

‘Where Did That Voice Come From?’

The ‘Mismatched’ Voices of Girls
in TV Talent Competitions

Melissa Morton

PhD Candidate, Music, University of Edinburgh

Recommended Music to accompany this article:

‘Gloomy Sunday,’ by Billie Holiday, performed by
Angelina Jordan

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rI6ZhRk86Hs&t=1s>

‘Nessun dorma,’ from *Turandot*, composed by Giacomo Puccini,
performed by Laura Bretan

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W3Mn_WbB0mo

‘O mio babbino caro,’ from *Gianni Schicchi*, composed by
Giacomo Puccini, performed by Jackie Evancho

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3d_XTvLalJk

‘O mio babbino caro,’ from *Gianni Schicchi*, composed by
Giacomo Puccini, performed by Amira Willighagen

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qDqTBIKU4CE&t=322s>

'Where Did That Voice Come From?'

The 'Mismatched' Voices of Girls in TV Talent Competitions

This essay tells the story of four unique yet strikingly similar moments.

On Saturday 10 August 2010, *America's Got Talent's* eleven million viewers encountered an unusual audition. Ten-year-old Jackie Evancho—a tiny girl dressed in pink—stood in the centre of a vast stage and sang Puccini's '*O mio babbino caro*', her voice filled with vibrato, eyebrows raised with emotion, arms gesturing outwards towards her audience. Once she reached her final triumphant note, show host Nick Cannon joined her on stage, exclaiming: 'where did that voice come from?' The judges were similarly flummoxed; Piers Morgan asked her incredulously: 'are you sure you're not thirty?'

Three years later, *Holland's Got Talent* claimed a comparable discovery. Nine-year-old Amira Willighagen's assured and polished performance of the same aria received equally shocked reactions. Competition judge Gordon Heuckeroth declared: 'it's not normal, it's unbelievable!' As the entire studio audience stood, cheering, Heuckeroth raised up the coveted 'golden ticket', immediately promoting Willighagen to the competition's final.

In the 2014 series of *Norway's Got Talent*, eight-year-old Angelina Jordan, with frizzy dark hair and a white dress, walked barefoot onto the stage. She sang 'Gloomy Sunday' by Billie Holiday, uncannily emulating Holiday's mournful, grainy voice, prompting competition judge Omer Bhatti to declare: 'I think you are an old soul, that has lived many lives'.

In 2016, thirteen-year-old Laura Bretan auditioned with Puccini's '*Nessun dorma*' for *America's Got Talent*. When Bretan reached the climatic '*vincero*', drawn out and laden with vigorous vibrato, the audience stood and cheered, as golden confetti rained from above. Nick Cannon returned on stage to reiterate the question he had addressed to Evancho six years previously: 'where did that voice come from?'^[1]

Where do our voices come from? In what way is our voice really *ours*, a possession of our own? What forms of social and cultural functions do voices perform? These are questions that have long troubled philosophers and musicologists. However, the preponderance of child singers on the stages of televised talent shows has propelled these questions into the heart of popular culture. When the voice we hear does not seem to match the body we see, this exposes the fragile and precarious nature of the relationship between voice, body and subjectivity.

Televised talent shows have been preoccupied with 'mismatched' singers of all ages and genders, and previous 'mismatched' male contestants of note include 40-year-old Carphone Warehouse employee Paul Potts and 24-year-old male soprano Greg Pritchard.^[2] However, 'mismatched girls', as a socially constructed category, have attracted a particularly significant degree of notice and controversy. We therefore need to enquire whether there is something in particular about the female child's voice that encourages such representational significance. In positing the concept of the 'mismatched girl', I refer to Fleeger's important book, *Mismatched Women*, in which she traces a history of women with voices that fail to 'match' their bodies.^[3] To Fleeger, who adopts an approach

[1] YouTube clips of the auditions are available at: Evancho: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3d_XTvLaJk>. Willighagen: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qDqTBIKU4CE&t=322s>>. Jordan: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rI6ZhRk86Hs&t=1s>>. Bretan: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W3Mn_WbB0mo>. [All accessed Jun 25, 2019].

[2] Potts' audition can be viewed at: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dnp-8GrHOIk>>. [Accessed Jun 27, 2019]. Pritchard's audition can be viewed at: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P-ZjOEK4-dI&t=121s>>. [Accessed Jun 27, 2019].

