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bilingualism in the mass media and on the internet

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1. introduction

In *Spanglish*, a Hollywood movie released in late 2004, the mixed code usually referred to as Spanglish is conspicuous by its absence. The movie's title turns out to be a metaphor for the cultural conflicts that arise when a Mexican housekeeper moves in with an Anglo family – and an eye-catcher that exploits the increased media interest in Spanglish for promotion purposes. Current examples of the marketing of Spanish/English bilingualism in the US are not hard to find. Language mixing is no doubt part of the symbolic capital that lifestyle magazines like *Latina* (the 'Magazine for Hispanic Women') and rap stars like N.O.R.E. ('Oye Mi Canto') sell to their audiences. Beyond the US, music with bilingual lyrics thrived in the 1990s, ranging from Algerian *rai* to African hip-hop, from Bollywood soundtracks to Korean pop. While popular music audiences 'seem more receptive to music using other languages than their counterparts of 20 years ago' (Bentahila and Davies 2002: 190), other sorts of bilingual media messages look back to an even longer tradition, such as multilingual advertising (Piller 2003) and the use of English in the fringe media of youth subcultures, which Hess-Lüttich (1978) has termed 'bilingualism as a style resource'. Research findings on various other sites of media discourse strengthen the impression that linguistic diversity is gaining an unprecedented visibility in the mediascapes of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century.

These observations indicate a gradual shift in the sociolinguistic condition of a domain that has traditionally been dominated by ideologies and practices of monolingualism. Historically, the monoglot and standardized linguistic habitus of the mass media results from their primary institutionalization as agencies of construction of the nation-state. The mass media contributed to the constitution of national languages and gave rise to the linguistic ideal of

public discourse in the monolingual nation-state: a language as homogeneous as the nation it represents (Anderson 1983; Blommaert and Verschueren 1998; Boyd-Barrett, Nootens and Pugh 1996; Morley and Robins 1996). This strong link between national identity and linguistic homogeneity does not automatically exclude bilingual practices from the public sphere, but rather frames their modality and meaning. Code-switching and language mixing have been at best displayed and narrated as private practices, good enough for the fictional representation of everyday life-worlds but 'naturally' unsuited as legitimate institutional voices.

Yet current processes of sociocultural change create pivotal points for the public display of linguistic diversity. First, there are hallmarks of the globalization process: The transnational flow of populations gives rise to migrant communities that develop their own public spheres, including ethnic minority media (cf. Appadurai 1996; Karim 2003a). The transnational flow of information provides recipients with linguistic and semiotic resources that are appropriated and re-contextualized in local practices of cultural bricolage (Rampton 1999; Urla 1995). The global Anglo-American dominance in science, technology and entertainment is often evoked to account for the use of English in national media (e.g. Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1999).

A second set of suggestions points to changing conditions of media production and reception. Despite the concentration of media ownership in the globalizing world, access to media production is becoming more accessible to marginalized social groups. Institutional support for minority language media increased in the last decades (e.g. as set down in the European Charter of Regional and Minority Languages; cf. Cormack 1998). Minority media activists exploit non-commercial broadcasting and the internet as affordable means of addressing and engaging their communities. On the other hand, as the commercial media sector is customizing its output for ever smaller target groups, niche media may emerge that exclusively address minority groups or incorporate them in their programme.

On a more micro level, textual and interactional processes in media discourse come into the picture. In the era of digital technologies, the sampling and recontextualization of media content is a basic practice in popular media culture: rap artists sample foreign voices in their songs; entertainment shows feature snatches of other-language broadcasts for humour; internet users engage in linguistic *bricolage* on their homepages. Conversationalization, i.e. the tendency to incorporate conversational speech styles in public discourse (Fairclough 1995), may also foster the public visibility of code-switching, for instance in host-caller radio talk, which is a commonly examined genre in the literature discussed below.

However, with the exception of advertising (cf. Kelly-Holmes 2005; Piller 2003), bilingual media discourse is a little-explored area in sociolinguistics and discourse studies (cf. Boyd-Barrett et al. 1996; McClure 1998; Busch 2004). This neglect seems only in part due to the recentness of the issues.

Another reason might be the tendency to view bilingualism in the media as 'derivative', 'artificial' or 'inauthentic' (cf. Callahan 2004). This seems a natural outcome of its comparison with 'authentic' bilingual speech in spontaneous interaction in a local community. A few media genres seem to approach this authenticity, e.g. live radio talk or computer-mediated interaction; but in advertising, television shows, song lyrics, movies or fashion magazines, the decision to use two or more languages is subject to careful planning, editing and staging. What could be less authentic than that?

The notion of authenticity in sociolinguistics has come under fire as an ideological construct that confines intentional linguistic variability to the margins of sociolinguistic theory (Bucholtz 2003; Coupland 2001). Recent research on sociolinguistic style is moving away from this construct to examine creative manipulations of linguistic resources, and is increasingly concerned with 'the dense interpenetration of local performance with styles of speech that are reflexively designed, produced and disseminated through mass mediated institutional and/or electronic communication systems' (Rampton 1999: 423). From this angle, an *a priori* understanding of bilingualism in the media as something 'less than the real thing' seems anachronistic, and an alternative is called for. As researchers of language mixing in popular music have pointed out, when code-switching moves into the arena of public discourse, it requires a different approach to analysis (Bentahila and Davies 2002; Lee 2004; Sarkar, Winer and Sarkar 2005).

My take on an approach of this kind foregrounds the situated, intentional, and audience-oriented deployment of linguistic resources in media discourse. Rather than measuring them against the yardstick of face-to-face interaction, it seeks to understand how social actors – from media professionals to lay internet users – use their linguistic resources to shape sites of media discourse, and how these sites in turn shape their choices. This is not to deny that code-switching in the media derives its meaning from its association with conversational bilingual speech, nor that it is rarely as structurally 'rich' as prototypical bilingual conversation. The aim is rather to examine the hows and whys of the strategic selection, combination and transformation of linguistic resources in particular discursive spaces of mediated communication. Understanding the nature of these spaces can help us comprehend how the media shape public images of bilingualism (cf. Hill 1999), and how they might be used to challenge and alter these images.

