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**The persistence of the oral: on the enduring  
importance of the human voice**

**Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of  
London Metropolitan University for the degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy by Prior Output**

**January 2016**

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**The persistence of the oral: on the enduring importance of the human voice**

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The outputs, commentary and appendix have not been submitted for a comparable academic award, and are submitted here in partial fulfilment of the requirements of London

Metropolitan University for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Prior Output

January 2016

### **Acknowledgements**

Peter Wilson and Anne Hogan first encouraged me to apply for a PhD by Prior Output; Peter Wilson was unfailingly supportive of my research and teaching, and has given me valuable feedback on the commentary. I am very grateful to my supervisors, Jenny Harding and Martin Murray, for their close reading of the submission, highly pertinent suggestions and constant encouragement. Caroline Pick has unstintingly cheered me on. The impact of Gianna Williams, not least in helping me take the time I needed to complete, has been immeasurable. My daughters, Bianca and Lola, have been a lovely, encouraging presence. Peter Lewis blazed the trail with his own prior output doctorate. His acute comments on the commentary, enthusiasm for the submission and loving support have been sustaining.

## **Abstract**

### **The persistence of the oral: on the enduring importance of the human voice**

The submission, comprising nine outputs, ranges from journal articles and a book to a podcast and a radio programme. The accompanying commentary aims to contextualise the submitted work, demonstrate that it constitutes a coherent whole and that it makes a significant, original contribution to the field of cultural studies.

The submission and commentary contest the idea that the voice has become less important than text and image in an era that has come to be known as one of 'secondary orality'. The outputs set out to demonstrate that, although metaphorical and narrative meanings of 'voice' have come to displace a sense of the audible voice in popular discourse as well as in many scholarly texts, it remains a prime and powerful modality in both human communication and new technologies. Applying the approach of psycho-social studies to the voice in a novel and original way, the outputs draw on semi-structured interviews, archive research and cultural analysis to argue that, despite the discursive absence of the audible voice, a study of vocalicity can enrich our understanding of both face-to-face and electronically-mediated communication.

The commentary describes the phenomenological orientation of the outputs. Using the interdisciplinary approach of psycho-social studies to explore aspects of the cultural sphere, the submission is thus situated in the emerging strand of psycho-cultural studies: the commentary argues that, despite the methodological problems this throws up, it constitutes a valuable and apt addition to the study of voice. It suggests that gendered ideas of the voice may lead to an essentialism that can be countered by understanding the voice as a medium for the performativity of gender. Challenging the common polarisation of eye and ear and the idealisation of the voice, it traces some ways in which the voice is culturally-constituted, especially the radio and cinematic voice. The appendix documents not only the outputs' origins but also their wide impact.

# The persistence of the oral: on the enduring importance of the human voice - a commentary

## 1. Introduction

The purpose of this commentary is to

- demonstrate that the submission constitutes an independent, original and significant contribution to knowledge
- demonstrate that it constitutes a coherent whole
- situate the submission in the context of current and recent debates around the subject

The submission is a contribution to the field of cultural studies, more specifically the emerging strand of psycho-social studies (see section 2). It explores some of the many different ways in which the human speaking voice remains a primary instrument of interpersonal and social communication. Through its analysis of the role of the voice in diverse settings it contests the view, which has acquired an almost canonical power since it was first expounded by Ong (1982), that modern culture's orality is 'residual' or 'secondary', depending ultimately on writing and print. It also challenges the parallel orthodoxy that the human voice has become much less culturally significant in the age of the text and the image - the 'devoicing' argument (Locke 1998).

The outputs (see Appendix) range widely, both in their substantive subject-matter and approach, partly because - except for Output 3 (a single-authored book) and Output 9 (based on a funded research project) - the majority were produced in response to invitations to deliver presentations and papers for conferences and seminars and later revised for publication. Their diversity, however, also reflects the fact that there is no single academic discipline devoted to the human voice. The contextualising debates discussed here span the areas of media studies, cultural studies, oral history, gender studies, nonverbal communication, film studies, vocal arts, sound art, social psychology, linguistics, sociology, anthropology and psychoanalysis - there is no unified cognate field of enquiry or epistemology in this area, and in places the submission brings two or more of them together. Output 3, for example, considers the voice both as a cultural and historical product but also as an inter-subjective resource; Output 4 analyses the voice in Smadar Dreyfus's installation as at once political tool and phatic communication, while Output 9

tries to recover the historical and institutional origins of Donald Winnicott's vocal style, as well as their psychological wellspring. This interdisciplinarity should be regarded as a strength, with the potential to generate novel ways to think about the voice, its role and impact, rather than a limitation, even if the hybridisation of fields (such as the application of psychoanalytic theory to radio studies in Output 6) can also pose challenges when it deploys an original but also unfamiliar and unusual theory set which at times may inevitably be somewhat speculative in orientation. Juxtaposing complementary theories in an original way enables the submission to conceive of the voice as simultaneously culturally and psychologically situated and to explore some aspects of their mutual constitution.

In spite of its seeming heterogeneity, there is a coherence to the submission: each output demonstrates in some way the continuing centrality of the voice, both public and private, as a communicative medium, despite (and sometimes because of) the development of digital technologies, and draws attention to its changing, situated roles. With successive outputs the ideas have developed: Output 3, for example, started by subscribing to Barthes's belief in the 'grain of the voice' (1977) and exploring the ontological shock brought about by technologies that disembodied the voice. It ended, however, by rejecting technological determinism and the notion of a single 'authentic' voice: retaining the idea of the voice as an instrument deeply connected with the sense of self and interiority, at the same time it positioned the audible voice as a medium for the presentation of self. The commentary takes these ideas further, and concludes by acknowledging the 'the grain' of even the disembodied, electronically-mediated voice.

Together, the outputs represent a sustained and original attempt to sensitise both researchers and public discourse to the role played by the voice in anchoring meaning through prosody and paralanguage, while also amplifying meaning through its extra-verbal texture,<sup>1</sup> demonstrating its potential richness as an analytic resource and the implications of its relative neglect. Appendix A not only describes the outputs and their origin but also provides evidence of their originality, contribution to knowledge and significance through their impact in citations, on reading-lists, in radio programmes, lectures and seminars. (The conclusion further demonstrates the originality of the outputs.) The outputs also formed the core of an impact case study in London Metropolitan University's 2014 REF submission.

### **1.1 Phenomenology**

The outputs are phenomenological in orientation. Phenomenology gives an account of the 'lived' world, one created through the perception of it rather than a priori. Merleau-Ponty, repudiating both empiricism and idealism ('intellectualism'), rejected the idea of an objective world existing like 'an opaque given', of which inner thoughts were merely a representation. On the contrary "this lived world must be constituted" (Merleau-Ponty,

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<sup>1</sup> As Cook (2002), a neuropsychologist, put it, "prosody is a 'second channel' through which people understand one another - often in spite of the linguistic message in the 'first' channel" (p.98).

2014, p. 61) through perception: "to see is always to see from somewhere" (p.69) - our perception of things cannot be separated from the thing itself.

Phenomenology thus inquires into how human beings make sense of the world (Bryman, 2008). Although Merleau-Ponty was preoccupied with vision, the phenomenological approach is particularly suited to a study of the voice that seeks to investigate less the anatomical, physiological and neuro-scientific factors (let alone evolutionary or psychobiological interpretations, eg Leongómez et al, 2014)<sup>2</sup> that shape how we speak but rather the psycho-social dimensions: how we understand our own voices and those of others, how the meanings of the voice are constituted and culturally embedded, how particular attributes become encoded in intonational patterns or gendered vocal styles. Phenomenology concerns itself with the human experience of phenomena, independently of the question of where exactly those phenomena belong. Since the voice does not belong either to the speaking subject or the world alone, a phenomenological approach provides a fitting epistemology.

Ihde (2007) suggests that phenomenology enables us to take experiences so familiar that they are taken-for-granted and re-interrogate them, to "move away *from* the implicit acceptance of some ordinary understandings of experience towards a more vigorous understanding" (Ihde, 2007, p.20). Section 4 considers some of the methodological challenges of conducting research on an instrument as taken-for-granted and familiar as the human voice.

## 1.2 Embodiment

While an 'aural turn' cannot yet be said to have taken place in cultural studies, certainly the growing interest in the voice is part of an expanding engagement with 'embodiment'. For a number of reasons the 1980s witnessed a burgeoning recognition that bodies had been missing from social theory (Turner, 1991; Turner, 1996), or at least positioned in a Cartesian opposition to mind, with a focus on abstract mental processes and rationalism. (Although he believed that the mind is more easily known than the body, Descartes's encomia to vision included a treatise on light and the assertion that "sight is the most comprehensive and noblest [of the senses]", Descartes, 2001, p.65, an example of what Jay (1994) called 'Cartesian perspectivalism', p.69.) In 1984 Turner lamented that "the legitimate rejection of biological determinism in favour of sociological determinism entailed... the exclusion of the body from the sociological imagination" (Turner, 2008, p.34). This recognition of the absence of the body from social theory played a part in the subsequent emergence of a 'sociology of embodiment' (Turner, 1991; Nettleton and Watson, 1998) with a developing

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<sup>2</sup> In this vein, a major exhibition on the voice in Paris in 2013 could examine, for example, the components of the ageing voice by focusing exclusively on the physiological aspects and almost wholly neglecting the cultural ones (La Voix, 2013).

understanding of the body as a 'social and natural construction' (Burkitt, 1999), an understanding forged in part by feminist problematising of gendered bodies.

In fact already in 1945 Merleau-Ponty had placed the lived body at the centre of perception and 'the pivot of the world' (p.84), challenging its objectification: "I am not in front of my body, I am in my body, or rather I am my body" (p.151), it is "my point of view upon the world" (p.73). In the same way we could argue that we are our voice. Indeed Merleau-Ponty went so far as to contend that it is the body that speaks. Despite his emphasis on vision, Merleau-Ponty devoted considerable time to a discussion of speech and the ways in which it accomplished thought. His interest in the 'speaking subject' and the manner in which "the phonetic gesture produces a certain structuring of experience" (p.199) never, however, led him in *Phenomenology of Perception* directly to the voice, even if there were instances where he alluded to it: "the contraction of the throat, the sibilant emission of air between the tongue and the teeth, a certain manner of playing with our body suddenly allows itself to be invested with a *figurative sense* and signifies this externally" (p.200).

Yet Merleau-Ponty's account of embodiment, it has been claimed, was always individualistic, and failed to situate the body in its historical and sociological context (Turner, 2008). As embodiment began to enter sociology and social theory in the 1980s, however, interactionist approaches to embodiment started to explore the ways in which bodies are 'practical accomplishments' (Frank, 1996), a useful conceptual framework through which to think about the ways in which the voice is constituted by the social practices of speaking. And yet, paradoxically, such a perspective risked a move away from the body almost as soon as it had begun to be engaged with, often resulting in a de-corporealising of the voice. Goffman (1978), for example, pioneered analysis of talk, conversation and the performative aspects of everyday life, which included management of the voice. But, while later in *Forms of Talk* (1981) he acknowledged in passing the role of paralinguistic features, prosodic features, pitch, rhythm, tone and vocal sounds, ultimately he was more interested in exploring utterances, dialogic forms and lexical strategies, or Searle and Austin's 'speech acts', than the voice itself. Similarly, a major phenomenological account of the importance of patients' illness narratives as a means of framing and recounting the experience of illness and its meaning entirely ignored the medium through which such narratives are usually articulated - the voice (Kleinman, 1988).

Work on embodiment and voice took a distinctive form in France. Although he was talking primarily about the singing voice in classical music, Barthes identified what he called the 'grain' of the voice: "the 'grain' is... the materiality of the body speaking its mother tongue" (Barthes, 1977, p.182) and also "the 'grain' is the body in the voice as it sings" (Barthes, 1977, p.188). Bourdieu introduced a theory of structuration into embodiment. His concept of 'habitus', developed in 1980, provides a useful conceptual link between the individual and the structural. Bourdieu describes habitus as a 'system of dispositions', largely formed

by social class - "embodied history, internalized as second nature and so forgotten as history" (Bourdieu, 2014, p.56; Bourdieu 1984).

Bourdieu (2014) comes tantalisingly close to describing how social and cultural factors are 'implicated' in the voice - in the words of Output 3, "I speak with my voice, but my culture speaks through me" (p.182) - but never quite spells it out. Yet his notion of 'doxa', the relationship between habitus and 'the field to which it is attuned', conceives of the body as a 'living memory pad' (Bourdieu, 2014, p.68), producing 'body automatisms' that are below the level of consciousness, including bodily expressions of emotion such as laughter, along with 'deep-rooted linguistic and muscular patterns of behaviour' (Bourdieu, 2014, p.69). The human voice is located precisely at the nexus of the linguistic and the muscular. In passing Bourdieu refers to bodily hexus as, among other things, a way of speaking that 'enacts' the past, especially in non-literate societies. This submission could be seen in part as an applied exploration of habitus, doxa and bodily hexus as articulated through the speaking voice and the speaking subject. The sustained emphasis of the outputs gathered here on the physical instrument of the voice, its corporeal traces and absences, rather than on speech, is a mark of the submission's original contribution to knowledge.