[3] Jennifer Fleeger, *Mismatched women: The siren's song through the machine*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

“Where do our voices come from? In what way is our voice really ours, a possession of our own? What forms of social and cultural functions do voices perform?”

based on feminist psychoanalysis, these women are subversive. Mismatched women, by defying expectations of how they should sound, expose and transcend the superficial logic of patriarchy, by which women are typically valued on their appearances. In this essay, I expand upon Fleeger’s thesis that mismatched women, and therefore mismatched girls, refuse to fit within conventional categories. However, rather than taking a psychoanalytical approach, I consider the voice from social and cultural perspectives, consistent with more recent musicological theories about voice as a performance of individual and collective identities.^[4] This essay therefore aims to locate the voices of mismatched girls within the cultural and social contexts of their performances, demonstrating the ways in which they become symbols for our understandings of girlhood, authenticity and liveness.

Where does voice come from?

Voices are often considered to encapsulate an individual’s identity or sense of selfhood. In philosophy, voice has been defined by Adriana Cavarero as a ‘nucleus of uniqueness’ and by Mladen Dolar as a ‘fingerprint, instantly recognizable and identifiable’.^[5] However, we are often fooled; ventriloquists, radio impersonators, and mismatched singers all confound

[4] see: Nina Eidsheim. *Sensing Sound: Singing and Listening as Vibrational Practise*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015); Suzanne Cusick, ‘On Musical Performances of Gender and Sex’, in *Audible Traces*, ed. Elaine Barkin and Lydia Hamesley (Zürich: Carciofoli Verlagshaus, 1999); Amanda Weidman, ‘Anthropology and Voice’, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 43, (2014): 37-51.

[5] Adrianna Cavarero. *For More Than One Voice: Toward a Philosophy of Vocal Expression*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 2; Mladen Dolar. *A Voice and Nothing More*. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press: 2006), 22.

the expected relationship between voices and their bodily sources. These examples reveal that voice is in fact always a performance, that voices and bodies are perpetually incongruent with one another. As Suzanne Cusick states, we often mistakenly 'assume that physical behaviour inside the body's borders cannot be "performances"'.^[6] However, recent work in musicology, emphasising the embodied and physical nature of sound, has demonstrated that voice is in fact performed. The act of singing or speaking is made up of a series of processes, all of which are intensely modifiable—the compression of the lungs, vibrations of the vocal folds and the filtering of sound by the vocal tract. Diana Sidtis and Jody Kreiman argue that skilled manipulations of this anatomy 'can produce extreme or unrecognizable versions of a person's voice'.^[7] In fact, the differences within the voice of a single speaker can be as great as the differences between different speakers.^[8]

Mismatched girls highlight the performative nature of voice, as their voices seem to belong to someone else. Catherine Driscoll has drawn a parallel between emerging concepts of feminine adolescence and understandings of the self in the eighteenth century, and argues that the 'difficulty of becoming a subject, agent, or self-aware person' has 'continued to be perceived as considerably greater for girls'.^[9] Girls are often defined in liminal terms as 'in transition or in process'.^[10] Therefore, the liminal position of female child singers renders them ideal representations of the already fractured relationship between voices, bodies and selfhood.

Many fans even declare mismatched voices to be evidence of reincarnation: one representative comment suggests that Angelina Jordan has an 'old soul trapped in a small girl's body'.^[11] Mismatched girls thus play with notions of selfhood as they contribute to the circulation and reanimation of the voices of others, reminding their fans of familiar, bygone singers. Jordan, who performed Billie Holiday's 'Gloomy Sunday', evokes comments such as: 'this is Billie Holiday reincarnate' and

[6] Cusick, 'On Musical Performances of Gender and Sex', 29.

[7] Jody Kreiman and Diana Sidtis. *Foundations of Voice Studies: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Voice Production and Perception*. (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell: 2011), 66.

[8] *Ibid.*, 71.

[9] Catherine Driscoll. *Girls: Feminine Adolescence in Popular Culture and Cultural Theory*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 50.

[10] *Ibid.*, 6.

