SWITCHING FROM NATIONAL LANGUAGE TO ENGLISH IN MEDIA DISCOURSE:
SOME FINDINGS FROM GERMAN YOUTH-CULTURAL MEDIA.

Jannis Androutsopoulos
(Institut für Deutsche Sprache Mannheim)

1. INTRODUCTION

The use of English in media from non-English speaking countries is traditionally studied in terms of lexical borrowing. In German, as in many other languages, there exist numerous descriptions of English lexical items in printed mass media (cf. Carstensen & Busse 1993), dealing mostly with cultural borrowings, i.e. items that refer to new objects or concepts (Myers-Scotton 1992). However, there is increasing evidence that the use of English in media discourse extends beyond established lexical borrowings to include nonce borrowings, phrases and whole sentences. McClure (1998) discussed such cases in Spanish, Mexican and Bulgarian media, and coined the term 'written national language - English codeswitching'. In German media, code-switching into English appears in a variety of genres for a variety of purposes. Examples include commercial slogans or even complete advertisements, quotations or headlines in newspapers, interviews and reviews in music magazines, openings and closings in computer-mediated communication etc. (cf. Androutsopoulos 1998, Schlobinski 2000, Deppermann 2001).

In all these cases, the use of English can be said to reflect 'Englishisation', i.e. the global dominance of English in science, technology, and pop culture (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas 1999). An extensive use of English is motivated through not only referential necessities, but also an orientation to (or identification with) some aspect of English-speaking culture (cf. Meyers-Scotton 1993). However, many academic as well as public discussions (e.g. Glück 2000 for German) disregard the fact that Englishisation is a highly differentiated process, in which sociolinguistic factors such as target groups, genres, and varieties or registers of English all play a role. In this spirit, Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas argue that 'Englishisation needs to be studied in specific local linguistic ecologies' (1999,24).

Based on findings from current research[1], this paper will focus on uses of English in a specific 'linguistic ecology', i.e. written media discourse of a youth-cultural community in Germany. After introducing the social context of my data, I will discuss how distinctions of code-switching research apply to written media discourse. On this basis, I will demonstrate that (a) most switches into English in my data can be described as routines, (b) vernacular English is an important resource in German youth-cultural discourse, and (c) the type and amount of English switches varies according to media format. By way of concluding, I will argue that these particular resources of English are important for the projection of 'exclusive' youth-cultural identities. Overall, the point is made that insights in this lesser-known area of media discourse can significantly broaden our understanding of current processes of language contact in the media.

2. YOUTH-CULTURAL SITES OF MEDIA DISCOURSE

The media discourse examined in this paper originates in communities that evolve around the production and consumption of certain styles of

<2>

pop music, such as hip-hop, heavy metal or punk rock. For ease of reference, the cover terms '(music) youth cultures' will be used. In general terms, the formation and development of youth cultures in Germany (and probably in most other parts of the world) is dependent on English-speaking pop culture. Most new trends and styles related to pop music originate in Great Britain or the USA, then rapidly spread via media on an international scale and are reproduced and appropriated in national contexts.[2] Even after a music style has developed a national production and market, the model character of the corresponding English-speaking culture remains. Therefore music youth cultures are good candidates for an extensive use of English, drawing on it for their particular terminology and parts of their distinctive slang. This process is particularly visible in the case of German hip-hop, which is a relatively new development and retains a strong connection to its US American 'mother' culture. Therefore the focus of this paper will be on German hip-hop media.

Media discourse of German hip-hop is best regarded as a marketplace, or 'ecology', with several interrelated participants covering all media types. This market is highly specialised in its topics and reaches quite limited audiences, for even the most well known German hip-hop magazines have a quite limited distribution when compared to mainstream teenage press. An important distinction in this market is the one between print media (magazines) and Internet communication services such as message boards, newsgroups and guestbooks. Although these are publicly available, they are at the same time fundamentally different from print media with regard to their access conditions and speech genres. Let me illustrate this with reference to web guestbooks, which will be used as example in this paper. While writers of music magazines are semi or full professionals, guestbook entries are usually written by simple fans. While magazine genres are mostly monological (excluding interviews) and of a more or less conventionalised content, guestbook entries are basically dialogical and much less conventionalised. They may contain greetings, comments on the site, discussions on key issues of the culture etc. As Richardson & Lewis (2000) point out, web discourse is an important part of vernacular literacy within hip-hop culture.

