

Advances in Sociolinguistics

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Since the emergence of sociolinguistics as a new field of enquiry in the late 1960s, research into the relationship between language and society has advanced almost beyond recognition. In particular, the past decade has witnessed the considerable influence of theories drawn from outside of sociolinguistics itself. Thus rather than see language as a mere reflection of society, recent work has been increasingly inspired by ideas drawn from social, cultural, and political theory that have emphasized the constitutive role played by language/discourse in all areas of social life. The *Advances in Sociolinguistics* series seeks to provide a snapshot of the current diversity of the field of sociolinguistics and the blurring of the boundaries between sociolinguistics and other domains of study concerned with the role of language in society.

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The Languages of Global Hip Hop

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1 Multilingualism, Ethnicity and Genre in Germany's Migrant Hip Hop

Jannis Androutsopoulos

1 Introduction

Multilingualism is a key issue in the sociolinguistics of hip hop, and multilingual rap lyrics have been examined in a variety of empirical settings across the world. Most researchers focus on the interplay between a country's native – national or vernacular – languages and English, the latter being both the original Hip Hop Nation Language (HHNL) (Alim, 2004) and a global language with varying sociolinguistic status. There is by now sufficient evidence that English is an important resource of transnational hip-hop discourse on a global scale (Androutsopoulos, 2009). However, local differences in the societal status of English – e.g., as 'foreign' language, official language, or de facto *lingua franca* – will also have an impact on – and provide interpretive backdrop for – the ways English is used in hip-hop discourse (see, e.g., Higgins, 2009, on Tanzania; Auzanneau, 2001, on Senegal; Pennycook, 2007, on Japan; Lüdtke, 2007, on Germany). Less attention has been paid to a second dimension of multilingual hip hop, i.e., the use of minority and migrant or 'community' languages. In Germany, the setting of this paper, recognized minority languages include Sorbian and Romani, while migrant languages are much more numerous, including Turkish, Italian, Greek, Russian and so on.

Young people of migrant descent have been an important force in the development of German hip hop in the last 20 years or so, and issues of ethnicity and migration are common topics of German rap discourse, reflecting the diverse ethnolinguistic background of parts of the German hip-hop scene (Güngör and Loh, 2002). Against that backdrop, the first question of this chapter is whether, to what extent, and how rappers of migrant background use migrant languages as a resource for their lyrics. The analysis, based on a sample of record releases reaching from the early 1990s to the mid 2000s, aims to offer insights into a lesser-studied constellation of linguistic diversity in hip hop, thereby complementing

the main type of hip-hop multilingualism studied so far, i.e., the interplay of national language(s) and English.

A second question addressed in this chapter concerns the study of multilingualism in rap lyrics generally. The relevant background to this question is the relation of multilingual lyrics to everyday multilingualism. More specifically, I argue against the assumption that multilingualism in rap lyrics reflects everyday multilingual talk – an assumption favoured by hip hop's language ideology, which views rap as capitalizing on 'authentic' vernacular speech (e.g., Potter, 1995), and explicitly expressed by some researchers and practitioners alike (see, e.g., Sarkar and Allen, 2007).¹ This is not to say that there is no relation between lyrics and conversational speech, but rather to question a simplistic equation between the two. I follow Bentahila and Davies who, in a study of Algerian/French *Rai* music lyrics, identify two main differences between lyrics and conversational speech: audience and planning (2002, pp. 192–193). With regard to the latter, song lyrics may originate in spontaneous improvisation, but they subsequently go through several stages of editing, in which artists use literacy to optimize the rhyme and other formal properties of their lyrics and to tailor them to rhythmic constraints, thereby taking into account genre conventions and audience expectations. The final outcome of this process (i.e., the lyrics heard in a recording) may well incorporate traces of conversational and vernacular style, but its conditions of production distinguish it from spontaneous discourse. I therefore agree with Bentahila and Davies's suggestion that it would be problematic to use lyrics, or poetry, as evidence for code-switching patterns in a community.

Moreover, while everyday multilingual practices are usually set in private and informal situations, rap lyrics – at least on stage and in releases – are addressed to large and heterogeneous audiences, i.e., constitute public discourse. Language style in lyrics needs therefore to be studied as an outcome of strategic styling decisions within specific social and historical contexts. Bentahila and Davies (2002) found that *rai* recordings from the 1980s are rich in 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, p. 202). This shift does not reflect language change on the part of the artists, but is rather motivated by a shift in their target audiences: as Algerian *Rai* music became more popular in France, artists and producers emphasized the use of French in the titles and refrains of their songs, hoping to increase their chances of exposure to a French audience. In such a case, a structural

approach to code-switching is clearly not appropriate for the description of multilingualism in popular music. As Sarkar and Winer argue,

code-switching in song lyrics is a very different phenomenon from code-switching in conversation, as it is neither spontaneous, nor is it intimate. . . . When code-switching moves into the arena of public discourse, discourse intended for large audiences of strangers and carefully pre-written at that, it requires a different approach to analysis. (Sarkar and Winer, 2006, p. 178)

In exploring such a 'different approach to analysis', this chapter engages with multilingualism in an inclusive sense, i.e., encompassing all discourse strategies involving the selection and distribution of two or more languages in song lyrics. Taking up the suggestion to examine 'the distribution of the switches' in relation to 'the structure of the song' (Bentahila and Davies, 2002, p. 202), I ask how the generic organization of a rap song may constrain language choices and shape their discursive meaning.

The structure of the chapter is as follows: The next section offers background on Germany's migrant hip hop. Rappers of migrant background have used hip hop as a means to express discourses of migration and ethnicity, thereby mobilizing immigrant languages, albeit in historically different patterns. Using concepts from multilingualism research, I then clarify the distinction between the base language and embedded languages in a song as well as the notion of symbolic language use. Following that, I discuss the organization of multilingualism in German migrant rap, outlining how the use of migrant languages is constrained by the typical generic structure of a song. I suggest that language choices tend to coincide with genre boundaries (e.g., between intro, stanzas, refrain and the like) and discuss some attested instances of code-switching and mixing within stanzas, to which I attribute an indexical, rather than symbolic, effect. In the concluding discussion, I develop an explanation of these patterns in terms of audience and market orientations, suggesting that a symbolic use of migrant languages allows artists to make ethnicity claims while targeting a mainstream, monolingual audience. I also discuss differences between the German case and the hip-hop discourse of other countries. Overall, the chapter aims at demonstrating that multilingualism in rap lyrics is a complex discourse process that cannot be properly understood without taking generic and institutional factors into account.