[11] Comment on Angelina Jordan. 'Angelina Jordan 7 year old sings Gloomy Sunday by Billie Holiday - Norways Got Talent 2014,' *YouTube*, posted by TV2, Mar 10, 2014. Available at: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rI6ZhRk86Hs&t=1s>>. Retrieved Jun 28, 2019.

'a tiny Amy Winehouse in there'.^[12] This discourse also found its way into journalism; one newspaper headline read: '8-Year-Old Reincarnates The Soul Of Billie Holiday'.^[13] Similarly, during Amira Willighagen's audition, judge Gordon Heuckeroth said to her: 'They say that old souls live on in people and when I hear you sing you sound just like Maria Callas'.

In this way, the voices of mismatched girls allude to what Jason Stanyek and Benjamin Piekut call the 'intermundane', the 'interpenetration between the worlds of living and dead'.^[14] Musicologists have long associated recording technology with the intermundane. For example, Jonathan Sterne draws a parallel between the invention of recording technology in the nineteenth century and Victorian practices of embalming the dead.^[15] Framed in this way, sound recording does not only preserve sound, but is believed to preserve some kind of 'essence' of the individual. According to this conception of recording technology, the personhood and subjectivity of singers like Holiday and Callas are circulated and 'reanimated' beyond their lifetime and control. This is what Stanyek and Piekut describe as the 'distributed nature of personhood'.^[16] Mismatched girls are also inseparable from recording technology—all four claim to have had no training, and learnt to sing from watching YouTube videos of famous singers, both live and dead. Only through listening to recordings of now-deceased singers can mismatched girls imitate their voices and can audiences perceive this temporal juxtaposition as a 'reincarnation'. Therefore, for some viewers, mismatched girls, as representations of an 'in-between' or 'liminal' state, appear almost able to transcend boundaries between themselves and others, and between the living and the dead.

In sum, voice is a culturally learned performance, and a single speaker can 'perform' multiple voices. Consequently, a 'natural' voice does not exist. However, in the second half of this essay I will argue that *Got Talent* attempts to naturalise the performed nature of voice, often in order to mitigate

[12] Ibid.

[13] Martinez, Olga '8-Year-Old Reincarnates The Soul Of Billie Holiday,' *Epoch Times*, Jan 30 (2016). Available at: <https://www.theepochtimes.com/8-year-old-incarnates-the-soul-of-billie-holiday_1953930.html>. [Accessed Jun 28, 2019].

[14] Jason Stanyek and Benjamin Piekut, 'Deadness: Technologies of the Intermundane,' *The Drama Review*, vol. 51, no. 1. (2010), 14.

[15] Jonathan Sterne, *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Reproduction*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), 298.

[16] Stanyek and Piekut, 'Deadness', 20.

accusations of technological 'trickery', reassuring the audience that they really are hearing 'live' voices.

Sonic girlhood and liveness

In televised talent shows, practices of lip-syncing and AutoTune are derided, deemed as trickery and cheating.^[17] As Paul Sanden states, performances that 'display the least amount of technological "interference" are valued over' those in which technological mediation 'is audible'.^[18] Accordingly, the way in which *Got Talent* is produced aims to convince the audience that the contestants' voices indisputably 'come from' the bodies of the singers. In this way, a lack of technological manipulation is aligned with authenticity. Fans of mismatched girls frequently debate the authenticity of their voices.

Some show distrust, for example:

This was a phony performance, this child was not singing.... She was lip-syncing.^[19]

How is that possible! It sounds dubbed!^[20]

Others praise the voices as 'natural':

Magnificent raw untrained talent.^[21]

She has ... a rare talent from a place beyond our comprehension.^[22]

To mitigate accusations of 'dubbing', the show relies on a constructed sense of liveness. Like Sanden, I consider liveness not as a characteristic of musical performance, but as a cultural discourse.^[23] Liveness is a concept that describes attributes of performances that are often not temporally 'live',

[17] Fleeger, *Mismatched women*, 167.

[18] Paul Sanden, *Liveness in Modern Music: Musicians, Technology, and the Perception of Performance*. (New York; London: Routledge, 2013), 35.

[19] Laurie Melisurgo, 'Was young singer Jackie Evancho lip-syncing on 'America's Got Talent?' *N7.com*. Aug 11, 2010. Available at: <https://www.nj.com/entertainment/tv/2010/08/was_young_singer_jackie_evanch.html>.

