Stylistic Refusal: A Case of Language Crossing?

Consequences of Stylistic Choices in a Social Media Discourse

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Abstract
Due to social media’s vast reach, platforms are created where participants of different speech communities interact. In these interactions, the role of language in conveying a credible identity is brought to light. This study investigates stylistic choices and consequences thereof in the YouTube video Bella Hadid goes Sneaker Shopping with Complex. Entering an established hip-hop speech community, Hadid is viewed as an out-group infiltrator. Through a qualitative approach, 150 of the most popular comments were collected, categorized and analysed to investigate how language, style and appropriation are addressed or made salient through explicit discussion. Applying Rampton’s theory of language crossing (1995), the data suggest that the participant’s stylistic choices led her to be perceived as a crosser with an illegitimate claim, causing commenters to voice a refusal. This study aims to bring attention to the often concealed negative effects of crossing, as well as discussing it in the context of power, privilege and legitimacy.

Key Words: Language & Identity, Crossing, Linguistic Appropriation, Refusal, Legitimacy, YouTube Comments
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**Appendix: Comments**
1. Introduction

Starting out as a print magazine in 2002 targeting the audience of young males, Complex has grown to become a media-platform that specializes in youth culture, fashion and lifestyle (Sternberg, 2012). Since joining YouTube in March 2016, their channel\(^1\) has accumulated approximately 870 million views as per 2018-11-21. Complex states that their videos “exemplify convergence culture, exploring topics that include music, sneakers, style, sports and pop culture” (Complex, n.d.). The channel offers access to various video-series, one of them titled “Sneaker Shopping”. In this series, host Joe La Puma interviews guests in different sneaker stores in the United States, asking questions that emphasise the participants’ relationship to sneakers as a part of their lifestyle. Among their 126 videos titled “Sneaker Shopping” at the time of writing (2018-11-21), they have hosted a variety of artists such as 50-cent, Big Sean, Tinashe, G-Easy, Eminem and Halsey, as well as athletes Usain Bolt, Jimmy Butler and Nick Young. Although the featured guests represent a variety of individuals, most of them share a connection as being prominent members of the hip-hop subculture. This connection mirrors the established link between hip-hop and sneakers: In the 80’s, rappers started influencing sneaker styles through collaborations and promotions and today, rappers may dictate what is in and what is out by affiliation alone (Albertini, 2018). Furthermore, it might be argued that participants in the series, as a part of the same subculture, represent a speech community according to Gumperz classification (2009, p. 66). While the concept of a speech community has a wide set of definitions and it is acknowledged that the size of one can vary greatly, within a speech community there must be a shared agreement on norms for language use. Other indicators that characterize a speech community are the speakers’ tendencies to choose similar alternatives when faced with choices to conduct meaning (ibid). Speech communities may also develop intentional differences from one another to form ‘secret languages’, limiting the comprehension of meaning to those within and simultaneously excluding out-group participants (Gumperz, 2009, p. 68).

In 2017, one particular episode of Complex’s “Sneaker Shopping” series featuring fashion model Bella Hadid went viral (Gonzales, 2017). The video was published on YouTube in October 2017 and has since then accumulated over 5.5 million views (2018-12-11). In the video, Hadid is interviewed by the host of the Sneaker Shopping series, Joe

\(^1\) https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCE_--R1P5-kfBzHTca0dsnw
La Puma, in the New York located clothing store Kith (Complex, 2017). Bella Hadid was announced as one of Nike’s Brand ambassadors in November 2016 (Gonzales, 2016), a company that is known for its sneakers. It is this partnership that might have led to Hadid’s appearance on the show; otherwise she lacks an apparent connection to the hip-hop community and thus deviates from the regular sort of guest featured on “Sneaker Shopping”. As one of Nike’s brand ambassadors, Hadid was asked about her shoe collection, attitudes towards different brands, expressing her personality through fashion and preferences in sneakers. Furthermore, the interview covered her style influences and favourite brands growing up, finishing with the video team following Hadid around the store picking out and buying her favourite sneakers. While the format of the video and the subjects discussed could be considered standard, the video’s comment section rapidly developed in a non-content related direction: Even at a first glance, it was clear that the comments oriented towards Hadid’s language use and style, that is, the form of what was being said rather than the content. Hadid’s use of one phrase in particular caught the YouTube viewers’ attention, uttered while she discussed different pairs of sneakers and insinuated that potential intimacy would depend on which sneakers a man would wear to an occasion:

“If homeboy’s coming through with these, it’s quiet, yeah no it’s quiet for him. But like, if he comes through in like these, you got some Air-maxes out here, you got some Jordans… homeboy is gonna like, get it.”² (01.38-01.54)

This phrase was quickly adapted into the meme, “Homeboy’s gonna, like, get it” (Gonzales, 2017) and was ultimately appropriated by other popular culture artists. For example, in her song Kream³ from 2018, rap artist Iggy Azalea incorporated the line “Bella Hadid, homie could get it” and during his appearance on the same “Sneaker Shopping” series in 2018, rapper Rich Brian chose to reference an extended and slightly altered quote from Bella Hadid’s video, saying “If homeboy like comes through with like these (…) homeboy’s gonna like, get it” ⁴. The media coverage that followed (Sheppard, 2017; Gordon, 2017; Pham, 2017), along with opinions expressed in the comments section suggested that something in Bella Hadid’s speech was seized upon as a source of humour, confusion and even anger. The source of these emotional reactions came from a consensus that Hadid, who may have been viewed as an out-group participant in the context of the show, was

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² https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oEs0BP0i1Ro&t=114s
³ https://genius.com/Iggy-azalea-kream-lyrics
⁴ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MXpPRTHo5fs&t=214s
appropriating in-group styles. Consequently, questions, beliefs and opinions of language, identity and style were brought to light, making an interesting case for linguistic investigation.

Even though multilingualism is becoming increasingly common due to immigration, globalization and language planning strategies (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011, pp. 401-402), the folk-linguistic belief that individuals have a single language origin is still prominent and supported by expressions such as the singular ‘mother-tongue’. Contrary to this belief, many individuals have several ‘natural’ codes available to them. The usage and or choice of one’s language when several linguistic codes are available signal meaning that is inescapably connected to performed and perceived identity. Not only may a linguistic code or variation suggest a geographical origin, it may also reveal or imply other factors of its speaker such as gender, age, social class and ethnicity. While individuals pay different amounts of attention to their own speech, ranging from not being aware at all to treating it as a very conscious performance, one thing that cannot be controlled is the perception of this speech, whether natural or performed. Thus, while a range of identities may be performed by the same individual through their speech, different audiences may or may not accept these performances as legitimate or authentic. Linguistic research has focused on this creation of identity online (Williams & Copes, 2005), where, thanks to the accessibility of an abundance of forums, websites and social media platforms, language strategies, usage and opinions emerge.

Controversy arose when the white, US-born model Hadid stylized her language in a way that onlookers felt came across as unnatural or inauthentic. The example thus illustrates stylistic choice and effects thereof. While the language per se was not offensive, offence seem to have been taken by several individuals as a result of stylistic choices. This speaks for the salience of stylized language to convey meaning and perform a legitimate identity. In the reaction to Hadid’s language usage, opinions about language propriety and appropriation are revealed and discussed in the YouTube comment section.