2 Migration and ethnicity in German hip hop

As elsewhere in Europe (and beyond), young people with a migrant background have been instrumental in the appropriation of hip hop in

Germany and the development of 'local' hip-hop discourses, in which ethnicity and migration constitute important topics from the very beginning. Both concepts are used here from an 'emic' perspective, drawing in particular on participants' own artistic discourse. In other words, assessing which artists and releases shall count as 'migrant' or 'ethnic' is based on discourse rather than demographics as such. The crucial point is an artist's explicit self-identification with an ethnic group (e.g., as 'German-Turkish', 'Sicilian', 'Afro-German') and their engagement with issues of ethnicity and migration. In that sense, 'migrant hip hop' is a cover term for narratives of migration and ethnicity, including the migration experience; testimonies of discrimination, exclusion and racist aggression in Germany; the pride and burden of ethnic heritage; the tension between dominant society and the ethnic group; and the search for new spaces or identity. Note, however, that hip-hop lyrics are fundamentally polythematic, and we shouldn't expect these topics to be addressed to the exclusion of others in a group's discourse.

Following Güngör and Loh (2002), Germany's migrant hip hop can be divided into three stages: Phase I: late 1980s and early 1990s, Phase II: mid to late 1990s, and Phase III: post 2000. The emergence of migrant hip hop in Germany dates back to the aftermath of German unification. It coincided with an increase in xenophobic discourse and a wave of assaults against migrants and asylum seekers. Migrant rap artists reacted against racist aggression and appropriated the tradition of protest or message rap to articulate their voices and viewpoints. The classic song 'Fremd im eigenen Land' ('A foreigner in your own country') by Advanced Chemistry epitomizes this movement. In the following years, some migrant rappers, especially of Turkish descent, developed a 'reactive nationalism' (Greve and Kaya, 2004) by aggressively affirming their ethnic identity and pride and calling to counter-aggression against neo-Nazis and even 'Germans' in general. The mid 1990s also saw artists exploring new symbolic resources in music and language: Rappers experimented with samples of arabesque/oriental music, giving rise to the marketing label *oriental hip hop*. And while German was the predominant language in the early years, this second phase witnesses a turn to migrant languages – sometimes exclusively in Turkish throughout a record, sometimes in several languages in the same record or song.² Characteristically, the mid 1990s have been termed the *linguistic Babylon* of German hip hop (Güngör and Loh, 2002).³

Since the turn of the century the German hip-hop market diversified increasingly, and rappers of migrant origin became successful on the mainstream as well as in niche and underground markets. However, migration and ethnicity were not always prominent among their chosen

topics. Different trends need to be distinguished in this third phase. One of them is Brothers Keepers, a collaboration of Afro-German and international artists who came together after a series of racist assaults in 2000. Their music centres on issues of racism, discrimination and Afro-German identity. A second focal point is the Berlin rap scene, widely identified as battle or hardcore rap, featuring successful artists of migrant background such as Kool Savas, Eko Fresh and Bushido. These do not conceal their migrant origin, but do not turn it into a centre-point of their discourse either. In their non-political stance, localness (i.e., being a Berliner) seems a more valued identification than ethnic heritage.⁴ They do, however, address issues such as the social exclusion of migrant youth, upward mobility, and achievement of status in the host society; Eko Fresh for instance raps about 'making dreams come true' and calls himself 'the German dream'. On the other hand, this phase witnessed successful rappers of migrant background – including Savas and especially Fler – appropriating Nazi metaphors and references, stirring controversy among critics and educators (see Putnam and Littlejohn, 2007, this volume).

3 Data and analysis

All three phases of migrant rap – the protest rap of the early years, the 'oriental hip hop of the 1990s' and the more recent wave of battle/hardcore rap – encompass bilingual and multilingual songs, albeit in different linguistic patterns. The analysis is based on a small sample of 15 CD releases (corresponding to approximately 220 songs) from all three phases of ethnic rap in Germany. This sample is not statistically representative, but it does include well-known migrant-background artists and releases and may therefore be regarded as qualitatively valid.⁵

My analysis makes use of concepts and categories familiar from sociolinguistics and multilingualism research, drawing both on structural and especially conversational approaches to code-switching (Auer, 1998).⁶ In general terms, each release was examined with respect to the amount of migrant languages used and their distribution across tracks. Based on the generic scheme discussed below, each track was examined with respect to the distribution of languages, patterns of juxtaposition in the lyrics, the semantics and pragmatics of minority language use, and resemblance to typical discourse functions of code-switching.

Two concepts with some relevance to my analysis are the notion of 'base language' and the 'symbolic function of language choice'. The notion of base language is usually applied to bilingual interaction (Auer, 2000) and transferred here to the song or the release as units of analysis. Identifying the base language of a song or release provides a

background against which switches into other, locally minor codes can be interpreted. By and large, German is the base language of the rap songs in my data, with migrant languages switched into for shorter or longer portions of certain tracks. However, not all rap songs have a single base language. Some bilingual songs or even entire releases are characterized by a balanced distribution between two (or more) languages.

Assuming that understanding the lyrics of a rap song is important to hip-hop audiences, we may say that the base language of a rap song defines its primary audience. This might seem trivial for global languages such as English, but when it comes to the migrant languages of this study, the choice of a base language has obvious consequences: A rap song with, say, Turkish as the base language effectively restricts its main audience, as far as understanding the lyrics is concerned, to L1 or L2 speakers of Turkish.