[20] Comment on Jackie Evancho, 'Jackie Evancho first audition Americas Got Talent full,' *YouTube*, published Sep 14, 2010. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3d_XTvLaJk>.

[21] Comment on Amira Willighagen, 'Amira Willighagen - O Mio Babbino Caro,' *YouTube*, published Nov 6, 2013. Available at: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qDqTBIKU4CE&t=322s>>.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] Sanden, *Liveness*.

such as in the case of a 'live recording' of a concert. Today, in 2020, when I watch a YouTube clip of Evancho's audition from 2010, I hear a voice that has been converted by a microphone into electrical signals, transduced again into sound through the loudspeakers in the auditorium, recorded, mixed and edited by the production team, digitised as a stream of data and uploaded onto the Internet, and processed and re-produced by my laptop's speakers. Meanwhile, the image of Evancho's body has made its own journey: the footage from multiple cameras from multiple locations in the hall was edited and spliced together and uploaded as a data stream. Nonetheless, *Got Talent* needs to convey to me, the viewer, that there is something inherently live about this video, that somehow I am experiencing the true and unadulterated sound of Evancho's voice. Since their voices seem to come from somewhere else, mismatched girls are particularly subject to accusations of fakery and technological manipulation. Authentication is therefore particularly necessary in cases of 'vocal mismatch', where the voice appears incongruous to the body.

The production team of *Got Talent* actively attempts to reassure its audience that they are experiencing real voices, emerging from real bodies. For example, after her semi-final performance, Evancho was asked to sing '*a capella*' to prove that she was singing live.^[24] Judge Howie Mandel then emphasised: '[the voice] is coming out of you'.^[25] The girls themselves also depict their voices as natural. Jordan states that 'singing is as important as breathing to me', whilst Evancho declares that 'music and singing to me is the reason I exist'.^[26] Rather than portraying singing as a culturally learned and physiologically complex performance, mismatched girls and their fans present singing as innate—as 'natural' as breathing.

Dana Gorzelany-Mostak argues that, to offset the 'mature' aspects of Evancho's voice, mistakes and vocal imperfections enact a 'sonically constituted juvenation strategy', assuring us that her voice is 'real'.^[27] This is reflected in the performances of all four girls, who take frequent breaths,

[24] Jackie Evancho, 'JACKIE EVANCHO proves she is Not LIP SYNC-TOP 10- Americas got talent', *YouTube*, published Aug 12, 2010. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Di_ylb-eT5Y>.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Angelina Jordan, 'Angelina Jordan - News Feature - Norway - 2016 (subtitled)', *YouTube*, posted Jul 14, 2016. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3XXFu_V8Lcs>.

Jackie Evancho, 'Jackie Evancho Opens Up About Her Body Dysmorphia | EXTENDED', *YouTube*, posted Feb 15, 2019. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N5qq_JpbMUQ>.

[27] Dana Gorzelany-Mostak, 'The curse of the '*O mio bambino caro*': Jackie Evancho as prodigy, diva, and ideal girl', in *Voicing girlhood in Popular music: Performance, Authority, Authenticity*, edited by Jacqueline Warwick and Allison Adrian, (New York; London: Routledge, 2016), 379.5.

“Rather than portraying singing as a culturally learned and physiologically complex performance, mismatched girls and their fans present singing as innate—as ‘natural’ as breathing.”

often in the middle of words and phrases. For example, in Willighagen’s performance of ‘*O mio babbino caro*’ she breathes in almost every bar, reassuring us of her child’s lungs, despite her powerful voice and fast vibrato.