1.1. Aim

The aim of this study is to add to the existing research of language as a property and linguistic rights, with the emphasis on further investigating the possibly concealed negative effects of using a variety of language not recognized as one’s own, or language crossing (Rampton, 1995). It is important to note that the aim of this study is not to conduct an analysis of Bella Hadid’s speech, to evaluate it as representative of hip-hop
linguistic norms, or to investigate its legitimacy. Rather, in an attempt to reveal opinions about language style in connection to linguistic rights, and to explore the expression of acceptance or refusal of linguistic identity, the focus will be on the language of the commenters.

1.2. Research Questions
In the comment section of the YouTube video *Bella Hadid goes Sneaker Shopping with Complex*, there seems to be a stress on form over content, that is, the style of the speech seems to be more important than the substance. Furthermore, opinions on Hadid’s language style seem to argue for an illegitimate, performed identity, suggesting similarities to Rampton’s theory of language crossing, that is: “code alternation by people who are not accepted members of the group associated with the second language that they are using” (Rampton, 1995, p. 485). Additionally, factors such as class and race are pointed out as arguments against Hadid’s language usage, suggesting a ‘refusal’ of a certain group (Bucholtz, 1995, p. 351). The situation provides an interesting example of language style, that might be considered in these terms and concepts. It raises questions about the connection between language, style and identity, and further illustrates how styles, while theoretically available to all, might not be accepted as legitimate. In light of this, the following questions will be investigated:

1. Which stylistic features of the interview guest’s language usage are pointed out as non-credible?
2. What evidence do the video comments provide that the guest’s language usage constitutes ‘crossing’?

2. Literature Review
The following literature review outline the basis on which this small-scale study was built. An overview of theories and works within language in connection to identity and language crossing is given, as well as a shorter section on comments that will aid in understanding and interpreting the data in this specific study.

2.1. Language & Identity
Like many fields within sociolinguistics, the link between language and identity needs to be understood in terms of power relations. Language and its rich multiplicity cannot be considered ‘neutral’ in this regard, but rather a tool of communication that mirrors society’s social inequalities (Norton, 2011, p. 319). Furthermore, the identity that is
mediated through language can ultimately provide or deny access to “powerful social networks” (Weedon 1997, cited in Norton, 2011, p. 320). A central notion is that language and identity are connected to social factors such as race, gender, age, class and cultural heritage (Norton, 2011, p. 244; Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001). A principal division within applied theoretical frameworks in the field is whether these factors are expressed or constructed through language. The former notion is connected to variationist sociolinguistics and is built around an essentialist perspective, assuming that speech and identity are essentially derived from and express these social factors. This has been highly criticized for being too simplified and for ignoring the fact that language holds more functions than simply expressing an essence (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001, p. 244). Adopters of the poststructuralist perspective oppose this notion and believe that language allows a subject to construct an identity independently of social factors. Identities are seen as fluid and can be performed differently in different contexts (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001, p. 245).

Another widely adopted theory within the field of language and identity is referred to as a sociopsychological approach; an individual’s identity is believed to revolve around group membership and hence a constant process of negotiating this identity occurs when a member of the group wishes to improve their self-image and social position (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001, p. 244). This approach is often applied within multilingual and multicultural contexts, where a participant is thought to be a ‘natural’ member of one group and an aspiring member of another. An issue with this theoretical framework is firstly the simplification of what constitutes groups: Syed & Burnett (1999) point out that while the common perception is that a subject may have a native culture on the one hand and a host culture on the other, this view ignores the complexity of modern society where cultures may intersect and transcend each other on a wide scale due to technology and popular culture (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001, p. 245). Secondly, the view of being a natural member of one group and an unnatural one of another brings back elements of essentialism that holds the limited notion of one true identity, that is, the language that is the mother-tongue as the subject’s only authentic code (ibid, p. 246). Furthermore, the theory fails to explain the behavioural inconsistency where some group members use language that complies with the in-group style while others prefer an ‘outgroup’ language. In line with the previously mentioned access to powerful networks, this behaviour may be understood as a strategy
for empowerment by a marginalized group, with the aim to “escape the situation of social inequality” (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001, p. 245).

As argued above, one strategy for presenting a certain identity is through speaking a certain language, variety or code, that may or may not be considered authentic, true or natural. Another common process of expressing an in-group identity is by establishing group boundaries and positioning others as non-accepted members. A distinction is made between reflective and interactive positioning, that is the process of positioning oneself and the other respectively (Davies & Harré 1990, cited in Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001, p. 249). However, in the context of conveying a credible identity, Croghan et al. argues that individuals’ styles are created and legitimized by their act of distancing themselves from the so-called “style failures” (2006, p. 475). While the term “style failures” may be used to refer to out-group members on various grounds, examples include behaviour, academic performance and consumption behaviour: in the context of teens in a school environment, performing too well or failing to wear the right labels could both trigger this reference (Croghan, et al., 2006, pp. 472, 475). Thus, in previous terms, interactive positioning becomes a tool for reflective positioning. Once again, it is important to understand the surrounding power roles and inequalities in order to grasp who benefits and who suffers from these groupings and positionings, who is in and who is out (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001, p. 254). One example of this discrimination is the perceived superiority of a ‘standard language’, that is the style of language that is premiered as the more correct and intellectual one, such as ‘received pronunciation’, that often becomes a symbol for a nationalistic pride and value (ibid, pp. 246, 253). Furthermore, the positioning of in- and out-groups based on language is often used as a hidden justification of exercising injustice: “Although penalizing a student for being African American may be illegal, penalizing a student for speaking African American Vernacular English is not.” (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001, p. 247). It is important to keep in mind that while positioning may be a strategy in creating one’s identity, it may not be one available to all subjects due to existing power roles. All identities are not always accepted and the open expression of one’s identity through language and style may be considered a privilege in itself (ibid, p. 250).

While language and identity can be approached and understood in a similar way in online discourse, different rules and behaviour patterns may apply. Online forums provide platforms where individuals can interact despite geographical differences
These platforms where members of similar communities can interact have become especially important for young people, for whom membership of subcultures can provide a sense of meaning and belonging (ibid). Williams and Copes describe subcultures as ‘networks’, where a central notion is the common ground of shared ideas (2005, p. 70). Within these networks, material objects may become meaningful artefacts that symbolize mutual ideas and shared meaning. While access is connected to the identification and acceptance of similar members of the community, interaction in the form of differentiation from ‘non-members’ is equally important (ibid, p. 71). Thus, while non-accepted members of the community may be faced with negativity, critique and exclusion, their occasional presence plays an important role in maintaining community boundaries. This is referred to as ‘infiltration’, which has been found to trigger emotional reactions and messages (Dery 1994, cited in Williams & Copes, 2005, pp. 72-73). The role of language in conveying a credible identity is imperative online, where members are often limited to messages and posts and lack information about each other such as race, class, age and appearance (Coate 1997, cited in Williams & Copes, 2005, p. 72). Opportunities of expressing different identities are made possible with this anonymity. With that said, appearing authentic and ‘real’ becomes even more important. Williams and Copes refer to studies such as Widdicombe & Wooffitt (1990), Fox (1987) and Yablonski (1968) that all show the same pattern: members of subcultures online are actively arguing for their ‘realness’, while simultaneously accusing others of being inauthentic (2005, p. 75). Common accusations include arguing that inauthentic members are “dressing or speaking certain ways in order to appear cool or to fit in”, which in its turn often leads to calling them out as ‘pretenders’ and ‘wannabes’ (ibid).