But linguistic choices in music are relevant not only in terms of propositional content, but also with regard to the mere presence of a language. The notion of 'language as a symbol' is familiar from the sociology of language (Fishman, 1991), minority language policy (ÓReilly, 2003), and the semiotics of Roland Barthes (1967). In Barthes's terms, it implies that a language as a whole is understood as a signifier to which a new signified (in Barthes's terms, a 'connotation') is attached. A language comes to symbolize (to stand for) its speakers or the country in which it is spoken. In advertising, an arena where the notion of symbolic language choice has been repeatedly used (Piller, 2001; Cheshire and Moser, 1994), 'foreign' languages are interpreted as transferring positive attributes of their countries and/or people to the advertised product, while product 'facts' are conveyed in the majority/native language of the target audience. As researchers of advertising and popular music have argued, the symbolic meaning of language choice is understood even if audiences are oblivious to its communicative dimension, i.e., what is actually being said in that language (Bennett, 1999; Cheshire and Moser, 1994). In hip-hop scholarship, Bennett (1999) makes a telling observation to this effect:

While working as a youth worker in Frankfurt, I was invited to sit on the judging panel of a talent competition for local bands in the neighbouring town of Schwalbach. As well as those bands taking part in the competition, a number of other local groups had been booked to provide entertainment . . . , including a Turkish rap group. Prior to the group's performance an incident occurred in which some of the young Turkish people who had come specially to see the group began hurling eggs . . . at a white group performing 'Deutsch-rock' (rock music with German lyrics). The Deutsch-rock group's performance had to be temporarily interrupted. . . . When

the group returned to the stage their singer attempted to quell the situation by assuring the audience that, although the songs performed were in German, their lyrics were not racist and should not be regarded as such. Nevertheless, the Turkish youth remaining in the hall continued to act in a hostile fashion and accused the group of being Nazis. (Bennett, 1999, p. 85)

The notions of base and symbolic language choice offer an analytic angle on the use of migrant languages in rap lyrics. When these are non-base and their comprehension cannot be guaranteed, their meaning is sought not in their propositional content but in their function as a symbol of their groups of speakers. I identify three diagnostic features of symbolic language choice: amount, content and generic distribution.

1. Amount: the symbolic language is not the base language of a song/release; its overall amount within that song/release is often quite limited. Even if a language is the base language of a particular song, it may be cast as symbolic on a larger scale, i.e., within the release as a whole;
2. Content: the propositional content conveyed by the symbolic language will typically refer to aspects of the respective ethnicity or minority group. In other words, there is a fit of form (minority language choice) and content (minority identity/culture). The precise content conveyed by the symbolic language, and the context in which it is embedded, will of course vary. For example, symbolic languages may be used to express the speaker's self-presentation as member of an ethnic group, or cultural key-words, or cultural resources; they may be embedded in narratives about the home country or the ethnic group in Germany or a critique of the ethnic group's lifestyle; etc.
3. Distribution: symbolic language choices tend to occur in particular parts of a rap song, as will be examined in detail below.

Many instances of migrant language use in my data exhibit these three features, which co-occur and yield distinctive patterns of multilingual lyrics.

4 Language choices and the generic organization of rap songs

I now move to the placement of migrant languages within a song. Figure 1.1 represents the parts of a record release and a song where migrant languages can be allocated in my data. Its mother node, the record release, is the largest unit of analysis. The left branch represents

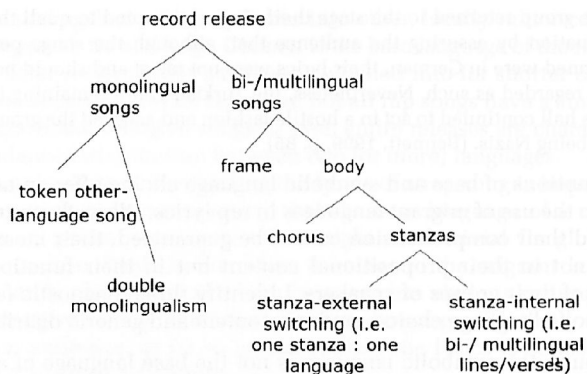


Figure 1.1 Language choices and generic organization of rap songs

the juxtaposition of songs in different languages within a release. The right branch focuses on a bi- or multilingual song as a unit of analysis, including code-switching from the song's brackets to within a stanza.

It seems important to emphasize that this scheme does *not* suggest that artists actually decide about the distribution of languages in such a top-down fashion. What it does suggest is that choices of and switches between languages may take place on different levels of generic organization, ranging from the macro-textual level of an entire release to the micro-level of juxtaposing codes within a stanza. It also suggests that the shape of multilingualism in lyrics is constrained by genre: code-switches tend to coincide with boundaries between distinct parts of a rap song. In my data, for instance, switches between chorus and stanza or between stanzas are much more common than switching and mixing within a stanza. As a result, genre structure provides an orientation to the production as well as interpretation of multilingual lyrics.

At most levels of this scheme, languages appear in a compartmentalized way. A song may contain two, three or even four languages, but these remain neatly separated from one another. Code-switching in a narrow sense – here classically defined as *the use of two or more languages by the same speaker within the same turn/utterance* – is restricted to the bottom right of the scheme, i.e., within a stanza. However, 'stanza-internal code-switching' is rare as far as migrant languages are concerned, as opposed to English/German switching and mixing which is far more common.

I now move through this diagram, illustrating its elements with examples from all three phases of Germany's migrant rap. The left branch of the diagram represents record releases that contain monolingual songs in two or more languages; for example, the Berlin-produced *Fettfleck Sampler Volume One* consists of songs in German, Turkish and English. In some cases, there is just a single song in a language other than the base language of a release, and in my data this coincides with one migrant-language song on a German-language release. This 'token other-language song' repeatedly turns out to be an emblem of, and tribute to, the artist's ethnic origin. For example, the album *Der beste Tag meines Lebens* ('The Best Day of my Life') by Kool Savas (2002) features two skits with Turkish female voices from (as emerges through additional clues in the booklet) his mother and granny. Because these are only skits (of a duration of 1.00–1.30 min.), they establish Turkish-language niches within the German-language release.

The right branch of the diagram turns to bi- or multilingual songs and identifies potential locations of language choice and code-switching. The first one, in a sequential and narrative sense, is the song's bracket, i.e., the short sequences at the beginning and the end of the song. The notion of bracketing comes from Goffman who defines it as a process by which social activity 'is often marked off from the ongoing flow of surrounding events by a special set of boundary markers or brackets of a conventionalized kind'; he distinguishes 'opening and closing temporal brackets' (Goffman, 1986, pp. 251–252). In interactional sociolinguistics and discourse analysis, bracketing and the related notion of framing have been used in the study of bilingualism in the media, notably in ethnic newspapers, web guestbook messages and emails (see overview in Androutsopoulos, 2007). Hinrichs found Jamaican Creole appearing in the introductory and concluding greetings, terms of address and farewells of emails and web forum posts in English. Bracketing is rich in pragmatic and social meaning. Its constituents contextualize the enclosed discourse and frame the relationship between the partners in an interaction.