2. analyzing bilingual media discourse

This chapter considers bilingual (and in some cases multilingual) practices in the media based on an examination of research findings from a range of speech communities, including my own German-based research. This approach bridges a gap in the literature, Boyd-Barrett et al. (1996) being to my knowledge the only research review available. The research covered here

includes printed media, broadcasting, popular music, movies, and public discourse on the internet; it excludes literary fiction, film subtitling/dubbing, and interpersonal computer-mediated interaction. Rather than restricting discussion to e.g. minority language media, this chapter explores the diversity of the subject matter in a variety of linguistic and institutional settings.

The chapter is arranged in two main sections. This one outlines a set of categories for the study of bilingual media discourse, which take into account the local context of bilingual text and talk as well as the institutional organization of the media (cf. Fairclough 1995). I discuss relevant units of analysis (section 2.1), the distinction between societal and impersonal bilingualism (2.2), the impact of different media sectors on bilingual practices (2.3), relevant media genres (2.4), patterns of language contact in media language (2.5), and the relationship of bilingual practices to the performance and design of social identities (2.6). The section after that will provide in-depth discussion of bilingual practices in selected sites of media discourse.

2.1 units of analysis

My approach to bilingualism in the mass media and on the internet focuses on manifest choices and juxtapositions of languages within units of text or talk that are delimited from other similar units in their particular context. The relevant unit of analysis is thus the individual radio show rather than the entire daily radio channel production; the newspaper article rather than the complete issue; the web discussion thread rather than a complete web discussion forum. This working definition does not restrict the juxtaposition of languages to their prototypical sequential proximity in bilingual interaction, but embraces more distant, generically conditioned relationships, e.g. between a headline and its copy text or a song's chorus and its stanzas. Drawing inferences about the language practices of media authors and presenters in other contexts is not part of the scrutiny. Using units of text and talk as a *tertium comparationis* enhances the comparability of the rather disparate research literature; it circumvents a general problem of media language studies, i.e. tracing the authorship of a media item (cf. Bell 1992); and it allows us to focus on processes of code-switching and language mixing.

However, such a focus is largely absent from much work on minority language media (including both indigenous and non-indigenous linguistic minorities; cf. Cormack 1998), which examines language choices at channel and issue level, though without any closer look at actual language use (cf. chapters in Riggins 1992 as well as papers in Danet and Herring 2003, Wright 2004 for this approach in studies of computer-mediated communication). The picture emerging from this line of research is often one of double monolingualism: minority language media offer monolingual output in the minority language (or dedicated slots for minority language content), but languages apparently remain separated. Any closer linguistic encounters that might occur are ignored. In fact, when code-switching, interference or other

language contact phenomena are mentioned at all, they are obstacles to a 'clean' broadcast to be erased by editing (cf. Moal 2000: 130), or potential agents of minority language decay (cf. Ní Neachtain 2000). I do not mean to downplay the important findings of this line of research, but only to point out that literature on minority, indigenous and migrant language media rarely provides insights into the focus of this chapter, i.e. bilingualism within a single communicative episode of media discourse.

2.2 societal and impersonal bilingualism

The default case would seem that bilingual text and talk in the media reflect, in some way, bilingual practices of the society in which they are produced and consumed. This is the case in a few available studies on multilingual societies (cf. section 3.1) and in the somewhat better covered area of minority language media (cf. sections 3.2 and 3.3), which includes indigenous minorities (e.g. the Basque Country), immigrant groups (e.g. Turks in Germany) or migration-induced but assimilated ethnic groups (e.g. Welsh descendants in the US).

The counterpart to these reflections of societal bilingualism is a media use of languages that are not anchored in the speech community but understood as belonging to another society and culture. Haarmann termed this 'impersonal bilingualism' in his study of English, French and German use in the Japanese mass media (Haarmann 1986, 1989). The same process is captured in notions such as 'referee design' (i.e. a language style that responds not to the language of the audience, but to an absent reference group; Bell 1992) and 'language display' (the use of out-group language to lay claims to attributes associated with that out-group; Eastman and Stein 1993). Advertising is probably the prototypical site of impersonal bilingualism (cf. section 3.5), but we will also discuss televised performances of intercultural interactions (Jaworski, Thurlow, Lawson and Ylänne-McEwen 2003) and the use of English in the media of non-English speaking countries (section 3.6).

2.3 public, commercial, and non-profit media

Instances of societal and impersonal bilingualism may occur in public media funded by the nation-state (e.g. the BBC), private commercial media (e.g. commercial television), or private non-commercial media (e.g. community radio). Ang (1991) and Busch (2004) argue that each of these three 'media sectors' has its own philosophy that structures the relationship to its audience. Public media conceive of their audience as citizens of the nation-state: they fulfil their mission to inform, educate and entertain citizens by broadcasting a 'meaningful' programme. Private commercial media conceive of their audience as consumers rather than citizens. Broadcasting a meaningful programme is far less important than attracting the attention of potential consumers of the media output *and* of the products and services advertised therein. The emerging 'third sector' of private non-commercial media offers a forum to social groups that have traditionally been excluded from the public

sphere (Busch 2004: 48–9). Their relationship to their audience resembles the public sector in that they address citizens rather than consumers, but is egalitarian and emancipatory rather than paternalistic; the borders between production and reception are fuzzy, and audiences are encouraged to participate actively.

Approaching bilingualism in the media from this angle entails asking how the economy of each sector shapes and constrains the public display of bilingualism (cf. Fairclough 1995: 42), and where the potential for challenging monolingual norms lies. Most ethnic minority media covered in Riggins (1992) fall into the third sector, but in this chapter I also discuss commercial ethnic magazines and local commercial radio. Public media increasingly allocate time to minority programmes, but this does not guarantee an encouragement of bilingual practices (cf. Busch 2004). Impersonal bilingualism proliferates in both the commercial and the non-profit sector, its most prominent forms being commercially framed (e.g. popular music, advertising, lifestyle magazines). Thus the situation seems more complex than a straightforward relationship between media sectors and types of bilingual practice, and the internet is increasing this complexity. Uses of the internet by linguistic minorities blend non-profit activism with commercial interest, and sites of vernacular media production are emerging on the internet that partly fit and partly transcend the classic media sectors. This is the case with individual publishing, as in weblogs, and online communities, i.e. networks of individuals who sustain regular interaction on newsgroups or chat-channels. While these are certainly not mass media in the classic sense of the term, they are arguably sites of public discourse; they are cross-linked with mainstream media in manifold ways, and have the potential of gaining regular audiences. The next section of this chapter will discuss how the internet extends the opportunities for societal and impersonal bilingual discourse (cf. sections 3.3, 3.6, 3.7).