The findings reported in this paper are based on a sample of magazine and web texts, which assign themselves to punk, rave and hip-hop (the hip-hop examples I will discuss later on are a subset hereof). The magazine sample covers four typical genres (editorials, news, interviews, record reviews) and amounts to a total for around 24.000 words. The web sample consists of 300 entries from five guestbooks with a total of around 17.500 words. All instances of English in the samples were entered in a database and coded for structural and semantic-functional features. Analysis was backed by extensive observations of the media field and discussions with selected guest-book contributors. These were particularly useful in assessing the values participants attach to specific uses of English. Nevertheless, the decision of what counts as 'English' in the data was ultimately mine.

3. USING CODE-SWITCHING TERMINOLOGY WITH WRITTEN MEDIA DISCOURSE

Since linguistic Englishisation goes beyond lexical borrowing, it seems useful to turn to research on code-switching for analytic categories. However, the situation at hand is quite different from the typical object of code-switching research, i.e. spoken interaction among bilingual speakers. What we have here is (more or less)

<3>

extensive insertion of a foreign language, i.e. English, into written and mass-mediated discourse produced in a national language, i.e. German. This amounts to a hardly investigated constellation, for which diagnostic criteria still need to be developed. McClure's (1998) criterion for determining instances of code-switching in her newspaper data was to count as code-switching all that was not attested in dictionaries and/or was typographically marked, e.g. in italics. However, this solution is clearly not fully adequate for youth-cultural mediascapes, where many English items that are conventional in the fan community are not listed in any dictionary, while mainstream typographic conventions are hardly followed. In this section, I will briefly introduce some distinctions I found useful for the data at hand. At the same time, I will provide a general profile of German/English alternation phenomena in music-cultural media discourse.

My analysis basically follows a framework proposed by Auer (1998), which involves a twofold distinction, i.e. between switching and mixing on the one hand, and alteration and insertion on the other (see also Backus 1996). Starting with the latter, insertion is defined as a uni-directional process, in which elements of a donor language are imbedded into a matrix language. Alternation is a bi-directional process, in which interaction can equally be conducted in both languages, and the point of switching is not predictable. However, in the situation at hand the language of (mediated) interaction is the language of the magazines or websites, i.e. German. This excludes any instances of real language alternation, leaving insertion phenomena as the actually important type[3]. As for the distinction between switching and mixing, Auer (1998) argues for a restrictive view of switching as a locally meaningful phenomenon, which indexes features of the speaker and/or the situation, such as change of topic or activity, change of footing, etc. It can involve single word items or larger chunks. Insertional mixing, on the other hand, can be quite frequent and is only meaningful as a whole, i.e. as a language variety or style. It covers both established and nonce lexical borrowings as well as some larger chunks. The distinction between established and nonce elements is based on criteria such as structural integration, frequency, and community acceptance (cf. Myers-Scotton 1992, Heller & Pfaff 1996).

To begin with the data, examples 1 and 2 illustrate a pattern of 'dense' lexical borrowing, with almost all major-class words being of English origin, which is quite common in music-cultural discourse. The examples include the English nouns 'Beat', 'Sample', 'Rapper', 'Styles', 'Eastcoast' (in 1), 'beatz' and 'cuts' (in 2), the verbs 'kick' (1), 'rap' (2) and 'mail' (2), the adjectives 'ruff' (i.e. rough) and 'cool', and the greeting particle 'yo'. These are established borrowings in the sense that they are widespread in the media under investigation and show morphological integration, e.g. receive German inflections, are active in compounding, etc.[4].
-- All examples are provided with an English gloss translated by myself. --

EXAMPLE 1: EXCERPT FROM RECORD REVIEW
Er hat einen ruffen Beat, einen schönen Sample, und die Rapper
kicken ihre Styles darüber - eben typisch Eastcoast.
gloss:
He's got a rough beat, a nice sample, and the rappers
kick their styles on it - it's a typical east coast thing.

EXAMPLE 2: GUESTBOOK ENTRY

<4>

Jo! Mach beatz und cutz. Bock drauf zu rappen?
Dann mailt mir ma. Wär cool.
gloss:
Yo! I make beats and cuts. Would you like to rap on them?
Just mail me. Would be cool.