In rap, brackets typically draw on all sorts of audio material (e.g., street noises, media bits, casual conversation among artists, directly addressing the audience, ritual statements of time and place, etc.) and are intertextually (and indexically) related to the song content; for example, brackets may provide a stimulus to which the subsequent lyrics react, or they may offer cues for the interpretation of the lyrics (Androutsopoulos, 2007). Using another language for bracketing makes that language (and the ethnicity indexed by it) relevant to the topic discussed or the social identities performed in the song. In my data,

the 2004 track 'Brandlöcher im Jersey' by Eko and Azra illustrates the distribution of Turkish and German to the brackets as opposed to other parts of the song. It features two friends smoking and talking in Turkish, while the song itself is about being overworked and 'falling asleep with the joint in one's hand'. Here the bracket stages the social setting that is being narrated in the song, and this setting is presented, by means of language choice, as a Turkish one. (The song itself is in German and Turkish, following the *one speaker/one stanza/one language* principle to be outlined below). Another example from the early phase of Germany's migrant hip hop is 'Telefonterror' by Freundeskreis (1996). The song is in German, but the opening bracket comes in the voice of a Jamaican sound-system DJ who introduces the song story in a Jamaican Creole English voice ('This is the story of a girl named Sue / she don't know what to do / fell in love with the MC, Maximi'). This prelude defines the identities of the song's characters and pre-empts the music style of that particular song. In another study, Kluge (2007) discusses an example from Argentinean hip hop: The frame is a sample of a 'welcome on board' statement, in Italian, on a flight to Rome and signifies the Italian origin of the band members. Another album by Kool Savas, from 2004, *Die Besten Tage Sind Gezählt* ('The Best Days are Counted') features skits and brackets which stage stereotypes of the hip hop world: the greedy club owner, the dumb fan, etc. Significantly, these voices speak the kind of stylized immigrant German one encounters in Berlin's multi-ethnic neighbourhoods and are thereby positioned as distant from the rapper and his own speech style. Thus skits and brackets do important indexical work, albeit not in full-blown songs but rather as 'side-dishes' that will be noticed but never receive popular attention on their own.

Moving on to the body of a song, a first pattern of code-switching is between chorus and stanza, in that the chorus is cast in a different language than the stanza that precedes or follows it (see examples 1 and 4 below). The discourse meaning of such code-switching draws on the conventional function of the refrain, which is meant to be the most memorable part of a song, summarizing its message. Having the refrain in a different melody and/or voice than the stanzas is part of wider pop music conventions. The chorus entails a pragmatic contrast to the stanza, and code-switching may enhance that contrast. Code-switching into English for the chorus is quite common in German rap, whereas the use of other languages depends on artist and topic. In the following 1997 track (from the 'oriental hip hop' phase), Turkish-German artist Aziza A. appropriates (what sounds like) a line from a traditional Turkish song as the chorus of her own song, which criticizes traditional gender roles in Turkish society.

(1) Chorus	<i>Daracik, Daracik sokaklar kizlar misket yuvarlar</i>	'Narrow, narrow alleys where girls are playing marbles'
	Stanza 1	
1.	<i>Ich habe braune Augen, habe schwarzes Haar</i>	'My eyes are brown, my hair is black
2.	<i>Und komm aus einem Land wo der Mann über der Frau steht</i>	And I come from a land where man stands above woman
3.	<i>Und dort nicht wie hier ein ganz anderer Wind weht</i>	Where no different wind is blowing, unlike here
4.	<i>In den zwei Kulturen, in denen ich aufgewachsen bin,</i>	In the two cultures I have grown up in
5.	<i>Ziehen meine lieben Schwestern meist den kürzeren</i>	My dear sisters are mostly on the loser side
6.	<i>Weil nicht nur die zwei Kulturen aufeinander krachen</i>	Because not only do these cultures collide
7.	<i>Weil auch Väter über ihre Töchter wachen</i>	But also because fathers are watching over their daughters'

12.	<i>Du überlegst: ist es meine Pflicht</i>	You are now reflecting: Is it my plight
13.	<i>Das Leben meiner Eltern so zu leben, wie sie es bestreben?</i>	To live my parents' life just as they want to?
14.	<i>Mit Autorität mir meinen Mund zu kleben?</i>	To seal up my mouth with authority?'
Chorus	<i>Daracik, Daracik sokaklar kizlar misket yuvarlar</i>	'Narrow, narrow alleys where girls are playing marbles'
		Aziza A., 'Es ist Zeit'

Here, the Turkish chorus works interpretively on two levels. To those who are competent in Turkish, the chorus may provide an additional resource for meaning making (perhaps evoking intertextuality and associative links between stanza and chorus). Those who are not competent in Turkish will still interpret the chorus – based on knowledge of its generic relationship to the stanza lyrics – as a symbol for one of the two cultures the song is about. Another example of chorus-related code-switching, again from the early phase, is 'Esperanto' by Freundeskreis,

a song about international friendship and understanding, with stanzas in German (and some Esperanto) and chorus in French and German. However, chorus-related code-switching may also work the other way around: My data includes the now defunct group *Diaspora* that was German-based but whose lyrics were predominantly in French. Their song 'Fuck Rassismus' used French for the stanzas and German for the chorus. The base language of that song is therefore French, even though it targets a German-speaking audience. Here it is the condensed message to the wider audience that is cast in the main language of that audience, the 'details' in the stanzas being in the rappers' native language.

Rap songs typically consist of two or more stanzas – defined as groups of (usually 8 or 16) verses typically delimited by the chorus – and these may well be cast in a different language each. This pattern of 'stanza external code-switching' affects by definition the communicative dimension of language use in lyrics, because a part of the lyrics will be incomprehensible to monolingual audiences. It is therefore common practice to find translations of non-German segments in the booklet or on the internet.

