FROM THE STREETS TO THE SCREENS AND BACK AGAIN:
ON THE MEDIATED DIFFUSION OF ETHNOLECTAL PATTERNS IN CONTEMPORARY GERMAN

Jannis Androutsopoulos
(*Institut für deutsche Sprache Mannheim*)
<androutsopoulos@ids-mannheim.de>

Introduction

This paper is concerned with a language trend which has been going on in the last few years in Germany: patterns of non-native German, often called "Türkendeutsch" ('Turk-German'), are reproduced in different kinds of mass media, and some media reproductions have triggered an imitation trend among native speakers of German. The aim of this paper is to describe the mediated reproduction of such linguistic patterns and their subsequent appropriation by native speakers. As the title indicates, my aim is to work out how these speech patterns move from their community of origin ("the streets") over mediated discourse ("the screens") to the face-to-face communication of native German speakers ("back again"). In this introduction, I will conceptualise my topic with regard to two areas of recent sociolinguistic research, i.e. *new language varieties in Europe* and *language crossing*.[1]

The first development is the emergence of non-standard varieties of the majority language among young speakers of migrant descent. A well-known case is so-called Rinkeby-Swedish, a language variety that emerged in parts of Stockholm among 2nd generation migrants of different ethnic origin (Kotsinas 1989, 1992, 1998). It is characterized through phonetic-phonological, prosodic and grammatical deviations from standard Swedish and its vocabulary contains words and expressions from various home languages, e.g. 'girl' in Arabic and Greek, 'money' in Turkish, etc. Similar phenomena are reported from The Netherlands and France: Sansone (1995: 126) mentions the use of "community Surinamese-Dutch" among second/third generation Surinamese youth in Amsterdam. Dabène & Moore (1995: 38) note cases of "residual bilingualism" among

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[1] Dabène & Moore (1995: 30-1) give a slightly different version than the one presented here. They note the emergence of non-standard varieties of the host language which are "enriched with linguistic contributions from various other languages", on the one hand, and the use of minority languages by adolescents from different linguistic backgrounds, on the other.

young men of Algerian descent who use Arabic items with phatic and exclamatory functions in a French matrix, and Seux (1997, 94-5) describes a French school argot containing colloquial Arabic items. Language varieties of this kind will be referred to as "ethnolects" (or "ethnolectal varieties") in what follows. An ethnolect, then, is a variety of the majority language (or "host language"), which is used and regarded as a vernacular for speakers of a particular ethnic descent and is marked by certain contact phenomena.[2]

The second tendency is language crossing, defined as the adoption of a language or language variety that belongs to another ethnic group (Rampton 1995). Early accounts of crossing involve Anglo adolescents using Afro-Caribbean Creole in the UK (Hewitt 1982). Rampton's own research is concerned with the multilingual practices of ethnically mixed peer-groups in England who use Creole, Stylised Asian English, and Punjabi. Other instances of crossing among young people in Europe involve both minority languages and emerging ethnolectal varieties: Features of Rinkeby-Swedish are spreading to Swedish adolescents (Kotsinas 1992, 1998), and native French speakers with Algerian friends use Arabic exclamations (Dabène & Moore 1995). In Germany, crossing into Turkish in Hamburg is reported by Auer & Dirim (in press), and crossing into non-native German is the topic of the present paper. On the other side of the Atlantic, instances of crossing include the use of Afro-American Vernacular English (Bucholtz 1999, Cutler 1999) and "Mock Spanish" (Hill 1995) among European American speakers.

While literature on crossing is focused on face-to-face interaction, a closer examination reveals several references on media as well. Rampton (1995: 60) acknowledges that models for the language varieties used by his informants are widely available through mass media, though these models are quite different for each language variety concerned. Creole is especially present in music-related media. Through records, white youth come in contact with black speech "alone in their bedrooms", and this may increase their ambition to "act black" in real life (Rampton 1995: 238, 250). On the other hand, Stylised Asian English is reproduced in mainstream British press and broadcast, e.g. in soap operas, and these media stylisations "tied in with the stylised performance of Asian English that was common in local adolescent discourse." (Rampton 1995: 51-2). Even more references on media and crossing can be found in a recent volume on crossing and styling (Rampton 1999). In an examination of a white adolescent's use of AAVE, Cutler (1999) notes that his sources for language crossing included his rap CD collection as well as rap video clips broadcast on MTV. According to Hill, the use of (fragments of) AAVE into white speech "enjoys enormous circulation in mass-media" (Hill 1999: 549). Mock Spanish witnessed an "explosion" in the mass media in the 90s as well, and some of its media occurrences are reproduced in other

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[2] The term "ethnolect" is sporadically found in sociolinguistics and contact linguistics, e.g. in Kallmeyer (1996: 454) and further articles in Goebl et al. (1996/1997). It seems important to add that ethnolectal varieties usually constitute just one part of the linguistic repertoire of their speakers, co-existing with other varieties of the host (majority) and home (minority) language (cf. Kotsinas 1992: 54, Keim in press).

media as well as in public and informal speech (Hill 1995). Hill makes a more general point by saying that the "sphere of the market" – a term including both cultural products and commodities – is "an important zone for mixing and crossing" (1999: 547). In summarizing the concerns of recent research on language crossing, Rampton points out "the dense interpenetration of local performance with styles of speech that are reflexively designed, produced and disseminated through mass-institutional and/or electronic communication systems" (Rampton 1999: 423).

In sum, several researchers seem to agree that mass media can provide models that transgress local experiences of language crossing. However, neither these models nor the way particular crossing performances relate to them are examined in detail. While the expositions by Rampton (1995) and Cutler (1999) lead to the suspicion that at least some instances of crossing are verbatim or modified quotations of media phrases, these researchers do not clearly demarcate direct linguistic resources from mediated ones. As a result, the "browsing" of speech patterns between media and local interaction is still far from clear.

Aims of this study

The aim of this paper is to further our understanding of the relation between media and language crossing by examining a recent case of crossing in Germany: Young native speakers of German use patterns of non-native German which are often labelled "Türkendeutsch" or "Türkenslang". However, these labels are not always accurate, because some native German speakers actually imitate non-native German in general, irrespective of its particular ethnic origin. Therefore I will also use the term "ethnolectal German", meaning non-native German of the kind associated with migrant youths. In any case, this is a special case of crossing in that it does not necessarily involve any personal contact between crossers and source speakers. The linguistic material used by crossers comes not from direct interaction, but from different media genres. I will refer to this phenomenon as *media-induced crossing*.

The mediated diffusion of "Türkendeutsch" will be reconstructed in this paper in terms of a "life-cycle". The life-cycle metaphor has been used in creole studies in order to model "separate developmental stages in the life of pidgins and creoles" (Mühlhäusler 1986: 135). The development to be discussed here is of a different kind, of course, as it involves the diffusion of socially restricted speech patterns over mass media to speakers of the ethnic majority. However, the life-cycle metaphor still remains useful, because it underlines certain connections between language in the media and in face-to-face interaction. It suggests looking at media language as a part of the global sociolinguistic condition of a speech community, which reflects existing variation, but also introduces new variation resources into the community's repertoire. What makes the German case particular valuable, is the fact that mediated representations of "Türkendeutsch" occurred as a vogue or trend within a couple of years, starting off with certain media products that received wide public attention. Hence, it gives us the chance to describe

on-going processes of mediated linguistic diffusion, and to explore sociolinguistically important aspects of media discourse.