An instance of insertional mixing involving a complex adjective phrase, is example 3. Here, the clause 'äusserst ruff, rugged and raw' begins with a German intensifier, 'äusserst', and continues in English. However, 'ruff' is a common loanword in hip-hop discourse and appears in German clauses as well, while the two subsequent adjectives are much less common. A possible analysis is therefore that 'ruff' triggers a switch for the two subsequent, semantically related adjectives.

EXAMPLE 3: EXCERPT FROM RECORD REVIEW
Wer dieses baby, äusserst ruff, rugged and raw, nicht hat,
der ist selber schuld!
gloss:
If you don't have this baby, [which is] extremely ruff,
rugged and raw, it's your fault!

Further examples for insertional mixing include single items that lack morphological integration, as in the phrase 'die exhausting Kickdrum', in which the adjective 'exhausting' bears no German inflection. The same holds true for the clause 'Beautiful smooth House aus London' in which neither 'beautiful' nor 'smooth' carries German inflection, yielding an English noun phrase and a German prepositional phrase. Nonce borrowings are sometimes indicated by a departure from local spelling norms, especially the rule of noun capitalization required by German orthography. For instance, the appearance of the item 'unfunkyness' as the sole noun in lower case in a sequence, points to its nonce character. A similar example is the phrase 'ein absoluter Könner des kickin' french-style' ('an absolute artist of kickin' french-style'), in which the noun phrase, 'kickin' french-style', is neither morphologically integrated nor follows German spelling rules.

Instances of code-switching, in the restrictive sense outlined above, look quite different than the cases discussed so far. Consider example 4 from an interview with a German disc-jockey. Here, the interviewee switches into English in order to express a leitmotif for his artistic action, i.e. 'give the people what they want'. The fact that the speaker himself calls this 'motto', leads to the assumption that it is retrieved as a phrase or quotation. In any case, the switch into English gives to the propositional content an additional emphasis and perhaps also a kind of global validity, i.e. the English motto represents a stance, which is not restricted to artists from a particular country or national origin.

EXAMPLE 4: EXCERPT FROM INTERVIEW
Q: Was bedeutet das für deine Sets im Club?
A: Wenn man in einen vollen Laden kommt und alle sich freuen,
dass Tom Novy da ist, lautet das Motto: GIVE THE PEOPLE WHAT
THEY WANT. Dafür sind sie gekommen und haben Eintritt bezahlt.
[...]
gloss:
Q: What does that mean for your club sets?
A: When you go into a full house and everybody is glad that
Tom Novy is there, there is only one motto: GIVE THE PEOPLE WHAT
THEY WANT. That's what they came and paid entrance for. [...]

<5>

Another switch is illustrated in example 5, which comes from an interview with a German punk band. The topic here is the unfair treatment of the band by local institutions. In the first clause, the speaker refers to the authority in standard German, uttering a thanksgiving that is clearly ironical. In the second clause, the speaker switches into English and abuses the minister. The switch coincides with a change in discourse role (from first person to direct addressing) and a shift in modality (from ironical to aggressive). English is therefore used as language of directness, compared to the distance conveyed in the preceding German clause. However, it may also be the case that the code-switching mitigates aggression, i.e. makes it easier for the speaker to openly abuse the authority.

EXAMPLE 5: EXCERPT FROM INTERVIEW
Ich möchte mich noch beim Bremer Kultursenator bedanken,
das er uns ohne einen Ersatz zu stellen aus unserem Bunker
geworfen hat. FUCK OFF YOU BASTARD!
gloss:
I'd also like to thank Bremen's Minister of Culture,
who threw us out of our depot without providing any substitute.
FUCK OFF YOU BASTARD!

In both examples, the switch into English involves a pragmatically salient (or at least accountable) purpose, one that is in consonance with well-known functional patterns of code-switching, i.e. emphasis or expressivity (e.g. Heller & Pfaff 1996, McClure 1998). Examples 6 and 7, which are both advertisement entries from web guestbooks, illustrate two further patterns, i.e. intertextuality and framing.