Whether adapting an essentialist, a post-structural or social-psychological perspective, researchers agree that language and identity are inescapably connected. The process of negotiating identity is constant in all interaction and seems to be inevitable, whether it is done consciously or not. Hence, research in this field can contribute to a deeper understanding of how individuals may use language in constructing powerful identities or find themselves at a structural disadvantage respectively.
2.2. YouTube Comments

YouTube is a video sharing website that is built on user generated content: anyone who registers a profile can upload a video, either privately or publicly, and in so doing contribute to YouTube’s vast amount of video material. The owner of the uploaded video can then choose to enable other users’ interaction, such as allowing users to ‘like’ or ‘dislike’ their video and or place a comment. Comments are initially posted individually, but the ability to ‘like’ and ‘dislike’ as well as replying to these comments enables further interactions and may create comment-threads. Furthermore, the functions that allows these users’ interaction in the comment section, also enables the sorting tool, where comments can be organized according to ‘most-popular’, which corresponds to most ‘liked’ and or discussed. (YouTube, 2018c).

While the social media channel YouTube provides vast examples of individuals’ language use, scripted and unscripted, it is also a source of ‘meta-language’ that might reveal opinions regarding language usage and style. Furthermore, YouTube provides new platforms where members of different communities and discourses intersect, such that research on these interactions becomes increasingly valuable.

The ability to publicly comment on online material enables active participation and interaction, providing the valuable element of social exchange (Schultes, et al., 2013, p. 659; Thelwall & Sud, 2012, p. 627). While comments have often been regarded with little value, research has indicated that comments have a prominent role in affecting viewers’ opinions and video content perception (Schultes, et al., 2013, pp. 659, 672). YouTube comments may be considered insightful in highlighting central issues in the video, as well as revealing users’ opinions (Thelwall & Sud, 2012, p. 616). In particular, YouTube comments that involve time-references or ‘timestamps’ can effectively be used to quickly identify the most central themes and content in a video (Schultes, et al., 2013, p. 669).

While the ability to express opinions in a free context is highly valued by online community users (Lange, 2007, p. 165), several studies have focused on the downsides of this freedom of speech, such as negative comments, ‘internet-trolls’ and bullies (Sood, et al., 2012, p. 270). In analysing negativity in comment sections, Sood et al. suggest that an initial step is to distinguish between on- and off-topic comments (2012, p. 270). While identifying which comments are posted with a truly negative intent may require contextual knowledge, comments that may be interpreted as negative have clearly shown to decrease user participation (ibid). Moreover, the presence of negative
comments in online contexts has been shown to further trigger more of its like, initiating a sort of group behaviour (Thelwall & Sud, 2012, p. 626). While studies have shown that certain topics where viewers hold strong opinions such as religion and politics trigger more negative comments (ibid, pp. 626-627), the existence of negative comments across topics are believed to cause a poor image of the quality of comments in general (Schultes, et al., 2013, p. 660).

An interesting phenomenon that ought to be taken into consideration when collecting and analysing unique comments on YouTube is the tendencies of group behaviour, that is, the effect previous comments may have on future ones as well as on thoughts and ideas. Whether comments help users articulate a pre-existing thought, or if it is simply a case of replication, previous comments have been shown to influence future ones. Comments may increase the level of entertainment and change the users’ video perception in both positive and negative directions (Schultes, et al., 2013, p. 672). While it has been found that a majority of YouTube users do read comments, the findings have suggested that in most cases, the users will only look through the most recent or most popular ones in the visible section above the ‘scroll area’, that is the top-most comments that are visible without actively scrolling down the page (ibid, p. 660).

2.3. Language Crossing

Language crossing, or crossing, describes the phenomenon where a person switches from their own language (or variety or code) to another that is not thought to belong to them (Rampton, 1995). The speaker is faced with a choice of style and crossing is generally considered to occur when this style is seen as foreign or belonging to another group. Studies have shown that the act of crossing can be a deliberately strategic decision to signal meaning (Welch & Piekkari, 2006, p. 424). In contrast, crossing may be subconscious, and the act might go unnoticed by the ‘crosser’ even in retrospect. In these subconscious cases, crossing has been described as feeling ‘natural’ to the performer (ibid). When considering cases of crossing, it is important to keep in mind that the crossing individual’s intent, or lack thereof, may differ from the perceived meaning and effects on his/her audience. A distinction is made between cross-racial language crossing and language crossing where the speaker is an authentic member of the group (Bucholtz, 1999, pp. 444-445). This is referred to as marked and unmarked usage respectively. One central aspect of crossing is the question of legitimacy (Rampton, 1995, p. 485). Different communities tend to have unique discourses, which
is ultimately demonstrated through linguistic variation and stylistic property. Appropriation by an ‘out-group’ participant of a linguistic property can thus be seen as performing an illegitimate identity (ibid). The opposing outcomes of language appropriation are described as refusal or passing, i.e. the rejection or acceptance as a member of that group (Bucholtz, 1995, p. 351).

When considering crossing, the concept of ethnicity and its connection to language needs to be defined, discussed and problematized. First of all, the question must be asked whether ethnicity can be considered a fixed essence developed in early life or a fluid and hence negotiable construction (Rampton, 1995, p. 486). While earlier research has often favoured the former, the latter is receiving more recognition. The notion that ethnicities are constructed opens up for the possibilities of adopting the ethnicities of others, as well as creating new ones (ibid, p. 487). Another variable that needs to be understood is the processes of socialization that is arguably different in culturally homogenous and heterogeneous networks. In heterogeneous networks, the process of socialization is not simply a child’s process of becoming an in-group participant, it also entails accepting exclusion from some groups. This acceptance of exclusion leads to a constant presence of uncertainty; accepting that each ethnic community may hold exclusive knowledge intrinsic to that group, out-group participants are faced with uncertainty of moral judgement in certain contexts (Rampton, 1995, pp. 488-489). This uncertainty may stretch itself to linguistic codes, influencing the choice of crossing when it is applicable, that is, when done consciously.

Several studies have focused on interpreting the effects and outcomes of language crossing that occurs in ethnically mixed environments (Vermeij, 2004; Bucholtz, 1995; Bucholtz, 1999; Kamwangamalu, 2001; Rampton, 1995). While crossing can be interpreted as a sign of harmonious integration, it may also be considered compromising, minimizing and stereotyping ethnic groups (Vermeij, 2004, pp. 142-143). Thus, two perspectives described in Rampton’s theory are brought to light: that language crossing might be seen as a respectful sign of interest and accommodation, while conflictingly, it could be signalling disrespect, appropriation and disregard for cultural ownership (Vermeij, 2004, p. 144). Again, it is important to note that the act of crossing may have different social consequences in terms of how it is perceived by others. However, as a communicative strategy, crossing can be used to actively express either affiliation or dissociation (ibid). Vermeij (2004) refers to Rampton’s conflicting perspectives as the double meaning of language crossing, that can be considered central
in reaching a deeper understanding of current and future language situations in an increasingly globalized society.

Theories of language crossing have been put into the context of social ‘closeness’, affiliation and identity (Vermeij, 2004, p. 158; Bucholtz, 1999). Findings indicated that crossing was generally intended with a friendly connotation (Vermeij, 2004, p. 164) and could signal the subject’s desire to belong to a specific ‘in-group’ (Bucholtz, 1999, p. 445). The phenomenon has been compared to a semiotic resource that can be used to construct a subject’s own identity (Bucholtz, 1999, pp. 444-445). Language crossing enables a sense of alignment, while at the same time being a differentiation that can minimize one’s own structural advantages (ibid, p. 455). The second notion is an important aspect to consider, since crossing and language appropriation have often been romanticized (Rampton, 1995, p. 499). Problematic instances of crossing were found to be perceived as a parody at the expense of the group that was appropriated from. In the case of white adolescents crossing over to Creole, crossing has been interpreted as a demonstration of white superiority through the appropriation of a code that functioned as a resource of power (Rampton, 1995, p. 498). In light of this, studies have shown that sensitivity and awareness can be expressed in either refusing to cross, or in crossing in certain ‘relaxed’ contexts where relationships were well established (ibid, p. 500).