As this paper's title indicates, the *life cycle of ethnolectal German* is analytically divided in three distinct stages, which I will now outline together with the main empirical questions of this study. Stage I (*the streets*) includes sociolinguistic developments which are prior to media-induced crossing, i.e. the emergence of new migration-induced varieties of German, and instances of crossing that are based on direct contact between crossers and source speakers. In stage II (*the screens*), elements of ethnolectal varieties are represented in different kinds of mass media. The main linguistic question concerns similarities and differences among these media representations as well as their relation to real-life language variation. I will argue that media texts provide *stylised* versions of ethnolectal speech. Following Selting & Hinnenkamp (1989), *stylisation* is conceived of as the representation of socially typified meaning patterns in interaction: Styling means presenting oneself as a subsumed instance of a social type, using for this purpose linguistic as well as other semiotic means. What styling demands, is actively working out the *typical* or *core features* of this social type. It will be pointed out that various stylised forms of "Türkendeutsch" exist, depending on the particular communicators and genres involved. Finally, stage III (*back to the streets*) is the appropriation of ethnolectal elements by native German speakers. The notion of *appropriation* stresses the fact that recipients are not just imitating media fragments, but they may creatively modify them and use them for their own purposes. I will concentrate on the contexts of "Türkendeutsch" use in face-to-face communication and its symbolic associations from the viewpoint of native speakers. Relating to Hill's "dual indexicality" analysis of Mock Spanish (Hill 1995), I will argue that it does not capture all instances of crossing in hand. In some cases at least, the vogue status of "Türkendeutsch" and its media source seem to be more important to speakers' practices than the relation to its ethnic milieu of origin.[3]

The research reported in this paper is based on three data sets. The first part of the exposition draws on sociolinguistic interviews I conducted in 1997/1998 with a small group of undergraduate students in Heidelberg. The focus of these "first-stage interviews" was instances of crossing in multi-ethnic adolescent peer groups. The second part is based on the examination of media texts. Beginning in 1998, I kept a record as complete as possible of occurrences of Türkendeutsch, and of the metalinguistic discourse around it. Extracts of literature, comedy acts, rap lyrics, and Internet guest books have been subject to a closer linguistic analysis. The third part of the findings is based on interview discussions conducted with 15 speakers early this year.[4] These "third-stage interviews" do not include any actual, unobserved instances of

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[3] Metalinguistic discourse on Türkendeutsch, as it is carried out through print and broadcast media, as well as evaluations of Türkendeutsch by lay speakers will be excluded from this discussion.

[4] Some informants belonged to my own circle of acquaintances, others were contacted by the friend-of-a-friend technique. All of them were inhabitants of Heidelberg, but did not belong to one single social network. The sample comprises both male and female speakers, ranging from

crossing, but rather second-hand reports, whereby speakers narrate salient episodes of crossing into ethnolectal speech, and comment on different media forms presented to them during the interview.[5] I assume that when speakers report episodes from their own and other speakers' crossing practices, they select episodes that they most vividly recall, and would probably also narrate to other people. Although this data is by no means representative, I believe it is sufficient for a first, explorative presentation of the case in hand.

More than tracing the route of certain speech patterns between media and real-life, this paper is an attempt to explain the remarkable popularity of ethnolectal speech in Germany. The question that asks for an explanation is, in my view, this: *What does it take for an instance of "broken" German to be incorporated in the communicative repertoire of a native speaker with no personal contact to non-native speakers?* I will argue that the recent popularity of ethnolectal speech in Germany is due to a complex motivation cluster. It involves the associations of the variety crossed into, the attractiveness of foreign linguistic material for young people, and the importance of using media quotations as a demonstration of actuality. Hence, the outlook of this paper will connect media-induced language crossing to a lesser-researched area in sociolinguistics, i.e. the effect of the mass media on people's speech.

The streets: ethnolectal varieties and language crossing

The emergence of migration-induced bilingualism is a development common to most Western European countries in the second half of the 20th century. The linguistic repertoire of migrant communities can include different varieties of home and host language, and typically shows considerable intergenerational differences (cf. Dabène & Moore 1995, Lüdi 1996, Hinnenkamp 1998, Kotsinas 1998). In Germany, large numbers of migrant workers arrived from southern European countries and Turkey in the '50s and '60s. Similarly to the situation in other European countries, first-generation migrants spoke informally acquired learner varieties of German, which are generally known as *Gastarbeiterdeutsch* ('guest workers' German'). They display a number of simplification patterns and interferences from the respective home languages (cf. Dittmar 1997: 233-44, Barbour & Stevenson 1998: 214-23). In contrast, second/third generation migrant youths generally pass through the German schooling system. However, the acquisition of a native-like competence in the majority language may be impeded by certain sociodemographic factors, such as growing up in so-called

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14 to 33 years of age. 11 speakers are native Germans, two of Turkish origin, one of Polish origin and one was born in Hungary and lives in Germany for several years now. The sample includes school pupils, university students and young employees.

[5] Although speakers' accounts of their own sociolinguistic behaviour are regarded as unreliable in parts of sociolinguistics literature, I found them useful and illuminating. Note that Rampton (1995) dedicates a whole chapter to "local reports of language crossing".

"ghettos"[6] with relatively little contact to native Germans and high use of the home languages. Besides second/third generation youth, the migrant population in Germany includes recently arrived adolescents, i.e. from the Balkans, whose competence in German is developed less. Although the language of migrant children and youth in Germany has attracted some public and scholarly attention (cf. Pfaff 1991, Dirim 1998), the current state of research does not yield a fully coherent picture as far as new vernaculars and language crossing are concerned. The following discussion is based on recent findings by two different research projects and my own student interviews.

Research on the in-group speech of German-Turkish peer-groups is currently carried out in Mannheim, a middle-sized industrial city in southern Germany. In discussing the sociolinguistic orientation of migrant youth, researcher Inken Keim proposes a distinction according to the youngsters' orientation "away from the ghetto" or "towards the ghetto" (Keim in press). While the way out of the ghetto is typically based on good grades and leads to a job in mainstream society, youths oriented towards the ghetto are "streetwise", i.e. subculturally oriented, and engage in minor criminal activities. According to Keim, it is in such ghetto-oriented groups that new ethnolectal vernaculars typically emerge.

The in-group speech of ghetto-oriented Turkish youths in Mannheim is called *Mischsprache* (i.e. 'mixed language'), *Stadtteilsprache* ('hood language') or *Stadtteil-Slang* ('hood slang'; Keim in press, Kallmeyer 2000). As the name indicates, this *Mischsprache* is a speech style with a high amount of German-Turkish code mixture, including various patterns of code-switching and transfer (Kallmeyer 2000: 264-5, Hinnenkamp 1998: 153-6). Its German parts display a number of non-native properties, whereby prosodic and phonetic features of Turkish are transferred into German. Prosodically, the continuous change between rising and falling intonation yields a "stomping" speech rhythm. Phonological features include the shortening of long vowels, aspiration of plosives, coronalization of palatal fricatives, i.e. /ç/ > /ʃ/, simplification of /ts/ to /s/. The example *su weisch* [su 'waiʃ] instead of *zu weich* [tsu 'waiç] illustrates both palatalization and /ts/ simplification. Grammatical features of the *Mischsprache* include the omission of articles and prepositions, e.g. *isch geh* [zum] *bahnhof* ('I go [to the] station') as well as errors in grammatical gender. Its lexicon includes group-specific words, phrases and communicative routines, e.g. the exclamation *isch schwör* 'I swear' (originally perhaps a calque from Turkish) and the term of address *hey lan*, whereby *lan* is equivalent to German *Mann* ('man'). Finally, the speech style of the *Mischsprache* speakers includes a range of ritual insults, such as the utterance *siktir lan, isch schwör langer isch mach disch tot* ('piss off, I swear, man, I'll make you dead'), the first clause of which is in Turkish.