While ideas around embodiment have provided a supportive milieu in which to develop thinking about the voice, they do not provide a perfect 'fit'. Just as the concept of 'nonverbal behaviour' has proved to be a valuable conceptual home for research into the voice yet also one with limitations (since, pace Bourdieu, and leaving aside bodily sounds such as sighs and sobs, grunts and cries<sup>3</sup>, it is hard to conceive of voice without words), so too does embodiment take us only so far. For the paradox faced by both researchers, interviewees and indeed speakers themselves is that the voice is the product of the solid materiality of the body and yet, as soon as it has been produced, becomes fleeting, temporary and insubstantial - "materiality at its most intangible" (Dolar, 2006, p.59). "That which is only audible", wrote Simmel, an early theorist of the senses, "is already past in the moment of its present and provides no 'property' " (Simmel, 1907). The voice, as Dolar puts it, "is like a bodily missile which separates itself from the body.... the voice is *plus-de-corps*: both the surplus of the body, a bodily excess, and the no-more-body, the end of the corporeal" (Dolar, 2006, pp. 70,71). In addition, the increasing dissemination of voice through electronic media, along with the emergence of the synthetic voice, problematises the identification of the voice with the body.

The auditory field, at least in modern Western cultures, is thus harder to analyse than the visual field and gesture easier to describe than voice. (Interestingly, spatial metaphors are often deployed to elucidate the paradoxical nature of the voice. As with Dolar, above, so LaBelle conceptualises the voice "as something expelled from the mouth, but which never leaves me behind... The voice does not move away from my body - the voice stretches me; it drags me along" LaBelle, 2014, p.5.) This may help explain the difficulty of researchers, as

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<sup>3</sup> Which have recently acquired their own biographers, eg Connor, 2014; LaBelle, 2014; Gillie, 2010

argued in particular in Outputs 3 and 8, in retaining a focus on the audible voice. Indeed, a great deal of the interest in the embodied voice arose just at the point where, thanks to new communications technologies, it was becoming disembodied.<sup>4</sup>

One of the themes of this submission is thus the shifting relationship between the oral and the visual. Output 4, for example, explored how Smadar Dreyfus's 'Mother's Day' tries to use a 'dialogue' between voice and text to suggest the excess or surplus supplied by the voice. By contrast Output 9 demonstrated how Donald Winnicott regarded both oral and written modes as aspects of the same unified process.

### 1.3 Sound studies

The outputs gathered here both reflect and contribute to the proliferation since the early 1990s of scholarly literature in the area of sound studies. One of the earliest and most influential texts was Murray Schafer's exploration of the 'soundscape', an elegy for and a celebration of a lost, rich sonic world, first published in 1977. Murray Schafer argued that the soundscape was changing, with humans now inhabiting an acoustic environment different from any known before and one in which they suffered from the effects of noise pollution (Murray Schafer, 1994). (Schafer, Bruhn Jensen [2006] has argued, demonised noise and the industrial soundscape.) In response Schafer originated the concept of 'acoustic ecology', a deep appreciation and understanding of the relationship between human, animals and the sonic environment (Cummings, 2001).

Some of the work that followed was fuelled by the belief that the auditory mode had been marginalised historically by "the so-called hegemony of the visual and the privileging of the eye" (Sterne, 2012, p.7), a claim that will be scrutinised more closely in section 3. Whatever their origins, such studies explore sonic culture in all its variety, amounting to 'a cultural phenomenology of mediated aural practices' (Droumeva and Andrisani, 2011). Coming at the same time as a boom in interest in both oral and aural cultural forms - from the audio book and podcast to the soundwalk and sound art - it might be surmised that we are living in a golden age of interest in sound.

It should be noted, however, that the human speaking voice occupies a relatively insignificant position in much of the research in sound studies and mediated aurality. This may be because their interest lies in aurality in its widest definition. It might also signal an attempt to de-privilege the human voice as the pre-eminent sound of sonic culture and set it instead as one element in the acoustic environment - a kind of rebalancing away from human hubris that is integral to the acoustic ecology project, and an implicit repudiation of the logo-centrism of speech. So, while sound studies has played an important role in drawing attention to the importance of sound as a medium and away from the notion of it as somehow unmediated (Bruhn Jensen, 2006), research that identifies itself as part of

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<sup>4</sup> Section 7 below also discusses the risks of essentialism when considering the embodied voice.

sounds studies nevertheless focuses mostly on the sounds that human beings receive, rather than those that we make.

Interestingly, there is no analogous discipline of voice studies. Insofar as this exists (and the term is only just coming into usage), it is organised more around either physiological, neurological or biomedical matters, such as voice quality and voice perception (Kreiman and Sidtis, 2013), or the vocal arts (voice coaching, the voice in theatrical performance).<sup>5</sup> This submission therefore represents an original counter-tendency to the dominant approaches of both sound studies and voice studies: to place the human voice as instrument squarely at the centre of analysis and debate, but to view it through the prism of culture, and in its applied role in situated speaking practices, rather than as part of a theoretical examination of the metaphysics of the acoustic field or the ontology of the auditory. Instead, to give voice to voice.

## 2 The field

The submission is situated in the field of psycho-social studies, an 'embryonic new paradigm' applying psychoanalytic concepts to the social sciences (Clarke and Hoggett, 2009). This contends that psychic and social processes are mutually constituted or form a single dialectical process (Redman, 2014b) and "puts the visceral in touch with the social" (Wetherell, 2012, p.10). Psycho-social studies has been deployed in the analysis of many different substantive research areas: in the cultural sphere, combining theories and methods from psychoanalysis with those from media and cultural studies, it has come to be known as a psycho-cultural approach (Bainbridge and Yates, 2011), with the potential to help develop innovative theories and methods in media and cultural analysis (Bainbridge and Yates, 2014).

### 2.1 Psycho-social studies

Psycho-social studies is not in itself a unified field, using rather a plurality of approaches and a cluster of methodologies. What they have in common is "the challenge... to invent new ways of thinking the social and the psychological together rather than separately and hence to recognise the extent to which they are distinct expressions of a unified process" (Stenner and Taylor, 2008, p.423). Frosh (2010) describes it as a Möbius strip, in which inside and outside flow together as one. This makes it an ideal way of analysing the voice, an instrument propelled outwards from the body's interior, at once the product of the social and the psychological and which simultaneously challenges such a division. As LaBelle suggests, "the mouth is precisely what puts into question the separation of interior and exterior, as distinct and stable" (LaBelle, 2014, p.2).

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<sup>5</sup> Despite the fact that, as Bruhn Jensen (2006) points out, "Societies are being spoken every day" (p.23).

Stenner and Taylor insist on the 'transdisciplinary' nature of psycho-social studies, rather than its multi-disciplinarity or inter-disciplinarity. A multi-disciplinary approach views issues from a variety of vantage-points rooted in different disciplines, while an inter-disciplinary stance brings the concepts and methods of one discipline into another. Transdisciplinarity, however, "deals with that which *escapes* disciplinary knowledge.... creating new spaces of knowledge and practice.... a hybrid social space that neither psychology nor sociology adequately comes to terms with" (Stenner and Taylor, 2008, p.431). Since the voice itself could be said to occupy a hybrid social space, psycho-social studies provides a fitting conceptual framework in which to analyse it. Redman urges researchers "to attend to what it is in the phenomenon that is difficult to think, is being avoided, escapes or remains unknowable" (Redman, 2014a, p.16). In a variety of ways the submission explores those elements of voice that have largely escaped traditional analysis - indeed, often escape language itself, both in the sense that it concerns the nonverbal dimension of speech but also because, outside phonetics, neuroscience and speech therapy, there is no cultural discourse for the extra-linguistic or paralinguistic aspects of voice.

Output 3, for example, critiqued positivist attempts to establish a universal typology of meaning for different vocal pitches. It maintained that emotions cannot be isolated, separated and fixed in the way that much social psychology research has attempted. Emotions are not expressed discretely, Output 3 argued, but in a 'cocktail' of simultaneous feelings. As Wetherell suggested six years later, "ordinary 'basic emotion' terms used by psychobiologists (sadness, anger, fear, surprise, disgust and happiness) do not adequately describe the range and variety of affective performances, affective scenes and affective events" (Wetherell, 2012, p.3). Wetherell (2012) also impugned psychologists and neuroscientists for studying emotions as closed circuits abstracted from their social contexts, and giving no sense of either the vivacity of the body or its cultural setting; Output 3, rather than factoring out the idiosyncrasies of the individual voice, instead focused attention onto them and on the embedded particularity of intonation and speech style, exploring the neglected area of the speaker's relationship with their own voice and its changes in different settings and affective contexts. Output 4 examined the poignancy of the voice at a site of conflict, while Output 9 considered Winnicott's own voice as overdetermined by both his personal experience as a paediatrician tending sick children and the historical stage in the formation of the radio talk in which he broadcast. Clarke and Hoggett maintain that psycho-social research "requires an exploration of the intersections between personal biography and discourse (Clarke and Hoggett, 2009, p.7), the 'intersubjective space' and 'embodied meaning-making' (Wetherell, 2012, p.4) represented by this submission.

## **2.2 Emotion, psychoanalysis and culture**

Another characteristic of research in the psycho-social studies field is that it "flag[s] up the centrality of emotion in personal lives and social and cultural worlds" (Day Sclater et al,

2009, p.3). Although psycho-social studies is commonly said to have originated at the University of East London in the 1980s (Redman, 2014a), its antecedents reach back much further. It has been observed that Raymond Williams's 'structure of feeling' shares some of the span and tone of the psycho-social (Wetherell, 2012). Williams's concept, however, has also been invoked by analyses of emotion in 'emotion studies' that form part of cultural studies but which do not draw on or make use of psychoanalytic ideas (Harding, 2014). What is distinctive in psycho-social studies is the application of psychoanalytic concepts and language - "an invaluable tool in the exploration of the irrational aspects of emotional experience. These are continually shaped by a combination of unconscious, biographical, social and cultural forces, all permanently in tension with one another" (Richards et al, 2009, p.243). In such a fashion Output 3 applied Freud's concept of 'the return of the repressed' to interviewees' negative attitudes towards their voices, suggesting that aspects of the self that have been disavowed may leak out through the voice. It also explored the visceral, penetrative power exercised by the voices of demagogic politicians over listeners.

The polarisation of 'culturalist' analyses of emotion and those carried out within psycho-social or psycho-cultural studies can be overstated, and rests on notions of each other's perspective and practice which, though they may often be accurate, are also sometimes partial. Psychoanalysis is thus frequently characterised as ahistorical and asocial - an explanatory model relating to the private sphere, the 'interior' , and a means of making sense of an individual's behaviour and feelings through an understanding of unconscious processes, which are depicted as existing somehow prior to the social. Rooted originally in the consulting-room and the clinic, it speaks of patients, treatment, but also of interpretation. It has been widely adopted, however, as an analytic tool outside the clinic (Frosh, 2010). And as Harding and Pribram (2009) observe, not only does cultural studies itself draw on psychoanalysis among other theoretical sources, but the 'psy disciplines' have also incorporated elements of the social into their understanding of affect.

Despite differences in emphasis, at their most illuminating, both psycho-social studies and culturalist analyses refuse the notion of an interiority in opposition to exteriority, of discrete spheres of the individual and the social: the relational view advocated by Burkitt (1999) and common to both approaches conceives of objects simultaneously as 'natural, discursive and social'. The body, he suggests, "is both a cultural product and producer" (p.129). From Output 1, which examined the Radio Doctor's voice as a cultural resource articulating an unperturbed, earthy Britishness at a time of wartime hardship, to Output 9, speculating on the role played by Donald Winnicott's high pitch in positioning him midway between a male and female speaker, to Output 4's analysis of the way in which Smadar Dreyfus mobilises the voice as a tool of resistance, the submission explores the voice's role as both cultural product and producer and constitutes fresh terrain for psycho-cultural studies.

### 2.3 Object relations

Bainbridge and Yates point to the potential value of object relations theories to illuminate the role of emotion in popular culture (Bainbridge and Yates, 2012). Fantasy, affect and the unconscious, defences and anxieties, the irrational and contradictions -object relations enables us to make greater sense of all of these, Yates (2015) suggests, and helps us understand the complexities of cultural experience, its role in shaping subjectivity and its relational dimensions. Object relations provides links our inner and outer worlds (Bainbridge, Ward and Yates, 2013). Yet while film and literary studies embraced psychoanalytic concepts early, as Output 6 pointed out they have rarely been brought to bear on radio studies. Output 6 sought to make sense of the role of the voices of regular radio presenters through object relations theory, by applying the ideas of Bion, Bick and Winnicott, and by bringing together the notions of 'imagined communities' and 'containment'. Indeed the special issue of the *Radio Journal* in which it was published was probably the first to explore "the reparative, emotional work of radio" as a significant internal object of mind (Bainbridge and Yates, 2013, p.7). ("Karpf's detailed consideration of the (radio) voice in this issue is extremely useful", the editor remarked, "because it identifies what distinguishes radio from other media and, at the same time, shows how psychoanalytic research can aid our understanding of why radio matters to people, through an explanation of the role and experience of the voice in our infancy", Ortega Bretton, 2013, p.82). Output 9 deployed a psychoanalytic perspective as one way of explaining the popularity of Winnicott's wartime broadcasts, suggesting that they owed their success in part to their role in allowing adult listeners to access their own fears and anxieties - taboo at a time when morale-boosting was felt to be essential - through Winnicott's discussion of the fears and anxieties in their children.