I argue that theories regarding crossing may also be applicable within a language, where a stylistic choice is thought not to belong to a certain participant. Theories of crossing can therefore be relevant to understanding and explaining the notion that stylistic choices can cause negative reactions among audiences. For the purpose of this study, understanding the signs of crossing, illegitimacy or ‘refusal’ sets the framework for investigating whether the data indicate crossing or not.

3. Methodology

In this section, methodology for data collection and analysis is explained. Studies that have influenced the choice of method include Lindström (2015) and Madden et al. (2013) for comment classification.

3.1. Data Collection

The data available at the time of collection (2018-11-13) consisted of over 10,000 comments on the video Bella Hadid Goes Sneaker Shopping with Complex. Since the aim of this study was to investigate (1) which stylistic features of the interview guest’s language usage were pointed out as non-credible and (2) what evidence the video
comments provide that the guest’s language usage constitutes ‘crossing’, the primary goal was to collect comments that contained meta-language, that is, samples of language that specifically address Hadid’s language use. This study adopts both a qualitative and quantitative approach: however, the aim was not to collect all comments, but to access and analyse a ‘popular’ subset, or those that can be considered the most tone-setting. To identify the most popular opinions, the comments were organized using YouTube’s sorting tool according to their popularity, i.e., ‘top-comments’. Due to replies and ‘likes’ on these comments, popular posts might be said to best represent the opinions of those who engaged in these activities. In order to collect individual thoughts and to avoid collecting comments that were not directly related to the video, replies on comments in the form of comment-threads were not collected. However, individual comments that referred to or acknowledged previous comments that were not explicitly posted as replies were included. A sample of 150 of these ‘top-comments’ (as per the time of collection 2018-11-13) was obtained and inserted in an excel spreadsheet for the purpose of using its advanced sorting and statistical analysis functions, in order to acquire an initial overview of most frequent key words and topics. Since comments are constantly added and interacted with in terms of likes and dislikes, the order of popularity may change rapidly. Thus, it was important that all comments were collected at one moment in time, rather than for example being collected over the course of a day or longer period of time.

3.2. Data Analysis
In preparation for the analysis, the collected 150 comments were organized thematically; categories are detailed below. The aim of the qualitative approach was to establish how language is used to argue for style appropriation, supporting the notion that language and style can be viewed as a property that may not be perceived as legitimately available to all. The quantitative approach, that is the quantification of the comments according to different categories, were intended to identify patterns within the data and to investigate if there was a consensus on which linguistic factors may have led to the video going viral.

3.2.1. Categories
While categorization of comments can be considered an established approach in opinion-mining studies, it should be noted that subjectivity is an issue in all classification methods (Madden, et al., 2013, p. 712). Tried methods for classification include division into purpose of comment (Madden, et al., 2013, p.
a distinction between on- and off topic (Sood, et al., 2012, p. 270) and division of ‘contributing’ and ‘offensive’, ‘insubstantial’ comments (Schultes, et al., 2013, p. 664). In this study, several divisions of the comments were made in attempt to distinguish categories and main themes among them. The first division was made between comments that focused on content and those that did not. For example, a comment that explicitly discussed sneakers and fashion would be categorized as content related, while a comment that discussed Bella Hadid’s appearance would be non-content related. Content-related comments were put aside, and the non-content related category was further divided into linguistic-related or not. Finally, the former was divided into findings, listed and exemplified below.

4. Results & Analysis

In the following section, a description of each category will be stated, accompanied by examples extracted from the data. An initial analysis will be conducted parallel to the presentation of the results, to be followed up in the discussion. Furthermore, the distribution of the comments according to the different categories is illustrated in the table below (Table 1). The structure of this analysis and the outline of the presented results were inspired by a C-essay working with similar data, analysing gender asymmetries in a YouTube comment section (Lindström, 2015).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General Evaluation</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
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<td>13</td>
</tr>
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<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Content</td>
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<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>18</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Form</td>
<td></td>
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<td>General Speech Style</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Words &amp; Phrases</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inauthentic Identity</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>77</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.1. General Evaluation

In this section, comments that suggested an overall evaluation of the video that did not refer to any specific instance or corresponded to content or form were placed. Several comments suggest that the commenters were unsettled or upset. While there was no explicit clarification whether the reaction was triggered by something linguistic or non-linguistic, I would propose that language and body language played an important role, seeing that a majority of the 150 comments were oriented towards these subjects. Common key words in this section were “cringe” and “embarrassing”. Perhaps the format of YouTube interaction, engaging in ‘likes’ and ‘dislikes’, encouraged this form of positive or negative evaluation. Rather than discussing the content of the video, there were a significant amount of comments on Hadid’s appearance: A majority were negative, while some were ‘positive’ or reflected a defensive stance. Only one comment discussed Joe’s appearance. An interesting aspect in this section, that occurred in both the ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ subcategory, was the indication that commenters read each other’s comments. This might be relevant to keep in mind in connection to Thelwall & Sud’s studies (2012, p. 626), that previous comments could have been considered when commenters evaluated the video.

4.1.1. Positive

A small portion of 13 comments suggested that the viewers’ general attitude to the video was positive. Four comments in this section oriented towards Hadid’s appearance and three commenters responded to earlier negative ones with opposing opinions.

Example set 1

#47 “I don't think she's cringy or socially awkward and that makes her ugly, I mean I would definitely feel the same as her. This proves that even supermodels have trouble trying to fit in and that makes me happy😊”
#103 “So much hate SMH 😞 I think she's cool as fuk an a very beautiful girl.”
#133 “she pretty tho”
The two first comments in the example set both illustrate that the commenters are responding to earlier comments in the section. Furthermore, they illustrate the tendency to comment on her appearance rather than the content of the video.

4.1.2. Negative

This subcategory is the largest out of the three with 29 comments. The general conception is that something comes off as disturbing. Key words in this section, used to describe the video and or Hadid are ‘cringe’ (used four times), ‘embarrassing’ (used three times) and awkward (used one time). Many comments suggested an unsettled emotion, including viewers asking her to “JUST STOP” (#17). Four comments suggested that Bella Hadid was trying, but failing, to fit in, to make friends or simply being a ‘try-hard’. While something triggered the commenters to have a negative overall evaluation of the video, the reasons were not specified.

Example set 2

#14 “Me trying to become friends with the cool kids”
#24 “Homegirl is definitely socially awkward. Listen to the way she talks and her stiff body language. LMAO”
#28 “I'm getting 2nd hand embarrassment from watching this 😞”
#63 “she is cringe”

The first two comments both suggest her being out of her element, as either trying to make friends with a presumably higher social status, or simply being perceived as a social outsider due to her speech and body language. The latter two are less elaborate in their description, but explicit in the fact that the video triggered an uncomfortable emotion.

4.1.3. Other

In this section of 13 comments, there was some incongruity whether the overall general evaluation could be classified as positive or negative. A commenter might have given a positive general evaluation, while at the same time referring to Bella Hadid as ‘cringy’ or ‘awkward’.
Example set 3

#40 “Hadid seems like a cool person to hang out with. She’s about as cringy as me so she’s not intimidating 😊”

#43 “Socially awkward just like me But she seems like a cool person though”

It might be suggested that while the video offered some entertainment value to the viewers, there was still a common consensus that something in her ‘performance’ came off as odd. Hence, this category is characterized by ambiguity.