Used by both male and female immigrant youth of migrant descent, this *Mischsprache* differs from learner varieties of German due to its stabilization (routinization) and

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[6] "Ghetto" means here a neighbourhood with a high percent of migrant population; it usually involves social housing and is generally considered low class (cf. also Lüdi 1996: 320, Barbour & Stevenson 1998: 214, Keim in press).

socio-symbolic function as an in-group code that is opposed to other varieties of German and Turkish used by the same speakers. Although similar speech styles probably occur in other German cities as well, they are (still) very diffuse, covering a wide range of regional and social differences.

Adolescent crossing into Turkish has recently been investigated by Auer & Dirim (in press). A major finding of this study is the widespread use of Turkish by non-Turks in multi-ethnic districts of Hamburg. Turkish is not only used when addressing (or in the presence of) Turks, but also among other youth of migrant descent and native Germans. Crossing into Turkish involves a variety of words and utterances, e.g. terms of address, discourse markers, recipient signals, formulaic utterances, greeting sequences, asking what time it is, etc. These findings are corroborated by my first-stage interviews that were conducted in Heidelberg, southern Germany. Informants reported that a number of Turkish words and phrases were common in ethnically mixed peer groups. The most salient ones were greetings, e.g. *selam* ('hi!'), *merhaba* ('hello!'), terms of address, e.g. *moruk* and *lan* ('man, mate'), "what's happening"-questions such as *ne haber lan?* (lit. 'what's new?'), terms of abuse and ritual insults, e.g. *siktır lan* ('get away, piss off') and *amına koydum* (with a vernacular meaning similar to 'fuck you'). Still other items are used as expressive speech acts (i.e. the formula *korrekt, lan!*). There are also the social categorisations *lan* and *moruk*, which are at the same time used as terms of address. The fact that Auer & Dirim's findings suggest much larger amounts of Turkish spreading to non-Turks, could perhaps be attributed to the much larger size of migrant communities and multi-ethnic districts in Hamburg.

From the viewpoint of the present study, more relevant than crossing into Turkish is crossing into "Türkendeutsch", because it is this variety that is stylised in the media and subsequently appropriated by German recipients. According to my student interviews, bits and pieces of non-native German have been routinely used in ethnically mixed adolescent peer groups at least since the early 90s. Typical contexts include acknowledging ignorance, i.e. utterances of the 'I have no idea' type, and especially (playful) "attacking", i.e. utterances of the 'Do you have a problem?' or 'Are you looking at me?' type.[7] In discussing why non-native street-wise accent should appear in this context, my informants suggested that street-wise accent is "fearsome" (*furchteinflößend*) in the first place. It is specific to aggressive adolescent gangs, called *die Schläger* ('the bashers') or *die Lans* (Turkish for 'guys'), which also include recently arrived youths. Since Germans are afraid of such gangs, a German adolescent engaged in a fighting would have more chances of scaring his opponent and imposing respect by using this accent. Therefore, the use of non-native accent ny native speakers could evoke qualities of "dangerous", anti-social behaviour.[8] Judging from the third-stage

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[7] Informants termed these utterances "Kampfspruch" (lit. 'fight phrase') or "Angriffsspruch" ('attack phrase'). Original quotes include: *Hast du ein Problem?* and *Warum machst du mich so dumm an*?

[8] According to an article in *IQ*, a youth magazine from Berlin, the acquisition of ethnolectal German (called "New Pidgin German" in the article) by German youngsters is explained by the

interviews conducted in early 2000, there seems to be a widespread awareness of this speech among German adolescents. Informants reported that many of their age cohorts have had random, and often unpleasant encounters with migrant adolescent gangs, such as being threatened or even robbed out. Crossing into a sort of "broken" German may occur right after "having had stress with the Lans", as an informant put it, or while recalling such situations. For these speakers, mimicking non-native German could even be a kind of symbolic revenge for uncomfortable past situations.

To conclude this section, we need to distinguish between two sociolinguistic developments which originate in the speech of 2nd/3rd generation migrant youth and spread to native German speakers: On the one hand the emergence of local multiracial vernaculars (in the sense of Hewitt 1982), in which Turkish linguistic material plays an important part, on the other hand a non-native accent and grammar of German, which ultimately leads to the stylized ethnolectal German I will be talking about in this paper. Note that these linguistic phenomena have not the same social base. While an extended use of Turkish words and phrases is restricted to multi-ethnic groups and includes interaction with inheritors of the migrant language, the reproduction of ethnolectal German takes place among Germans and is not used towards speakers of migrant descent. Ethnically mixed groups do not use media stylizations the way Germans do, nor do German groups learn and use any Turkish words and phrases. Compared to the varieties discussed by Rampton (1995), "Türkendeutsch" is more like stylized Asian English (SAE) in some respects and more like Creole in some others. Similar to SAE, it has "media currency" (Rampton, pers. comm.) and is not used towards original speakers. At the same time, "Türkendeutsch" resembles Creole in that it can be fearsome in its connotations. In any case, it seems important to stress that all instances of crossing mentioned so far are based on local experience. The social meaning of crossing resources is established within networks of the local community. It is exactly this precondition that dramatically changes at the next stage.

The screens: mediated stylisations of ethnolectal speech

Placing mediated stylisation after direct crossing is based both on conceptual decisions and on chronological evidence. Conceptually, I assume that the mediated occurrence of ethnolectal variation reflects existing, real-life sociolinguistic patterns (albeit in a stylised manner, as will be shown below). Chronologically, many (though not all) of my first-stage informants were familiar with ethnolectal German from the schoolyard, the local youth centre or their adolescent hangouts. While the mediated "Türkendeutsch" trend started off around late 1997, these speakers had experienced real-life crossing since the early 90s. In other words, crossing also occurred well before ethnolectal resources became widely available through media.

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need of the latter to encounter aggressive migrant adolescents by using fragments of their speech (*IQ* magazine issue 3/99).

Although it is strictly speaking not possible to list all media instances involving ethnolectal speech in the last three years in Germany, it is safe to say that they cover a wide range of mostly fictional, written and spoken genres (see appendix). *Spoken genres* include comedy acts, radio shows, song lyrics, broadcast commercials, and films. *Written genres* include literature, comic strips, and instances of computer-mediated communication. Clearly, not all of these genres are equally suited for the dissemination of sociolinguistic patterns. Evidence suggests that audio-visual products with a nation-wide distribution, i.e. broadcast, films and audio CDs, have a potentially wider impact on recipients than written fiction or other written media.