The application of psychoanalytic theory in this way is not unproblematic, as Frosh (2010) asserts; sections 4 and 5 address some of the challenges. Yet if psychoanalysis is fundamentally a process of listening to the patient and their voice, then its extension beyond the individual to the social world, to a deep cultural listening to the public voice not just in its narrative or metaphorical sense but also as the instrument through which the public is addressed and responds, is not so far-fetched. Indeed the introduction of a psycho-social and psycho-cultural orientation into the study of the voice is an innovative and potentially rich direction of research

### 3 The argument

While the outputs that comprise the submission span a wide variety of different, if connected, aspects of voice, a number of key themes recur.

### 3.1 The muffled voice

The most important of these is the absence of a discourse of voice in contexts where one might suppose to find it. Outputs 3 and 8 logged many different instances where the sense of an embodied voice is curiously absent; in the case of Output 8 this was among oral historians, whose alacrity in abandoning the medium through which they gather material, and converting an oral medium into a visual, viz. transcribed one, is startling.

One reason for this discursive absence is the usurpation of meaning of the word away from its literal sense as a communicative medium towards a metaphorical usage - the voice as signifier for political presence and power, a synonym for enfranchisement. Literary studies have also appropriated it, along with other terms from the auditory lexicon such as tone and register, to signal narrative viewpoint or perspective (visual metaphors), or the distinctive 'writing voice' so craved by schools of creative writing (Dolar, 2009). Voice is often also elided with dialect or accent, especially in the UK. So thorough has been the colonisation of voice by these other meanings that the primary denotation today of the verb 'to voice' is less the sound created by the vocal organs and more the sense of acting as a mouthpiece for or expressing particular concerns. Such a shift in meaning has not only contributed to a diminished awareness of the role of the human voice but also results from it, as argued below.

Of course the significance of this discursive absence risks being magnified by the fallacy of focus: when a researcher isolates and homes in on a particular topic, it expands to become their conceptual universe and they are at risk of considering all other issues through the prism of their subject, rendering its lack disproportionately important. Yet this can hardly be the case in a text called 'Why Voices Matter' (Couldry, 2010) but which effectively obliterates voice, disincarnates it, exploring instead how voice as the giving of an account of oneself and one's life can act as a challenge to a neoliberal view of economic life. Similarly 'The Art of Listening', by one of the editors of 'The Auditory Culture Reader', asks "how can we listen more carefully?... We become deaf not just to each other but also to the sounds all around us" (Back, 2007, p.7) and then answers by completely ignoring the embodied voice.

This is not to make the counter-argument for fetishising the voice (on the contrary, the case against polarising ear and eye is made below), only to lament the failure of theorists to take advantage of this potentially rich tool, the speaking voice, in analysing the construction and reproduction of public emotion. Ahmed (2004), for instance, makes many illuminating points about signs and how they work on and in relation to bodies through their 'stickiness', and yet the fact that we learn to recognise these signs in part through intonation is relegated to a footnote. Strangest of all, Wetherell (2012), in her pioneering exploration of the circulation of affect, alights on vocal states in some of her case-histories, especially in her analysis of the conflict between a pair of teenage girls, but never dwells on their vocalicity. She argues for the multimodality of situated affective practices, including bodily actions and storytelling, that together create 'an integrated and organic unfolding and

weaving' (p.89). Is there not space here for the modality of voice? The purr, the gabble and the whine, are they not constitutive of meaning, a symphony of signs that draw on cultural repertoires of shared understandings that they also help construct?

### 3.2 Visualism

The tendency of Western cultures to place vision at the pinnacle of the hierarchy of the senses has been much debated. Called variously 'visualism' or 'ocularcentrality', it is part of a narrative of the eclipse of the ear (Bull and Back, 2003). Foucault argued that the early 19th century witnessed a profound change to the structure of experience in both the clinic and the prison. Modern medicine was marked by the triumph of the visual: "what was fundamentally invisible is suddenly offered to the brightness of the gaze" (1976, p.195), while the Panopticon, a mechanism of power, created a state of constant and permanent visibility (1979). (It has been claimed that Foucault, in arguing that the primacy of voice in confession contributed to the naturalisation of the vocal and auditory as the medium of authenticity, far from being hostile to visualism, was actually a covert ocularcentrist (Siisiäinen, L., 2012).)<sup>6</sup>

The privileging of sight has been traced back to Platonic philosophy. Logos, after all, originally included the spoken word. Cavarero (2005) claims that the 'devocalization of logos' was inaugurated by Plato.<sup>7</sup> Greek philosophy "refuses to concede to the vocal any value that would be independent of the semantic" (p.35). By reducing the voice to the acoustic signifier of a semantic signified, "the sense of the voice is entirely bound up with the role of vocalizing concepts, so that whatever is left over is an insignificant remain, and excess that is disturbingly close to animality" (p.34). Another reading dates the hegemony of the visual back to the Enlightenment (itself a visual metaphor), which is held to have accelerated the visualisation of knowledge. The development of visually-based epistemologies has also been linked with the pursuit of disembodied, objective knowledge, since vision is the most 'distancing of the senses' (Bull and Back, 2003.)

Still today metaphors of sight provide us with a lexicon of terms denoting understanding (I see, perspective, perceptive, focus, insight, observation, point-of-view), thereby impoverishing our sense of the sonic and conjoining knowledge with vision. (Jay, 1994, managed to pack 21 visual metaphors into his opening paragraph alone.) Ihde (2007) claims that the 'reduction to vision' led to a 'reduction of vision' : "Not only are sounds, in the metaphysical tradition, secondary, but the inattention to the sounding of things has led to the gradual loss of understanding whole ranges of phenomena that are there to be noted" (Ihde, 2007, p.13).

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<sup>6</sup> Siisiäinen (2013) has gone on to chronicle in detail Foucault's developing and complex attitude to the vocal-auditory.

<sup>7</sup> Ong (1982), however, argues that Plato's relationship to orality was ambiguous.

Recognition of this ocularcentrist reduction provides the backdrop to the submission, and helps explain the discursive absence of the voice. However, it also needs contesting. Schmidt (2003) has challenged the 'sprawling discourse' about hearing's modern diminution, arguing that the Enlightenment advanced not only optics but also acoustics, while Sterne (2003) has given a subtle account of the continuing, but altered status of the patient's voice in 19th century medicine. Jay (1994) demonstrates persuasively how twentieth century French thinkers challenged ocularcentrism and denigrated sight, with the invention of the camera contributing to the undermining of its privileged status and a 'frenzy of the anti-visual' (p.187). Together they suggest that visualism, perhaps, has been overstated.

More disturbingly, there has been a slippage, from the idea of ocularcentrism as a dominant discourse that marginalises the aural, to a view of it as a description of the modern sensorium. This slippage seems to propose a historical shift not just in our understanding of the senses but in their actual use: as though sight were not only *conceived of* as being superior but over time has *become* our pre-eminent sense. Merleau-Ponty notwithstanding, there is a difference between the ranking of importance of senses - the discourses around vision and audition - and the ways in which they are exercised in daily life. The submission, especially Outputs 3 and 8, suggests, rather, that what was lost through ocularcentrism and the shift from oral cultures to literate ones was not the importance of the voice but a recognition of its importance (3.6 below discusses this further). Moreover, it claims, new technologies have made the device-mediated voice as portable and inescapable as the embodied one used to be.

Yet this slippage, from a culturally-embedded, historically-determined sense of the oral as subordinate to the text and the image, to its assumed actual subordination to those modalities in modern life, is evident even in those who would claim to attempt to rescue the aural from its marginalised position. Metz (1980), in a celebrated essay arguing that the aural had been under-studied, drew attention to a linguistic split in modern cultures between sounds and their source: sounds are often classified according to the objects that transmit them, with the aural not a noun but relegated to an adjectival description or characteristic, the acoustic object erased or suppressed, in contrast to the visual field. Yet Metz went on to assert that "For us, the primary qualities are in general visual and tactile. Tactile because touch is traditionally the very criteria [sic] of materiality. Visual because the identification of processes necessary to present-day life and to production techniques rely on the eye above all other senses" (p.28). This begs more questions than can be answered here but appears to naturalise the rupture that Metz has only just problematised. The submission challenges the ranking of senses in this fashion and, as sections 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5 below suggest, maintains that such a fissuring of the senses cannot withstand closer scrutiny.

### 3.3 Derrida and phonocentrism

On the face of it (another visual metaphor - they are hard to escape), Derrida's concept of phonocentrism (1997) appears to be the obverse of this submission's claims about the marginalisation of the voice. Derrida contends, on the contrary, that phonocentrism (which he links with logocentrism) privileges voice, championing speech over writing (Bradley, 2008). Derrida's argument takes the form of a dialogue with, and critique of, Husserl, Saussure and Levi-Strauss. He is challenging Levi-Strauss's paeon to the orality of the Nambikwara "who did not know violence before writing; nor hierarchization" (Derrida, 1997, p.135) and Rousseau's hymn to intonation, to 'tone, stress and memory' in the pre-linguistic (p.247), to

"tone of voices that cannot fail to be heard, penetrate to the very depths of the heart, carrying there the emotions they may wring from us, forcing us in spite of ourselves to feel what we hear. We conclude that while visible signs can render a more exact imitation, sounds more effectively arouse interest" (p. 240)

which, both explicitly and by implication, disparage writing in comparison.

Derrida is having none of this vocal pre-lapsarianism. He contests the notion of speech as uncontaminated by writing (Naas, 2011) - speech, as it were, with direct access to 'the intimacy of self-presence' (Derrida, 1997, p.17), "deluded with believing itself completely alive" (p.39).

In fact Derrida's argument in *Of Grammatology* actually complements the theme of this submission. Firstly, although Rousseau may be talking about the embodied voice, Derrida is mostly referring to spoken language. In this sense *Of Grammatology* could be considered another example of the elision of language and voice and of the reduction of voice to speech. In the speech wars between Derrida and Saussure, the voice is mostly a bystander.<sup>8</sup>

Secondly, insofar as Derrida actually has the voice in mind, he is trying to avoid its idealisation as a source of authenticity (section 3.5 will have more to say about this). Derrida mocks the idea of the purity of speech as something unmediated, with a privileged 'proximity to mind' (Claude Evans, 1991, p.150). All signs, whether oral or written, are mediated; none can be ahistorical. This is consistent with the theme of the submission.

### 3.4 Devoicing

If Derrida seeks to demolish the idea that sound has a special relationship with thought, Ong (1982) proclaims it. While he rightly notes that texts have been studied at the expense of orality, his is an extended lament for the loss of what he terms 'primary orality' (cultures that did not know writing) and its replacement by 'secondary orality', high-tech cultures

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<sup>8</sup> Cavarero (2005), in a dense but brilliant appendix on Derrida, suggests that Derrida simultaneously opens up the voice and imprisons it, and that the voice in Derrida is a voice of thought, 'totally insonorous' (p.220).

where orality is mediated by the telephone and mass communications. Although he brilliantly identifies the 'psychodynamics of orality' resulting from the mnemonics and irrecoverability of sound, he is curiously un-nuanced when he compares the text to a 'dead flower', with its 'rigid visual fixity' (p.81) a mark of its deadness.<sup>9</sup> (He also cleaves to a Rousseauian idea of speech as 'natural' and writing as 'artificial'.)

Ong recognised similarities between cultures of primary and secondary orality but the 'residual orality' he finds in the latter does not sound like a recognisable representation of vocal life today. He was writing, of course, in the early days of the computer, which he believed reduced dynamic sound to 'quiescent space'; electronically-mediated orality he found genteel, shorn of the agonistic, visceral style of debates in primary oral cultures. He was clearly writing before the advent of *The X Factor*. While Ong laudably attempted to restore respect for orality and was brimming with insight about the psychosocial differences between oral and literate societies, he did not anticipate (indeed could not have done so) the extent to which the latter would come to be saturated with voice through the proliferation of mobile phones and answering-machines; the addition of sound to computers, websites and apps; and the development of the podcast and the audio book.

Ong's secondary orality becomes, in Locke's hands, a full-blown 'devoicing' (Locke, 1998). Taking the argument of Putnam (2000) about the loss of social capital and community in an increasingly atomised American society, Locke claims that this manifests itself in "an insufficient diet of intimate talking" (p.19), replaced by mass-mediated automata or email. Again, when in 1998 he predicted 'a voiceless society' (p.20), Locke was writing before the international penetration of mobile phones or the arrival of voice-enabled apps, but his is also a somewhat lumpen and ahistorical attitude to voice, which ignores successive transformations of the voice and its re-emergence in novel forms. The outputs gathered here gainsay such pessimism, and argue instead that in multiple ways the voice remains a central channel of communication, albeit one that is changing and that may, as section 7 suggests, create new cyber vocal relationships that we have yet to fully understand.

Indeed Silverman (2015) has gone so far as to suggest that social media resemble traditional, preliterate societies where communication is purely oral and everyone is connected through speech. This, however, is a reductive, simplistic claim which, in direct antithesis to Locke, seems to neatly eviscerate hundreds of years of cultural change and human adaptation and breezily wave away literacy's consequences.

### 3.5 The voice idealised

There have been many fascinating disquisitions, from Rousseau and Merleau-Ponty to McLuhan and Ihde, from Simmel to Ong himself, that compare the auditory and visual fields. (Output 6 pitched in with a minor spatial contribution of its own.) One consequence of such

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<sup>9</sup> Curious that Ong managed to sustain this view in the light of reader reception theory.

typologies, however, is to polarise sight and sound, creating an opposition between them and, at worst, adjudicating between them - a taking of sides. In precisely the way that Derrida anticipated, many of them idealise the voice.