2.4 media genres

A broad notion of genre – e.g. language use according to social purpose (Fairclough 1995) or 'a conventionalized orienting framework for the production and reception of discourse' (Bauman 2001: 79) – is useful in grouping together the research literature covered here. In a nutshell, bilingual practices have been repeatedly attested in five groups of (spoken or written) media genres: First, talk between media professionals and members of the audience, especially phone-in radio, which seems the closest equivalent to spontaneous bilingual interaction in the media sphere (cf. sections 2.6, 3.1, 3.2). Second, performance genres such as comedy, movies, television shows and popular music, in which bilingual speech is subject to planning and editing (sections 2.6, 3.1, 3.4). A third genre group is advertising (section 3.5). The fourth group encompasses various non-fictional genres of written discourse in e.g. ethnic, fan or fashion magazines as well as mainstream newspapers (section 3.6); and the fifth group includes computer-mediated

interaction in newsgroups, web discussion forums, chat-channels and role-playing environments (sections 3.3, 3.7). The apparent diversity of genres should not distract from the fact that bilingual practices still tend to proliferate in the tradition of fiction, entertainment and advertising.

Understanding bilingualism in media discourse comprises an examination of how the organization of media genres constrains choices of and alternations between languages. For example, the function of English in a German advertisement is different according to its occurrence in the slogan (which encodes the voice of the institution behind the ad) or the headline (which often encodes the voice of the implied addressee; Piller 2001). To take another example, language alternation in pop music is often confined to the chorus, i.e. the most memorizable part that summarizes the song's message. More complex media formats such as entertainment shows and movies may offer several slots for bilingual talk, and understanding the distribution of linguistic resources to participant roles and parts of the plot is a necessary part of the analysis. But the opportunities for bilingualism afforded by a particular genre are realized in different ways across sociolinguistic settings. In the case of radio talk, compare the sparse use of Corsican (Jaffe 2000) to the language mixing attested in settings of stable societal bi- and multilingualism such as Barcelona or Nairobi (Woolard 1988; Horstmann and Alai 2004). Within a speech community, the same genre may provide a site of both commodified and resistance bilingualism (cf. Heller 2000). For example, casting a song's chorus in a different language may draw on a language that has 'value in the global marketplace' or on a minority language in an attempt to fragment the dominant monoglot ideology (Heller 2000: 12). More generally, the staging of 'mixed forms of language and culture' in performance arts can be 'in itself' a form of legitimation of everyday bilingual practice when addressed to a local bilingual audience (Jaffe 2000: 43); but it can also reaffirm cultural stereotypes by stylizing linguistic minorities for the sake of a monolingual audience (Hill 1995).

2.5 from mixing to minimalism: patterns of bilingual text and talk

In her work on English code-switching in Spanish and Mexican newspapers, McClure points out the absence of 'the richness of form and function repeatedly described in studies of spoken language code-switching in bilingual communities' (McClure and Mir 1995: 47). Yet cases of rich code-switching and/or language mixing are attested, for various media genres, in settings of both societal and interpersonal bilingualism. An example for the latter is the use of non-native English in pop music (cf. section 3.6); as for the former, consider the case of *Latina*, the US 'Magazine for Hispanic Women': Its predominantly English texts are 'peppered with Spanish nouns, determiner phrases, conjunctions, prepositional phrases', and intrasentential switches (e.g. 'seduce him *en la cocina*') are common (Mahootian 2005).

Such switching and mixing that reflects community norms may blend with deliberate departures from conventional patterns of bilingual speech. For

example, a Catalan comedian draws on Spanish interference and borrowing that is frequent in the Catalan speech community, and he also uses Spanish/Catalan code-switching to a much greater extent than the general population does in order to create a fictional world 'where the two languages have found a peaceful coexistence' (Woolard 1988: 71; Woolard 1999). Instances of language mixing as poetic or attention-seeking device are also found in rap lyrics (Sarkar et al. 2005), advertising (Bhatia 1992), and computer-mediated discourse (Androutsopoulos 2006).

On the other hand, several studies report cases in which one language clearly predominates, the other being reduced to a few isolated occurrences, notably chunks and formulaic expressions. Examples include the 'phrasebook dialogues' between presenter and local hosts in British tourism TV shows (Jaworski et al. 2003); the tiny amounts of redundant and predictable Corsican in French radio talk (Jaffe 2000); the 'semantically slight but pragmatically versatile' uses of Welsh in ethnic magazines (Coupland et al. 2003); or the fixed uses of Punjabi in ethnic newsgroups (Paolillo 1996, in press). They can be summarized as instances of minimal or token bilingualism (cf. Kelly-Holmes 2005 and Li 2000:6 who defines a minimal bilingual as someone 'with only a few words and phrases in a second language'). Minimal bilingualism in media discourse often responds to (factual or assumed) limited language competence on the part of the audience, and exploits the symbolic, rather than the referential, function of language (cf. sections 3.2, 3.6). This is sometimes achieved by its use as a framing device (Coupland et al. 2003: 167): tiny amounts of a second language are positioned at the margins of text and talk units, and thereby evoke social identities and relationships associated with the minimally used language.

Whether bilingualism in media discourse comes in dense code-switching or just in a few 'spectacular fragments of language' (Rampton 1999: 423) is the outcome of strategic decisions at specific historical moments. Consider the case of Algerian *rai* music lyrics (Bentahila and Davies 2002): early *rai* recordings capitalize on an 'insertion style' with frequent incorporation of French nouns and clauses in an Arabic matrix, which bears close resemblance to code mixing in urban Algerian communities. But in later productions the languages are more separated, their distribution bearing a 'more systematic relationship to the structure of the song' (Bentahila and Davies 2002: 202). Rather than reflecting societal language change, this shift from mixing to a generic separation of languages is motivated by a shift in target audiences: As *rai* music became more popular in France, its artists and producers turned to a more prominent use of French for key phrases, refrains and titles in order to increase its chances of exposure to a French audience.