EXAMPLE 6: GUESTBOOK ENTRY
GABBA GABBA HEY!! Fuck eBay.de Auktionen - jetzt gibt es
Rockauktion.de!!! Verkaufe/ersteigere Underground Musik
(Punk, HC, Hard Rock, Alternative/Indie) mit Rockauktion.de
kostenlos... Bitte unterstützt uns, denn wir befinden uns
noch in der Startphase - Thanx & keep on fuckin' rock!!!
gloss:
GABBA GABBA HEY!! Fuck eBay.de auctions - here is Rockauktion.de!!!
sell or auction underground music (punk, HC, hard rock, alternative,
indie) with Rockauktion.de free of charge... Please support us,
because we are still at the beginnings - Thanx & keep on fuckin'
rock!!!

Intertextual switching involves the use of English quotations and allusions, e.g. the song quotation 'gabba gabba hey' by punk-rock band 'The Ramones' at the beginning of example 6. Framing refers to the use of English utterances at the beginning and/or the end of a text. This is done with greetings and farewells, quotations, slogans and other resources. Example 6 starts with the song quotation and ends with the utterance 'Thanx & keep on fuckin' rock!!!' (which by the way is non-native English, the correct form being not 'rock' but 'rocking'). Example 7 ends with an English greeting and a slogan. Overall, the purpose of these switches is to frame a media text as part of a more extensive (sub)cultural discourse. In a similar vein, English sentences are used in German skateboarding magazines in order to establish a connection to the original US skater culture (Deppermann 2001).

EXAMPLE 7: GUESTBOOK ENTRY
Schon wieder neue TRACKZ, PICZ & LINKZ bei http://bounce.to/berlin !!
Welches ist die HipHop Stadt Nummer 1 ? Stimme ab 4 Deine Stadt bei:
http://bounce.to/berlin AIIGHT - PEACE II DA REALHEADZ UNDERGROUND

<6>

MUST SURVIVE !!!!!!!
gloss:
Once again new tracks, pics & linkz at http://bounce.to/berlin ! !
Which is the hip-hop city number one? Vote for your city at:
http://bounce.to/berlin AIIGHT - PEACE II DA REALHEADZ UNDERGROUND
MUST SURVIVE !!!!!!!

Certain switches into English can be regarded as instances of the
special case of metaphorical code-switching known as 'language
crossing'. Crossing means 'switching into other people's languages'
(Rampton 1998), i.e. the purposeful use of (elements of) a language or
variety that does not belong to the speaker, but rather to an
identified ethnic or social group. In German hip-hop discourse,
language crossing is related to 'original' US hip-hop culture, and
therefore involves items that are stereotypically associated (by
writers and readers alike) with Afro-American vernacular English.
Instances of this are the exclamation 'aight' and the utterance 'peace
II da realheadz' in example 7, as well as the phrases "peace my
niggaz" and "da one and only" in example 8 (see more discussion in
section 4).

Within a single text (e.g. a record review) or a larger stretch of
text (e.g. a magazine page), various kinds of English material can co-
occur. Since the discourse examined here concentrates on music, these
texts contain large amounts of established borrowings, English artist
names and song titles. There follow less common nonce borrowings,
occasional intrasentential mixing, and some instances of switching and
crossing. Example 6 nicely illustrates this, with several conventional
borrowings in the main text (e.g. 'underground', 'indie'), a rather
uncommon non-integrated verbal insertion ('Fuck' with German
complement), and the initial and final switches.

4. ENGLISH ROUTINES AND MEDIATED VERNACULAR

Obviously, the above cases are quite remote from switching and mixing
patterns of bilingual spoken interaction. At the same time, however,
they are quite different from the kind of English one will find in
mainstream German newspapers, magazines and websites. The way English
is used in music youth cultures stands in sharp contrast to other
instances of English as a foreign language in Germany. Two important
resources in this respect are English routines and vernacular speech.

The term routine (or verbal routine) refers to any fixed or set
linguistic item that is repeatedly used in a specific context.
According to Coulmas (1981,67-9), routines are 'ready-made' solutions
for particular communicative problems, and are defined primarily
through their situational adequacy, i.e. they are 'the right thing to
say' according to the norms of a community or culture. Structurally,
routines range from single-word items (e.g. discourse particles) up to
complete clauses and utterances. The following overview includes seven
categories of routines. Among these are features that are sometimes
classified as 'set phrases' or 'idioms' in code-switching
literature[5]:

(a) greetings and farewells, (e.g. 'hi', 'bye-bye', 'cu/see you')

(b) expressive speech acts, expletives, and certain expressive
interjections (e.g. 'thanks', 'sorry', 'fuck off', 'wow')