Diderot contended that the soul was made manifest through intonation, "l'image même de l'âme rendue par les inflexions de la voix", Fónagy, 1983, p.121; 'the very image of the soul conveyed through vocal inflection', AK translation). Vision, claims van Leeuwen (1999), evidently never having looked at a Rothko painting, "cannot go beyond the surface of things"(p.196), arguing that it isolates and individuates. While Berendt (1988) makes telling observations about the differences between the ear and the eye in the manner of Ong, he is also prone to a crude denigration of 'eye culture', which he links to patriarchy. Similarly he is fascinating on the heightened role played by sound in Eastern spiritual traditions such as Sufism but then proceeds to make exaggerated claims on the ear's behalf ("the ear establishes a more 'correct' relationship between ourselves and others", p.28; "eye people taking part in discussions display strikingly more aggressiveness than ear-orientated-participants", p.30 - although how one would allocate someone into either category without it being a circular process is anyone's guess...). He even indicts visual culture for inducing restlessness in children! In this context his plea for a 'democracy of the senses' and his reminder that "ear and eye are not alternatives" (p.28) rings a little hollow.

Output 3 discussed McLuhan's idealisation of the ear and connected it to a kind of noble savage primitivism, which Schmidt (2003) would later call his 'unreflective colonialist lens' (p.46) ("It is quite obvious that most civilised people are crude and numb in their perceptions, compared with the hyperesthesia or oral and auditory cultures. For the eye has none of the delicacy of the ear", McLuhan, 2011, pp. 30-31.). It also explored the identification of voice with healing in theories of 'toning' (Campbell, 1989), in which chanting is often characterised as the link between speech and song and an expression of pure vocality. While some such texts emphasise the link between voice and breath as a way of tapping or releasing the body's energy, they are also often predicated on the notion of a single, authentic voice, connected with the anima or life force (Pearce, 2010) and the notion of a purity that lies somehow beyond culture. Even as fine a champion of the voice as Cavarero (2005) goes overboard in arguing not only that "the voice manifests the *unique being* of each human being" but also "his or her spontaneous self-communication according to the rhythms of a sonorous relation" (p.173). As Rée (1999) points out, "vocality has had to bear some very heavy symbolic freight indeed" (p.9), such as being seen as a messenger from the soul.

The outputs gathered here reject such essentialist characterisations of the voice, in Sterne's words "a set of presumed and somewhat clichéd attributes, a configuration I call the *audiovisual litany*" (Sterne, 2012, p.9), or indeed the notion of a single 'true' voice, even if they acknowledge that some voices are truer than others. Output 3 made a plea for peace

between the propagandists of the ear and the eye, stressing the need for both and drawing attention to Western culture's capacity to integrate them.

### 3.6 The submission's argument

The outputs in the submission make a distinction between visualism as an ideology that fetishises the graphic and the visible (what Output 3 terms 'optic's own illusion') and the actual continuing centrality of the voice. They suggest, rather, that literate societies have lost a language through which to discuss the voice and lost a concomitant consciousness of its importance. Output 3 contrasts this with the Tzeltal speakers of Tenejapa, Mexico, who possess over 400 different words to describe vocal states.<sup>10</sup> Outputs 3, 4, 5, 6 and 8 delineate the diverse ways in which vocality remains an irreplaceable modality in personal and cultural life.

The submission cites and draws inspiration from researchers who have worked sensitively with this dimension of human experience. Labov and Fanshel (1977), for example, devote an entire volume to analysing 15 minutes of conversation between an anorexic patient and therapist in one session of psychotherapy. In addition to examining the linguistic structure of the interaction,<sup>11</sup> they also pay close attention to the paralinguistic features of the patient's speech - its hesitations, silences, occasional volubility, intonation contours, pitch levels. Indeed Labov and Fanshel recognise that the therapist's identification and understanding of the patient's intonation and vocal states such as her whine play a central role in the session. Maiello (2003), by contrast, monitored the contrasting rhythmic interactions between a South African mother and baby and their Western counterparts. In an earlier award-winning paper, Maiello speculated about the role of prenatal trauma in causing later autism, suggesting that its origins may have lain in a psycho-physical retreat from the auditory experience of the mother's voice (Maiello, 2001). Stern (1985) brilliantly identified what he termed 'vitality affects' operating between parent and infant, through which fleeting surges of feeling crescendo and fade away. While many of these are gestural and facial, some are expressed vocally and many are multi-sensorial. Output 3 suggested that the voice was a prime medium through which vitality affects were articulated: in so many ways the attunement or misattunement between carer and infant that Stern so expertly documents is played out through vocal channels. Stern notes the elusiveness of

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<sup>10</sup> Rée (1999) notes the abundance of words to denote fleeting sounds, but he does not remark on the poverty of our language of voice. Bull and Back (2003) draw attention to our impoverished vocabulary to describe music. With such a substantial bibliography, both in Output 3 and in this commentary, can it be true to say that we lack a lexicon and sense of the centrality of the voice? Yes, because there is no discourse or language shared by the plethora of overlapping studies in different disciplines, but also because, whatever lexicon has begun to emerge among voice specialists has not percolated through to the public realm.

<sup>11</sup> While discourse analysis privileges as its object of study grammar, vocabulary and the sentence, ethnographies of speaking and spoken language discourse generally at least allude to prosodic cues - pitch, stress, rhythm, volume and voice quality - even if they often stress their linguistic function or role in turn-taking. Labov and Fanshel (1977) are exceptionally sensitive to voice as an extra-linguistic system of meaning, and to the significance of changes of pitch, volume and even breathing.

vitality affects, lying outside 'our existing lexicon or taxonomy of affects' (p.54). 30 years later this remains largely true, and points to some of the methodological problems in researching them.

## 4. Methodology

The methodological challenges raised by the outputs cluster around two discrete research strands: a) researching the voice as a topic and b) using the voice as a research resource. 4.1 - 4.4 pertain to the first; 4.5 - 4.8 concern the second.

### 4.1 Discursive absence and tacit knowledge

Output 3 was based on 50 open-ended, semi-structured interviews in the UK and USA in which interviewees were asked about their feelings about both their own voice and that of family members, friends and colleagues, in order to construct a sense of their vocal world. Yet, given the discursive absence already discussed, how could they achieve this? If, as Output 3 contended, contemporary Western cultures have no shared public language through which to discuss the voice, what could the interviews elicit save confirmation of this thesis? Macfarlane (2015) maintains that "language deficit leads to attention deficit". Charting the impoverishment of language to describe place, he suggests that "As we deplete our ability to denote and figure particular aspects of our places, so our competence for understanding and imagining possible relationships with non-human nature is correspondingly depleted" (p.3). The human voice is such a taken-for-granted, inescapable aspect of communication that it needed to be in some sense problematised before most informants felt able to expatiate about it. A number of informants asked for cues or prompts in order to help them begin to formulate answers to the interview questions. Interviews in such a context needed to be conducted with particular care so as to ensure that the interviewer's language and assumptions were imported or imposed on interviewees to the least possible extent.

Ihde (2007) notes how a student beginning a phenomenology of sound comes upon "phenomena he has not previously noted and does not yet have or call to mind the words with which to describe such experiences" (p.86). Output 3 reported on one informant who declared that she had never given the subject of voice a moment's thought and then proceeded to regale the interviewer with a lengthy disquisition on the various effects that different voices had upon her. There was a sense that some informants were speaking strongly-held views out loud for the first time.

Polanyi (1967), who coined the phrase 'tacit knowledge', argued that "we can know more than we can tell" (p.4). Tacit knowledge thus resembles what Christopher Bollas called the 'unthought known' (Bollas, 1987). Polanyi conceptualised tacit knowledge as a matter of attention. In tacit knowledge, he suggested, we attend *away from* one dimension, the

proximal, and attend *towards* something else, the distal. Such knowledge is frequently bodily. "Every time we make sense of the world we rely on our tacit knowledge of the impacts that the world makes on our body and of the response of our body to those impacts" (Polanyi, 1964, p.20). The task of speaking about their voices required in interviewees a gestalt switch, an attention *away* from a concentration on language and *towards* prosody and the paralinguistic features of voice, and that they mobilise intuitive and bodily knowledge rather than purely cognitive skills.

As the research for Output 3 proceeded, it quickly became apparent that probing interviewees' relationship with their own voice was a delicate question, involving their deepest sense of self. The notion that disavowed aspects of the self might leak out through the voice was borne out by a number of these interviews but also posed an ethical problem about the right of the researcher to transgress normal social boundaries and investigate personal, sensitive matters. Hollway and Jefferson (2000) challenge the idea that causing an element of psychological distress is unethical and claim instead that it might be essential to elicit information that goes beyond rationalisation and conveys emotional significance. They also claim that if the interviewer creates a safe environment, the interview may even be therapeutic for the interviewee. In guiding the interviews conducted for Output 3, an attempt was made to create a sense of safety, be sensitive to informants' discomfort and limits and not take advantage of or violate them. Confidentiality was guaranteed: this entailed altering some key facts to make informants unrecognisable. Since a hypothesis of Output 3 is that the voice is socially-constituted, care was taken, when altering salient facts, to provide comparable descriptors.

#### 4.2 Triple hermeneutic?

Giddens (1986) has spoken of the 'double hermeneutic' (p.284) involved in sociological study: researchers interpret fields already constituted as meaningful by social actors, applying yet another frame of meaning - interpreting the interpretations of others (Bruhn Jensen, 2002). Geertz (1993) put it more brutally: "what we call our data are really our own constructions of other people's constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to" (p.9). How much more complex is it, then, to interview people *about* their voice *through* their voice. Analysing such interviews draws on not only the researcher's interpretive framework but also the researcher's repertoire of beliefs, prejudices and preferences about the voice - in addition to (as Output 8 makes plain) their own voice and voice quality. (The impact of the researcher's voice on the interview and interviewee - and not just their accent - remains a seriously under-researched subject.)

In this sense conducting oral interviews about the voice might be called a 'triple hermeneutic'. Certainly there were times, in the interviews conducted for Output 3, when informants were beset by self-consciousness as they became aware that they were required to use, in their responses, the very instrument that they were describing. Such tensions

were generally defused by either interviewer or interviewee making a joke about the self-referential nature of the task and the resulting risk of muteness.

### 4.3 Voice and language

Another recurring problem in researching the voice is that it is invariably accompanied by words: when we hear voice we almost always hear language too. As has been suggested (eg Lawrence, 1992), this results all too often in the voice being elided with, or reduced to, speech, with the vocal element downgraded or considered subsidiary to language. "La Parole", remarked Poizat (2001), "fait taire la voix, la réduit au silence" (p.127, "The word shuts the voice up, reduces it to silence", AK translation). Attempts, such as Goffman's, to analyse 'spill cries' such as 'oops!' or 'whoops!', pain cries such as 'oww!' or 'ouch!' or filled pauses (1981) are not investigations into voice as such but into sounds that compensate for either breaks in language or language deficit: they are analysed in relation to language. To access 'meaning-as-sound', as Ihde (2007) puts it, "there is a need to take note of the near and far reaches of sounded significance that remain 'outside' language-as-word" (p.151).

Dolar (2006), however, would repudiate such a formulation. Rejecting the voice as both vehicle for meaning and source of aesthetic admiration, he proposes in Lacanian fashion that the voice is "*what does not contribute to making sense*. It is the material element recalcitrant to meaning, and if we speak in order to say something, then the voice is precisely that which cannot be said" (p.15). While the outputs gathered here are in agreement with the notion that the voice frequently articulates what cannot be said and, as Output 3 claimed, in this sense is an avenue for the return of the repressed, they suggest rather that meaning-making is a prime attribute of the voice.<sup>12</sup>

The submission therefore eschews these two major research paths. Attempts to somehow prise the voice free of language for analytic purposes, although it has met with some success (as Output 3 suggested) in occasional research projects which have filtered out words and left only intonation, volume and tempo, ultimately constitute a futile project in that they sever voice from that which it usually carries. Similarly, the project of cordoning off into the voice every extra-rational communicative element risks caricaturing both the voice but also language - which, after all, is capable of suggesting and connoting more than it denotes.

Just as the submission rejects the polarisation of ear and eye, so too does it refuse to position voice versus language. What it advocates, instead, is a recognition of the symbiotic relationship between voice and language, which also affords the opportunity to explore what they each bring to the other. We know much more, for example, about how voice helps make language meaningful - through prosody, intonation etc - than how language affects voice, or how, for instance, the voice of bilingual speakers changes between

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<sup>12</sup> As Indeed does Dolar (2006) elsewhere, when he says that the tone of the voice "can decide the meaning" (p.21).

languages. Research into vocal code-switching might deliver as much rich material as that produced by research into linguistic code-switching. While for heuristic purposes the outputs here focus on the instrument of the human voice in order to draw attention to its comparative neglect, to make it - in Polanyi's words - 'proximal' (1967), they eschew any artificial attempts to pit language against voice (see below), or to efface words in similar fashion to the common effacement or silencing of voice.