4.2. Content

Out of the 150 comments collected, only 18 (12%) of these were classified as content, that is, comments that explicitly discussed the intended content of the video, such as sneakers, convergence culture and fashion. Furthermore, a couple of comments engaged in questions including a time-stamp furthering their attention to what music was playing in the background or what was viewed in certain frames.

Example set 4

#106 “Sneakers are the main part of the outfit in my opinion. You could be wearing like joggers with a hoodie and a hat with Vans. But it’s completely different when you where the same outfit with NMDs or Basketball shoes.”

#144 “What is the name of the song used in the beginning of the video????”

The first comment was one of only three that discussed sneakers and fashion. The second is an example of a total of five comments engaging in ‘smaller’ details of the video content, as far as what the uploader might have intended to be discussed.

Example set 5

#11 “Nvm her saying "Homeboy can like...... Get it” let's talk about how she creased the shit out of those at 2:20 omg 😭😭😭😭”

#61 “I cringed when she folded those jordans”
An interesting aspect was that, already in the content, there was an indication that Bella Hadid was out of her element. More specifically, five comments brought attention to how Hadid was treating her sneakers wrongly by ‘creasing’ them. Creasing, that is, altering the shape of a shoe by causing the material to crease, was suggested in this case by a frame at 02.20 when Hadid squats on the balls of her feet and therefore bends her sneakers. For the commenters, this behaviour showed ignorance or disregard for in-group practices of how to maintain the quality of their sneakers. As mentioned earlier, there is an established connection between hip-hop and sneakers and this connection suggests that sneakers function as a subcultural symbol. Research has shown that these symbols are often used as a means of identification while interacting with both members and non-members of that subculture (Fine, 1983, cited in Williams & Copes, 2005, p.71). The treatment of this symbol seemed to serve as proof of Hadid being an out-group participant.

4.3. Form

This category comprises 77 comments that express opinions about specific aspects of linguistic form. The categories are presented in an escalating order in terms of the level of explicitness in the suggestions of crossings: starting off with comments expressing overall disapproval or dismissal of the speech style, continuing to comments criticizing the use of specific phrases and words and concluding with comments that question the very legitimacy of Bella Hadid’s identity.

4.3.1. General Speech Style

Eight comments were directed towards something unspecified in Bella Hadid’s speech. While it was not clear which exact features or statements caused these reactions, comments indicated that Hadid’s language usage unsettled the audience.

Example set 6

#20 “When you date the Weeknd once 😔😢”

#21 “This video perfectly illustrates how quickly a homie can become like unattractive when they speak”

#35 “What a cheap way of talking, wow I didn't expect her to be like that 😔”
In the first comment, Bella Hadid’s previous romantic connection to R&B artist The Weeknd is used in attempt to explain her speech style. The comment implies that ‘dating’ someone with legitimate rights to a certain speech style, with The Weeknd being a prominent member of the hip-hop community, might influence or even legitimize this style by association. In the latter examples, factors such as class and appearance were connected to her speech. While the comment suggesting that her speech influenced her ‘attractiveness’ in a negative sense might be dismissed as inferior and unsubstantial, the comment that oriented to speech and social class, in terms of valuing her speech as “cheap”, points to more established expectations between the two entities (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001).

4.3.2. Words & Phrases

A total of 51 comments oriented towards specific words and phrases, further strengthening the idea that stylistic choices, whether conscious or not, caused controversy that viewers felt the need to address. ‘Homeboy’ was explicitly mentioned in 29 comments, excluding various references such as timestamps to the moment the phrase was uttered, as well as references to Iggy Azalea that were ultimately derived from the line in the song lyrics to Kream: “Bella Hadid, homie can get it”. A reference to the phrase ‘get it’ was made in 22 comments, sometimes as a part of the original phrase “homeboy can like, get it”, sometimes in other variations. The word ‘dope’ was mentioned in nine comments, often in regard to the high frequency, triggering jokes such as telling the viewers to “take a shot every time she says “dope”” as a drinking game (#10). Furthermore, two commenters brought attention to her usage of the intensifier ‘sick’.

Example set 7

#19 “She is so cringey omg. Each time she says homeboy I feel my brain cells dying.”
#67 “Home boy dope honey nope I love you but that really got me mad”
#101 “She is going to get dope dropped from the american vernacular”

The first comment clarifies that Hadid’s speech and specifically the usage of the word ‘homeboy’ made the commenter perceive her as ‘cringy’. Since the same
descriptive word ‘cringe’ or ‘cringy’ was found in earlier comments mentioned under the negative general evaluation category (5.1.2), this might indicate that some of these comments were also referring to her language usage. Furthermore, as indicated in section 5.1.1, some users read other comments in the section before posting. With this in mind, commenting the word ‘cringy’ may be an act of repetition, ratifying previous more elaborated comments on ‘cringing’ as an effect of her speech style. Comment #67 illustrates that the appropriation of certain words became a source of anger. The disclaimer, “I love you but (…)” further indicates that while the participant might feel some affiliation towards Bella Hadid, a line was drawn and crossed through Hadid’s usage of these particular words. Furthermore, comment #101 refers to how her appropriation of the word ‘dope’ might stop participants with a legitimate claim to use it all together. Lastly, the comments that brought attention to the frequency of certain words, such as ‘dope’ and ‘homeboy’, might be pointing out an ignorance or lack of understanding for the social norms of language of that speech community. Vermeij has shown that while usage of intrinsic language elements may signal in-group belonging, “Faulty or exaggerated usage of the easy language elements may even communicate the opposite message: the language user does not care at all.” (2004, p. 146).

4.3.3. Inauthentic Identity

Under this category, 18 comments suggested that Bella Hadid sounded like someone else, was perceived as unauthentic and or ‘fake’. A common factor is that the commenters seem to view Bella Hadid’s speech as a non-credible performance.

Example set 8

#1 “She sounds like my dad trying to sound “hip and cool”.”
#2 “Homegirl sounds like an undercover cop.”
#12 “she speaks like a middle aged white mom who tries to be “hip” when her son brings home black friends 😒 😒”
#15 “This girl is from a 0.01% upbringing and has never struggled in her life yet she tries to invoke speech as if she’s from the ghetto…”
#25 “Why does Bella sound like when she’s talking and moving it’s like she’s
In the example set above, key words include commenters expressing that she ‘sounds like’ someone else. Nine of these comments even suggested another identity that the commenters felt would match her style of speech, such as an ‘undercover cop’ (three comments), someone holding a ‘class presentation’ (two comments), a parent trying to sound ‘cool’ or ‘hip’ (three comments) or someone being “from the ghetto” (one comment). Something that characterize these comments are the commenters’ implied essentialist perspective on language and identity, in terms of expectations of style of speech (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001, p. 244): the comments suggests that social factors would naturally, performance set aside, determine her speech. Another interesting factor was the attention brought to the ‘performance’ itself, since eight of these comments suggest that the person she ‘sounded like’ was too involved in a performance; an undercover cop is essentially performing another identity to conceal his or her profession. Five comments pointed to her body language, three of which
simultaneously using this fact as evidence confirming the unnaturalness of her performance (#123, #142 and #147).