2.6 performance and design: styling bilingual identities

Media discourse is planned and staged for large audiences. It is therefore characterized by a heightened attention to the perception of these audiences;

an attention to the details of linguistic form; and the conscious inhabiting of professional roles that need a recognizable, hence stereotyped, voice (Jaffe 2000: 42; Jaworski et al. 2003). Rather than always speaking in their 'own voice', media performers use language to stylize an array of social identities, relying for this purpose on the cultural and sociolinguistic knowledge they assume to share with their audience (Coupland 2001). These identities may be claimed by the performers themselves, projected to their audience or ascribed to social types in the bilingual community.

Comedy and singing are celebrated as sites for 'virtuoso performances of linguistic mixing' (Woolard 1999: 22). By skilfully moving across linguistic and cultural boundaries, performers meet generic expectations to 'impress with linguistic virtuosity' (Eastman and Stein 1993: 195), and exploit the associations of linguistic codes to social identities and stances (Woolard 1999; Jaffe 2000; Heller 2003: 167). Consider how these two dimensions of bilingual performance blend in the lyrics of Montreal hip-hop artists, which 'contain many instances of code-switching or code-mixing between the languages or language varieties that are commonly in use in the ethnically and racially diverse urban contexts in which Montreal hip-hop is grounded' (Sarkar et al. 2005: 2058). Based on Quebec French, they draw on words and phrases from various languages to craft their rhymes, and specifically use African-American English to 'assert a certain cultural and ethnic allegiance that identifies them as young *Black* Québécois' (Sarkar et al. 2005: 2066). This example illustrates that the relationship of bilingualism and identity in media discourse may extend beyond the performer's own ethnolinguistic background to practices of language crossing (Rampton 1995), in which speakers appropriate (fragments of) languages that are significant in the local context without necessarily having full command of them. The discussion of English in global hip-hop below (section 3.6) illustrates how this Montreal case resonates with similar practices elsewhere.

Researchers of multimodal discourse define design as the use of semiotic resources 'as means to realize discourses in the context of a particular communicative situation' (Kress and van Leeuwen 2001: 5–6). When media makers devise an advertisement, plan a lifestyle magazine or set up a website, they may select linguistic codes (a second language, a mixed code) just for specific portions of their product, based on anticipations of their aesthetic value, their indexical or symbolic force, and, ultimately, their effects on the audience. In other words, the design of media discourse may entail the strategic allocation of languages to particular generic slots. This is nowhere as clear as with emblems, i.e. items that represent an actor or institution, such as names and headers, section titles, jingles and station signs, website navigation bars. To the extent secondary codes are selected by design for these items, a sort of emblematic bilingualism emerges, which does not challenge the dominant language in terms of informational load, but declares another code as relevant to the 'face' of an institution (cf. Urla 1995: 254).

3. selected sites of bilingual media discourse

Drawing on the categories introduced above, this section discusses bilingual practices in selected sites of media discourse. We begin with two examples that illustrate how dense multilingual talk indexes power relationships in a multilingual society (section 3.1). We then examine strategies of resistance against monolingual norms in minority radio (3.2), the use of migrant languages on the diasporic internet (3.3), and the stylization of immigrants in films addressed to monolingual mainstream audiences (3.4). We enter the area of impersonal bilingualism with its prototypical case, advertising (3.5), proceed to English in the media of non-anglophone countries (3.6), and conclude with a case from transnational computer-mediated discourse (3.7).

3.1 mediated reflexes of societal multilingualism

The two case studies discussed here demonstrate the richness of multilingual media discourse in a multilingual society. The first is concerned with a radio show in Nairobi, Kenya, in which switching and mixing of English, Kiswahili and Kisii (a local language) is common practice (Horstmann and Alai 2004). The speech of 'Caroline', the main presenter, reflects an urban style of mixing Kiswahili and educated urban English. 'Nyambane', the minor figure performed by a professional cabaret artist, stages the villager from the Kisii region, the language of which he speaks, in addition to Kiswahili and non-standard English. There is a clear power differential between the two, Caroline correcting and even insulting Nyambane, but it is he who is occasionally outspokenly critical of the government. The distribution of languages to participant roles here evokes urban stereotypes regarding local languages and their speakers, and at the same time creates a subject position that is able, through its being cast as subordinate, to voice political critique.

The second study is on rap music in Senegal and Gabon (Auzanneau 2001). The linguistic repertoire of these rap artists includes standard and non-standard varieties of French (the official language in both countries) and English; Wolof, the main African language of Senegal; and local languages such as Poular (in Senegal) and Téké (in Gabon). Rappers code-switch between these languages at the intersentential, intrasentential and tag level. They also use a mixed style, i.e. a French matrix with vocabulary from various languages, which reflects linguistic developments in urban vernaculars. Auzanneau shows that language choice and code-switching in these songs are topically motivated. For instance, French is preferred for international and serious topics, whereas non-standard forms of French are selected to narrate African life reality or youth-cultural issues; non-standard forms of English index the values of US hip-hop culture but also provide a means of symbolic emancipation from traditional francophone dominance. Wolof is preferred in Senegal to address issues of African society or Senegalese identity; local languages are confined to matters of cultural tradition and

rural African life; and language mixing foregrounds the rappers' difference from the dominant society and their solidarity with their peers. Although mixing might pose comprehension problems to outsiders, rappers use it as a 'we code' (Gumperz 1982) to instigate dialogue with a broader public. But vernacular French, Wolof or a local language may also be cast as 'we code', depending on the social identity of the artist and the social relationships that are enacted in a particular song. Auzanneau suggests that the language choices of these rap artists respond to two different exigencies: the 'local identity logic' demands that local languages be used as an assertion of ethnic identity. The 'commercial logic' favours French and English, because they provide access to an international audience. Using both French and a local language in a song is a solution to this dilemma.