The earliest mediated reproduction of migrant speech in my data is Feridun Zaimoglu's book "Kanak Attak", published in 1995. However, the trend's starting point most probably was a film called "Knocking on heaven's door" which was screened in autumn of 1997, featuring young actor Moritz Bleibtreu in the role of Arabian gangster "Abdul". For many German adolescents, Abdul's broken German apparently was their first encounter with Türkendeutsch, and has been vividly mimicked in the months following the film.[9] Another important media impulse was a series of radio sketches called "Taxi Sharia", which was broadcast in southern Germany from 1998 on. It features a Turkish taxi driver in Stuttgart, whose broken German question *Wo du wolle*? (i.e. 'Where you go?') became extremely popular and circulated widely as a bumper sticker. The trend apparently reached another peak in late 1998 to early 1999, when two comedy acts using ethnolectal German achieved nation-wide popularity, especially among younger audiences. These are Mundstuhl, a Frankfurt-based comedy duo which includes non-native characters Dragan & Alder; and Erkan & Stefan, a duo from Munich, of which Erkan is of half-Turkish descent.

Before the linguistic examination of these texts, a few words about their communicators and fictional frames seem appropriate. Although some communicators are of migrant (Turkish) descent, e.g. author Zaimoglu and comedian Erkan, others are native Germans, e.g. actor Moritz Bleibtreu and the Mundstuhl comedy duo. Hence many mediated reproductions of ethnolectal speech are themselves instances of crossing. However, native German performers may claim a personal experience of communication in multi-ethnic networks, for instance when they talk about their multi-ethnic peer-groups in interviews. As for the fictional frames, ethnolectal German is usually embedded in subcultural narratives and attributed to representatives of ghetto-oriented speakers. Criminality and drug use are main motifs in Zaimoglu's second book, *Abschaum* (1997), as well as in several film representations of street-wise migrant youth. The two comedy acts, *Dragan & Alder* and *Erkan & Stefan*, acknowledge being inspired by the style and the language of *Asos* ('anti-social ones') and *Prolls*

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[9] Further film representations of street-wise migrant youth include (i) "Getürkt" and "Kurz und schmerzlos", two films by director Fatih Akin, (ii) "Nachttanke" (1999) by Samir Nasr, a documentary film about the life in and around a 24/7 gas station, and (iii) "Dei Mudder sei Gesicht" (1997), an underground film of the thrash-movie type, produced in Stuttgart, that parodies the adventures of an aggressive and criminal band of Turkish, Albanian and Italian youth.

('proletarians'). They wear Adidas training suits, strike martial poses, show off with their mobile phones, and narrate fighting stories to impress each other. Although these representations do bear some relation to the milieus in which ethnolectal speech styles are reported to emerge, their modality, i.e. relation to social reality, ranges from almost ethnographic accounts (as in the "Nachttanke" film or the "Abschaum" book) to stark exaggerated parodies (e.g. the Dragan & Alder comedy or the "Dei Mudder sei Gesicht" film). However, evaluating each and every media reproduction as a parody is not justified by the facts.[10]

Linguistically, these media texts are quite heterogeneous. This is due both to the diffuse nature of ethnolectal speech in general, and to functional and situational differences among the different media products. An additional problem is the lack of empirical research in ethnolectal German, so that there is no reliable tertium comparationis to compare the media reproductions with. Faced with these obstacles, I will just present an overall account of ethnolectal patterns, based on analyses of pieces by the two comedy acts (*Dragan & Alder* and *Erkan & Stefan*, published in 1998 and 1999), lyrics from Berlin rap band *tülüvcrü* (1999), excerpts from Zaimoglu's book *Abschaum* (1997), and one comic strip (1999). In examining this material, it seems useful to distinguish between *core features* that are present in several or even all media products, and *peripheral features* that only occur in the speech of particular performers. Furthermore, it is useful examining whether some of these features also occur in native non-standard varieties of German, though perhaps in a different distribution or frequency, whether they have been attested in first-generation learner varieties of German, and whether there are any similarities to migration-induced ethnolects of other languages such as Rinkby-Swedish (Kotsinas 1998).

All media texts examined so far display *co-occurrences of different sociolinguistic features*, whereby "trademarks" of ethnolectal speech are embedded in a grid of colloquial non-standard German. This includes regional features in pronunciation (e.g. Bavarian dialect for *Erkan & Stefan*), features of colloquial German in grammar (e.g. replacement of comparative marker *als* through *wie*), youth-typical colloquial speech (expressive formulas, evaluators and intensifiers, certain discourse particles etc.), and a "vulgar" conversational style abounding with terms of abuse and swearing. As a result, ethnolectal representations are linguistically connected to native vernacular speech. Additional features that differentiate mediated "Türkendeutsch" from native German vernaculars can be traced on various levels of linguistic description, including phonology, grammar, lexical items, discourse markers and instances of code-switching (prosodic features have not been examined in detail).

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[10] The attitudes of the Turkish-German community probably depend on the way members of the community are stylized in different media products. I suspect that media products which present a "silly" image of street-wise non-native speakers are not accepted. A telling example is provided by the reactions to the film "Dei Mudder sei Gesicht". According to two different informants, the (non-Turkish) film crew was bashed by Turks in Stuttgart because of the negative stylization of the Turkish community in the film.

In phonetics and phonology, features that are generally identified as non-native include schwa insertion in consonant clusters, e.g. [ʃəˈtraːsə] for *Strasse* ('street'), simplification of /ts/ to /s/, e.g. [ˈswai] for *zwei* ('two'), long vowel reduction as in [zon] for *Sohn* ('son'), vowel unrounding as in [ˈdonər] for *Döner*, and the non-occurrence of certain reductions, e.g. /u/ to schwa in unstressed pronouns. Two further features are rolled /r/ instead of uvular /ʀ/ or vocalized /ɐ/ in certain positions, and /ç/ palatalization, as in [iʃ] for *ich* [iç]. Although they both occur in German dialects as well, both their linguistic and their regional distribution is a different one in ethnolectal German, e.g. they also occur in "Türkendeutsch" data from Berlin, the dialects of which do not have these features. Certain co-occurrences of these features are clearly marked as non-native speech. An example is the sentence *geste<u>rn</u> hab i<u>sch</u> mi<u>r</u> <u>wo</u>hnung angeschaut* ('yesterday I had a look at a flat') which includes /ç/ palatalization in *isch* [iʃ], rolled /r/ in *gestern* [ˈgɛstərn] and *mir* [mir], and vowel length reduction in *wohnung* [ˈvonuŋ].

In grammar, the principal stereotypes of "Türkendeutsch" are omission of articles, omission of prepositions, and errors in case and/or grammatical gender. All three are attested in first-generation *Gastarbeiterdeutsch* as well. Other features, e.g. the blurring of the *mich/mir* (accusative/dative) distinction, occur in native non-standard German as well. A grammatical feature exclusive to the Dragan & Alder comedy duo is the article form *dem* (dative singular) for all instances of nominative singular, e.g. *dem ist korrekt* instead of *das ist korrekt* ('this is correct').