There are two sub-types of stanza-external code-switching in my data, depending on whether there is a change of speaker or not. The first (and by far most common) case is what I term the one speaker/one stanza/one language principle: songs delivered by two or more rappers, with each rapper delivering a stanza in their preferred language. The pattern occurs with multiethnic crews (such as Microphone Mafia from the 'oriental hip hop' phase), international co-operations (such as Brothers Keepers), or local collaborations among rappers of migrant background (e.g., Berlin-based, Turkish-background Eko Fresh and Frankfurt-based, Kurdish-background Azra). In code-switching terminology, these are instances of participant-related code-switching (Auer, 1998). This pattern is illustrated in example 2.

(2) Intro

Torch:	<i>Torchmann – es Africanos</i>	Torchmann – the Africans
	<i>Sékou – the ambassador, yeah</i>	Sékou – the ambassador, yeah'
Chorus		
Sékou:	Three kings with the gifts we bring	'Three kings with the gifts we bring
Torch:	<i>Wir benutzen unsere Zungen wie Schwerterklingen</i>	We use our tongues like sword-sounds

Blaise:	<i>Triple rois, triple foi, avale la polodringue</i>	Three kings, triple faith, swallow the ((unclear))
Torch:	<i>Alle Feinde erstarren wenn unsere Stimmen erklingen</i>	All enemies freeze when our voices sound out.'
Stanza 1		
Blaise:	<i>Cette révolution est plus que lyrics Nègre</i>	'This revolution is more than Black words
	<i>Fier, les 144 là haut qu'ils aillent s'le mettre</i>	Proud, the 144 up there,
	<i>Kobo (noir) mixe le lait</i>	Kobo (black) mixes the milk
	<i>Dans le café s'il faut</i>	In the coffee/café, if he has to
	<i>Lynché au barbelé</i>	Lynched with barbed wire
	<i>La différence mais vraie ou faux?</i>	But is the difference true or false?'
		Brothers Keepers, 'Triple Rois'

This is a 2001 trilingual song that defies an easy identification of a single base language. Rather, it is designed in such a way that its multilingualism reflects the different origins and languages of the three collaborators, each of whom uses his 'own' language in the chorus as well as in his own dedicated stanza: Torch raps in German, Sekou in English, and Blaise in French. The only exception is the part by Torch (who is, so to speak, the host, since this is a German release) in the intro, where he uses English to introduce Sékou in his language (again, a participant-related code-switch) and Portuguese for the phrase *es africanos* ('the Africans'). This is the only instance of Portuguese in this song, going to show that linguistic choices in a song's bracket may well transgress the song's regular language choices. In this example, the meaning of code-switching is enforced by topical coherence: each rapper narrates a different take of the same story, i.e., the fate of African diaspora and pride in African ancestry. Multilingualism underscores that what is being narrated represents a collective experience that transcends linguistic borders.

The second subtype of stanza-external code-switching is Bakhtinian double-voicing in the delivery of the same speaker across two or more stanzas. This time code-switching coincides with a shift of voice, which is also a shift in narrative perspective. Example 3 is a 1993 classic from the early days of German migrant rap and fits well that era's main theme of protest against discrimination.

(3) End of Stanza 1

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>Gestern ich komm von Arbeit, ich sitzen in der Bahn</i> | 'Yesterday I come from work I sit in the tram |
| 2. <i>Da kommt ein besoffen Mann und setzt sich nebenan</i> | There comes a drunken man and sits next to me |
| 3. <i>Der Mann sagt: Uff, du Knoblauch stinken</i> | The man says: Uh, you stink of garlic |
| 4. <i>Ich sage: Ach egal, du stinken von Trinken</i> | I said: oh whatever, you stink from drinking' |

Begin Stanza 2

- | | |
|---|---|
| 5. <i>Nun den Spaß beiseite, hör gut zu, was ich meine</i> | 'Now joking aside, listen closely to what I'm saying |
| 6. <i>Lass uns Jeden Jeder sein lass Jedem doch das Seine</i> | Let's leave everyone as they are, each to his own |
| 7. <i>Ich kann das gut verstehen, wir haben andere Sitten</i> | I can surely understand, we have different customs |
| 8. <i>Ich weiß du magst das nicht ich möchte dich doch bitten . . .</i> | I know you don't like it but I want to ask you . . .' |
- Fresh Familee, 'Ahmed Gündüz'

Here, the first stanza (of which only the last lines are reproduced here) comes in the voice of 'Ahmed', a stylized Turkish *Gastarbeiter*, and is cast in stylized interlanguage German. Besides a heavy non-native accent, these lines include morphosyntactic features such as violation of the verb-second word order in German (as in line 1), bare infinitives, omission of articles, prepositions and adjective inflections. The second stanza, by the same rapper, shifts to the rapper's own narrative voice in native colloquial German. The shift, enforced by a shift in beat and background instrumentation, is also obvious in the stanza's indexical grounding: while the first comes from the perspective of the immigrant character and encompasses a fictitious dialogue, the second features the rapper addressing the German audience. In Bakhtinian terms (as elaborated by Rampton, 1998 in his analysis of language crossing), this is an instance of unidirectional double-voicing, the speaker sympathizing with the staged voice and its concerns.

Language alternations within a stanza may come from different rappers or from the same rapper. In the first case (already illustrated in example 2 for the chorus) two or more rappers alternate or overlap, each in their preferred language. At the end of the song 'Brandlöcher im

Jersey' by Eko and Azra (2004), Azra keeps repeating *dunya dunyor* ('the world is turning round') in Turkish, while Eko raps on in German and English.

Stanza-internal code-switching by the same rapper is quite rare in my data, and I shall discuss this in more detail below. Using classic distinctions in code-switching analysis, we may first note a few cases of inter-sentential stanza-internal switching, as illustrated by the next two examples. In example 4 from 1998, stanza-internal code-switching is motivated by a shift in topic. A reference to Istanbul (line 5) triggers a four-liner in Turkish which keeps with the song's topic and gives it an ethnic take. This is the only instance of Turkish in this song; note that the chorus is in English, showing how different linguistic choices may apply to different parts of a song.