(c) discourse markers (especially 'ok', but also 'well' and 'anyway')

<7>

(d) slogans, which are always related to subcultural concerns. Their force is either that of a statement, i.e. they express the writers' beliefs and affiliations (e.g. 'underground will survive'), or that of a directive, i.e. they urge addressees to a certain action or moral conduct (e.g. 'keep on rocking')

(e) advertisement slogans for a particular product or service (e.g. 'get it', 'check it out', 'visit our site')

(f) 'props', i.e. a greeting and/or congratulating routine that is particular to hip-hop culture.[6] It consists of the lexical item 'props' (or equally 'peace', 'shouts', 'respect') and a prepositional phrase that includes the name or group membership term of the addressee, as in: 'peace II da realheadz' in ex. 7 (note that 'to' is sometimes spelt '2' or 'II').

(g) a rest group including phrases such as 'no way', 'that's all', 'let's go', etc.

With regard to English routines in the examples discussed so far, example 2 is introduced by the greeting particle 'yo' (in the Germanised spelling 'jo'); in example 3 the English motto can be counted as a slogan; in example 5 there is the well-known expletive 'fuck off'; example 6 contains 'thanx' and a slogan; and example 7 includes the expressive interjection 'aight', a 'props' ('peace II da realheadz') and an assertive slogan ('underground must survive').

These examples make obvious that routines are a quite useful descriptive category as far as English in my data is concerned. In terms of frequency, routines include most instances of code-switching in the sample. They are much less frequent than established lexical borrowing, but much more frequent than nonce borrowing and free insertional mixing.[7] In terms of pragmatic function, many English routines are openers and closers, others are expressive speech acts (thanks, apologies, expressions of enthusiasm), while still others, e.g. slogans, convey subcultural norms and values. Especially in advertisements such as texts 6 and 7, the use of slogans, 'props' and song quotations probably seeks to convey a sense of subcultural engagement as a counterbalance to commercial interest. In this sense, routines (and vernacular English) can be used as a device to mitigate the usually disinterested reactions to advertisement.

In terms of language variation, routines are innovation friendly categories, and therefore sites of constant renewal of English material. Certain routine types, e.g. 'props' and slogans, consist of pre-patterned frames that allow for individual fillings and modifications. Moreover, all kinds of routines include conventionalised and novel, in other words both borrowed and switched items. For example, the greetings 'hi' and 'see you/cu' are quite frequent and widespread in my data. They do not have a 'local meaning', such as a (re)definition of context or relationship, but are part of an in-group style. This is in consonance with a more general pattern of discourse markers in language mixing (cf. Auer & Dirim 2000, 187). By contrast, the opener 'peace my niggaz!!!' (cf. example 8 below) does have a local meaning by virtue of its uncommonness and the indexing of 'original' hip-hop culture through the word 'niggaz': it emphatically presents the writer (and his addressees) as a community of engaged hip-hop fans. Another example is provided by 'props' routines. Many instances are completely in English, e.g. 'peace II da realheadz' in 7 and 'Shout 2 my komradz' in 8, and are

<8>

therefore counted as switches. In other cases the complement is grammatically assimilated, as in 'PEAZ an alle aktiven' ('peace to all actives') or 'Props an Titus und alle Dortmunder' (props to Titus and all Dortmund people). While these versions are still performing the same action, they are much closer to equivalent German expressions, and 'props' appears here as a lexical borrowing. It follows that a classification according to routines can capture the transition from switching to borrowing, i.e. the process in which 'meaningful' or salient items gradually become routinized (Auer 1998).

Finally, routines are important sites for vernacular English, i.e. items that are intended and perceived as non-standard (slang). The use of vernacular English in subcultural media is repeatedly attested for German since the seventies (Hess-Lüttich 1978). What is new and particular to hip-hop, however, is the extensive orientation to (stylised) Afro-American Vernacular English or 'hip-hop slang', as a participants' term puts it. Typical resources include certain lexical items (e.g. 'nigga', 'aight', 'wack', 'nuff', article form 'da'), representations of phonetic/phonological features, e.g. noun morpheme -er as -a/-ah (e.g. 'brotha', 'nigga'), and certain spelling choices, e.g. -z for the plural morpheme -s (as in newz, propz), 'ph' (as in 'phat') and 'k' (e.g. 'kool').[8] Features of this kind are found in established borrowings, free insertional mixing and code-switching. Examples 7 and 8 seem to contain prototypical cases of crossing into 'hip-hop slang'. Text 8 is a highly stylised guest book entry, with expressive framing and an abundant props sequence. Items associated with African-American hip-hop AAVE include here: the initial greeting 'peace my niggaz!', the phrases 'da one and only', 'u got it' and 'over'n'out', and the items 'komradz', 'beatz' (k and z spellings) and 'brudah', a hybrid in which the German word 'bruder' receives a typical 'black' spelling for the -er ending. In the words of Rampton (1998: 304), this writer is 'moving towards codes and identities that are prestigious and powerful'.[9]