In lexicon, the items *korrekt* ('correct') *konkret* ('concrete') and *krass* ('extreme') are typical for both comedy acts, and have become a sort of "Türkendeutsch trademark". Although *korrekt* and *krass* are usual evaluative items in native vernacular speech as well, they are marked as "ethnolectal" by their pronunciation, their peculiar distribution (they occur as intensifiers, evaluators and responsive signals), and high frequency. The same holds for discourse markers such as *weisst du* ('you know'), *hey / he mann* ('hey man'), *oder was* ('or what'): Although they are documented in native German youth speech as well, their pronunciation and quite frequent occurrence could justify counting them as ethnolectal features. However, the lexicon also shows expanding tendencies: Both comedy acts have launched new words and expressions, e.g. Erkan & Stefan use the word *brontal*, a blend of *frontal* and *brutal*, used as a positive evaluator and intensifier, and the formula *hockt ihr stabil* ('are you sitting stable?' i.e. 'are you ready for this?'). Zaimoglu's book features the expression *ich bin gefickt* (lit. *I'm fucked*, i.e. 'I'm in serious trouble') which is probably a calque from Turkish.

Finally, the code switching and mixing patterns that are so characteristic for face-to-face interaction in adolescent peer groups of migrant descent, are reproduced in just a part of these media texts. Zaimoglu's book features several instances of extrasentential code-switching, whereby Turkish expressive and phatic elements (interjections, terms of address, routine formulas, terms of abuse) occur before or after a German utterance, as in the following example, in which Turkish is underlined: <u>*Amına koyum*</u>*, die ganze Scheiße hab ich durchgemacht, Alter, ich komm hier draußen nicht klar.* ('<u>Fuck you</u>, I went through all this shit, man, I'm not going to make it out here'). Similar patterns as well as whole utterances in Turkish are found in two films, "Getürkt" and "Dei Mudder

Sein Gesicht". Furthermore, the Tülüvcrü rap lyrics feature some Turkish lexical items, as in: *ich bin der party moruk* ('I'm the party guy'). However, neither the *Taxi* radio show nor the comedy acts include any Turkish elements in their performance.

Judging from recent accounts of the speech of migrant peer groups in Mannheim (Kallmeyer 2000, Keim in press) and ethnically mixed peer groups in Hamburg (Auer & Dirim in press) several of the features mentioned so far are present in the "streets" as well, including long vowel reduction, palatalization of velar fricatives, omission of articles and prepositions, uncertainty in case and grammatical gender, some nation-wide spread formulas such as *ich schwör*, and the insertion of Turkish elements in a German matrix. Whether the other features are stereotypes without a real-life correspondence or occur in other peer groups than the ones examined so far, cannot be safely stated at the moment.[11]

In spite of these similarities, no media product is a straightforward reproduction of real-life speech. I suggest that every instance of medially presented ethnolectal speech is inevitably a stylised one, and that stylisation is the outcome of several pragmatic and linguistic factors. First, media representations of ethnolectal speech dramatically differ from informal in-group interaction in terms of the whole communicative situation. The design of media texts generally involves processes of writing, editing, rehearsing etc., in which language style is consciously worked on in order to achieve anticipated audience effects. This is especially important in our case, because language variation is in itself the centre of attention. Crucially, we are mainly dealing with genres such as comedy and film, in which particular ways of speaking are connected to particular characters. Eventually, "chunks" of ethnolectal speech can index a specific character, and this is especially the case with individual linguistic trademarks of specific performers. The main association invoked by such ethnolectal utterances is the individual performer, not his/her ethnic milieu of origin.

While linguistic variation is crucial in the overall communicative function and plot of comedy performance and other media texts dealt with above, the variability presented in

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[11] What is remarkable, however, is the similarity of mediated and real-life "Türkendeutsch" for some informants without prior direct knowledge of non-native speech. These informants reported that after having been introduced to "Türkendeutsch" through the media, they eventually encountered adolescents who sounded "like the cd" or "like the film". This statement could be seen as evidence for the factual similarity (or convergence) between "the streets" and "the screens", but it could also result out of a biased perception on the part of these German informants with no previous exposure to ethnolectal German. At the same time, the examination so far indicates some remarkable similarities with characteristic features of Rinkeby-Swedish as described by Kotsinas (1992, 1998): An unusual prosody, vowel length reduction, certain pronunciation differences, deviations in gender and agreement, and frequent use of discourse markers such as *you know* (in the respective language), are characteristic for both Rinkeby Swedish and mediated "Türkendeutsch". According to Kotsinas, some Rinkeby-Swedish features seem to follow quasi-"universal" simplification strategies at work, similar to those operating in the formation of pidgins and creoles.

these texts is inevitably reduced with regard to face-to-face communication. Mediated events such as film and comedy scenes involve only a few persons with a consistent style of speech, and thus can never mirror the wide variation range encountered in real life. As Preston points out, variety imitations in literary writing as well as in face-to-face discourse is characterized by "careful selection and understatement" (1992: 332). Variability may further be reduced as a result of the channel used (e.g. in the case of written representations) or of strategic decisions adopted by communicators (e.g. excluding code-switching patterns with regard to a monolingual target audience). Reduction of linguistic variation is also connected to the construction of an individual speech style. Depending on the genre and modality of a media product, this style can include "exaggerations", i.e. the foregrounding of certain linguistic features, or unusual combinations of linguistic patterns. Woolard (1988) has shown how a Catalan comedy performer used unusual code-mixing patterns in creating his particular style. Although code-switching is not represented in the "Türkendeutsch" comedy acts, these comedy performers do create a relatively consistent speech style through an individual combination of linguistic resources. Simply speaking, then, what distinguishes ethnolectal speech in comedy from its real-life starting point is suppressing some linguistic features and overusing others.

In sum, mediated representations of ethnolectal speech involve the re-contextualization of vernacular patterns as "trademarks" of particular communicators. Stylisation constitutes a new "ambiance" or reference frame, which eventually replaces real-life assumptions about the usage patterns and the social meaning of a language variety.

Back to the streets: Appropriation of mediated resources

In discussing the impact of mediated "Türkendeutsch" on native speakers, it is important to remember the wide range of the relevant media output. Several authors and performers mentioned so far enjoyed nation-wide popularity in the last couple of years. The two comedy acts issued CDs, toured extensively, made broadcast appearances, and received extensive press coverage. Hence ethnolectal patterns are inevitably introduced into the language awareness of mainstream society as a whole. Even native speakers with no prior contact to non-native speakers can now pick up the existence of ethnolectal speech as well as examples for some of its stereotypical patterns from the media,[12] and some also start using ethnolectal bits and pieces in communication with other native speakers.

The progress from media stylisation to face-to-face reproduction can be quite complicated in practice. Evidence suggests that there are many "waves" or "layers" of appropriation, some speakers "getting on the bandwagon" earlier than others: For some, the use of "Türkendeutsch" was prompted by a widely known film in late 1997, while others joined the imitation trend after the issue of the two comedy CDs in late 1998 and

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[12] For instance, German students who grew up in rural areas reported having listened for the first time to Türkendeutsch in the "Knocking on Heaven's Door" film and the "Taxi" radio show.

early 1999. Moreover, resources of ethnolectal speech are not the same for everyone. While some speakers only draw on different media, others use both direct and mediated sources, which means that a single crossing event may involve both media and real-life input.[13] The following discussion is basically restricted to appropriation practices of German speakers without direct crossing experience, though some instances of multiple crossing resources will be mentioned as well.