When we hear a certain voice as ‘youthful’, this may not only be the product of internal physiological conditions. Stras, Driscoll, and Pecknold have theorised ‘sonic girlhood’ as a performed and deliberately exaggerated vocal timbre, examining girl singers in North American popular music from 1960s girl groups such as The Shirelles, to present-day stars Rebecca Black and Taylor Swift. Regardless of age, these singers perform sonic attributes of ‘girlhood’, including ‘vocal fry’ or ‘glottal rattle’, and timbres that are ‘grating’, ‘hoarse’, and ‘breathy’.^[28]

In the cases of Evancho, Willighagen, and Bretan, their decision to sing opera arias distances them from performances of girlhood in popular music, instead signifying ‘maturity’ or ‘sonic womanliness’.^[29] However, moments of imperfection allow the audience to temporarily witness ‘girl’ vocality. In Evancho’s audition, this is manifested in her high-pitched intakes of breath at the beginning of phrases, and the occasional intonation mistakes. For example, the F on the final syllable (‘ro’) of the first phrase ‘*o mio babbino caro*’ becomes sharp as she runs out of breath towards the end of the bar.^[30] Willighagen also alters ‘*O mio babbino caro*’. Her strong Dutch accent permeates the performance, and she often mispronounces lyrics. For example, the line ‘*a comperar l’anello*’ becomes ‘*ha compertar l’ainello*’ and in general, the ‘o’ sounds are lengthened to ‘oo’.^[31] Roland

[28] Pecknold, ‘These Stupid Little Sounds in Her Voice’, 46.

[29] Gaylyn Studlar, *Precocious Charms: Stars Performing Girlhood in Classical Hollywood Cinema*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 110.

[30] Evancho, ‘Jackie Evancho first audition’, 00:01:57.

[31] Willighagen ‘Amira Willighagen’, 00:02:18.

Barthes might argue that we hear the 'grain' of Willighagen's body, 'speaking its mother tongue'.^[32] In this way, the performance is authentically individuated, tethered to Willighagen's 'live' body.

In Angelina Jordan's performance of Billie Holiday's 'Gloomy Sunday', the occasional verbal slip or wobble in her voice function as authentication strategies. For example, she omits the word 'are' in the line: 'Dearest the shadows I live with are numberless', and rather than 'would they be angry' she sings 'would make me angry', rendering these lines almost nonsensical.^[33] Moreover, she often breathes in the middle of phrases, such as in the long rising phrase 'I wake and I find you asleep in the deep of my (breath) heart'. This phrase, which extends over four bars and rises through the interval of a minor seventh from b to a', is the emotional and musical climax of the song. The wheezing of Jordan's voice as she gasps for air in the middle of the phrase reinforces her emotional authenticity as well as her youthfulness.

Laura Bretan also makes linguistic errors in her performance of '*Nessun dorma*', omitting several syllables in the first phrase. Since most of her verbal omissions occur during the first phrase, we can assume that these mistakes are caused by the breathless excitement of being on stage. In addition to signalling a girlish 'breathy' timbre as described above, these breaks in the phrase also point to the liveness of her performance. Vocal imperfections that imply nervousness inspire identification with audience members—one YouTube fan writes to Bretan: 'I cringed and started crying for you with fear and terror'.^[34] As Wayne Koestenbaum notes, imperfection carries identifying power, since the 'possibility of failure' gives 'fans a function'.^[35] He states that we 'imagine that the note's wretched aspects are a mirror, reflecting the greedy demands we make of the singer, and asking us: "How would you manage such a note?"'^[36] Therefore, imperfections also facilitate a form of emotional 'liveness' and immediacy.

[32] Roland Barthes 'The Grain of the Voice,' in S. Heath (trans. and ed.) *Image-Music-Text*. (London: Fontana, 1977), 182.

[33] Jordan, 'Angeline Jordan 7 year old sings' 00:01:26.

[34] Comment on Laura Bretan 'Laura Bretan : 13 Year Old Opera Singer Gets the Golden Buzzer - America's Got Talent 2016,' *YouTube*, published by LondonProductions S.A., Jul 6, 2016. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W3Mn_WbB0mo>.

[35] Wayne Koestenbaum, *The Queen's Throat: Opera, Homosexuality and the Mystery of Desire*. (London: Poseidon Press, 1993), 137.

[36] *Ibid.*, 139.

