltord, lengre fraser/utsagn eller fullstendige omskiftninger midt i en låt. Mer spesifikt ønsker jeg å se på forholdet mellom denne språkbruken og: 1. Artistens identitet (hvordan språket henger sammen med identitetsbygging og artistens egen forståelse av sin identitet); og 2. Autentisitet, eller det å være «ekte», hva nå enn du legger i det. Hvor viktig er dette for artisten? Hvordan påvirker det bruk av engelske ord og uttrykk i artistens tekster?

Bakgrunnsopplysninger om informant: Bekreft fødested/oppvekststed?

Eksempler på kodeveksling:

Kodeveksling betyr helt enkelt et bytte mellom to språk.

Temur (Fasade): Alle her er fake, ooh-ya

Isah (Drukne): Leve mitt liv in the club

Karpe (Krølla 50-lapp y'all): Cash rules everything around me; Gryn, gi mæ spenn

1. Innledning/bakgrunn

- a. Hvor lenge har du holdt på med rap/hip-hop?
 - i. Hvordan starta det?
- b. Hva anser du som dine viktigste inspirasjonskilder som hip-hop-artist?
 - i. Støtte: Andre artister, andre musikksgangre, din oppvekst, området du er fra, dine venner, din familie?

Jeg tenkte vi kunne starte med å snakke litt mer generelt om bruk av engelske ord og uttrykk i hiphop...

2. Forskjeller på tvers av regioner (FS1)

- a. Hvor vanlig er det med engelske låneord og -uttrykk i Bergens-hiphoppen?
 - i. På hvilke måter? Hva er det som er vanlig?
 - ii. Lite vanlig? Hvorfor tror du det er slik?
 - iii. Er det slik at alle gjør det på samme måte?
 - 1. Om nei: Hvordan ser forskjellene ut?
- b. Er dette hip-hop-språket, med disse engelske innslagene, noe du ser igjen i hvordan folk prater ellers også?
 - i. Om ja: På hvilke måter?
 - ii. Om nei: Hvordan snakker folk annerledes?
- c. Har du noen opplevelse av hvordan dette med bruk av engelske ord og uttrykk er i hiphop i...
 - i. Trondheim, til forskjell fra Bergen?
 - ii. Hva med Oslo, sammenlignet med Bergen?
 - iii. Er hip-hop-språket i Bergen og resten av Norge likt?

3. Språkvalg (kodeveksling) og identitet

- a. Hvorfor valgte du å skrive tekster/rappe på norsk?
- b. Var det noen grunn til at du ikke valgte engelsk?

Når det kommer til tekstene dine...

- c. Vil du si at du tar du i bruk mange engelske ord og uttrykk?
 - i. Om ja: Hvor kommer disse engelske uttrykkene fra?
 - 1. Hvor bevisst er du over disse engelske ordene og uttrykkene når du skriver?
 - 2. I hvilke situasjoner bruker du engelsk?

3. Hva oppnår du ved å bruke engelske ord og uttrykk i tekstene dine (til forskjell fra om du skulle holdt deg til norsk)?
4. Kjenner du igjen alt dette i andre Bergensrapperses språkbruk?
5. Om du skulle gjort det motsatt (bevisst kuttet ut engelske ord og uttrykk), hvordan ville det påvirket musikken din?

ii. Om nei: Hva kommer det av?

1. Hvor bevisst er du over dette når du skriver?
2. Unngår du engelske ord og uttrykk?
3. Hva oppnår du ved å ikke ta i bruk engelsk i tekstene dine?
4. Kjenner du igjen alt dette i andre Bergensrapperses språkbruk?
5. Om du skulle gjort det motsatt, hvordan ville det påvirket musikken din?

d. Du nevnte tidligere noen av dine viktigste inspirasjonskilder. Er det noen sammenhenger mellom... (og hvilke)

- i. [Inspirasjonskilde 1] og din bruk av engelske ord og uttrykk?
- ii. [Inspirasjonskilde 2] og din bruk av engelske ord og uttrykk?
- iii. ...

4. Språkbruk (kodeveksling) og autentisitet

- a. Du har sikkert hørt uttrykket «hold det ekte» eller mer vanlig «keep it real»? Hva legger du i det (å «holde det ekte»)?
 - i. Er det viktig for deg? → Hvorfor?
 - ii. Hva er det som er «ekte» i Bergens-hiphoppen?
 1. Hvilke faktorer er de viktigste?
- b. Når det kommer til bruk av engelske ord og uttrykk: Har det noe med teksten og sangens «ektehet» å gjøre?
 - i. På hvilke måter?

1. Når er det ekte og når er det «fake» å bruke engelsk?
- c. «Vi snakket tidligere om hva det ville betydd om du skulle vendt om på din bruk eller unngåelse av bruk av engelske ord og uttrykk...»
 - i. Hvordan ville dette påvirket denne ekteheten? (Støtte: Ville det påvirket hvor «ekte» det oppleves)
- d. → Har du noen opplevelse av hvordan synet på det å holde det ekte er i Bergen, sammenlignet med andre deler av landet, som Trondheim og Oslo?

5. Avrunding

Hjertelig takk for deltakelsen!

- Hvis du har spørsmål eller andre henvendelser er det bare å sende meg en melding.