In terms of language, identity and social factors, elements that were pointed out as not being aligned were class (two comments), age (four comments) and ethnicity (two comments). Comment #12 highlights expectations and potential issues connected to language and ethnicity, where a scenario is described that the ‘white’ mother would alter her speech to impress or accompany the expectations she might have on the speech of her sons ‘black’ friends. Comment #15 illustrates another misalignment, where her invoking ‘ghetto-speech’ shows disregard for her privileged upbringing.

5. Discussion

In this section, the presented data will be discussed in relation to the literature review with emphasis on language and identity and language crossing. The literature review on these subjects has been an important basis to understand and approach the data, especially since the format of the comments are short, limited and often ambiguous. Furthermore, it should be noted that this is a small-scale study and that findings may not represent consequences of stylistic choices in general terms. However, the study does indicate the salience language holds to speech communities, exemplifies the importance of having a legitimate claim to that code and finally demonstrates how in-group participants use language to defend their speech style against out-participant appropriation.

An initial overview of the results indicated that 77 of the total collected 150 comments were explicitly oriented to linguistic form, forming a small majority of 51.3%. With that said, a more thorough analysis of the data suggested that several of the comments categorized as ‘General evaluation’ might have also been referring to linguistic form. However, to avoid speculating in these matters, this discussion will focus on the less ambiguous comments. Within the category ‘Form’, the largest portion of comments oriented towards specific words and phrases (34%). The second largest and most salient in this research was the category where linguistic factors lead to Hadid’s identity to be perceived as inauthentic (12%). The reason that this portion of the data is most interesting to observe is due to the strong similarities of findings that are described in Rampton’s theory of crossing (1995). In Rampton’s terms: “Language crossing involves code alternation by people who are not accepted members of the group associated with the second language that they are using” (1995, p. 485). Thus, in order to determine whether the data indicated
crossing or not, it must first be established that Hadid can be considered an out-group participant of the speech community. In the data, several factors implied this. First of all, some of the comments classified as content showed how several individuals reacted to her behaviour on ‘creasing’ sneakers, suggesting an incompetence in terms of in-group practices and thus positioning her as an out-group member. Second of all, the emotional negative messages found both under ‘General evaluation’ and ‘Form’ showed similarities to the consequences of what Dery (1994) describes as infiltration of an out-group participant (Cited in Williams & Copes, 2005, pp. 72-73). Furthermore, Williams & Copes points out that this act often triggers calling-out an infiltrator as inauthentic: factors such as speech and dress are used to argue that the participant is trying to “appear cool” and or “fit in” (2005, p. 75). Under the section ‘Inauthentic Identity’, comments that were almost identical to this description were found, with three comments explicitly describing Hadid attempting to sound, be or act ‘hip’ or ‘cool’ (#1, #12 and #37).

Since the data indicated Hadid’s status as an out-group participant, the next aspect to look at is the indication of code-appropriation and legitimacy. Rampton states that appropriation of linguistic property entails “movement across social or ethnic boundaries and (…) raises issues of legitimacy” (1995, p. 485). The sections ‘General speech style’ and ‘Words and phrases’ both indicated that Hadid’s speech is viewed by those who comment on it as involving a stylistic appropriation. Factors such as race and class were argued not to be aligned with her speech, and the usage of certain words and phrases such as ‘homeboy’ and ‘dope’ were pointed out as wrongfully used in terms of frequency and style. Several of these factors ultimately culminated in commenters not only questioning the legitimacy of Hadid’s speech, but the very legitimacy of her identity (see 5.3.3.). Not only does this finding indicate that stylistic choices can be classified as crossing, in this particular case with similar outcomes as Rampton’s description of language crossing, it also illustrates the inevitable connection between language and perceived identity.

As was stressed in the literature review, in order to grasp the full scope of what might have sparked the commenters expressing this level of refusal, power and privilege associated with different speech communities and styles must be addressed. First of all, it is important to note that the hip-hop subculture and its associated speech community originates from marginalized groups, originally associated with African Americans in the United States (Tinson & McBride, 2013, p. 4). While elements associated with hip-hop might be spread as popular culture today, it should not be deprived of its importance in expressing “political desires and projects of liberation” (ibid, p. 7). While crossing from a
marginalized group to a more standard speech style may be viewed as a linguistic strategy (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001, p. 245), the opposite act may signal ignorance toward structural advantages (Rampton, 1995, p. 498; Bucholtz, 1999, p. 455). In cases where ethnicity becomes prevalent in crossing, the act might even be perceived as a demonstration of white superiority (Rampton, 1995, p. 498). The central issue lies in appropriating what is convenient and advantageous in that instance, without having to deal with the negative effects and discrimination that is usually tied to that certain speech style (Bucholtz, 1999, p. 455).

Once again, it is important to state that Bella Hadid’s speech per se and whether she crossed is not relevant; however, it may be used as an interesting example to bring to light attitudes about language, identity, style and legitimate rights. The negative effects of crossing have often been difficult to identify due to the approach of previous research: the intent of crossing is often investigated further than the effects and ‘closeness’ or ‘affiliation’ have been used as an argument for non-harmful crossing (Vermeij, 2004). This has contributed to the asymmetry of understanding Vermeij’s definition of the double meaning of crossing (2004, p. 144). The format of this study, focusing on the in-group participants’ public, yet arguably anonymous comments, may therefore aid in minimizing this asymmetry: No emphasis is put on determining Hadid’s intent or self-perceived claim or affiliation, the focus is only on the in-group participants’ reactions and opinions.

6. Conclusion
In this section, the research questions will be addressed, followed by a brief suggestion for future research.
1. The stylistic features of Hadid’s language that were pointed out by those who commented on the video as non-credible in terms of her perceived identity were:
   a) The usage of the words “homeboy”, “dope” and “sick”, as well as the phrases “homeboy can like, get it” and “get it”.
   b) The frequency of usage of the words “dope” and “sick”.
2. The following aspects of the video comments provided evidence suggesting that the guest’s language usage constituted ‘crossing’:
   As indicated in the data, the style of Hadid’s speech was perceived to entail linguistic appropriation. The effects of this appropriation caused commenters to point out her inauthentic claims, ultimately questioning the legitimacy of her identity. Based on these grounds, the results of this study indicated that Hadid was perceived as engaging in crossing and the commenters, acting as in-group participants, were voicing a refusal.
Thus, the study illustrates how Rampton’s theory of language crossing may also be applicable within a language: while the theory defines code alteration as switching to a language that is not thought of as a legitimate code, the same consequences seem to apply with perceived appropriation of different dialects and styles.

Future research might benefit from using YouTube comment sections as a data source, to reveal frank opinions of language use and property, advantages being the relative anonymity of the users as well as the large scale and accessibility of it. In a larger study, a suggestion might also be to look at several episodes of the Sneaker Shopping series, comparing if and how language usage by different participants is talked about. One suggestion is a video featuring Halsey: although often accused of not having a legitimate claim to the ‘black’ community and hip-hop, the comment section suggested an approval on her unexpected knowledge of sneakers and culture. Thus, the relationship between content and form may be examined to investigate whether form becomes increasingly important when the content is lacking.
References


26. Pham, J., 2017. People are Roasting Bella Hadid For This 'Cringey' Interview: 'Homeboy is Gonna, Like, Get it'. *Business Insider*, 6 October.


Appendix: Comments

1. Maliha Intikhab för 1 år sedan
   She sounds like my dad trying to sound "hip and cool".

2. Maliha Intikhab för 11 månader sedan
   Homegirl sounds like an undercover cop.

3. Saad Belachemi för 1 år sedan
   Homegirl was cute until she spoke

4. Maliha Intikhab för 1 år sedan
   I need a How-to guide on how to keep my sneakers dirty but fresh. Sincerely, homeboy.