"Türkendeutsch" – a term known and used by all recipients I spoke to – is generally experienced as an "alien voice". All my informants acknowledged being conscious of using a voice which is not their own. Imitations of "Türkendeutsch" can thus be seen as instances of *double voicing*.[14] In many cases "Türkendeutsch" is treated similar to Stylised Asian English as described by Rampton, in that "there was nearly always a wide gap between self and voice" (Rampton 1997: 74). In exploring the ways speakers appropriate this voice, it seems useful to address three leading questions: which linguistic material is used, in which circumstances, and to which purpose.

A considerable part of the material used in media-induced crossing are media quotes, which are reproduced in toto, retaining their intonation and phonology. Examples include: expressive items and utterances such as *ey krass*, *korrekt*, *ultra-korrekt* (known from comedy); interrogative utterances such as *wo du wolle?* ('where you wanna go?'), known from radio, and *lach ich oder was?* ('am I laughing or what?') that comes from a pop song; furthermore phrases such as *ich schwör, mann* and *hey lan*, which cannot be safely attributed to a single source. My findings are similar to Preston's (1992) analysis of variety imitations, in that prosodic changes (voice quality and tempo), topic choice and lexical stereotypes are important devices of "Türkendeutsch" reproduction. In addition, some speakers also create new combinations out of available material and build new phrases by analogy. One speaker, for instance, was particularly fond of the pronoun *dem* ('the'-dat), which is a "trademark" of the *Dragan & Alder* comedy duo. Not only did he use ready-made phrases such as *was ist dem?* (for *was ist das?* 'what's this?'), but also combined the matrix sentence *ich hab dem* (with *dem* as a dummy pronoun) with comedy key-words and free predicates, yielding novel phrases such as *ich hab dem konkret hunger* ('I'm so hungry').

The popularity of Türkendeutsch at the time of this study is evidenced by reports of *triggering phenomena*. There are cases of both topical and lexical triggering. In the first case, the use of "Türkendeutsch" is prompted by a conversation topic that is strongly present in media stylisations (and perhaps in real-life experience as well), such as

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[13] The existence of multiple resources is stressed by Cutler (1999). In her case, they comprise real life experience, second-hand resources (e.g. from a white friend with more access to black networks), and mediated resources.

[14] In double-voicing, a speaker/writer uses "someone else's discourse for his own purposes by inserting a new semantic intention into a discourse which already has, and which retains, an intention of its own" Bakhtin (1984: 186-189). The concept is used by Rampton to describe language crossing (1995: 221-4, 1997: 73-5).

talking about mobile phones or demonstrating one's new mobile phone. In the case of lexical triggering, a comedy key word such as *krass, korrekt, konkret*, etc. initiates an ethnolectal imitation. Even if the item occurs with normal German pronunciation in the first place, it is repeated by the interlocutor with ethnolectal accent and/or in one of its characteristic formulaic patterns. Two informants expressed the feeling that these words are so strongly associated with "Türkendeutsch" that they cannot be used in a normal way anymore.

Crossing into ethnolectal German essentially occurs in in-group interactions. Utterances involving "Türkendeutsch" are neither used in public transactions, e.g. "asking for bread in the bakery" (as a 14-year old male informant put it), nor addressed to its source speakers ("people who normally speak this way", according to the same informant). Further evidence suggests a basic distinction between mimicking ethnolectal speech as a self-purposive event, and embedding ethnolectal material in other events. In the first case, a German peer group may collectively enact a film or comedy episode involving "Türkendeutsch". In the second case, ethnolectal speech is employed to fulfil various communicative functions. According to informants' reports, fragments of ethnolectal speech can occur in a variety of contexts, including the following: expressing enthusiasm (especially with the phrases *ey krass* and *korrekt*); declaring ignorance; refusing and rejecting; playful aggression (i.e. jokingly attacking or threatening the interlocutor); sexual commenting; narrating one's own funny or silly experiences; expressively reacting to a work-related problem or mishap. Many of these reports involve a *joking modality*, as in the case of playful aggression. Several informants stressed the fact that they would never use "Türkendeutsch" for an argumentative conversation, a technical description or other "serious" purposes.

When directly asked why they imitate ethnolectal speech, many speakers say that they do it "as a joke" or "just for fun". As a male speaker put it, you use "Türkendeutsch" because you want to be different and to draw attention. Experiencing "Türkendeutsch" in terms of language play is constantly reaffirmed, as its users are interactively rewarded with a joint laugh. Interestingly, being funny is the major reported motif for Mock Spanish use in the US as well (Hill 1995). It is worth examining, therefore, to what extent "Türkendeutsch" is used in a manner similar to Mock Spanish, in the sense that "just for fun" constitutes the pretext to an (unconscious) reproduction of social stereotypes.

In order to uncover the latent racist impact of Mock Spanish, Hill (1995) uses a semiotic analysis of "*dual indexicality*". She argues that Mock Spanish utterances simultaneously fulfil two semiotic functions, called direct and indirect indexicality. Direct indexicality includes the qualities that crossing assigns to the speaker/performer, and indirect indexicality includes the social and cultural stereotypes activated by the interlocutors in order to interpret the switch into Spanish. While users of Mock Spanish claim for themselves positive qualities such as being funny, street-wise, and humorous, their Mock Spanish jokes or utterances rely on negative stereotypes about the source speakers and their culture. Direct indexicality "is visible to discourse consciousness", but indirect indexicality "is not acknowledged, and in fact is actively denied" (Hill

1995). Being semiotically founded, this analysis is applied not only to direct interaction but to all sorts of language use, including cultural products and other commodities. Thus Hill demonstrates how instances of Mock Spanish in film scenes, comic strips, posters, coffee cups, etc. can all be interpreted according to the dual indexicality pattern. On this basis, she convincingly argues that a socially important effect of Mock Spanish use, i.e. reproducing prejudice against and discrimination of a minority group, can be quite independent from speakers' overt intentions and goals in the actual communicative situation.

To which extent does this analysis apply to native Germans' crossing into "Türkendeutsch"? As we have seen, speakers appropriate ethnolectal fragments in certain routinized speech acts. Sometimes this "alien voice" is used in order to do things the speaker wouldn't do otherwise, such as picking on someone, giving explicit sexual comments or acting out an aggressive behaviour. Using "Türkendeutsch" to this purpose is only possible by drawing on stereotypes about the behaviour of its original speakers. Consider the following report by a male student: He addressed a female acquaintance with the phrase *korrekte charakter* ('correct character') in ethnolectal pronunciation, thereby referring to her breasts. The word *character* in this sense went back to the *Erkan & Stefan* comedy duo. Here, a "Türkendeutsch" voice is used to make a sexual comment, which the speaker wouldn't perform with his own voice. In doing so, the speaker presupposes that the habitual speakers of this variety would make such a comment anyway, because they are "rude" and "ordinary". Interestingly, his female interlocutor recognized this voice and used it in her response as well, thus additionally marking the whole episode as a jocular one. Although it is not the interlocutors' overt intent to stigmatise the source speakers, I would argue that their exchange is based on a shared negative stereotype of the source speakers.