(4) Stanza 3

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>ich rock die Party heut Nacht</i> | 'I rock the party tonight |
| 2. <i>alles ist erlaubt was Spaß macht</i> | everything's permitted as long as it's fun |
| 3. <i>frag nicht nach, sondern mach das was du willst</i> | don't ask, but just do what you want |
| 4. <i>jeder ist bereit, keinen interessiert die Zeit</i> | everyone's ready, no one cares about time |
| 5. <i>von Frankfurt bis nach Istanbul</i> | from Frankfurt to Istanbul |
| 6. <i>hadi sende birisini bul</i> | find yourself someone |
| 7. <i>bütün eller havaya</i> | throw your arms in the air |
| 8. <i>herkes çıksın oynamaya</i> | everybody get up and dance |
| 9. <i>bir sağ kalça bir sağ kalça</i> | move your hips to and fro |
| 10. <i>çalkala güzelim çalkala</i> | move, my beauty, move' |

Chorus

- | | |
|---|---|
| 'we like to party all night long'
(3x) | 'we like to party all night long'
(3x) |
|---|---|

Volkan, 'Funkfurt'

In other cases, the parts of a stanza delivered in a language other than German are more formulaic and bear an obvious referential or inter-textual relation to a specific ethnicity. In example 5 (from 1996), Afro-German rapper *Afrob* code-switches in line 4 to cry out *I selassie*, and in line 13 to declare 'I'm black and I'm proud'.

(5) Stanza 2 – Afrob

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>Mein Afro ist Symbol für natürliches Wachstum</i> | 'My afro is a symbol of natural growth |
| 2. <i>Nicht nur der Haare auch des geistigen Spektrums</i> | Not only of the hair, but of spiritual width |
| 3. <i>Er ist der Vektor im Schaubild der Gleichung der Gleichheit</i> | It's the vector in the image of the equation of equality |
| 4. <i>Ausdruck afrikanischer Weisheit I Selassie</i> | Expression of African wisdom: I Selassie |
| 5. <i>Rocke Mikrophone nur für euch nicht für die Industrie</i> | Rocking microphones just for you not for the industry |
| 6. <i>Der Löwe von Judäa Afrob Eriträer</i> | The Lion of Judea, Afrob from Eritrea |
| 7. <i>King Salomon ist mir näher yeah</i> | King Salomon is closer to me yeah |
| 8. <i>Meine Gedankenwege führen zurück zum Mutterland</i> | The paths of my thoughts lead me back to the motherland |
| 9. <i>Wo Angie Davis kämpfte gegen Mr. Ignorant</i> | Where Angie Davies fought against Mr. Ignorant |
| 10. <i>Ich nehm' ein Buch zur Hand und seh' nur Sand und Wüste</i> | I take a book in my hand, all I see is sand and desert |
| 11. <i>Der weite Kontinent der für die weiße Herrschaft büsste</i> | The wide continent that had to pay for White domination |
| 12. <i>Ruht in Frieden meine Helden weil die Welt nichts taugt</i> | Rest in peace my heroes the world is no good |
| 13. <i>Doch euer Geist brennt immer noch I'm black and proud</i> | But your spirit is still burning I'm black and proud' |
- Freundeskreis, 'Overseas/Übersee'

Both switches showcase ethnic/religious identity, as they intertextually connect the lyrics to the social/religious movements they index. The first originates in Ge'ez/Amharic, but is most commonly associated with the Rastafarian movement and its discourse. The second is, of course, English, but I would argue that the aspect of English at stake here is not as 'language of hip hop' but as the code of global African diaspora, of which Afrob counts himself as one. Here, as in other examples, we see how symbolic language choices may come restricted to just a few lexical items, which are linked, referentially, metonymically or intertextually, to a specific ethnic group.

However, example 5 also illustrates a different pattern of code-switching in rap lyrics: The discourse marker *yeah*, in line 7, is fairly typical of the kind of formulaic English code-switching frequently used by German rappers, even when German is their base language (see Androutsopoulos, 2009; Lüdtke, 2007). Such usage has wider currency in my data, as illustrated by examples 6 and 7, which include interjections, terms of address, or terms of abuse from migrant languages.⁷

In example 6 – a 1999 battle rap from the beginning of the third phase – we see a pattern of hip-hop multilingualism that is also described by Sarkar and Winer (2006) for Montreal rap: insertions from different languages are used as a resource to enhance rhyme, with lexical items from various sources being used precisely at the rhyming points in a verse (in example 6: Turkish: *Lan*/German: *Ballermann*, French: *Chassis*/German: *Haschisch*/Turkish: *Bakschisch*/German: *Spastis*).

(6) Stanza 3 – Scope

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>Ich burn mit allen Sorten von Worten</i> | 'I'm burning with all sorts of words |
| 2. <i>Dir fehlen die Eier im Sack also sauf mehr Verporten</i> | You're lacking eggs [i.e., balls] so booze more <i>Verporten</i> |
| 3. <i>Ey fuck PC, ich kack auf Crews die Ärsche lecken</i> | Hey fuck PC, I shit on bootlicker crews |
| 4. <i>STF kommt Ärsche tretend wie Tekken</i> | STF comes kicking ass like Tekken |
| 5. <i>Auf Mixkassetten und in Plattenläden in allen Städten, Lan</i> | On mixtapes and in record stores in every city, <i>Lan</i> [Turkish: 'dude'] |
| 6. <i>Wir und Savas gehören Zusammen wie Alk und Ballermann</i> | We and Savas go together like booze and party animals |
| 7. <i>Drei Bass-Asis burnen massig Bass-Chassis wie Kiffer Haschisch</i> | Three bass freaks burning massive bass chassis like stoners hashish |
| 8. <i>Also gebt uns Bakschisch ihr Spastis und quatscht nicht</i> | So give us Baksheesh [Turkish: 'bribe money'] you spastics and don't gab |
| 9. <i>Ich hab Rap im Repertoire und tausend Gimmicks</i> | I've got rap in my repertoire and a thousand gimmicks |
| 10. <i>Hi Mädels, ich laß die Zunge spielen wie Gene Simmons</i> | Hi girls, I let my tongue play like Gene Simmons' |
- STF feat/Kool Savas, 'Ihr müsst noch üben'

In example 7 – from a Greek-Turkish collaboration project between Kool Savas and Illmatic – most Greek lexis in the first stanza is metonymic to Greek ethnicity. Note how a humorous effect is presumably aimed at through the juxtaposition of stereotypical Greek food/customs and hip-hop slang, indexing widely diverging social domains and lifestyles. The Greek discourse markers (interjection in line 6, term of abuse in line 8) index a mixed speech style. In the chorus, both country names come in their respective language, and the appeal to unite the two comes in English. The song also features an intermezzo in Greek (again talking about ethnicity and solidarity among migrants).