3.2 bilingual strategies in minority language radio

Studies of bilingual radio talk illustrate the effect of dominant monoglot ideologies on the linguistic practices of minority language media. Rather than valuing the bilingual speech of everyday life, their producers and audiences support a separation of languages in the public sphere, and perpetuate the stigmatization of language mixing as a problem of competence (Jaffe 2000: 43; Busch 2004: 127; Bhatia 1992: 196). This leads to the paradoxical situation that media committed to a local minority agenda erase local linguistic practices from their repertoire (Busch 2004: 117). Against this backdrop, any public display of mixed codes has the potential to be read as resistance against monoglot ideologies. Going public with what is usually kept private gives symbolic value to 'the hybrid communicative practices that characterize much everyday interaction' (Jaffe 2000: 44), and helps to assert 'a public identity usually invisible in mainstream communication' (Fjelsted 1999: 42). Such resistance bilingualism may manifest itself in quite small linguistic forms, such as bilingual puns, which are a well-documented strategy of playful and subtle subversion of the authority of the dominant group (Fjelsted 1999: 46; Heller 2003: 167; Zentella 2003).

Even if there is institutional support for a bilingual programme, minority actors must develop strategies for incorporating bilingualism into the genres at hand, taking into account the potential heterogeneity of their audience. These strategies are examined in a recent study of non-profit radio stations in Austria (Busch 2004). These stations allocate airtime to migrant actors and overtly encourage them to alternate between languages. However, this is not equally ratified by listeners, who interpret code-switching and interference not as an indication that the presenter is at home in both languages, but as the first step in a process of language shift (Busch 2004: 127). Bilingual talk is therefore often restricted to an opener in the dominant language, the remainder being wholly in the minority language.

A number of ethnic music shows practice a 'one speaker – one language' distribution: within a multi-ethnic team, each presenter uses her/his own

native language, its frequency depending on the current topic and the language preference of guests, and intelligibility being supported by short summaries at speaker takeover. Busch (2004: 143–8) discusses an experimental radio commentary of a football match between Austria and Turkey, in which the Austrian and Turkish presenters invited listeners to shut off the TV sound and follow the radio commentary instead. Almost half of it turned out to be in German and 30 percent in Turkish, the remainder being sequences of rapid switching or simultaneous talk at moments of excitement. Busch considers this to be a step towards developing strategies of multilingual radio talk that go beyond a tokenistic co-presence of languages. We can also consider it a form of resistance bilingualism (Heller 2000), in that it seeks to de-nationalize what is usually thought of as a national domain, i.e. football, combining for this purpose bilingual commentary with discourse strategies on the propositional level, e.g. a use of 'we' that indexes both nations.

3.3 bilingual practices on the diasporic internet

The Internet extends the 'media of diaspora' (Karim 2003a) in various ways, the most analysed one being transnational diasporic communities in newsgroups, mailing lists or discussion forums. Studies of language use in virtual diaspora communities attest to their use of code-switching for various discourse purposes, though not always to a dominance of home or migrant languages. Some studies document dense conversational code-switching and mixing across or within turns at talk, whereas others report a rather minimal use of home languages in settings of English-language dominance, and attribute this to ongoing language shift and to the ethnically mixed audience of the virtual environment (cf. McClure 2001; Paolillo 1996, in press; Androutsopoulos 2006 for a fuller discussion).

A second type of diasporic media on the internet are ethnic websites, which offer edited sections with news, event listings and other cultural resources, as well as discussion forums that are open to registered users free of charge. Their producers explore the potential of the internet 'in overcoming some of the hierarchical structures of traditional broadcast media' (Karim 2003b: 13), but also in catering for niche diasporic markets with customized advertising, merchandising and paid services (cf. Sinclair and Cunningham 2000). The linguistic consequences of this tension between commercial editorial practices and community discourse are examined in research on websites for German-based diasporic groups, notably of Moroccan, Persian, Indian and Greek origin (cf. Androutsopoulos 2006). German clearly predominates across these websites, but the currency and value of migrant languages are quite different in edited sections and discussion forums. In the latter, home languages gain prominence in discussion topics relevant to the home country, and are used in small performances such as quoting homeland poetry or ethnic joke-telling. Alternation between German and home languages is a common practice, covering a range of typical discourse functions of conversa-

tional code-switching. There are also instances of purposeful language mixing, which is construed to display linguistic virtuosity or to respond reflexively to debates about ethnic identity. Bilingual speech in these debates is consonant with the complex language-identity relationships discussed above (cf. sections 2.6 and 3.2). Rather than an essentialist use of home language as 'we code' and German as 'they code', participants draw on a variety of code choices to negotiate a multiplicity of identities that are contiguous to diaspora and its virtual space.

By contrast, the edited sections of these websites maintain a clear separation of languages. Their language choices are shaped by their commercial imperatives rather than by a commitment to home language maintenance. Their decision for German responds to assumed language preferences of the diasporic audience as much as to the wish to be accessible to interested members of the dominant group, including advertisers. This does not exclude bilingual design, notably the use of home languages and English for names and slogans. For instance, the Indian website <www.theinder.net> features an alternative Hindi homepage, in which the Hindi language is confined to the navigation bars. At the same time, the website producers assume that Hindi, at least in its native Devanagari script, is not intelligible to the majority of their audience. This is a case of what Coupland et al. (2003) term 'iconising', i.e. the process by which rudimentary amounts of an ancestor language build signifiers of ethnic identity. Thus different interests shape the value of home languages within these multi-layered web environments. Hindi is reduced to 'a ceremonial and celebratory icon' (Coupland et al. 2003: 156) of Indianness in web design, but is used, alongside other languages of India, in bilingual talk in the discussion forums.

3.4 styling ethnic otherness for majority audiences

We now move from in-group bilingual spaces of immigrants to their stylization for mainstream audiences. The arena is film, a prime site for the reproduction of linguistic stereotypes (cf. Lippi-Green 1997: 79–103). Lippi-Green notes that film conventionally exploits assumptions about socially typified speech styles as a means to draw characters quickly, and argues that this linkage of language variation to character distinctions may discriminate against linguistic minorities. Her study of Disney animated movies suggests that non-standard accents are reserved for villains and low status characters; ethnic characters are given stereotypical broad accents, but ethnic protagonists (e.g. Aladdin) have a mainstream accent.