5. DragokillaHD för 1 år sedan
   Homeboy's gonna like G E T I T

6. GAIGE för 1 år sedan
   Homeboys gonna like get it

7. yodahchronicles för 1 år sedan
   Who is homeboy?!

8. The Unknown Vlogs för 1 år sedan
   These comments RIP

9. Eva Mari för 1 år sedan
   Homeboy gonna get it

10. Maliha Intikhab för 1 år sedan
    Take a shot every time she says "dope".

11. Joonie's Goddess för 1 år sedan
    Nvm her saying "Homeboy can like...... Get it" let's talk about how she creased the shit out of those at 2:20 omg 😢😢😢😢

12. BITERS för 1 år sedan
    she speaks like a middle aged white mom who tries to be “hip” when her son brings home black friends 😞😞

13. mangasa m för 1 år sedan
    and people wonder why the weekend went for someone more intelligent with words

14. duckking för 1 år sedan
    Me trying to become friends with the cool kids

15. a. publisher. för 1 år sedan
    This girl is from a 0.01% upbringing and has never struggled in her life yet she tries to invoke speech as if she's from the ghetto...

16. Mr. Clean för 1 år sedan
    It's Q uiiE T

17. - ruunmina - för 1 år sedan
    JUST STOP
18. Jacob Foster för 1 år sedan
   Dear Bella I came thru wearing the air max I came thru wearing the jordans And
   I still didn't "Get it" Sincerely, Homeboy

19. zynbw för 1 år sedan
   She is so cringey omg. Each time she says homeboy I feel my brain cells dying.

20. Dominique Cooks för 1 år sedan
   When you date the Weeknd once 😊😊

21. Hannah k för 3 månader sedan (redigerad)
   This video perfectly illustrates how quickly a homie can become like unattractive
   when they speak

22. Mike XXX för 4 månader sedan
   Why so much hype about this video? I dont like get it

23. Boi wot för 6 månader sedan
   Homeyboy's gonna like get it

24. mekhi streater för 3 månader sedan
   Homegirl is definitely socially awkward. Listen to the way she talks and her stiff
   body language. LMAO

25. Maria Tomlinson för 5 månader sedan
   Why does Bella sound like when she’s talking and moving it’s like she’s
   presenting in front of the class

26. bia för 6 månader sedan
   the top, the hair, the jeans.... sis looks like a mess.

27. Kevin Wong för 1 månad sedan
   When she said "Homeboy gonna get it" my soul left my body

28. Wavesosa 00 för 3 månader sedan
   I'm getting 2nd hand embarrassment from watching this 😁

29. Eoghan Sheehy för 3 månader sedan
   “Hey bella what do you think of crocs?” Bella: Well ive been a fan all my life i
   mean you could wear them with jeans etc. My dad also wore those bad boys round
   the lawn

30. Forest Crunch för 2 månader sedan
   homeboys gunna shot himself after watching this

31. Kaihan Z för 7 månader sedan (redigerad)
   You know what I’m cool with it and I don't mind dirty sneakers but you better
   they better be fresh you know if homeboy's coming through with these it's quiet
   yeah no yeah it's quiet for him like if he comes through in like these you got some
   airmaxes out here you got some jordans homeboys gonna like get it

32. Faye Crut för 7 månader sedan
   Sick, dope, homeboy.......i'll never hear these words again without thinking of this.

33. T6R6 NT6 för 2 månader sedan
   Her personality is non existent.
34. Em Kay för 8 månader sedan
   I come back to this video every now and then to feel better about myself.

35. Mango z för 7 månader sedan
   What a cheap way of talking, wow I didn't expect her to be like that 😂

36. Kassandra Nakayama för 3 månader sedan
   This is so embarrassing lmao

37. Indigo Hawks för 2 månader sedan
   Sounds like my mum tryna act cool

38. Crogg88 för 2 månader sedan
   That's dope screams inside

39. trutj22 för 1 månad sedan
   this girl sounds so ridiculous....just be yourself damn

40. Pussy Slayer för 5 månader sedan
   Hadid seems like a cool person to hang out with. She’s about as cringy as me so she’s not intimidating 😊

41. Gesaid Anderson för 1 månad sedan
   I laughed when she said “it’s all about personality”

42. Aurora Rospez för 5 månader sedan
   1:50 homeboy gonna like get it

43. Sengjem Longkumer för 3 veckor sedan
   Socially awkward just like me But she seems like a cool person though

44. No Honor för 3 månader sedan
   “BELLA HADID IN MY DM’S WITH AN XO!!”

45. teal tyree för 4 månader sedan
   I feel like she rehearsed what she was gonna say, the night before this interview. Like she's super robotic/awkward/cringe....

46. Luke Yoder för 1 månad sedan
   bruh she is wearing 2 pieces of cloth with string as a shirt

47. SharkBait Ooh Ha Ha för 2 veckor sedan
   I don't think she's cringy or socially awkward and that makes her ugly, I mean I would definitely feel the same as her. This proves that even supreemodels have trouble trying to fit in and that makes me happy😊

48. sophia Grace för 3 månader sedan
   HombOis gOnNa liKe gEt iT

49. sucuk mit ei för 4 månader sedan
   "Bella Hadid, Homie can get it" hahahazahaa

50. Sister Stina för 7 månader sedan
   The definition of cringe
51. Vinita Tiwari för 7 månader sedan  
Bella Hadid talking like an undercover cop 😆😆😆😆😆lmaoo

52. Cade and Annalisa för 2 månader sedan  
weekend was the homeboy that pulled up in air max's and "got it" then drake pulled up in Jordan 12's and "got it" off the weekend

53. Jasmine Teal för 4 månader sedan  
She looks like an older version of the girl that smashed her hamster on Dr. Phil 😊😊

54. Moonlight bae för 4 månader sedan  
Who came here after iggy’s new song Kream? 😆😆😆

55. Sweetkiwi74 för 7 månader sedan  
What where those things she put on the counter and said “I’ll take these too”? 😆😆

56. Ashtynn Hunter för 8 månader sedan  
damnn why everyone so mean. she's great...

57. isaac Yang_ för 3 månader sedan  
How is Bella even a supermodel?

58. Donald Trump för 3 månader sedan  
shes fired!!

59. Achillies för 7 månader sedan  
homeboy probably doesnt want it after this xd

60. Henry Hunch för 1 vecka sedan  
Homeboy has left the chat

61. Elle creuse för 2 månader sedan  
I cringed when she folded those jordans

62. KissxSister Lips för 5 månader sedan (redigerad)  
She's sounds like undercover cop from rush hour movie

63. Ryan Dees för 6 månader sedan  
she is cringe

64. Lavandera K för 8 månader sedan  
All the interviews are with Gigi and kendall.. i need more of bella...

65. Jess för 5 månader sedan  
Look at this rich white girl 😆😆😆😆😆

66. Idk What to make my name för 1 dag sedan  
She just talks/has the body language of a kid presenting to the class lmfaoo

67. lordjenn A för 14 timmar sedan (redigerad)  
Home boy dope honey nope I love you but that really got me mad

68. bolt för 2 dagar sedan  
"I don't like dirty sneakers but they better be fresh"

69. Cosmical för 1 månad sedan
bella: if he's wearing some air jordans... hes gonna like..... get it
joe: thinking kill me