EXAMPLE 8: EXCERPT FROM GUESTBOOK ENTRY
PEACE MY NIGGAZ!!!
[...] Dementsprechend bin ich jedem verbunden, der für seinene ADC-Brudah eintritt! Shout 2 my komradz SNBEEE (da one an only!), F. Chiller (fette Beatz!), YOGI (komm endlich!), Lukas, shookone, Talez und alle anderen ADCler, die ich leider (noch) nicht richtig kenne!!! U GOT IT!!! *over'n'out* StillFastCruisin
gloss:
PEACE MY NIGGAZ!!!
[...] Therefore I am grateful to anyone who stands for his ADC brothers! Shout 2 my komradz SNBEEE (da one an only!), F. Chiller (fat Beatz!), YOGI (come over here!), Lukas, shookone, Talez and all other ADCers, which I unfortunately don't know personally (yet)!!! U GOT IT!!! *over'n'out* StillFastCruisin

While this sort of English occurs in all hip-hop media in my data and is also attested in comparable media of other countries, it is obviously not transmitted through the institutional teaching of English as a Foreign Language. Its sources are rather bits and pieces of pop culture, such as record sleeves and CD booklets, magazines and web-sites, songs and video clips. As these items come from media, which is specific to hip-hop culture, their appropriations in German contexts index knowledge of (familiarity with) this culture. Linguistic transmission via these non-curricular sources is extremely up-to-date, with the result that vernacular innovations may reach German teenagers before entering English monolingual dictionaries (see examples in Androutsopoulos 1998,532).

<9>

5. SWITCHES IN PRINT AND WEB TEXTS

While English switches, routines and vernacular appear all over the mediascape of music youth cultures in Germany, their amount and quality seems to differ according to media type and genre. A comparison of the magazine and website samples reveals that magazine texts contain relatively more major-class English borrowings, while guest book entries contain more discourse markers and larger chunks (which include routines and other insertional switches). In particular, major-class items (nouns, verbs, adjectives) make out 66% of English items in magazines, but only 45% in guestbooks. By contrast, discourse markers and larger chunks make out 23% of the guestbook sample, but only 3% of the magazine sample. The amount of names/titles remained constant in both samples, i.e. 31% of all English items in the magazine and 32% in the web sample. It also appears that purposes of code-switching are somewhat different in these two media formats. Many switches in magazine texts correspond to general practices of mass-media discourse, e.g. switching into English for quotations, allusions, emphatic repetitions, etc. (cf. McClure 1998). On the other hand, switches in web guestbooks are focused on phatic and expressive elements. Overall, the use of English in web guestbooks is characterised by a greater range of variation, more dialogical and expressive elements, and more use of vernacular for purposes of self-presentation.

Based on these differences, which are expectable given the institutional and functional differences between both media formats (as outlined in section 2), web guestbooks appear as an innovative space of media discourse, in that a resource that was already apparent in niche print media is expanded. Although English routines and vernacular are found to a limited extent in magazine texts as well, their frequent occurrence is specific for youth cultural web discourse.