“Through her uncanny combination of multiple vocal identities, the mismatched girl refuses to be categorised, occupying a perplexing state of in-betweenness and incongruity”

Conclusion

In all four auditions, the ‘live’ and juvenated sound of girlhood I have described is uncomfortably positioned alongside the girls’ imitations of the ‘old souls’ of adult singers including Callas and Holiday. The instances of ‘girl’ vocalicity the occasional slip or imperfection—thus function as reassuring moments of sonic ‘girlhood’. Through her uncanny combination of multiple vocal identities, the mismatched girl refuses to be categorised, occupying a perplexing state of in-betweenness and incongruity. She is both young and old—her mature vocal performance is heard as a reincarnation of a bygone singer, and as the voice of a young girl, who breathes in the wrong place and mispronounces lyrics. Her voice appears to come from her own body and from somewhere else—it seems too big to emerge from a tiny girl’s body, but the sonic imperfections insist that the voice is real. Therefore, the phenomenon of the girl singer in televised talent shows enables us to consider cultural meanings of girlhood, authenticity, and talent. Ultimately, mismatched girls powerfully illustrate to their audiences that all voices are performed and multiple, and that the relationships between self, body and voice are fractured, complex and, often, illusory.

Bibliography

Barthes, Roland. 'The Grain of the Voice,' in *Image-Music-Text*, S. Heath (trans. and ed.) (London: Fontana, 1997), pp. 179–89.

Bretan, Laura. 'Laura Bretan : 13 Year Old Opera Singer Gets the Golden Buzzer - America's Got Talent 2016,' *You Tube*, published by LondonProductions S.A., Jul 6 (2016a) Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W3Mn_WbB0mo>. [Accessed Jun 28, 2019].

Bretan, Laura. 'America's Got Talent 2016 Finals Opera Singer Laura Bretan S11E22,' *You Tube*, published by Anthony Ying, Sep 14 (2016b) Available at: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rsnN4BqYRo0>>. [Accessed Jun 28, 2019].

Bretan, Laura. 'About Laura Bretan,' (2018) available at: <<https://www.laurabretanmusic.com>>. [Accessed June 28, 2019].

Cavarero, Adrianna. *For More than One Voice: Toward a Philosophy of Vocal Expression*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005).

Connor, Steven. *Dumbstruck: A Cultural History of Ventriloquism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Cusick, Suzanne. 'On Musical Performances of Gender and Sex,' in *Audible Traces*, edited by E. Barkin and L. Hamessley (Zürich: Carciofoli Verlagshaus, 1999).

Doane, Mary Ann. 'The Voice in the Cinema: the Articulation of Body and Space,' *Yale French Studies*, v. 60 (1980), pp. 35-50.

Dolar, Mladen. *A Voice and Nothing More* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006).

Driscoll, Catherine. *Girls: Feminine Adolescence in Popular Culture and Cultural Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

Dunsby, Jonathon. 'Roland Barthes and the Grain of Panzera's Voice,' *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, v. 134, n. 1 (2009), pp. 113–32.

Eidsheim, Nina. 'Sensing Voice,' *The Senses and Society*, v. 6, n. 2 (2011a) pp. 133-155.

Eidsheim, Nina. 'Marian Anderson and "Sonic Blackness" in American Opera,' *American Quarterly*, v. 63, n. 3 (2011b) pp. 641-671.

Eidsheim, Nina. 'Voice as Action: Towards a Model for Analyzing the Dynamic Construction of Racialized Voice,' *Current Musicology*, v. 93, n. 1 (2012), pp.7-31.

Eidsheim, Nina. 'The Micropolitics of Listening to Vocal Timbre,' *Postmodern Culture*, v. 24, n. 3 (2014), pp. 1–14.

Eidsheim, Nina. *Sensing Sound: Singing & Listening as Vibrational Practice* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015).

Evancho, Jackie. 'Jackie Evancho first audition Americas Got Talent full with result and comments.wmv,' *YouTube*, published by Kim Jenson (2010) Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3d_XTvLalJk>. [Accessed Jun 28, 2019].

Evancho, Jackie. 'JACKIE EVANCHO proves she is Not LIP SYNC-TOP 10- Americas got talentYou tube edition.-.mp4,' *YouTube*, posted by 'Weedlers4ever' (2010) Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Di_ylb-eT5Y>. [Accessed Jun 27, 2019].

Evancho, Jackie. 'Jackie Evancho The Oprah Winfrey Show HD,' *YouTube*, posted by arshcenter (2013). Available at: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uhA1FGpLZzg>>. [Accessed Jun 29, 2019].

Evancho, Jackie. 'Jackie Evancho performs for President Obama at the National Prayer Breakfast 2012,' *YouTube* (2016). Available at: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8tO3iaCwiJM>>. [Accessed June 23, 2019].