#### 4.4 Temporality

One of the chief methodological problems facing voice research is its elusiveness. In contrast with visual media, it cannot be fixed or perceived in linear mode through, for example, freeze frame. As Output 6 observed, the auditory field is much less directional than the visual: its omnidirectionality and instantaneity can make it appear a slippery thing. Ihde (2007) noted the 'temporal edge' and 'trailing off' of sound, arguing that "sound reveals time" (p.102). Given these difficulties, it is not surprising that many researchers have turned to positivist epistemologies and methodologies in the hope of generating 'hard', sometimes quantitative, data. The best known example of such voice research was conducted in the US by Albert Mehrabian, who eventually formulated a numerical equation about the voice's contribution to the communication of meaning (38%), as compared to that of words and facial expressions. Output 3 exposed the extraordinary methodological poverty of Mehrabian's research, along with earlier positivist 'voice and personality' studies which attempted to create typologies of pitch and personality types or of pitch and emotions. Fónagy (1983), by contrast, explored 'psycho-phonetics' and believed that although the sign was always arbitrary certain vowel sounds connoted similar emotions across languages. While his attempts to quantify 'psycho-acoustic' meaning were more sophisticated than Mehrabian's, ultimately they concerned the phonetics of words and letters rather than the voice, or were somewhat far-fetched (eg the two melodic stages of irony).

The outputs in this submission, in particular Output 3, completely rejected such approaches, which, in their attempt to emulate the natural sciences, remove communication from its social setting or indeed lived experience and almost always succeed in essentialising the voice, as well as flattening out what Barthes called the "voluptuousness of... sound-signifiers" (Barthes, 1977, p.182). The outputs gathered here, being phenomenological and interpretive in orientation, were based on the notion of the interview as a process of data generation rather than data collection, one in which the researcher is understood as co-producer of the data (Seale, 2004). Output 3, in its attempt to illuminate the skills and interpretive frameworks that we bring to decoding the voices of other people, recognised the situated, socially-constituted nature of speech and voice and sought to embrace its very temporality. As Fónagy (1983) acknowledged, "Il est impossible de.. dire [la même phrase] à deux reprises exactement de la même façon" (p.10). ("It is impossible to say the same sentence twice in exactly the same way", AK translation). The submission, far from attempting to 'factor out' such 'inconsistencies', homed in on them as its research area.

Output 3 represents the first, sustained attempt to elicit from non-professionals accounts of their attitudes towards their own voice, and of their social and individual competencies in interpreting the voices of others, both subjects almost entirely neglected in the realms of quantitative research on the voice.

#### **4.5 The voice as a research tool**

Another significantly neglected subject in the literature is the use of the voice as a research resource. Over the past decades visual methods, from photographs and documentary film to video diaries, have been increasingly embraced by qualitative researchers and yet attention to the oral and aural has scarcely developed. A new research method, the 'visual matrix', for instance, explores ways of using "imagery, affect and visualisation... to inquire into phenomena that research participants may find difficult to put into words" (Visual Matrix Workshop, 2015). It has been deployed interestingly to help gauge reaction to local public art (Froggett, 2014). Yet although the final report of this project refers to the "emotional tone, pace and vibrancy" (p.61) of participants' reactions, it is (understandably perhaps, given its remit) mostly mute about the vocal dimension. Plummer (2001) devotes three lines to sound archives in his catalogue of 'documents for life' compared with a page-and-a-half to visual data.

Output 8 demonstrated the consistent marginalisation of the oral among oral historians, and suggested that the rush to transcribe recorded interviews was based on a distrust of the modality and a desire to find sanctuary in the supposed facticity of the printed text. Output 8, and indeed the entire submission, rejects such a polarisation, characterised by Latour as a belief in 'fairy-objects' and 'fact-objects'. Latour, on the contrary, claims that since both are fabricated both could more usefully be termed 'factishes' (2010).

Yet there remain real challenges in using the richness of the voice as a research resource. Some of these result from the lack of a shared language - the discursive absence discussed above. Others are caused by the voice's 'unruliness', the features that make it so difficult to pin down. Yet this is also what is so valuable about nonverbal communication channels. As Labov and Fanshel (1977) have pointed out, the deniability of the intonational signal - the way that tone and timbre convey implicit meaning, compared to the generally more explicit meanings in the verbal signal - is one of its most important qualities.

Another methodological difficulty is to find words for a modality that conveys them but is wordless. As Ihde noted, "A book is read and its words are seen rather than heard. There are vast differences between hearing voices and reading words" (2007, p.xx), in translating what he calls the voice's 'all-at-onceness' into a linear mode. Is it even possible to peel away words from the voice and then find words for what can appear as merely residue? Might the attempt to develop a language in which to speak about the voice in itself represent a diminishment of the vocal, a de facto declaration that the auditory is not eloquent enough of and by itself and requires the legitimation of re-translation into words? Can only language

valorise? Developing a language to describe and analyse the voice while retaining its affective vitality is indeed a challenge.

Another problem lies in the ear. We access the voice through our listening of it: audition is all. How then can we separate our listening capacities from our sound-making ones? Output 3 suggested that we hear the genders differently; clearly class and ethnicity - our own and that of the speaker - also inflect the ways in which a voice is heard and understood. Voices cannot exist outside of being heard; the vocal apparatus and hearing organs are twin, reciprocal, symbiotic processes. There is no pure, unmediated space in which the voice can somehow lie suspended, beyond audition; hearing is mediation, and so voices are mediated purely by the act of being heard. Attributing qualities to voices thus must inevitably be a subjective experience, even while it is culturally-shaped (see below), and thus requires a degree of reflexivity in the researcher,<sup>13</sup> as well as posing questions of validity.

#### 4.6 (Psycho)analysing the voice

Output 3 made the case for attending closely to the oral/aural aspects of testimony in oral history but also recognised that the project of listening to not only what informants say but also how they say it is pitted with problems. Acknowledging, either in the transcript or the analysis, excessive pauses, strained laughter or sarcasm is one thing; attempting to 'read off' from an informant's voice quality some suppressed, unconscious dimension of their experience is another. Intense debate has raged over the past 15 years as to both the ethics of researchers appropriating interviewees' stories and 'psychoanalysing' them in this way but also its individualising tendencies.

Hollway and Jefferson (2000) were pioneering advocates of using psychoanalytic concepts (especially those of Melanie Klein) to 'do qualitative research differently'. Challenging the idea that subjects' accounts were transparent, they argued instead that deeper, richer data could be gathered by treating them as the 'defended subject' and by trying to access the unconscious intersubjective dynamics of the interview relationship.<sup>14</sup> Deploying freely their own subjectivity and reflexivity, as well as immersion in the interview material, their analysis drew on the interpretive skills more commonly found in psychoanalysts than social scientists and involves the mobilisation of a kind of theoretical counter-transference. While their method has produced interesting and sometimes illuminating results, unlike Output 8 Hollway and Jefferson seem relatively unconcerned about the ethics of such an approach.

In a later paper (2005) they explored the case of Vince, a middle-aged man who hated the job that illness later forced him to leave. Based on their interest in investigating informants' emotional investment in different discursive positions, Hollway and Jefferson also paid attention to "changes in emotional tone, long pauses and avoidance" which, they said, "make visible otherwise invisible internal states" (p.151). This comes close to using the voice

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<sup>13</sup> Karpf (2013) discusses researchers' personal investment in sensitive research areas.

<sup>14</sup> Section 5 discusses the use of psychoanalytic concepts in the submission.

as a research resource, even if they might more accurately have written 'made audible otherwise inaudible internal states'. Yet alongside this they also discussed Vince's "powerful unconscious dynamics" (p.150). Frosh's reservations (2010) about 'psychoanalysis outside the clinic' will be discussed in section 5, but Output 8 adopted a highly sceptical stance to such an approach. Output 3, in contrast to Hollway and Jefferson, was interested in what subjects *reveal* through their voice rather than *conceal*, and about their expressed rather than suppressed unease with it. Wetherell (2005) similarly avers that she prefers "forms of psychosocial analysis which stay with the patterns of the account itself - the discursive resources available to Vince which organize his narratives" (p.172). Discomfited by a reading of his behaviour that could not be confirmed, she hoped that Vince never read the account of himself as a timid man choosing illness to avoid confrontation with a bullying boss.

Saville Young (2009), while she recognises psychoanalysis's rich vocabulary for describing intersubjective processes, believes that Hollway and Jefferson's approach risks pathologising, individualising and objectifying the subject. As to the case of subjects hiding or defending themselves, she contends that "it is the meaning making of the participants that is of primary interest, whether defended or not" (p.27. Saville Young's own research has thus shifted from using a Kleinian perspective to one more (late-)Lacanian in orientation which generates tentative and reflexive conclusions and is "irreducible to ever knowing the subject" (p.23) (an approach that may be more appreciated by subjects of psychosocial research than by analysts). This debate, in which discursive readings are ranged against psychoanalytic ones, serves as a reminder of the problems raised by psychosocial research into sensitive questions. Section 5 describes another, more discursive way of applying psychoanalytic concepts in psychosocial research.

#### **4.7 Emotionology**

One way of skirting the problems discussed above is to treat emotions as culturally and historically-constituted rather than as properties of individual affect. Stearns and Stearns (1985) make a strong case for what they call 'emotionology'. All societies, they argue, have 'emotional standards', whether explicit or unspoken, and the concept of 'emotionology' enables them "to distinguish the collective emotional standards as a society from the emotional experience of individuals and groups... to illuminate how and why social agencies and institutions either promote or prohibit some kinds of emotions, while remaining neutral or indifferent to others" (p.813). Historians are increasingly examining the factors that shape or delimit these standards and fundamental shifts in them. In a variety of ways this submission explores aspects of emotionology as articulated through the voice: for example the Radio Doctor's voice as expressive of the ideology of Britain's wartime breezy, humorous resilience (Output 1), the new expressiveness demanded of the male voice (Output 3 and 5), the voice as carrier of mother-child distress in an area of geographical dispute (Output 4).

#### **4.8 Pitch as an interpretive tool**

Gee (1991) provides another strategy that avoids the pitfalls of Hollway and Jefferson (2000) by analysing the prosodic features of speech. Prosodic phrases provide emphasis in a sentence; pitch disruptions (called pitch glides) help a speaker identify the salient and important information that they wish to impart: "How a text is actually said is crucial to the structure we assign it in terms of idea units, focuses, and lines." Gee brilliantly analyses an account by a woman in her 20s with schizophrenia, whose speech was characterised by doctors as 'disturbed'. Deploying discourse analysis along with psychological sensitivity, Gee reconfigures it as an example of human narrative sense-making. In this way he reunites voice and language, restoring a unity he finds in the woman's account. Emerson and Frosh (2004), by contrast, apply Gee's approach to a 16-year-old white, working-class British boy, Lance, who has sexually abused a number of children. Their use of pitch glides to demarcate ideas units and their attention to the way prosodic features support or counter verbal ones allows them to develop a sophisticated understanding of both how narrative works and of Lance's ambivalence and his strategies to mute it. It does not, however, leapfrog the ethical problems of analysing the accounts of defended subjects.

#### **4.9 Methodology of the submission**

The outputs make use of a wide range of qualitative research methods including interviews, textual analysis, archive research and the analysis of visual documents. Eschewing the hopeless pursuit of positivist 'certainty', they work with rather than against the fleeting, flickering nature of the voice - the fact that our own voices differ not only according to whom we speak but, as Output 3 noted, even at different times of the day - and its performative features. Research about the voice and using the voice call for a kind of 'situated hearing', contingent upon speaker and listener and the social, gendered and cultural settings in which both are positioned, and capable of echoing the multiple 'soundings' and 're-soundings' produced by the human voice and multiple decodings matched by the human ear.

### **5. The voice and psychoanalysis**

Psycho-social and psycho-cultural studies, as sections 2 and 4 have indicated, draw freely on psychoanalytic ideas, but psychoanalysis's engagement with the voice can be understood under three distinct headings: a) psychoanalysis on the voice b) the voice in psychoanalysis and c) psychoanalytic concepts applied to the voice.

#### **5.1 Psychoanalysis on the voice**

Output 3 discussed some of Freud's writing about the voice, even though much of the psychoanalytic literature seems more concerned with the loss or absence of the spoken

word (aphasia) or voice (aphonia) than their presence. Vasse (1974), however, argues that the voice gives us intimate access to the most subtle shifts in the Other, conveying their way of being and revealing the space or place in the body from which they speak. "La voix se situe dans l'entre-deux de l'organique et de l'organisation, dans l'entre-deux du corps biologique et du corps de la langue ou, si l'on veut, du corps social" (Vasse, 1974, p.21. "The voice occupies the space in between the organic and the organisational, between the biological body and the body of language or, if you will, the social body", AK translation). This is broadly the view of the submission: that the voice reaches into the depths of the unconscious but is also socially and culturally formed, and it is this that makes the psycho-social studies approach particularly suitable.

Most psychoanalytic writing about the voice, however, especially in French, is dominated by Lacan. Developing Freud, Lacan argued that the parental voice reappeared in the superego of the child (Poizat, 2001). In *Écrits* (1980) Lacan refers more to speech than voice, suggesting that "speech always includes its own reply" (p.85). Yet elsewhere it has been suggested that for Lacan the voice is what comes closest to the unconscious (Assoun, 2010), that it constitutes the fourth drive (after the oral, the anal and the scopic: oral eroticism, the first smile at the mother and the first vocalisations all arrive at the same time, Kristeva (1980) observes<sup>15</sup>) and is connected with desire (Castarède, 2005). The baby's first cry, Lacan maintained, is a cry to the Other, who interprets it as a cry of hunger or pain and thus inducts the baby into the web of signification, so that the sound has shifted from a cry 'pur' to one 'pour'.