7. CONCLUSION: ENGLISH AND 'EXCLUSIVE' SOCIAL IDENTITIES

In a discussion of Campus Kiswahili, Blommaert (1992) argues that the main motivation for code-switching is a social-stylistic one, in that the use of a particular code in interaction indicates the social position of the speaker. Languages and language varieties used in code-switching derive their indexical value from their larger sociohistorical context. They are part of larger group histories, and may be accessible only to specific groups within a society. By making use of a limited linguistic resource, speakers project 'exclusive' social identities. Although Blommaert's data is very different than mine, his view on the social meaning of code-switching fits the situation at hand. The social identity that is at stake here is that of a 'real hip-hopper', a member of both a local and an international fan/artist community. This identity is exclusive to the extent that membership sets boundaries between those who belong to the culture and those who don't. Web discourse is one of many possible ways to participate and present oneself as competent member of the culture. As I have tried to show, English is an important means for framing mediated communication as part of hip-hop discourse. Significantly, however, the code that is relevant for this task is not 'English' as such, but rather quite specific patterns of English. These include code-switches, mostly in form of routines, and vernacular English, especially 'hip-hop slang'. Although these resources are available in

<10>

Germany on a mass-mediated scale, they are accessed only by members of the hip-hop community and appropriated as part of an alternative literacy. In the words of Blommaert, the English used by young hip-hop fans has a completely different 'social valence' from the English taught at school - 'it is not the same English, because it has entered their speech through completely different social mechanisms' (1992,67).

The currency of routines and vernacular speech in the media texts examined in this paper is not incidental. English routines allow their non-native users to do 'more with less': Based on a quite limited set of resources, they can use idiomatic English (or at least appear doing so) without a bilingual competence. In a sense, the use of routines is halfway between conventional lexical borrowings and spontaneous insertional mixing. Especially with regard to web guestbooks, routines are a means for the 'design' of ritual communication, in which participants establish and reaffirm their social relationship. On the other hand, vernacular English, even though detached from its original sociolinguistic context, indexes knowledge of the 'model' subculture, including the knowledge of particular ways of speaking and writing. Therefore, in vernacular literacy within German hip-hop culture, English items are major ingredients of social style.

Overall, the findings of this study support two conclusions with regard to language contact in modern media discourse. Firstly, they suggest that the use of English as an international 'lingua franca' in media discourse is diversified in accordance to particular 'ecologies', i.e. audience communities. In this paper, a use of English is documented that is quite different from 'school English' (Glück 2000). The impressive amounts of vernacular English used by young German writers indicate the importance of multiple paths of linguistic transmission in globalised media landscapes. Secondly, the findings suggest that the Internet is an important site for the diversification of media discourse. More precisely, certain social uses of the Internet, such as the web communities discussed here, create new literacy spaces that allow for more instances of code switching and language mixing than is the case in traditional media formats.

REFERENCES

Androutsopoulos, Jannis (1998) Deutsche Jugendsprache. Frankfurt a.Main.: Peter Lang.

Androutsopoulos, Jannis (1999) "Displays of subcultural identity in mediated (printed) discourse" In Verschueren, Jef (ed.) Language and Ideology, Vol. 1, 25-42. Antwerp: IPrA.

Auer, Peter (1998) From Code-switching via Language Mixing to Fused Lects: Toward a Dynamic Typology of Bilingual Speech. In International Journal of Bilingualism, 3:4, 309-332.

Auer, Peter & Inci Dirim (2000) "On the use of Turkish routines by adolescents of non-Turkish descent in Hamburg". In Anne Holmen & N. Jørgensen (eds.) Perspectives on the bilingualism of Turkish speaking children and adolescents in North Western Europe, 157-194. Copenhagen: The Dasnish University of Education.

<11>

Backus, Ad (1996) Two in One. Bilingual Speech of Turkish Immigrants in The Netherlands. Tilburg: Tilburg Univ. Press.

Backus, Ad (1999) Evidence for lexical chunks in insertional codeswitching. In Brendemoen, Bernt, Elizabeth Lanza & Else Ryen (eds.) Language encounters across time and space, 93-109. Oslo: Novus Press.

Blommaerts, Jan (1992) Codeswitching and the Exclusivity of Social Identities: Some Data from Campus Kiswahili. In: Eastman (ed.), 57-71.

Carstensen, Broder & Ulrich Busse (1993) Anglizismen-Wörterbuch, Band 1. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter.

Coulmas, Florian (1981) Routinen im Gespräch. Wiesbaden: Athenaion.

Deppermann, Arnulf (2001) "Authentizitätsrhetorik". In Essbach, W. (ed.) Identität und Alterität in Theorie und Methode, 261-282. Würzburg: Ergon.