Evancho, Jackie. 'Jackie Evancho Opens Up About Her Body Dysmorphia | EXTENDED,' *YouTube*, posted by ET Canada (2019). Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N5qq_JpbMUQ>. [Accessed Jun 28, 2019].

Fleeger, Jennifer. *Mismatched women: The siren's song through the machine*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Gorzelay-Mostak, Dana. 'The curse of the 'O mio bambino caro': Jackie Evancho as prodigy, diva, and ideal girl', in *Voicing girlhood in Popular music: Performance, Authority, Authenticity*, edited by Jacqueline Warick and Allison Adrian (New York; London: Routledge, 2016).

Gorzelay-Mostak, Dana. 'Hearing girls, girls, girls on the 2016 campaign trail,' *Journal of Popular Music Studies*, v. 29, n. 3 (2017a) pp. n/a-n/a.

Gorzelay-Mostak, Dana. 'Hearing Jackie Evancho in the Age of Donald Trump,' *American Music*, v. 35, n. 4 (2017b) pp. 467-477.

Jordan, Angelina. 'Angelina Jordan 7 year old sings Gloomy Sunday by Billie Holiday - Norways Got Talent 2014,' *YouTube*, posted by TV2, (2014). Available at: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rI6ZhRk86Hs&t=1s>>. [Accessed Jun 28, 2019].

Jordan, Angelina. 'Angelina Jordan - News Feature - Norway - 2016 (subtitled),' *YouTube*, posted by pa1189w (2016). Available

at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3XXFu_V8Lcs>.
[Accessed Jun 28, 2019].

Koestenbaum, Wayne. *The Queen's Throat: Opera, Homosexuality and the Mystery of Desire*. (London: Poseidon Press, 1993).

Kreiman, Jody and Diana Sidtis. *Foundations of voice studies: an interdisciplinary approach to voice production and perception*. (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011).

Martinez, O. '8-Year-Old Reincarnates The Soul Of Billie Holiday,' *Epoch Times*, (2016). Available at: <https://www.theepochtimes.com/8-year-old-incarnates-the-soul-of-billie-holiday_1953930.html>. [Accessed Jun 28, 2019].

Meizel, Katherine. *Idolized: Music, Media, and Identity in American Idol*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011).

Pecknold, Diana. "'These Stupid Little Sounds in Her Voice': Valuing and Vilifying the New Girl Voice,' in *Voicing Girlhood in Popular Music: Performance, Authority, Authenticity*, edited by Jacqueline Warwick and Allison Adrian. (New York; London: Routledge, 2016).

Sanden, Paul. *Liveness in Modern Music: Musicians, Technology, and the Perception of Performance*. (New York; London: Routledge, 2013).

Stanyek, Jason and Benjamin Piekut. 'Deadness: Technologies of the Intermundane,' *The Drama Review*, v. 51, n. 1, (2010) pp. 14–38.

Sterne, Jonathon. *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Reproduction*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013).

Stras, Laurie. 'The organ of the Soul: Voice, Damage, and Affect,' in *Sounding Off: Theorizing Disability in Music*, edited by N. W. Lerner and J. N. Straus (New York; London: Routledge, 2006).

Stras, Laurie. *She's so Fine: Reflections on Whiteness, Femininity, Adolescence and Class in 1960s Music*. (Farham: Ashgate, 2010).

Warwick, Jacqueline and Allison Adrian. *Voicing Girlhood in Popular Music: Performance, Authority, Authenticity*. (London: Routledge, 2016).

Weidman, Amanda. 'Anthropology and Voice,' *Annual Review of Anthropology*, v. 43, (2014), pp. 37-51.

Willighagen, Amira. 'Amira Willighagen - O Mio Babbino Caro - for English-speaking viewers,' *YouTube*, posted by Talent Young Musicians, Nov 6, 2013. Available at: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qDqTBIKU4CE&t=322s>>. [Accessed 28 Jun, 2019].

Willighagen, Amira. "'Ave Amira" documentary by TV Gelderland Dec 2016 with English subtitles,' *YouTube*, published by Amira Willighagen | Official, Dec 30, 2016. Available at: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vN-DOKdIaxU>>. [Accessed Jun 29, 2019].