(7) Stanza 1 – Illmatic

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>dieser Vers ist für die Griechen, alle Griechen in Deutschland</i> | this verse is for the Greeks, all Greeks in Germany |
| 2. <i>I-L-L ist ein Grieche in Deutschland</i> | I-L-L- is a Greek in Germany |
| 3. <i>getrieben von Zeus' Hand und Held wie Odysseus</i> | driven by Zeus's hand, a hero like Ulysses |
| ... | ... |
| 6. <i>ich rechne meine Rhymes aus wie Archimedes</i> | I'm calculating my rhymes like Archimedes |
| 7. <i>was das geht nicht.. Ich tanz Syrtaki du Bitch</i> | what, it' don't go, I'm dancing syrtaki , you bitch |
| 8. <i>und mach dich zum Saganaki du Bitch . . . opa!</i> | turning you to saganaki , you bitch – opa! |
| 9. <i>dein Rhyme ist zu weak Bro, meins ist Pastizio</i> | your rhyme is too weak bro, mine is pastizzio |
| 10. <i>du flowst in meinem Crew Sau, aide jamisu</i> | You flow in my crew, pig, aide jamisu |
| 11. <i>ich weiss das ist krass Alter, ich hustle weiter</i> | I know that's gross, mate, I keep on hustling |
| 12. <i>die Heimat ist so weit und ich bin Gastarbeiter</i> | homeland is so far away and I'm a guest worker |
| Chorus | |
| <i>Kopf hoch Hellas, Kopf hoch Türkiye</i> | Cheer up, Hellas , cheer up, Türkiye |
| <i>Wir teilen das gleiche Schicksal fern ab der Sonne des Südens</i> | We have a common fate away from the south sun |

Vereint als Brüder in Deutschland gebt euch die Hand

Together like brothers in Germany, join hands

Umarmt euch und lebt gemeinsam – united is one

Hug each other and live together – **united is one**

Freunde der Sonne, 'Hellas
Türkiye'

The stanza-internal insertion of migrant language discourse markers that is illustrated in examples 6 and 7 is qualitatively different from the patterns identified at higher nodes of the generic diagram (see Fig. 1.1). It goes beyond the straightforward ethnic symbolism that predominates in the remainder of the data; rather, it indexes a speech style that is associated with speakers of migrant background in Germany. Significantly, this pattern is popular with younger rappers of the third phase associated with battle/hardcore rap, suggesting it represents a more recent development in German migrant rap. As a whole, however, intra-sentential switching/language mixing is rare in my data, and the only song in which I found it in abundance, i.e., example 7, is in a jocular key.

5 Discussion and conclusions

The analysis demonstrates that multilingualism in German rap lyrics is a complex mobilization of linguistic resources that goes beyond code-switching in a narrow sense. The rap lyrics examined involve choices and juxtapositions of languages on several levels of discourse organization. Lyrics in a migrant language are often restricted to a single generic part, notably the intro or chorus; in other cases, a release contains different patterns of language choice and code-switching: there is a 'token other-language song', while Turkish discourse markers occur in another song, and so on. In still other cases, a song features different linguistic choices for a number of its parts, resulting in a complex distribution of languages.⁸ Despite the overall predominance of German, then, trilingual songs involving German, English and a migrant language are not uncommon, and the scheme introduced in this chapter helps us to understand their linguistic arrangement.

On the other hand, differences between artists and phases notwithstanding, migrant languages tend to concentrate on 'higher' nodes of the generic diagram. We noted a wealth of migrant language bracketing,

as opposed to a scarcity of stanza-internal code-switching. German and migrant languages remain neatly separated in most of these songs, and switches to the latter tend to coincide with shifts between generic elements. This pattern stands in stark contrast to research findings on the speech of second and third generation migrant-background youth in Germany, in which switching and mixing prevail (Hinnenkamp, 2003; Kallmeyer and Keim, 2003). This is evidence against a simple equation of rap with conversational speech, at least with regard to migration-induced language contact.⁹ An explanation of these rap lyrics as reflecting inter-generational language shift would be flawed. However, the absence of stanza-internal code-switching and language mixing between German and migrant languages in the data does not reflect a closure against multilingualism in the lyrics of these artists or in German rap generally. Quite the contrary, the same artists who work so sparingly with migrant languages are freely mixing English nonce borrowings and phrases in their German lyrics. This suggests that migrant languages have a different status from, and less value than, English in the pop music domain.

However, the picture is actually more complex, because some migrant rap in Germany does feature migrant languages as predominant codes of a song or release, i.e., as lyrical base languages. The 1990s 'oriental hip hop' phase was dominated by Turkish (and to a lesser extent by other languages), and some contemporary productions are bilingual (Turkish/German) or multilingual, selecting languages other than German as main means of expression. This seems to work mainly for Turkish, the language of the largest ethnic group in Germany, since there are no complete other-language productions in other languages.

In order to make sense of these patterns, we need to take into account the stratification of pop music markets and their different kinds of audience. The use of migrant languages documented in this chapter is the outcome of a marketing strategy for cultural commodities addressed to the German-speaking hip-hop market. From that point of view, migrant languages are elements of a 'double-bind' strategy, which combines a *selective foregrounding of ethnic difference* with a *maximization* of a mainstream, non-ethnic audience. This is consonant with the findings of Bentahila and Davies (2002) on the use of French in Algerian *Rai* music, as well as with findings from other sociolinguistic backgrounds (such as Cuba, Argentina, Italy, Hungary; see, e.g., Kluge, 2007; Scholz, 2003a, 2003b; Simeziane, this volume).