Eastman, Carol (ed.) (1992) Codeswitching. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Fiske, John (1997) "Populäre Texte, Sprache und Alltagskultur". In Hepp, Andreas & Rainer Winter (eds.) Kultur-Medien-Macht, 65-84. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Glück, Helmut (2000) Die neuen Medien als Motos des Sprachwandels. Schulenglisch als zweite Landessprache? In Hoffmann, Hilmar (ed.) Deutsch global. Neue Medien - Herausforderungen für die deutsche Sprache, 108-125. Köln: Du Mont.

Heller, Monica & Carol W. Pfaff (1996) Code-switching. In Goebl, Hans et al. (eds.) Handbuch Kontaktlinguistik, Vol. 1, 594-609. Berlin,New York: de Gruyter.

Hess-Lüttich, Ernest (1978). Bilingualismus als Stilmittel: Drogenkultur und Sprache. In Nickel, Gerhard (ed.), Rhetoric and Stylistics, 69-82. Stuttgart.

McClure, Erica (1998) The relationship between form and function in written national language - English codeswitching: Evidence from Mexico, Spain and Bulgaria. In Jacobson, Rodolfo (ed.) Codeswitching Worldwide, 125-150. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Myers-Scotton, Carol (1992) Comparing Code-Switching and Borrowing. In Eastman (ed.), 19-40.

Phillipson, Robert & Tore Skutnabb-Kangas (1999) Englishization: one dimension of globalization. In Graddoll, David & Ulrike H. Meinhof (eds.) English in a changing world, 19-36. Aila Review 13.

Quirk, Randolph et al. (1994). A comprehensive grammar of the English language. London: Longman.

Rampton, Ben (1998) "Language crossing and the redefinition of reality". In Auer, Peter (ed.) Code-Switching in Conversation, 290-320. London: Routledge.

Richardson, Elaine & Sean Lewis (2000) "Flippin' the Script" / "Blowin' up the Spot": puttin' Hip-Hop online in (African) America and

<12>

South Africa". In Hawisher, Gail E. & Cynthia L. Selfe (eds.) Global
Literacies and the World Wide Web. 251-276. London, New York:
Routledge.

Schlobinski, Peter (2000) "Anglizismen im Internet". Online paper,
Networx 14, Hannover University. www.websprache.net/ networx/ docs/
networx-14.htm

NOTES

[1] Research reported in this paper is part of a project on
"Jugendkulturelle mediale Stile" currently carried out at the Institut
für deutsche Sprache in Mannheim.

[2] Important in this respect are both primary media, i.e. forms of
artistic expression such as music CDs, and secondary media, i.e.
agents of cultural diffusion such as music magazines. The distinction
between primary and secondary media goes back to Fiske (1997).

[3] Note, however, that the situation may be different to the extent
mediated interaction is carried out in truly bilingual communities.

[4] See Androutsopoulos (1998) for a comprehensive account of
integration procedures of English lexical borrowings.

[5] On verbal routines cf. also Auer & Dirim 2000, Androutsopoulos
1998,508-21). Terms that capture (at least partly) the same phenomena
are 'set phrases' (McClure 1998, 131) and 'idioms' (Backus 1999). What
I call 'routines' corresponds to most kinds of 'formulae' after Quirk
et al. (1994,852): greetings and introductions, farewells, thanks and
apologies, expletives and other exclamations, expressions of anger or
dismissal, etc.

[6] An online dictionary of rap and hip-hop speech explains 'props' as
follows: 'An abbreviation of "propers" or proper respects. [...] At an
award ceremony the winner gives props: "And I would like to
thank...".' (The rap dictionary, www.rapdict.org)

[7] With regard to frequency differences among routine categories, in
a sum of almost 300 routines from web guestbooks greetings (71 tokens)
and farewells (60) were the biggest groups, followed by expressive
interjections (36), slogans (31), the items 'ok', 'thanx' and 'sorry',
'props' (22) and advertisement slogans (19).

[8] These markers are supplemented by other features with a wider
social distribution, e.g. the reduced -ing suffix (e.g. movin'),
various reductions and assimilations (e.g. 'wanna', 'ya') and spelling
variants such as '2' (to) and '4' (for). Although some of my
informants count these features to (written) 'hip-hop slang', they are
to my knowledge used beyond hip-hop discourse as well.

[9] Note that this kind of code-switching does not originate in face-
to-face interaction, but rather bounces from mediated to direct
discourse. In other words, German hip-hop fans may use items such as
'nigger' in in-group interaction, but the source of the term is a
mediated one.