For the purpose of this chapter I examined the use of migrant languages in a number of recent German and US American movies, in which Mexican and Greek migrants in the US and Turkish migrants in Germany are the main subject. They include three US movies (*Spanglish*, a 2004 comedy about a Mexican woman working for an Anglo family; *Real Women Have Curves*, a 2002 drama about Mexican-American teenagers; and *My Big Fat Greek Wedding*,

a 2002 comedy about the romance between a Greek woman and an Anglo man); and five German movies (*Kanak Attak*, a 2000 drama about Turkish gangsters; *Kurz und Schmerzlos* or 'Short Sharp Shock', a 1998 drama about young migrants caught in a life of crime; *Gegen die Wand* or 'Head-on', a 2004 drama about the love affair between two German Turks; *Kebab Connection*, a 2004 comedy about the meeting of cultures in Hamburg; and *Süperseks*, a 2004 comedy about a Turkish-language telephone sex hotline).

As migrant languages are presented to an audience assumed to be mainstream monolingual, their use is unsurprisingly restricted to a few rudimentary code-switches in a few scenes, comprehension being supported by redundancy and visual context. However, their distribution among characters and parts of the plot reflects sociolinguistic stereotypes of migrant communities: We witness the parent generation using the home language with each other and with their children, but the younger ones using (an ethnolect of) the majority language with each other. In a mother–daughter dialogue in *Real Women Have Curves*, the mother switches to Spanish for emphatic repetition in an emotional outburst; in *Kanak Attak*, elderly characters switch to Turkish as soon as their argument escalates. In *Kebab Connection* and *Süperseks*, the young Turkish protagonist has a native German accent, and a successful Turkish doctor has a good command of German and only speaks Turkish when emotionally involved, whereas Turkish shopkeepers prefer Turkish and use learner varieties of German. In these two movies, as well as in *My Big Fat Greek Wedding*, longer stretches of migrant language occur either in religious settings or in scenes that are dominated by the concurrent visual event (e.g. fighting, a wedding celebration). *My Big Fat Greek Wedding* features a couple of Greek phrases that recur throughout the story; one of them is positioned as an instance of second-language acquisition at the happy ending.

Overall, home languages are portrayed as being subject to intergenerational language shift, heritage settings and emotional outbursts being their sites of survival. The message about the connection between language choice and social status is clear: the more socially successful a migrant, the more linguistically assimilated and native-like; 'bad guys' speak worse German (and more Turkish) than the characters we are supposed to identify with. I hesitate to say that all this amounts to discrimination against minorities. But it certainly reproduces a folkloristic, highly clichéd image which does not even come close to reflecting the diversity of bilingual speech in migrant communities, in Germany, the US or elsewhere.

3.5 multilingual advertising: ethnosymbolism and beyond

Advertising discourse has a long tradition of 'language display', i.e. the appropriation of out-group language 'to attract potential customers by appealing to their sense of what is modern, sophisticated, elegant, etc.' (Eastman and Stein 1993: 198). Haarmann coined the term 'ethnosymbolism' for 'the use of foreign languages as symbols of foreign ethnic groups

and their cultures' (Haarmann 1986: 109). Here are two examples: The first, a commercial for German beer, broadcast in Australia, features barely intelligible German in the background, framed by an English voice that states: *You don't need to speak German to enjoy a good beer.* The second is a print advertisement for French cigarette paper in Germany, in which an attractive female is given the headline: *Voulez-vous rouler avec moi?* In the first case, the mere acoustic presence of German, devoid of propositional meaning, alludes to the product's original context of consumption and thereby highlights its authenticity. The second case appropriates a French pop song line to contextualize the main ethnosymbolic value of French in German advertising, i.e. eroticism (cf. Piller 2001).

The 'toolkit' for the analysis of ethnosymbolism in advertising encompasses: the semantics of foreign language chunks; their distribution across the components of an advertisement and the voices of advertising discourse, i.e. narrator (the institution behind the ad) and narratee (the implied recipient); the relation of language choice to types of commodities (product groups); and other verbal or visual features that support ethnosymbolism (cf. Piller 2001; Bhatia 1992; Martin 2002; Cheshire and Moser 1994). Slogans and headlines are the most favoured sites for additional language choices as well as for deliberate language mixing 'which introduces innovative and creative effects' (Bhatia 1992: 196).

English is 'the single most favored language selected for global mixing' in advertising (Bhatia 1992). French, Italian, Spanish and German have an international appeal as well, the use of other languages depending on local setting (e.g. Bhatia documents Persian in Indian ads). What sets English apart is the range of values it can be associated with, and the range of commodities it promotes. It has been attributed symbolic values such as novelty, modernity, internationalism, technological excellence, hedonism and fun, as opposed to the stereotypical restriction of French to elegance and eroticism, Italian to food, German to technology (cf. Piller 2001). German is sometimes selected even for cars not made in Germany (cf. Bell 1992), but it is still confined to a particular type of product that matches the main symbolic value of that language. English, by contrast, illustrates how ethnosymbolism is left behind, as its distribution to types of commodities is more significant than the origin of the commodities themselves.

Cheshire and Moser (1994) suggest that the type of product is a better predictor of language choice than the type of media that hosts the advertisement. Their results show that English in francophone Swiss ads predominates 'for products that are particularly susceptible to passing fashions, and which people may use as part of an expression of social identity' (ibid: 460), such as cigarettes, clothing, shoes, watches and alcohol. Likewise, Androutsopoulos, Bozkurt, Breninck, Kreyer, Tornow and Tschann (2004) found significant distributions of English slogans to product groups across three decades of German advertising: slogans for clothing, tobacco and communications technologies make most

use of English, followed by media, cars and cosmetic products. Political ads, which address recipients as citizens of the nation-state rather than consumers, unsurprisingly have the lowest percentage of English slogans in this sample. Yet this did not prevent Germany's Conservative party from using the slogan 'black is beautiful' in the 1970s, exploiting the African-American movement of that era to valorize its own symbolic colour, black. This confirms Bhatia's view that 'no advertisement […] is likely to escape the influence of language mixing', and his suggestion that restricting English to a closed set of products would 'miss the dynamics of language mixing' (Bhatia 1992: 198, 204). As Bell (1992: 338) argues, there is no categorical connection between language style, type of product, and the stereotype associated with it. Language choice in multilingual advertising can be interpreted, but not predicted.