Lacan's theory of *petit objet 'a'* lies beyond the scope of this commentary but central to it is the mother's voice and the baby's loss of it - "the first problematic connection to the other, the immaterial tie that comes to replace the umbilical cord" (Dolar, 2006, p.39). For Vasse (1974) the cutting off of the umbilicus is correlated more explicitly with the opening of the mouth: "La voix s'inscrit dans la rupture ombilicale" (p.16. "The voice is inscribed in the umbilical rupture", AK translation.) In two chapters Output 3 explored the maternal voice, both its effect on the infant pre- and post-natally and the melody of 'mothertalk' but the submission is embedded more within the object relations theories of Melanie Klein and Donald Winnicott than Lacanian thought.

Especially suggestive if inevitably speculative, Maiello's hypothesis of the existence of pre-natal sound memories connected with the mother's voice gives rise to the possibility that the foetus is capable of some form of introjection (the unconscious incorporation of other's attitudes and beliefs), and that the introjected elements "have at least partly sound-qualities deriving from the child's perception of the mother's voice" (Maiello, 1997, p. 158). Maiello calls this, one of the earliest objects, a 'sound-object', and argues that it might entail some rudimentary differentiation between 'me' and 'not-me'. Vocality, in this

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<sup>15</sup> Kristeva calls the pre-verbal, unconscious sphere where rhythmic and vocalic drives reign the 'semiotic *chora*' (Cavarero, 2005).

characterisation, does not so much represent feelings as embody them, and Maiello's case is made the more persuasive by her careful observation of infants. By getting a voice of its own, she concludes, the baby can reproduce that part of its pre-natal world that escaped its control during its first, mute part of its prenatal life, ie the maternal voice. This is not so far from Lacan but has been tested out empirically through sensitive infant observation.

## 5.2 The voice in psychoanalysis

The voice is the major channel in the psychoanalytic encounter. For the analyst, the patient's voice is a potent resource. Winnicott observed that, in his work with both adults and children, playing "manifests itself... in the choice of words, in the inflections of the voice" (Winnicott, 1974, p.48). Bollas (1987) displays an acute sensitivity to his patients' voices, noting when one lowers her voice to attack herself and another raises her voice to express her sense of guilt. In the latter he also identifies "a mature voice, which up till then I had simply not heard" (p.229). On the couch, Vasse (2010) suggests, it is often through a modification of voice that the analyst realises that some desire in the analysand has been touched and that they have moved beyond discourse. Theodor Reik, a student of Freud's, argues what Polanyi and Bollas would later suggest, that "the analyst, like his patient, knows things without knowing that he knows them. The voice that speaks in him, speaks low, but he who listens with a third ear hears also what is expressed almost noiselessly, what is said *pianissimo*" (Reik, 1948, p.145). It has even been argued that the voice embodies the transference (Maillard, 2010).

As Outputs 3 and 4 pointed out, for the patient the voice of the analyst resembles that of the mother for the pre-natal baby, coming as it does from an unseen source - what Chion (1999), following Pierre Schaeffer, calls the 'acousmatic' voice. Bion (1963) noted that the patient also monitors the analyst's voice, seizing on any ambiguities in intonation to slant the analyst's interpretation, while Bollas (1987) consciously used his voice to get through to a patient: "As much as what I had to say up to this point was effective, I think it was my tone of voice, which I find impossible to define in retrospect, that reached him and he seemed to relax" (p.224).

Bion's and Bollas's observations support the argument of the submission - both the central role played by the voice and the lack of a language in which to describe it - yet the emphasis of the outputs with regard to psychoanalytic ideas developed and transformed over time. Output 3 took care not to attempt to psychoanalyse interviewees but to use psychoanalytic concepts to support and extend their own accounts of their voices, yet it still deployed them largely to discuss the unconscious elements emerging through the individual voice. Outputs 6 and 9, however, took a more discursive approach, applying psychoanalytic concepts to cultural phenomena.

### 5.3 Applying psychoanalytic concepts to the voice

Frosh (2010) argues, quite rightly, that anything that takes place outside the clinic or consulting-room is not psychoanalysis: he questions the legitimacy of 'translating' analytic concepts to the cultural sphere in a reductive or distorting way. While acknowledging their potential as a resource in the humanities and social sciences, and especially the ability of psycho-social studies to explain "how the 'out-there' gets 'in-here' " (p.194), he warns that, far from providing truths and certainty, psychoanalysis leads only to further disruptive questions, even while it can help us understand how meaning in cultural products is *produced* rather than *revealed*. (Output 3, for example, eschewed the notion of a single 'authentic' voice that might develop or be accessed through analysis, in favour of the notion of multiple, situated voices of greater or lesser authenticity.)

While Freudian ideas were taken up by literary critics and embraced by film almost as early as the cinema itself, object relations theory (in particular the work of Klein and Winnicott) was significantly absent from the discourse in the cultural field. Apart from Silverstone's use of Winnicott's idea of transitional space to explore 'television and everyday life' (1994) and, in the same year, Richards's explorations of pop music, football and images of the countryside (Richards, 1994), cultural studies has been dominated by Marxist, Foucauldian, Freudian and Lacanian theories; there were few sustained attempts to apply the ideas of object relations until the establishment in 2009 of Media and the Inner World, a research network funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council. This has generated a stream of interesting work exploring the role of emotion in popular culture and developing a psycho-cultural approach (Bainbridge and Yates, 2011). Indeed Bainbridge contends that "the media are now so closely imbricated with the everyday experience of identity and subjectivity that they have come to function as key objects in both our internal and external worlds (Bainbridge, 2011, p.35). Object relations theory is particularly fitting as a resource for the analysis of cultural life in its capacity to generate understanding of the ways in which the individual makes use of the external world in the formation of its internal world.

Output 6 originated as a paper in a Media and the Inner World seminar, and is a very rare instance of the application of object relations theory to radio studies, using Winnicott's concept of transitional space, along with Bion's and Bick's notions of containment, to explore the powerful meanings listeners associate with the voices of regular radio presenters. Output 9, in attempting to understand the success of Winnicott's BBC talks, applied aspects of object relations theory to the broadcasting work of Winnicott himself, while also examining the role of his broadcasts in the popularisation of psychoanalytic thinking, especially as mediated over the airwaves and through Winnicott's voice. Together these outputs made a significant original contribution to psycho-cultural studies, bypassing the ethical problems that arise in the 'cultural psychoanalysis' of the individual's voice.

## 6. The gendered voice

The distinction between voice as speaking and voice as speaking out dissolves particularly easily in the case of the voice and gender because prejudice against women's voices has historically been accompanied by their suppression in the public realm. Outputs 3, 5 and 7 gathered together many different examples.

Much of the literature around the female voice concerns its representation in film. Silverman (1988) pointed out that feminist critiques of classical cinema had focused on the male gaze and had ignored the fact that sexual difference was created by its sound regime as well. She argued that the male repudiation of the structuring power of the maternal voice resulted in the exclusion of women's voices from the cinematic voiceover, almost invariably occupied by a disembodied male voice of authority. Women's voices, suggested Lawrence (1991), were the source of textual anxiety in classical Hollywood films, and were considered problematic to record. (Green, 2009, showed how they were recorded differently too; similarly Dyson, 1994, pointed out that the radio microphone was originally designed for the male vocal range.) Sjogren (2006), however, claimed that the voice in many Hollywood movies allowed for multiple subjectivities that challenged the male gaze. Certainly the simultaneous idealisation of the maternal voice<sup>16</sup> and denigration of women's voices is striking. As Frank (1995) suggested, "the feminine voice emerges as a signifier that is erotically charged with nostalgia for the maternal but circulates in a system based on the devaluation of the feminine" (p.3).

In an unpublished paper given in Oslo which developed Outputs 3 and 5 and provided ideas for Output 7, Karpf (2013b) analysed the long association of the female voice with the body, carnality and the potential to ravish, and suggested that women's voices were always considered in relation to the desire they could evoke and never the desire they could express.<sup>17</sup> Sexualising women's voices disempowered them from everything except the power to ensnare (Karpf, 2013c). Hilmes (1997) argued that women's voices were deemed unsuitable for broadcasting because of discomfort associated with the disembodied female voice. She quoted the director of a Detroit radio station in the 1920s: "I do not believe that women are fitted for radio announcers. They need body to their voices" (p.142). Women were thus placed in a double bind: as an expression of an embodied self the woman's voice was deemed seductive, but attempts to escape this confining position almost invariably led them right back to it because disembodied, unmoored from the body, it was considered even more destabilising (Loviglio, 2007), requiring commentators and listeners to engage in strenuous work to 'return' them to a bodily presence and 're-embody' them - which

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<sup>16</sup> Cixous (1991) is a prime offender: while she produces euphonious, lyrical passages about the vocalic ("My German mother in my mouth, in my larynx, rhythms me", p.22), her paeons to rhythm, warmth, flow and the maternal body, all collapsed into each other, constantly fall back on idealised, essentialised conceptions of the maternal voice.

<sup>17</sup> Although a 1954 Argentine radio serial, as Ehrick (2015a) documents, unusually created a public space for a female voice to articulate sexual desire.

rendered them suspect once again.<sup>18</sup> When, in the 1980s, National Public Radio had three prominent female broadcasters, resentful male colleagues dubbed them the 'Fallopian Troika' (Loviglio, 2007). When television began in Britain in 1936 the first presenters ('hostess-announcers') were women. This may have been the result of the strides that female announcers had made in radio, but it might also have been due to the fact, as Output 7 suggested, that television itself re-bodied women.

Yet feminist discourse is sometimes at risk of essentialising the female voice and reifying the very sexual differences that feminism set out to interrogate. Pitch itself, for example, is constituted not only physiologically: Outputs 3 and 5 drew on American research demonstrating that the average acoustic differences between boys and girls are greater than they would be if anatomy were the sole determining factor and that they set in long before puberty. In the early years of British broadcasting, although women were excluded from roles such as news readers in which they might have been deemed to represent the authority of the BBC, they were allowed on air if they were prominent cultural figures, invariably with crystalline upper-class accents: social class thus helped to modify femininity (Output 7).

Problematizing the female voice can simultaneously naturalise the male one. Outputs 2, 3, 5 and 7 were based on the belief that the male and female voice must always be considered in tandem, and as twin constructions which are not fixed but respond to changing social, political and economic roles - hence the growing 'emotionalisation' in the male public voice (which might be considered as an example of Stearns and Stearns's (1985) 'emotionology'), alongside the deepening of the female public voice, and the different meanings attributed to expressiveness and low pitch in men and women. Similarly Power (2013) charted the spread of the automated female voice in train stations, electronic checkouts, satnavs and security warnings, its function simultaneously calming and coercive. Butler (1990) reminds us that "the substantive effect of gender is performatively produced" (p.24) and that "gender is always a doing" (p.25), to which we might add: and always a speaking. Gender's acts and gestures, she suggests, produce on the surface of the body what appears to be its internal core or substance: the tacit collective agreement to perform polar genders are "part of the strategy that conceals gender's performative character" (p.141). The submission suggests that voice is one of the main avenues through which such performativity occurs;<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> In a fascinating piece of radio history, McCracken (2002) showed how, in 1942, a CBS thriller-drama in the *Suspense* series called 'Sorry, Wrong Number' and starring Agnes Moorehead, exploited the disquiet associated with the disembodied female voice to create a terrifying story in which the listener overhears Moorehead's screams as she is being murdered, her voice finally silenced.

<sup>19</sup> Butler (1990) recognises that the effect of gender is produced through repeated bodily gestures, movements and styles but falls short of explicitly including the voice among them. The documentary film *Do I Sound Gay?* (Do I Sound Gay?, 2014) explores the performativity of hyper-masculinity through the voice and seeks to both destigmatise what has come to be heard as a gay inflection but also problematise the whole notion of straight and gay voices.

Outputs 3 and 5 contested the illusion of a gendered voice produced by immutable biological differences and explored its changing performative character.

Since the publication/broadcast of Outputs 3, 5 and 7, the marginalisation and vilification of the female voice has become increasingly problematised. Zuckerman (2014), a psychotherapist, explored in an account of overcoming her own anxiety about public speaking the psychic penalties that women fear will be exacted if they break these taboos. In her London Review of Books lecture, the classicist Mary Beard (2014) argued that the effects of the active exclusion of women from the public sphere of speech in Greco-Roman times, the abomination of those who did speak out and the fact that public speaking was considered a defining attribute of masculinity are still being felt today. Elsewhere women in the public realm have begun to address the issue of pitch. Lindsey Hilsum, Channel 4 international editor, recalled that "I was told to lower my voice because I was squeaky when I worked for the BBC! One reason I left" (Hilsum, 2014). Conservative MP Sarah Woollaston has said that some female MPs are afraid to speak in the House of Commons because they fear that their high-pitched voices will be derided by male politicians (Peacock, 2013). Other debate has centred on the growing use among young American women of 'vocal fry', a low, creaky voice that hitherto was deemed a vocal disorder. Anderson et al (2014) found that it caused women to be judged less competent, educated and employable than when heard in men.<sup>20</sup> Naomi Wolf (2015) met with criticism when she suggested that, by adopting the fashion for vocal fry, young women were hobbling their voices and undermining their authority; she advised them to reclaim their voice. Vocal fry was just another excuse to dismiss, ignore or marginalise women's voice, countered Riley (2015), and not listen to what they had to say. The simultaneity of these interventions suggest that a debate about prejudice against women's voices is beginning to emerge - a speaking out about the gendering of speaking.

## 7. The voice and culture

The voice belongs with culture in both its meanings - as culturally constituted, but also as an instrument and modality in cultural, media and artistic output.