Straightforward instances of mock "Türkendeutsch", termed as such by the crossers themselves (German *Verarschung*), are related to two strong stereotypes of German-Turkish youths, i.e. stupidity and aggression. The stereotype of being "stupid" (German *dumm* or *doof*) is certainly prompted by some fictional representations: According to several informants, what the two comedy acts basically bring is "stupid jokes" (*Dummwitze*). Native German adolescents can evoke this stereotype through mimicking comedy or film scenes with the sole purpose of laughing at the mentalities portrayed therein. The inference to be drawn from this kind of mimicking is a "how-can-they-be-so-stupid" stance towards the fictionally represented migrant youth. Another case is using comedy fragments in mocking strangers, e.g. passers by, thereby portraying them as stupid and rude. The stupidity stereotype also seems to work in using "Türkendeutsch" to declare ignorance or as a reaction to mishaps such as a computer crash. The second stereotype, i.e. being rude and aggressive, is, for some adolescent German speakers at least, grounded in real-life experience such as being provoked by migrant adolescent gangs. For native speakers without such an experience, using "Türkendeutsch" in playful aggression probably draws on the idealized image of street toughness which is attributed to street-wise migrant youths in media representations. It may well be the case that this image is a source of ambivalence for majority speakers, combining both a certain fascination and a certain fear.

It appears, then, that at least some instances of media-induced crossing are grounded on negative ethnic stereotypes. In other cases, however, these stereotypes seem to be less relevant. Although speakers can still locate the social origin of the variety they cross into, i.e. as non-native speech or more specifically as "Türkendeutsch", the non-native linguistic material does not primarily index its original ethnic milieu, but rather its media source. Some examples are needed in order to support this claim. For instance, the male student who used "Türkendeutsch" in a sexual compliment acknowledged that at the moment of crossing he was not he, but the comedy duo, *Erkan und Stefan*. In this case, an ethnic stereotype is active as shared background knowledge, while reference to comedy is the foregrounded knowledge. In a second case, a female speaker reported about a middle-aged factory worker who used the formulaic question *Wo du wolle?* as an acquisition routine in the workflow, instead of saying something like 'What can I do for you?' According to the report, this speaker would just as well use a catch phrase involving a German dialect or a foreign language. The decisive point is not the ethnic origin of the phrase, but its vogue status at the time of the exchange. In still another case, a female student reported about an exchange with a university administration staff member who produced the word *konkret* with non-native rolled /r/ as a reaction to her saying "we have to make this matter more concrete". This case of lexical triggering was interpreted by my informant as an attempt at creating a relaxed atmosphere in institutional interaction. Rather than evoking a racial stereotype, the speaker appealed to the media knowledge of his interlocutor, making a joke out of their mutual recognition of the linguistic play.

Evidence of this kind leads me to conclude that speakers also use "Türkendeutsch" fragments in their capacity as media fragments. In so doing, they do not seek to reaffirm their ethnic identity (as Hill's analysis of Mock Spanish puts it), but their mutual media competence. This interpretation ties in well with recent research on crossing in other contexts. For instance, Cutler estimates that in a certain phase of her informant's biography, crossing into AAVE did not index peer-group adherence, but rather "participation in hip-hop as the dominant consumption-based youth culture" (Cutler 1999: 435). In a similar vein, Auer & Dirim (forthcoming) note that for some speakers the use of Turkish "has come so symbolise membership in the adolescent peer group or culture per se". What these two comments have in common, is that the indexical value of crossing stretches beyond the social origin of the relevant linguistic patterns. My suggestion is that this is characteristic for media-induced crossing as well. Mediated "Türkendeutsch" is a linguistic trend and participation in this trend mainly demonstrates the speakers' "being in the know", i.e. a common awareness of (mediated) actuality. As in every trend, there also is a certain social pressure to join in. Informants acknowledge this pressure with comments such as "everybody does it" and "no-one can afford not to participate". Particularly revealing is the following comment by a young woman: "If I say *korrekt* [with rolled /r/] and you don't react, you are an absolute loser."

Social differences in media-induced crossing practices have been excluded so far because the empirical basis of this paper is not sufficient for a full coverage. However, available evidence suggests looking in two directions. On the one hand, some individual

instances of "self-voice identification" (Rampton 1997:74) seem to occur: Two informant groups independently reported about middle class German adolescents who deliberately adopt a "ghetto style" in their looks and speech. On the other hand, appropriation practices are related to speakers' real-life experience with non-native German. In particular, my data suggests a difference between university students (20-25) and school pupils. The pupils I interviewed, two 14-year and two 19-year olds, had personal experiences with "Türkendeutsch", which means that their crossing resources were both direct and mediated. For them, the popularity of mediated "Türkendeutsch" was not their sole linguistic model, but rather a good chance to act-out crossing. On the other hand, most university students I talked to (20–25 year olds) did not have any personal experience with real-life ethnolectal speech in the last years, which means that the media was their only resource for (and reference point in) crossing. As far as crossing is concerned, the "Türkendeutsch" uses reported by the school pupils are quite focused on playful aggression and straightforward mocking. In contrast, students and adult speakers (e.g. the factory worker mentioned above) seem to develop novel "Türkendeutsch" uses, e.g. in flirting and small talk, thus extending their appropriation strategies beyond what pupils do. However, much more data is obviously needed here before any hypotheses are safely formulated.

Discussion and conclusions

It is time to come back to the "what does it take" question, i.e. the motivations for using mediated "Türkendeutsch". Why has media-induced crossing been so popular in Germany? The starting point in my attempt at answering this question is the motivations of direct crossing. Researchers have proposed different explanations for the social motivation of adolescent language crossing. For Auer & Dirim (in press, forthcoming), the interethnic use of Turkish in Hamburg is motivated by both instrumental and socio-symbolic factors. In neighbourhoods with a large Turkish community, non-Turks may use Turkish for purely instrumental reasons, i.e. to make themselves understood and/or to make business with Turks. In other cases, Turkish bits and pieces occurring in a German matrix are predominantly an act of identity: They signal adherence to multiethnic local peer-groups and affiliation with youth-cultural trends. For Rampton, language crossing in England is "an emblem for the emergence of new solidarities opposed to dominant patterns of race stratification" (1997: 69-70). Although crossing does not necessarily presuppose strong interpersonal links, friendship is pointed out as a decisive factor in negotiating the usage of "alien" languages or language varieties (Hewitt 1982, Rampton 1995). For Kotsinas (1992: 58-9), the attractivity of Rinkeby-Swedish is due to the "air of toughness attached to stigmatised varieties", i.e. it constitutes a case of covert prestige. She writes (59): "These Swedish adolescents are apparently trying out immigrant identities in their search for their own social roles and identities. This, in turn, could be seen as a adaptation to the cultural reality in the 'immigrant' areas where they live, a kind of acclimatization to the new Sweden." In both England and Sweden, the involvement of migrant youth with youth-cultural music styles such as reggae and hip-hop, seems to be decisive for the crossing aspirations of majority youth; in other words, linguistic imitation is embedded in style imitation.

However, these accounts cannot fully explain media-induced crossing, because it is not the outcome of interaction in multi-ethnic peer groups. In the case reported in this paper, crossing's instrumental function is not at stake anyway. While it may well be the case that "Türkendeutsch" users take a solidary stance towards migrant youths and a multi-ethnic society, this is just a *virtual* solidarity, one that is not directly demonstrated to the source speakers. Besides, such a positioning does not hold true for all examples in my data. Obviously, additional explanations are needed. My suggestion is that the popularity of mediated "Türkendeutsch" is the outcome of three interrelated factors: "Türkendeutsch" provides native speakers with exotic linguistic material as well as with alien social voices that are enacted in interaction. Moreover, mediated "Türkendeutsch" fragments are reproduced as a demonstration of "being in the know". I will briefly comment on these points in turn.