3.6 non-native english, english from below, and the styling of 'glocal' identities

The use of English in the mass media of non-anglophone countries is traditionally attributed to Englishization, i.e. the infiltration of host societies and cultures by anglophone – in particular American – technology and lifestyle (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1999). The traditional focus of this debate is on anglicisms, i.e. lexical borrowings (cf. Gardt and Hüppauf 2004 for German). Yet current uses of English in national language mass media also include one-word code-switching (nonce-borrowings), chunks, formulae, phrases or utterances, as well as English headlines and subtitles (cf. McClure 1998; Haarmann 1989). Their frequency may be limited (for instance, single nouns are the main type of English code-switching in McClure's data), but their very existence calls for the bilingual discourse analysis that was pioneered in studies of advertising (cf. section 3.5).

McClure (1998) suggests that the degree of national language/English code-switching depends on the relationship of the host societies to English-speaking countries. Its higher frequency in Mexican than Spanish newspapers correlates with geographical proximity and a more intense cultural contact to the US, and its discourse functions index the ambivalent relationship of Mexicans to the US (e.g. satirical code-switching that alludes to border relationships). McClure argues that the even lesser degree of English code-switching in the Bulgarian media she examined is a result of the only recent orientation to English-speaking societies and popular culture in Bulgaria, and an index of the still limited number of sufficiently bilingual members of the national audience.

Less attention has been paid to the relationship of Englishization and 'glocalization', i.e. the process by which globally circulating cultural resources are recontextualized in local settings (Robertson 1996). This relationship is foregrounded in Preisler's notion of 'English from below', which he defines as 'the informal – active or passive – use of English as an expression of subcultural identity and style' (Preisler 1999: 241). In contrast to 'English from above', which is promoted 'by the hegemonic culture for purposes of international

communication', English from below is motivated by 'the desire to symbolize subcultural identity or affiliation, and peer group solidarity' (Preisler 1999: 241, 246). It is acquired via non-institutional channels, practised in vernacular literacies, and involves styles and varieties of the English language that are associated with particular cultural images, such as African-American English with hip-hop. English from below therefore involves more variation than officially promoted, institutionally transmitted English as a Foreign Language (Preisler 1999: 260; Androutsopoulos 2004; Leppänen forthcoming).

The impact of English from below in media discourse becomes apparent when we turn from nation-wide media to niche, commercial and non-profit media for various contemporary youth-cultural communities and audiences. Their uses of English, some matching the profile of minimal bilingualism outlined above (section 2.5), others involving more dense code-switching and language mixing, challenge the 'overly simple view that English is for intercultural communication and local languages for local identities' (Pennycook 2003: 83; Leppänen forthcoming). I suggest that the identities at stake might best be termed 'glocal', because they gain their meaning as local performances of a global cultural paradigm, and it is precisely this relationship that English contextualizes. Three examples from Germany will illustrate this point: skate-boarding magazines, rap lyrics and hip-hop discussion forums.

In German skate-boarding magazines, short English phrases (e.g. *just skate for fun*; *skate or die*; *in the name of the game*) are used by German actors in editorials, reports and interviews, or left untranslated in interviews with US skaters (Deppermann 2001). These phrases relate their referent or topic, both by content and language choice, to the globally leading US skater scene. They are resources for these magazines' 'rhetoric of authenticity', i.e. their strategy for defining 'real' skater culture and setting off 'authentic' members from imitators and novices. The case of rap lyrics illustrates how Englishization goes beyond propositional demands to the organization of discourse and the refinement of poetic form (Androutsopoulos and Scholz 2002; Auzanneau 2001; Lee 2004; Pennycook 2003; Sarkar et al. 2005). German rappers use (African-American) English discourse markers to signal turn taking, and nonce-borrowings to facilitate rhyme; they code-switch to claim culturally significant attributes; and they sample African-American voices for the intro or the chorus of their songs. Yet the dominant language of these songs is clearly German, and they seldom, if ever, reach international audiences. As in the African and Canadian cases (cf. sections 2.6 and 3.1), the aim of using English is to display poetic skills and cultural affiliation to local audiences rather than to audiences in the culture of origin.

In the discourse of German hip-hop fans on the internet, hip-hop English is appropriated and tailored to new generic demands (Androutsopoulos 2003). Producers of personal homepages pick up linguistic elements from US rap bands to design their navigation bars, page titles and text headings. In web guest books and discussion boards, stylized Black English is a common choice

for ritual activities in and through which participants perform being a hip-hopper: greetings to the local crew, ritual appeals to other fans or vows of loyalty to favourite artists. The ample opportunities for phatic communion and performance afforded by these spaces boost the use of short, formulaic English code-switches when compared to printed media (Androutsopoulos 2004). Remarkably, similar processes are encountered on hip-hop sites from Italy and Norway. Thus from a transnational perspective, English from below establishes a symbolic connection between rap and fan discourse on the one hand, and between various localized hip-hop discourses on the other.

3.7 beyond localness: language choices in transnational web environments

In all the cases discussed so far, the backdrop of bilingual practices in the media is the usage and/or ideology of a local community. However, spaces of transnational communication are emerging on the internet, in which the choice of linguistic resources is evaluated against the norms and practices of online community alone. An example that illustrates this process is 'active worlds' (www.activeworlds.com), a multi-user environment of role-playing interaction (Axelsson, Abelin and Schroeder 2003). 'Active worlds' is structured in a multitude of 'worlds', i.e. discourse environments that are organized by theme. Each 'world' has a 'main language', established by its administrator, which is not always identical to the 'majority language', i.e. the one used by most participants in a particular encounter. For instance, Spanish is the main language in the environment called 'mundo hispanico', but the majority language of some interactions is English.

Axelsson et al. (2003) focus on 'introduced languages', i.e. languages other than the main or majority language of a 'world'. They distinguish three main motivations for the introduction of a new language, three types of response to it, and three factors for the acceptance or rejection of the newly introduced language. In particular, users may introduce a new language in order to get in touch with fellow speakers of their language, to initiate language play, or to attract other users' attention, thereby disturbing ongoing conversations. In reaction, the language introducer can be accepted (i.e. responded to in a friendly way), rejected (told to switch to the main language or to leave) or simply met by silence. How the newly introduced language is treated depends on the type of language, the type of environment, and the perceived intention of the language introducer. The authors suggest that English speakers are less tolerant, non-English speakers more willing to accommodate to a new language introducer. The acceptance of languages other than English is rather low in general-character 'public worlds' and higher in 'themed worlds', which are frequented by more experienced users. Finally, the tolerance of a new language is higher when the introducer is in search of fellow native speakers and lowest if they are perceived as intrusive. In sum, the case of 'active worlds' illustrates how the interactional meanings and consequences of language

choices are shaped by the emergent social structure of virtual communities: Localness is recontextualized in virtual rather than physical space.