70. Ellie Gabriele för 7 månader sedan
lists like 627273 brands “and that’s all I really wore when I was younger”

71. AG för 1 månad sedan
She ain even that hot

72. Zains för 5 månader sedan
Rich Brian actually did an impersonation of Bella. Lmao

73. Idk What to make my name för 1 dag sedan
6:24 is the worst part oml

74. Girl Still Wild för 1 månad sedan
A Hadid saying something “was always so expensive”.

75. Lime Studio för 6 månader sedan
Bella has way different style than her sister Gigi. Go girl!

76. Briana Chavez för 3 månader sedan
wait does she really talk like that or is she uhm im confused

77. FIDLAR för 3 månader sedan
she sounds so fake

78. arya s för 1 månad sedan
The only thing I heard was dope

79. Maddie Rose för 1 månad sedan
I love that so many memes were created because of this video

80. Elena Mei för 2 dagar sedan
0:07 someone’s selling drug nearby

81. Kekfux för 3 veckor sedan
i could never hear "homeboy” again and not think of bella

82. Xxx Santaclaus för 2 månader sedan
homesboys gonna like ...... get it

83. Isis Ingraham för 1 månad sedan
“Homeboys gonna like....get it” Who else watched rich Brian do this and say the same thing.???

84. Andro A för 3 månader sedan
Bella Hadid dm-ed me back with an xo.

85. Sophia Claudia för 1 dag sedan
She is perf😊

86. reymundo villanueva för 4 månader sedan
What is the song in the very begging???:plzz

87. Gohli Martinez för 1 månad sedan
Is it me but did you see how she was squatting with her Jordan’s bro, that’s a crease on the top 😂

88. CA2591 för 8 månader sedan
   Sickest dopest

89. Victoria Rose för 1 vecka sedan
   Why does he look like that Indian dude from that awkward first kiss video who kisses the chick and then turns and walks out of the room?

90. Sakina Raza för 3 månader sedan
   Bella Hadid in my dms with an xo

91. Jason för 3 månader sedan
   1:42 for Iggy Azalea's reference

92. jacquees lover för 1 månad sedan
   Homeboys gonna like get it

93. JUSTIN X för 4 veckor sedan
   I don't even know her but damn hwr hairstyle is fine af...

94. Glowing up 16 för 1 månad sedan
   Side note... does anybody realize that she an Gigi have almost tge same voice?

95. Camryn Glanville för 6 månader sedan
   Bella isn’t even pretty

96. Kirsen Fuqua för 3 månader sedan
   Take a shot every time she says dope

97. god is woman för 3 veckor sedan
   Congratulations on getting married to the weeknd.

98. Oyavvta 18 för 6 månader sedan
   I like her so much

99. Richelle Giles för 1 år sedan
   Go sneaker shopping with Rihanna 😎

100. fabiola_lala för 1 månad sedan
     homeboy’s gonna like... get it

101. Tera Aubrey för 1 månad sedan
     She is going to get dope dropped from the american vernacular

102. Pawel Olszewski för 6 månader sedan
     Super model? She troy ave at best

103. Vanilla Armstrong för 2 veckor sedan
     So much hate SMH 😔 I think she's cool as fuk an a very beautiful girl.

104. 2stainz T för 3 månader sedan
     Dm sam pepper

105. Kyaz Lukyy för 3 månader sedan
     Bella hadid homie can get it
106. Diego Ledezma för 7 månader sedan
   Sneakers are the main part of the outfit in my opinion. You could be wearing like joggers with a hoodie and a hat with Vans. But it's completely different when you where the same outfit with NMDs or Basketball shoes.

107. WickedMo13 för 3 månader sedan
   Her friends never clown on her

108. King Garvey III för 1 år sedan
   No homeboys were harmed during the filming of this video. Viewers discretion advised

109. deniz kazanann för 7 månader sedan
   I just can’t watch it without cringing

110. Blue för 4 månader sedan
   Who is here after kream by iggy?

111. YS Entertainment för 4 månader sedan
   Homeboy gonna get it?..... well, that sums up how drake got it. 😆

112. himasha k för 3 månader sedan
   She's the coolest. I love her so much and she's so down to earth. "Or you can catch me being Joe's new friend"

113. sanju12ss för 1 år sedan
   who else just sitting here with like one pair of shoes that you use for like ur whole life 😏

114. Sb Sb för 1 månad sedan
   I saw the clickbait 😐

115. Indigo Hawks för 2 månader sedan
   Taking a hit every time she says sick

116. Mauro Martinez för 4 månader sedan
   She's wearing a kitchen apron

117. Vanessa Vane för 7 månader sedan
   what are all those things she put on the counter lmao

118. Jaime Gandarilla för 1 år sedan
   Why does she utterly forces "urban speak". Her eyes even go dead every time she says "homeboy".

119. Ivan Muafi för 3 månader sedan
   Loveee..

120. Sb Sb för 1 månad sedan
   She triessss ewww

121. Öm Ar för 2 månader sedan
   Cringe

122. ashlyn snipes för 3 månader sedan
   YoU GoT SOmE JOrdAnS
123. Rachel Urquhart för 1 år sedan  
   Love how her eyes dart around every time she uses slang cus she knows it sounds so unnatural

124. Augustus Magnussen för 6 månader sedan  
   In my opinion she looks like a homeless woman, these clothes, hairs...

125. joSe för 3 månader sedan  
   Sneaker shopping with joe

126. brooke searfoss för 4 månader sedan  
   Homeboys gonna like.. get it

127. od bethany för 1 år sedan  
   I hope she looks back at this in a few years or preferably, today and realises how embarrassing this is.

128. jake devadason för 4 månader sedan  
   I need her to help with my fashion

129. Thea Queen för 2 månader sedan  
   ‘Dope’

130. ayam rendang för 6 månader sedan  
   I know you here for 1:50

131. Karina Nicks för 3 månader sedan  
   I’m dead

132. Adam Hallsworth för 1 år sedan  
   Homegirl has more sneakers than braincells

133. Keirnan Eadie för 5 månader sedan  
   she pretty tho

134. zdayOG för 2 månader sedan  
   bEIb HaDiD

135. WrestlingREV för 7 månader sedan  
   6:53 the sound she makes OOOHYESSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSSS

136. susi q för 2 månader sedan  
   Can you be rich but trashy? Yep.

137. Jazie Romero för 1 år sedan  
   me trying to fit in.

138. Mana F för 4 månader sedan  
   Home boi is gonna like get it

139. UnlikeQuill för 5 månader sedan  
   2:20 😂😂nooo

140. RJ Long för 3 månader sedan  
   Get it, get it homeboy

141. UBF BELT HOLDER för 2 månader sedan  
   She is the definition of CORNY!!! She is what we call a TRY HARD!!
142. simpleplanfan011 för 1 år sedan
   I love how her eyes awkwardly dart around as she's saying this shit... she KNOWS it sounds unnatural af lmao

143. Léontine Derycke för 3 veckor sedan
   Please tell me the name of the first song

144. Nicole 101 för 6 månader sedan
   What is the name of the song used in the beginning of the video????

145. Scoper720 för 3 månader sedan
   Fousy??

146. James Punting för 6 månader sedan
   Wifey right thuur

147. Skip C för 1 år sedan
   private school where she learned to talk like that?

148. joSe för 3 månader sedan
   2:20 😎😎😎

149. L M för 3 månader sedan
   DOPE

150. Whitney Allan för 1 månad sedan
   This reminds of the scene in white chicks when the girls are in the backseat and they get the green light to say the N word