### 7.1 The voice as culture

Culture, as Neumark (2010) puts it, "colours the voice, contours its performative capacities, and leaves deep imprints on its character - it *mediates* the voice, in terms of its accent, intonation, timbre, cadence and rhythm" (p. xviii). In the words of Output 3, "Even before I

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<sup>20</sup> The study, although it involved 800 listeners, suffered, however, from similar methodological shortcomings to Mehrabian's research in that it did not employ naturally-occurring vocal fry but used speakers deliberately mimicking it. Nevertheless it posed interesting questions about whether the rapid spread of vocal fry is the result of women trying to match the greater authoritativeness supposedly found in the deeper male voice.

open my mouth to speak, the culture into which I've been born has entered and suffused it. My place of birth and the culture where I've been raised, along with my mother tongue, all help regulate the setting of my jaw, the laxity of my lips, my most comfortable pitch" (p.182). Output 3 suggested some ways in which intonational differences can create cross-cultural misunderstandings, and social class and social status are inscribed in (or, perhaps, *intoned through*) the voice. While accent is commonly understood as a vector for class, public discourse is less sensitive, for example, to the relationship between volume and entitlement. Output 3 discussed the loud voice as a mark of dominance and, in other settings, as a defiant gesture by marginalised people congregating in public space. Karpf (1996) noted the advice to pre-war German Jewish refugees to desist from speaking German loudly in public places. By talking at their normal volume in a foreign language, immigrants are understood to be laying claim to public space and resisting power that is exercised vocally and aurally. As Tonkiss (2003) remarked, "The immigrant... is *audible*, and indeed those forms of race thinking that cannot bring themselves to speak of skin often are happy to talk of language" (p.305). Perhaps, too, those forms of race thinking happy to talk about language cannot bring themselves to talk of voice, in every sense of the word: they wish to silence or un-voice the Other. Indeed Mendieta (2014) goes further and suggests that race is a 'sonic stigmata' and racism is phonocratic: "the racist hears before he sees" (p.109).

About social class and voice, however, there is a remarkable paucity of literature. Where it is not preoccupied with accent, it is largely sociolinguistic in character, focusing on the social origins of 'elaborate' or 'restricted' codes, the pronunciation of particular consonants (Output 3 considered Labov's work in this regard), dialects, regional speech styles or phonological patterning (Foulkes and Docherty, 2006), with scant attention paid to non-linguistic elements - social class and, say, voice quality, or volume, or tempo, let alone the ways in which voice might articulate the intersection of class and gender or ethnicity. Any of these might generate interesting research findings, as would the whole area of the voice in collective, public settings such as auditoria, political meetings, religious gatherings, where orality has always been a powerful means of communication - what Bruhn Jensen (2006) terms 'reverberation' (pp.24-25).

## 7.2 The radio voice

Different cultural forms mandate different voices and yet, in comparison with the filmic voice, the radio voice has been relatively under-discussed and under-theorised. While this might seem curious for a medium for which voice is the major instrument, it is explained by the marginalisation of radio in policy debates as well as in media and cultural studies (Lewis and Booth, 1989). Arnheim (1936), however, had much to say about inexpressive radio voices which, lacking in 'tone colour', insensitive to pitch, rhythm and tempi and giving equal emphasis to each sentence irrespective of content, erased natural stresses and caesuras. (He also entertained the hope that the arrival of the wireless would enrich our 'aural vocabulary' [p.55].)

Dyson (1994) argued that the dominant radio voice was authoritative and gendered masculine, with stumbles, stutters, coughs and wheezes edited out because they connoted "the inappropriate presence of the body" and "the irrationality and hysteria of the flesh" (p.178). In comparison with these sonorous voices those of callers-in seemed dissonant, as did the dysphonic or 'crip' (short for 'crippled') radio voice (Kirkpatrick, 2013). The crispness and articulation of the dominant radio voice, Dyson concluded, together with the sense of intimacy it was designed to evoke, placed it in an abstract and idealized space, an 'atopia', and made it a purely technological construct. Shingler and Wieringa (1998) observed that "while the radio voice must use something more perfect than ordinary speech, it must simultaneously sound natural: live, spontaneous, unpremeditated and unmediated. For this reason much effort goes into enlivening what is in fact a premeditated and highly constructed way of talking" (p.43).

Outputs 1, 6, 7 and 9 paid close attention to the radio voice: Output 1 analysed the ways in which both the words and timbre of Dr Charles Hill, the 'Radio Doctor', articulated a sense of plain speaking, humorous British wartime resilience. Output 6 explored the effects of the familiar, time-linked vocal tunes of regular radio presenters on listeners (a subject rarely covered in the literature) while Output 9, based on both original written and sound archive research, discussed Donald Winnicott's voice as over-determined by his personal beliefs, experience and skills but also by the evolution of the radio talk, with its move away from the declamatory.

### 7.3 The cinematic voice

If the film voice has been analysed more than the radio voice, nevertheless it remains on the fringes of film studies, chiefly because of the marginalisation of sound in film theory. In a key essay in an issue of *Yale French Studies* devoted to cinema sound that he described as 'remedial', Altman (1980a) argued that film criticism remained resolutely image-bound and in thrall to the 'hegemony of the visual' (p.3). This was achieved partly, he contended, by "sound film's fundamental lie... that the sound is produced by the image when in fact it remains independent from it" (p.6). In reality, he went on to claim, "Actors gain right to a place in the image by virtue of having previously obtained a spot on the soundtrack. *I speak therefore I am seen*" (Altman, 1980b, p.68). Doane, in an important essay in the same issue, considered the cinematic practices of representing and spatialising the human voice (Doane, 1980), while subsequent commentators discussed the ways in which classical cinema privileges and isolates the voice of an individual speaking dialogue (Neale, 1985), leading Chion to claim that the cinema is 'vococentric' (1994, p.5).

In a lecture on sync sound, Mulvey (2003) suggested that "voice exists on a cusp between resonance and significance" (p.15), and yet the majority of influential analyses of the voice in film (apart from Lawrence, 1991), rather than attending to vocal colour or cadence, centre on the politics and signifying practices of the voice-over (for instance Doane, 1980; Bonitzer, 1986; Silverman, 1988; and an entire issue of *Cinephile*, the University of British

Columbia's film journal, Kozloff et al, 2012) or voice-off, as Sjogren (2006) terms it. (The voice-over or -off in some sense continues to privilege the image by analysing the special meaning of the voice *without* the anchoring image of the speaker.)

As Luca (1999) remarked, despite being a key acting tool voice has been consistently overlooked. Shingler (2006) too noted the domination of star studies by discussion of the image. Even when the role of the cinematic voice is acknowledged, he suggested, it is dialogue rather than the voice that is usually the object of study, or else the field is dominated by psychoanalytic studies. Yet a star's repertoire of sounds and inflections, he argues, are a significant aspect of their distinctiveness and allure (Shingler, 2012). "When the profound power, subtlety and appeal of the dramatic human voice in film is more fully understood", he suggests, "the established notion of film as primarily a visual medium is likely to give way in favour of film as an audio-visual medium where audio really does come first" (Shingler, 2006, p.10). Adopting the term 'phonogeny' first used by Chion - "the rather mysterious propensity of certain voices to sound good when recorded and played over loudspeakers" (Chion, 1994, p.101) - Shingler analyses the contribution of the voice to the popularity of or hostility to a number of different stars. He analyses the timbre, cadence and accent of Bette Davis in *All About Eve* (1950) (Shingler, 2006), for instance, and the role of the distinctive, full-toned, highly-modulated voices in evoking abundance and plenitude in *The Rich Are Always With Us* (1932) (Shingler, 2010). Most originally, he deconstructs Davis's voice in her celebrated speech at the end of *Now Voyager*, exploring the role of pitch, volume, pace and tone and the effect of audible breaks or cracks in her voice, and demonstrating artfully that the way in which she starves the final line of breath strips it of melodrama and prevents it from sounding overblown and overly theatrical (Shingler, 2006a).

Output 3, while attempting to show how the voice of a star such as Humphrey Bogart was indeed part of his appeal ("He is his rasp. A dubbed voice often sounds disembodied: the more it resembles the original actor's voice, the more its differences become apparent", p.11), succeeded in essentialising it. At a seminar in Rome in 2006, the respondent, a professor of film, pointed out that this was an anglo-centric view: foreign filmgoers associated Bogart with a different, dubbed voice, thereby rendering his original voice strange. (A sentence to this effect was added to the paperback edition submitted here.) Thus it is the *attribution* of body to voice that is critical: the act of seeing and hearing re-embodies the voice, imputes to it a new corporeality, endowing it with presence and materiality. We do not just hear the body in the voice, we place it there. So Stephen Hawking's robotic American voice (see Output 3) is now saturated with his contorted British body: the pairing of the two has become naturalised.

#### **7.4 Sound art and the digital voice**

Sound has long played a part in art, from the Futurists' use of noise (Toop, 2000) to more recent work by Meredith Monk, Gregory Whitehead, Disinformation (otherwise known as

Joe Banks (2012), who explored electronic voice phenomena through his Rorschach Audio project) and Scanner (otherwise known as Robin Rimbaud, who scanned voices from overheard phone conversations, rendering them unrecognisable and transforming them into narratives of his own, Karpf 1999). Output 4 was a detailed analysis of an installation by Smadar Dreyfus, which explored the voice's enactment of social and physical space in public situations and its articulation in a certain moment in time (Dreyfus, 2009). 'Mother's Day' is "a remarkable example of the voice acting on public space" (Dreyfus, 2009, p.19), implicating the viewer-listener in the event so that they are placed simultaneously within it and without. Output 4 explored the relation between sound and sight in the piece, between on-screen and off-screen space, and the role played by the voice in both anchoring and destabilising meaning. Art deploying voice generally acts in the opposite way to the radio or classical film voice: to sever it from its semantic charge, to play with vocalicity. In Dreyfus's work, resonance and signification flirt with each other.

Sound and voice have erupted into public space over the past decade: in London alone, from Bruce Nauman's *Raw Materials* (Borthwick, 2004), which filled the Tate's Turbine Hall with disembodied voices, chants and gasps; to Lavinia Greenlaw's *Audio Obscura*, a sound piece enabling the overhearing of snippets of phone conversations in St Pancras Station (Artangel, 2011); to talking statues (Talkingstatues, 2014); to the soundwalk (Soundwalk, 2015), streets, halls and buildings have resonated to the sound of the recorded voice. Spoken word poetry and performance poets have grown in popularity. The international success of *Serial*, in which a dozen podcasts investigated a 1999 Baltimore murder, led some people to hail a new medium; to others it sounded suspiciously like an old one, radio.

The digitalised voice was seized upon as a chance to perfect the human voice, for example with *Auto-Tune*, the pitch correction technology that enables producers and sound engineers to 'correct' the flat notes or off-key sound of a singer's voice (Antares, 2015). At the same time, new sound technologies have allowed every vocal tic and breath to become audible (Macallan and Plain, 2010). As Output 3 suggested, the voice is now infinitely malleable, its potential transformations unlimited. Increasingly the voices of appliances and machines can be customised: the voice of Siri, the Apple 'virtual assistant', can be changed from a man's to a woman's and its accent switched. It will surely not be long before it is possible for consumers to alter other features of synthetic voices, to pick your own pitch, call up a cadence. (There are people already today with a well-developed sense of irony who are trying to make their Siri sound like Stephen Hawking.) Output 8 also argued that new technologies have enabled oral historians to make their recordings accessible and searchable in their original form, thus endowing the aural with the pliability of text and eroding the differences between the written and the aural.

Today, some people some of the time will be more exposed to disembodied, electronically-mediated or digital voices than embodied ones. What then of the voice and body, or Barthes's 'grain of the voice' (Barthes, 1977)? This begins to seem like a serious over-

simplification. Even if it evokes a phantasmatic body, the electronic voice has a presence of its own. "Each technology brings its own materiality, albeit in ways that are very different from the materiality of the voice eulogised by Roland Barthes" (Neumark et al, 2010 p.3).

To some, a vocal interchange with a synthetic voice can never constitute 'real' human communication, but it is more fruitful, perhaps, to investigate the irresistible tendency to anthropomorphise such voices and the ways in which they become naturalised over time. LaBelle (2014) is surely right when he suggests that shifts in technology bring with them "new configurations of embodiment, and, in addition, resituate how voicing comes to make incarnate a sense of self" (p.147).

## 8. Conclusion

The originality, coherence and significance of the submission lies in its sustained attempt to trace, over a wide range of different substantive areas (including radio history, oral history, art criticism, psychoanalysis) and using a range of research methods, the enduring importance of the human voice. It also lies in the attempt to situate the voice as both a topic and a resource in psycho-social studies, an approach that has rarely been applied to the auditory realm. Modifying the 'ocularcentrist' argument, it proposes instead that it is our auditory lexicon that is impoverished rather than modern vocality itself.

The outputs have developed from an initial exploration of the role of the emblematic broadcast voice of an influential individual (Output 1), through analysis of the ways in which the voice is gendered (Outputs 2, 3, 5 and 7) and of the role of the voice in the attunement of infant and carer (Output 3), to the voice as a binding and unbinding agent for individuals and social groups (Outputs 4 and 6), its relative neglect by oral historians (Output 8), finally returning to the voice of another influential individual broadcaster in an exploration of its origin and power (Output 9).