As we have seen, crossing into "Türkendeutsch" and Turkish involves linguistic items that belong to specific functional categories, such as greetings, terms of address, swearwords, interjections and evaluators. Significantly, foreign linguistic material of precisely this kind is found in young people's speech in different societies and contact situations.[15] According to my student interviews, German speakers use greetings, terms of address, swearwords etc. from various languages, depending on their personal acquaintances. In a similar vein, multilingual practices in Hamburg are not restricted to Turkish, but also involve fragments of Romany and other minority languages, albeit in much smaller amounts than Turkish (Auer & Dirim, in press). The use of foreign linguistic material in ritualised communication is not restricted to ethnically mixed peer groups, but is a more general tendency in young people's speech (Androutsopoulos 1998: 575-7). I suggest that this "deeper" tendency favours the recent use of "Türkendeutsch" as well.

Besides foreign elements that fulfil specific communicative functions, double-voicing practices are also widespread in adolescent interaction (Rampton 1995, Pujolar 1997). As for Germany, a number of researchers have identified the enactment of various social voices as a salient pattern of adolescent interaction. For Schlobinski et al. (1993), the imitation of social dialects or voices from TV commercials belongs to the "bricolage techniques" through which adolescent peer-groups constitute their speech-styles. Schwitalla has demonstrated in a number of papers what he calls "youth's many tongues" (*Die vielen Sprachen der Jugendlichen*). For instance, mocking passers-by can be achieved through adopting the presumed voice of the mocking targets; a childish voice may be adopted in order to say something that may sound obvious or naïve; a peer group can devise various ways to enact an "enemy" group (Schwitalla 1988, 1994).

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[15] Examples include English borrowings in German (Androutsopoulos 1998a), Italian in South Tirole German (Androutsopoulos 1998b), Spanish in Italian (Radtke 1990), Greek, Turkish and Arabic items in Rinkeby Swedish (Kotsinas 1992), Creole items in English (Rampton 1995), Arabic items in French (Seux 1997, Dabène & Moore 1995). According to Hill (1995), the heavy use of Mock Spanish seems to be (or have been) a part of fashionable West Coast teenage speech.

Although Schwitalla's research does not involve migrant groups or appropriations of non-native speech, some of his examples for enacting "anti-social" youths (1994) are strikingly similar to the situation in hand here. Again, my suggestion is that the appropriation of "Türkendeutsch" is just a special instance of a widespread discourse strategy that can be observed with other resources as well.

Interactional enactments of alien voices normally remain highly group-specific, in that their "meaning" resides in local social knowledge. In the "Türkendeutsch" case, however, the alien voice that speakers use is at the same time a media quotation. Thus the meaningfulness of this voice resides, partly at least, in media knowledge, and its appropriation indicates the speaker's participation in a trendy cultural discourse. This opens up a more general issue, i.e. how mass-media references are used in interaction, which cannot be fully discussed here. Speakers may use or "recycle" mass-media material, e.g. allude to well-known media phrases, modify them, and blend them with references from other discourses, as a way of expressing their individuality (Hill 1999: 547-8). In short, my argument is that quoting (or alluding to) media fragments can be used to create an atmosphere of togetherness, in which interlocutors reassure each other that they belong to the same community of media consumption, and share the same background knowledge. This also applies to the use of "Türkendeutsch".

All three factors may operate independently from one another: "exotic" linguistic material may come into German from other foreign languages too, double-voicing may involve a dialect of German or the speech of a stereotyped social figure, and media quoting can involve comics, talk show moderators, sportscasters, etc. However, in the particular case of "Türkendeutsch" all three factors co-occur, because "Türkendeutsch" is medially available, is generally perceived as an alien voice by native German speakers, and can be reproduced in ritualised speech acts; these factors co-operate, enhancing speakers' motivations to use ethnolectal fragments.

In broader terms, the "Türkendeutsch" trend fits within wider shifts in German society. In particular, it marks an important step in the development of Germany into a de facto multi-ethnic society. In this development, which is neither politically recognized nor welcomed by the entire German society, as becomes evident in xenophobic attitudes and racist aggression towards foreigners, the majority group is confronted (and learns to cope) with new ethnic groups and their lifestyles. The role of the media discourses in this context, is to present various facets of this new social reality. Especially media genres such as comedy and film make recipients familiar with a reality that is perceived by many as new, alien, and perhaps also threatening. However, as shown in this paper, recipients are not only passive consumers, but also use media contents as an impulse for their own discursive activities, thereby either strengthening or reinterpreting the stylised versions of social and sociolinguistic reality offered by the media. From this perspective, the use of mediated "Türkendeutsch" is always an ideological stance, be it as an affirmation of emerging multi-ethnic society or as a reproduction of ethnic prejudice and stereotypes. This particular ideological load is one main difference between the diffusion process described in this paper and the frequently noted mediated diffusion of slang. A second point of difference is the fact that in the case of

"Türkendeutsch", the object of linguistic spread is not just a set of words and phrases, but rather a speech style, i.e. a set of indexical signs that also includes pronunciation and prosodic cues.

In concluding, it seems important to point out that media-induced crossing is a vivid example for a quite neglected part of the sociolinguistic agenda, i.e. the effect of mass-media on people's speech.[16] The "Türkendeutsch" trend demonstrates two sociolinguistically important properties of mass media: They *affect sociolinguistic awareness*, making speakers familiar with novel or unknown language varieties and speech styles; and they constitute *sociolinguistic resources*, i.e. provide recipients with "raw material" which is used in instances of everyday conversational interaction. Whether the popularity of "Türkendeutsch" constitutes a case of language change, is a wider issue that obviously depends on how language change is defined. I suggest it presents a new communicative resource for the majority society at large, at least during a certain trend phase. To this extent, it seems to me that medially induced linguistic trends deserve more attention by sociolinguistics, at least if sociolinguistics is interested in exploring and explaining novel instances of linguistic variation and change.

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[16] The neglect of language in the media in sociolinguistic research is stressed by Hudson (1980:171); Holly (1995:368); Boyd-Barrett et al. (1996: 430).

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Appendix: Media sources

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- *Erkan & Stefan*, *Ich schwör* (CD), Virgin (1999). http://www.erkan-stefan.de
- *Erkan & Stefan*, film by Michael Herbig (2000).
- *Knockin' on Heaven's Door*, film by Thomas Jahn, (1997).
- *Kurz und Schmerzlos*, film by Fatih Akin (1998).
- *Mundstuhl comedy*, *Nur vom allerfeinsten* (CD), Columbia/Sony Music (1998). http://www. mundstuhl.de
- *Nachttanke*, film by Samir Nasr (1999).
- Peter Puck, *Falsche Antwort*, comic strip, Stadtmagazin *meier*, Dezember 1999.
- *Richie*, *Für Dir* (CD), Chlodwig Records (1998).
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- *Tülüvcrü*, *Tülüvcrü* (CD), EMI (1999).
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