The widespread conjunction of form (language choice) and content in the examples suggests that migrant languages are strategically staged as 'we' codes (Gumperz, 1982). Their *raison d'être* is their flagging of ethnic identities. Such a link is of course not ubiquitous in the everyday discourse of migrant communities, where different codes may

serve as 'we' codes depending on context and narrative (Sebba and Wootton, 1998). Rather, it is constructed by migrant artists as a well-motivated part of a audience design recipient design addressed to 'they' code (i.e., majority) speakers. Positioning migrant languages as a minimally present 'we' code conveys a symbolic message that everyone is able to understand. I therefore read the prevailing distribution of migrant language choices in the rap lyrics examined here as an indicator of their mainly symbolic use: their contribution to propositional content is less relevant than their mere presence as ethnic identity symbols. They make ethnolinguistic otherness visible, without impeding the communicative value of lyrics to majority audiences.

Such a positioning seems characteristic for releases targeting the mainstream market, i.e., seeking to maximize their audience by being compatible to different output channels (e.g., 'radio-friendly'). It seems that Germany's mainstream music market will tolerate minority multilingualism only to a symbolic extent. A more extensive (base language-like) use of other languages is accepted only if these languages are globally prestigious codes, hence especially English and to some extent French and Spanish (note that the commercially successful multilingual project, Brothers Keepers, draw on precisely those languages). However, the mainstream market is complemented by niche/underground markets, which cater to smaller target groups and serve tastes that are diverging from the mainstream market. Such niche markets provide more leeway for linguistic experiment and, as a consequence, a predominant use of migrant languages in rap lyrics may persist. In other words, different segments of the popular music market may also be thought of as different linguistic markets. Moreover, the persistence of communicative uses of migrant languages in rap lyrics may be favoured by the orientation to another audience altogether. More precisely, we note that productions that are monolingual in the migrant language may target audiences in the home country. In fact, the most well-known representatives of oriental hip hop, Cartel and Islamic Force, had their commercial success in Turkey rather than Germany. However, this will work for monolingual releases only, since double monolingualism will risk disrupting the home community's monolingual expectations.

The linguistic consequences of this market divide are nicely illustrated by the release practices of German-Turkish rapper Eko Fresh: his commercially successful work is in German (except for the occasional migrant-language 'token song'), but he also does independent productions, in which German and Turkish are used in equal parts, i.e., in which Turkish stands on an equal footing with German.

Finally, it is worth pointing out that what ethnic German rappers do with multilingual resources seems strikingly limited when compared

to rap lyrics from many other countries around the world, where stanza-internal code-switching and mixing are widespread (see, e.g., chapters in Alim et al., 2009; Higgins, 2009; Lee, 2004; Sarkar and Winer, 2006; Auzanneau, 2001). In the US, Latino rap artists seem to work with code-switching much more intensively than their German counterparts. A caveat to this comparison is that some of these cases involve English/national language contact, which I explicitly excluded from discussion, even though English is widely used in German rap lyrics, including those by migrant rappers. That said, I suggest that patterns of language contact in rap lyrics tend to index the status of multilingualism in a particular country. In other words, the absence of minority language switching and mixing from the German data indicates its status quo of a dominantly monolingual nation-state. In traditionally and officially monolingual societies such as Germany, minority and migrant artists who decide to use their language tend to prefer the functional compartmentalization and strategic 'we' code positioning of their languages as discussed in this chapter. By contrast, traditionally and officially multilingual societies provide more fertile ground for artists to exploit additional dimensions of language contact and to explore connections between lyrical discourse and everyday talk. However, more research is needed in order to check this hypothesis.

Popular music is an important arena for the public display of bilingual and multilingual practices. Examining rap lyrics contributes to the study of linguistic diversity in the domain of global entertainment discourses. Bentahila and Davies suggest that multilingual lyrics are increasingly accepted by audiences who 'seem more receptive to music using other languages than their counterparts of 20 years ago' (2002, p. 190). The multilingual discursive practices of German rappers, limited as they may be, imply that their audiences are expected to welcome linguistic diversity as an index of an artist's claimed 'authenticity'. However, it may be the case that this increasing acceptance goes hand in hand with a restriction of acceptable linguistic diversity to symbolic language usage. More comparative research is needed here, and I suggest that the generic analysis framework presented in this chapter can facilitate further exploration.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

1. But see also Sarkar (2009). According to Sarkar (personal communication), it is possible that the position that *on rap comme on parle* ('we rap as we speak') corresponds more closely to rapper ideology – what the rappers say and believe that they do – rather than practice – which in turn can only be assessed based on close ethnographic analysis of everyday conversational practices, which are likely to be highly localized.
2. This is in striking contrast to what has happened in France, where migrant-background rappers (especially of Maghreb origin) never turned away from the majority language, thus indexing their audience as the majority society as a whole. Verlan (2003) suggests that this is due to the fundamentally different understandings of the notion of citizenship in France and in Germany.
3. However, 'oriental hip hop' was an *etic* term, coined by the music industry, which ethnicized hip-hop artists, downplaying their musical and linguistic differences. Many mid-1990s productions that were marketed as 'oriental hip hop' in fact used many different kinds of samples and did not rap exclusively in Turkish (Güngör and Loh, 2002).
4. As Güngör and Loh (2002) point out, Kool Savas was from the very beginning *not* reduced to his ethnic origin, and indeed he blurred the line between *Deutschrap* and migrant hip hop.
5. An indicative discography is appended to this paper.
6. Although lyrics are not conversational speech (as discussed above), concepts from the study of bilingual interaction direct attention to sequential relations within a song and tie in well with an examination of the voices, i.e., social roles and positions, that are enacted in lyrics.
7. Cf. Turkish: *lan* (ex. 6), Greek: *opa* and *aide jamisou* ('fuck off'; ex. 7), and, in other lyrics, Turkish: *moruk*, *git lan*, *merhaba*.
8. In example 5, for instance, we have: speaker-related switching on the stanza level (German vs English); stanza-internal switching in the delivery of the same artist (switching from German to English); and chorus-level switching in French.
9. It might of course be the case that these particular artists are monolingual or dominant in German; but this is a different story, which cannot be investigated on the same empirical and methodological basis.

Discography

- Aziza A. (1997), 'Es ist Zeit'.
 Brothers Keepers (2001), 'Triple Rois'.
 Fresh Familee (1993), 'Ahmed Gündüz'.
 Freunde der Sonne (2004), 'Hellas Türkiye'.
 Freundeskreis (1996), 'Overseas/Übersee'.
 STF feat. Kool Savas (1999), 'Ihr müsst noch üben'.
 Volkan (1998), 'Funkfurt'.

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