Together they demonstrate how, in diverse fields and debates, the speaking voice has been consistently ignored, marginalised or reduced to its semantic 'cargo', and its role as a research resource undervalued. Despite this discursive absence, the outputs contest the prevalent idea that the audible voice has been displaced by the text and the image and modern culture 'devoiced'. Marshalling a wide diversity of primary and secondary sources, they show, rather, a re-voicing aided by technological change. Unlike much work 'championing' the voice, however, the submission resists idealising or essentialising the voice, or the polarisation of eye and ear, and stresses its performative and constantly changing character, as well as its gendered nature.

The commentary situates the submission in phenomenology and theories of embodiment, but also in the field of psycho-social studies, discussing the ways in which this emerging transdisciplinary strand can enrich research the study of the voice by permitting access to

both its individual psychic and discursive elements. It argues that the application of object relations theory to the study of voice has the potential to generate fresh insights, notwithstanding the methodological problems posed by the application of psychoanalytic ideas beyond the clinic, as well as by the very nature of the voice itself. Exploring debates around the voice but also silences, it suggests that the outputs occupy an area largely absent from both sound studies and voice studies. It also discusses the ways in which major thinkers, from Merleau-Ponty to Bourdieu, and Butler to Ahmed, seem to sidle up to the speaking voice and then turn on their heels, proposing not only that the work of these theorists can enrich our understanding of voice but also that a sense of voice might add interesting additional elements to their analysis. Might the time arise when voice is included routinely in any consideration of channels of communication? The commentary ends by exploring some ways in which the voice is culturally constituted but also remains a key modality of media and artistic output.

Evidence of the originality and significance of the work can be found in the wide range of references among a remarkably divergent span of texts that Output 3 alone has attracted. These include books on neuroscience (Scott, 2009), oral history (Trower, 2011), radio history (Loviglio and Hilmes, 2013; Ehrick, 2015), voice studies (Clifford Turner, 2007; Cook, 2011), technology (Suisman and Strasser, 2009), sociolinguistics (Coulmas, 2013), soundscapes (Bjsterveld, 2013), art history (Chare, 2012), sound studies (Birdsall and Ennis, 2011), Caribbean studies (Bronfman and Grant Wood, 2012) and rhetoric (Beetz, 2009). At the time of writing Google Scholar lists 799 citations for Output 3 since its publication in 2006: included in them are articles in journals of mass communications (Vlăduțescu, 2013), popular music (Duffett, 2011), cochlear implants (Valente, 2011), cultural studies (Pedelty and Kuecker, 2014) and literary studies (Smith, 2011). The resonance of this output alone has been considerable.

The submission is both part of, and a significant contribution to, a growing interest in the auditory realm,<sup>21</sup> and an invitation to the 'deep listening' called for by Bull and Back (p.3), to the development of what T.S. Eliot called the 'auditory imagination' ("the feeling for syllable and rhythm, penetrating far below the conscious levels of thought and feeling", Eliot, 1987, pp. 118-119), and an echoing of Cavarero's plea for a 'reevaluation of the vocalic' (Cavarero, 2005, p.198). Unusually in matters of the voice, however, it explores these ideas both empirically and theoretically, at both the situated, individual level and the social and cultural, emphasising their indissolubility.

The corpus submitted here continues to develop, most recently in a keynote address to a conference on voices and books (Karpf, 2015) which considered reading aloud as a site of both pleasure and disdain. It argued that the parental or carer's voice is generally a medium

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<sup>21</sup> Including in some surprising quarters, such as the field of teaching practices in early modern Europe: the vocal expression of pupils is one focus of an international conference on 'The Words of Pupils in Early Modern Europe (15th-17th century)', taking place in France in 2016.

for soothing but also the conduit of a stream of requests, demands and interdictions. In reading aloud to the child, however, the parental voice is revealed as capable of moving far beyond such often seemingly fixed states. This not only enable the child to experience a range of different emotional experiences vicariously but also reveals the adult voice as malleable, containing within it a plurality of other possible voices and hence a sense of possibility itself. The switch between voices by the adult reading to the child thus becomes a thrilling enactment of potentiality.

The lexicon used by the corpus also continues to develop. One participant at the conference on voices and books ventured that the word 'orality' might be part of the problem since it has come to stand in implicit opposition to literacy and the text, connoting an earlier stage, both individually and culturally, and a kind of infantilising of the oral; perhaps 'vocality' should be used instead.<sup>22</sup> Certainly in a digital age the use of the term 'embodied voice' to signal its non-metaphoric meaning can no longer be sustained.

This submission, therefore, is an inquiry into the extraordinarily rich, diverse, enduring and polyphonic capacities of the audible, speaking human voice.

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<sup>22</sup> Thanks to Jennifer Richards for this valuable observation.

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## Appendix

## List of publication submitted for PhD by prior output

1. Karpf, A., 1988, *Doctoring the Media: The Reporting of Health and Medicine*, pp.42-48. London: Routledge

*Output 1 is an extract from a single-authored book examining the representation of health and medicine in the media. The section included here, part of a historical chapter entitled 'Health talk: 1928-1962', analyses the role played by Charles Hill, the wartime Radio Doctor, in raising public morale, and argues that his voice was a major contributing factor to his success on the airwaves. Although the book is 26 years old it remains widely cited; this output is included as an early example of the core argument developed in the submission: that voice be considered not simply in a metaphorical sense, to convey prominence and the articulation of an idea or position, but as an embodied signifier, with codes that carry collective meaning. It also links with Outputs 6 (on the voices of regular radio presenters) and Output 9 (on the radio broadcasts of Donald Winnicott).*

2. Karpf, A., 2000. Foreword. In: C. Mitchell, ed. 2000. *Women and radio: airing differences*. London: Routledge

*Although this output refers to the voice only in passing it signals another theme in the submission, that of the gendered nature of the voice, and the ways in which women's public voices underwent significant change at the end of the 20th century. It developed out of two earlier published papers on women and radio (Karpf 1980 and Karpf 1987). Its argument about the difficulty of analysing radio as a medium, owing to both its ubiquity and its simultaneous existence as a public and intimate sphere, was later in Output 3 applied to the voice itself. The book remains the single most important and quoted text on women and radio.*

3. Karpf, A., 2006. *The Human Voice*. London: Bloomsbury

*Output 3 is at the heart of the submission. Chapters originated as papers for Sounding Out, Nottingham 2004 and PEVOC (Pan-European Voice Conference), London 2005. With sections on gender, culture and the public voice, it made the case for the continuing centrality of the embodied and mass-mediated human voice in a supposedly visual and 'post-oral' era. In addition to a synthesis of a wide range of literature on the voice and a critique of some of the most salient voice studies, it suggested that researchers should shift their focus away from the longstanding practice of 'factoring out' both an individual speaker's vocal style and the context in which they were speaking. It argued instead for a focus on the sophisticated development of voice-reading skills from an early age and a psycho-social understanding of the relationship of the speaker with his or her own voice. Fifty open-ended interviews in the UK and USA were deployed to provide examples of this approach. The book, designed to appeal to a general as well as scholarly readership, has*

*appeared on reading-lists at universities around the world; been discussed by the author on radio programmes in the UK (including an hour-long BBC radio programme 'Archive on 4: Speaking Like a Woman' on the history of women's voices on air), USA and Australia (where a half-hour ABC 'Lingua Franca' programme was given over to discussion of it); and been cited in books and articles on gender, oral history, film studies, vocal arts, emotion studies and nonverbal communication. It has led to invitations to speak at universities and seminars in Glasgow, Rome, Paris, Stockholm, London, Oslo and Stavanger, and was also published in the USA (New York: Bloomsbury USA, 2006) and, in translation, in Germany (Berlin: Lübbe, 2008), Japan (Toyko: Soshisha, 2008) and France (Paris: Autrement, 2008). It was also, together with the other more recent outputs submitted here, the basis of one of the two impact case studies in the recent REF submission of the School of Media, Culture and Communications at London Metropolitan University.*

4. Karpf, A., 2009. *Bellowed Endearments and Echoes of Resistance: How the Voice Bonds and Unbinds in Smadar Dreyfus's 'Mother's Day'*, Magasin 3. [podcast] 27 October 2009. Available at < [http://www.magasin3.com/en/?attachment\\_id=10280](http://www.magasin3.com/en/?attachment_id=10280) > [Accessed 14 November 2014]. Transcript submitted.

*Output 4 is a podcast, given at the invitation of the Stockholm gallery Magasin 3. It is an analysis of 'Mother's Day', a large-scale installation (2006-8) by the Israeli-born artist Smadar Dreyfus, exhibited in the gallery at the time. The work is based on her recordings of greetings megaphoned between divided Druze families at a Mother's Day celebration at the Israeli-Syrian ceasefire line on the Golan Heights. It deconstructs Dreyfus's meditation on the voice in a contested public sphere and on the relationship between the audio and the visual, and explores the impact of this rupture of sight and sound on both the protagonists but also on viewers denied a stable audio space. Submitted here is an edited transcript of the podcast because, as Dreyfus demonstrates, written and spoken discourse differ.*

5. Karpf, A., 2012. 'C'est Bien Une Femme Qui Parle': Du Préjugé A L'Androgynie. La Voix Dans La Sphère Publique. In: Anne-Marie Bernon-Gerth et al, eds. 2012. *Les médias à l'épreuve du réel*. Paris: Michel Houdiard Éditeur. Original and French translation submitted.

*Originally written as a paper for a conference in 2010 at l'Université Paris Diderot, Sorbonne Paris Cité, Output 5 develops two chapters from Output 3, demonstrating how we 'perform' gender through the voice. Despite the documented deepening of the female voice over a period of fifty years in the second half of the twentieth century and the increasing expressiveness of the male public voice, it argued that the voice has not become ungendered, but rather that, as gendered roles become more complex and contradictory, so too are the ways in which these are articulated through the voice. The output duplicates much of the material of Output 3 but is included here because it entailed*

*another layer of peer review and to demonstrate the international reach of the submission.*

6. Karpf, A., 2013. The Sound of Home? Some Thoughts on How the Radio Voice Anchors, Contains and Sometimes Pierces. *The Radio Journal*, 11 (1), pp. 59-73

*Output 6 emerged from a paper given at an ESRC-funded 'Media and the Inner World' seminar in London in 2011. It suggested that the concept of 'containment', as developed variously by Wilfred Bion and Esther Bick, might go some way to explain the powerful role that the voice of the radio presenter can play in the regular listener's internal world, with the capacity both to 'hold' the listener together, and to transform overwhelming fears into more manageable feelings. It argued that the disembodied radio voice does this partly because it recalls the prenatal power of the maternal voice, and partly through the temporal order that regular radio voices impose on the internal and external world.*

7. Karpf, A., 2013. *Spoken Like a Woman*. [Radio programme], BBC, Radio 4, 'Archive on 4', broadcast 2 February 2013, 20.00.

*This hour-long broadcast, researched, written and presented by Karpf, traced the history of women's broadcast voices, with examples drawn from the BBC Sound Archive and original interviews conducted by Karpf. It was chosen as the Radio Times 'Pick of the Week' and selected by the Controller of Radio 4 to be available 'in perpetuity' on the BBC website <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00hq8dq/episodes/player>> but a CD of the programme also accompanies the submission.*

8. Karpf, A., 2014. The human voice and the texture of experience. *Oral History*, 42 (2), pp. 50-55

*Originating as a keynote presentation at the Oral History Society annual conference at the University of Strathclyde in 2009, Output 8 discussed oral historians' alacrity in transcribing what they record, maintaining that this reflects both the devaluation of the oral even among historians for whom it constitutes their chief mode of gathering material, but also the methodological challenges thrown up by attempting to 'read' the oral. It suggested, however, that new digital technologies had the potential to breach the chasm between the spoken and the written.*

*The paper formed part of a keynote presentation at a conference in Newcastle in July 2015, 'Voices and Books, 1500-1800', on reading aloud.*

9. Karpf, A., 2014. Constructing and Addressing 'the Ordinary Devoted Mother': Donald Winnicott's BBC Broadcasts, 1943-62. *History Workshop Journal*, 78 (1), pp. 82-106

*Output 9 was based on a year-long research project, funded by the Winnicott Trust, conducted in the BBC Written Archives, Caversham, as well archives in London and New York, and a subsequent paper given at a research seminar at the Institute of Historical*

*Research, Psychoanalysis and History strand, at the University of London. It argued that the publication of the 50 radio broadcasts made by the psychoanalyst Donald Winnicott in a bestselling book, 'The Child, the Family and the Outside World' (1964), had the effect of erasing their oral and institutional origins and dehistoricising them. The paper traced the emergence of Winnicott as a broadcaster and the part played by his communicative skills. It also analysed the contribution that Winnicott's voice made to the success of the broadcasts, and his role in the development of the radio talk.*

*The paper formed the basis of a feature about Winnicott by Karpf for The Guardian, and an hour-long 'Archive on 4' programme for BBC Radio 4, written and presented by Karpf, on Winnicott's broadcasts, which included an interview with one of his producers about his voice (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b01s7v7b>). It also formed the basis of a presentation by Karpf at 'Donald Winnicott and the History of the Present', a conference organised by the Winnicott Trust and the British Psychoanalytic Society that took place in November 2015 to celebrate the publication of the collected works of Winnicott, and will be included in a collection of papers from the conference to be published by Karnac Books. A shortened, recorded version of the output will be posted as a podcast on the Oxford University Press website in 2016 to coincide with the publication of the collected works. It will also constitute the core of a presentation at a weekend on Winnicott in May 2016 at the Washington Center for Psychoanalysis, as well as a public lecture in Washington DC.*