4. conclusion: bilingual practices in changing media landscapes

Based on a review of transnational research findings, this chapter explored the range of contemporary language encounters in the mass media and on the internet. I argued that in order to understand the complexities and tensions involved in the mediation of bilingual practices, we need to transcend the implicit benchmark of 'authentic' bilingual speech in a twofold way: First, by embedding any comparison between mediated and immediate bilingual speech in an examination of the institutional settings and generic contexts of media discourse; and second, by extending the scope from societal to impersonal bilingualism. This allowed us to consider issues that are largely overlooked in mainstream bilingualism research, and yielded a picture in which bilingualism in the media is ubiquitous rather than exceptional. On this basis, this chapter advances an understanding of bilingualism in the media as a set of processes by which institutional and vernacular media actors draw on linguistic resources from their own inheritance, their social environment and the wider semiotic flows they have access to in order to construct textures and voices that mediate and balance between immediate communicative exigencies, market expectations and loyalties to local and imagined communities.

This inclusive approach did not attempt to conceal the fact that societal and impersonal bilingualism in the media are subject to different processes of change. In minority language media, bilingualism is still constrained by dominant monolingual ideologies, and minority actors develop strategies of resistance against these ideologies (cf. section 3.2). Minority actors disclose new sites of bilingual discourse on the internet (section 3.3), and minority bilingual practices are in some cases promoted to a norm by niche ethnic media (Mahootian 2005). On the other hand, impersonal bilingualism in contemporary media landscapes extends beyond advertising to discourses of 'glocalization', in which 'imported' linguistic resources may gain entirely different and new meanings (sections 3.5, 3.6). Even though impersonal bilingualism is often thought of as a process 'from above', controlled by the commercial interests of global corporations, bilingualism 'from below' in the literacy practices of 'glocal' youth cultures eventually reinforces a *dissociation* of language and nation, as counter-normative uses of non-native English construct imagined alliances with global cultural movements and may well be used to challenge the hegemony of English-speaking countries.

I conclude by summarizing four processes that cut across societal and impersonal bilingualism and seem characteristic of the current proliferation of bilingual discourse in the media. First, bilingualism thrives at the 'periphery' rather than the 'core' of contemporary mediascapes. This applies in terms

of frequency and structural complexity as well as in terms of genres and discursive practices: Many linguistic encounters in the public sphere are clearly framed by a dominant language, restricting other languages to 'spectacular fragments' that are 'intricately interwoven with other expressive modalities' (Rampton 1999: 423). To this extent, the public visibility of bilingualism is due to many small ruptures at the margins of monoglot mediascapes rather than to a few radical changes at their centre.

Second, bilingual practices in the media are a means for social actors to establish symbolic values in discourse. This is not a contradiction to their peripheral character, as symbolic values may well be established by designing the 'face' rather than the 'body' of discourse (see sections 2.5 and 2.6). Many instances of bilingualism in the media constitute a response to the tension between the global and the local. One of its manifestations is the wish to make cultural commodities accessible and attractive to distant audiences without sacrificing the symbolic bond to the original, proximal ones; indeed, it is precisely this symbolic bond that authenticates globally circulating cultural commodities. In the case of *rai* music, bilingual lyrics aim at 'a dual effect, conveying both an in-group, solidary tone and a more global, international flavour, without sacrificing the one to the other' (Bentahila and Davies 2002: 204). In diaspora contexts, a fragmented and minimal bilingualism is often the only means of indexing bonds to a distant imagined origin and establishing the symbolic value of a minority language in globalized mediascapes (Coupland et al. 2003). In the realm of impersonal bilingualism, the local value of bilingual practice can only be established against, and would not exist without, a global backdrop. Appropriations of a second code are authenticating devices (Bucholtz 2003; Eastman and Stein 1993), by which participants style themselves as local representatives of global movements.

A third point worth highlighting is the nexus of bilingualism and com-modification. Commercial appropriations of bilingualism discussed in this chapter range from the retention of local minority audiences to stylizations of ethnic otherness in mainstream films. We are here no doubt witnessing the effect of wider processes of change, such as the lead of the commercial sector in the conversationalization of media discourse (Fairclough 1995: 43); the entertainment value assigned to practices of language stylization in media performance (Coupland 2001); and the marketing appeal of hybridity and *bricolage* in the globalizing world. Commodifications of hybridity were traditionally confined to advertising, but the current nexus of bilingualism and commodification seems more multivalent than that. Many celebrations of bilingual or mixed norms in the literature have indeed a commercial bottom line. When ethnic media turn mixed talk into their institutional voice, they legitimize community norms and at the same time exploit the public celebration of a bilingual ethnic 'we' as a strategy of local audience retention (Mahootian 2005; Jaffe 2000). Rap artists may well be commercially successful with their ways of 'subverting language prescriptivism through their own

use of language strategies such as multilingual code switching' (Sarkar and Winer in press: 28). Subversive language practices also depend on marketing to reach their audiences, and commercially framed bilingualism may well foster a change in public norms of discourse. We might therefore ask whether the distinction between resistance and commodified bilingualism (Heller 2000) is perhaps better viewed as a continuum rather than as a rigid dichotomy.

Finally, social appropriations of new communications technologies are extending the public visibility of bilingualism, in both societal and impersonal settings. Bilingual discourse is part of the practices by which diaspora populations use the internet as a site for 'the productive construction of new hybrid identities and cultures' (Sinclair and Cunningham 2000: 15). Although the new media are not *per se* sites of language revitalization and maintenance (Sperlich 2005), spaces of online discourse allow for practices of conversational switching and mixing that are qualitatively different from traditional forms of bilingual written discourse, and provide opportunities to establish such practices as the default case.

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