

English ‘on top’: Discourse functions of English resources in the German mediascape

Jannis Androutsopoulos (University of Hamburg)

Most research on English in European media tends to focus on either „Anglicisms“ (lexical borrowings) or the use of English as default language in domains such as corporate communications and advertising. This paper argues that important uses of English in contemporary European mediascapes lie between these two extremes, and proposes ways of conceptualizing this space, based on findings from research on German-language written (print and computer-mediated) data. It outlines a pattern of national language/English bilingualism (also related to minimal and/or truncated bilingualism), in which English is positioned as a complementary code, used in addition to (‘on top’ of) the predominant national language. Besides structurally integrated lexis, English comes in linguistic structures such as nonce borrowings/one-word switches, phrases and full clauses (including quotations). Their embedding in the base language can be modelled partly as insertional code-switching, and partly as language choice for specific generic elements. Understanding English on European mediascapes therefore presupposes an understanding of generic structures of media discourse and their variation across media types, media institutions, and audience communities. Rather than serving referential demands only, English ‘on top’ indexes familiarity with transnational lifestyles, cultures and audience communities, and is part of stylized identity performances. This is reflected in a number of usage patterns which are common across media types and genres. In particular, English on European mediascapes is the preferred code for emblematic, headlining and framing purposes; it relies heavily on chunks/formulae rather than freely formulated material; it is shaped by intertextuality and interdiscursivity; and it draws on vernacular resources.

1. Introduction

Within various contemporary streams of research on English in a globalised world, this paper focuses on some aspects of the use of English in the media of non-English speaking countries. By means of delimiting the scope in more detail, the notion of ‘the media’ or ‘mediascapes’ (Appadurai 1996) places the focus on discourse that is more or less professionally produced and addressed to large numbers of recipients. While the data to be discussed do not originate in a single genre or media type, they are planned and typically written texts rather than interactively unfolding media talk. In addition, this paper focuses on media discourse of countries such as Germany, or most European countries for that matter, where English does not enjoy nationwide official status and is neither a first nor a widespread second language but traditionally considered a ‘foreign language’ and therefore not the default language in the media. Research that takes these two constraints into account, is traditionally characterised by a microlinguistic focus on lexical contact between ‘Anglicisms’ and the respective national language (see section 2). Needless to say, contemporary sociolinguistic approaches to English in non-English speaking countries go far beyond that. English is being studied in terms of language-ideological discourses (Spitzmüller 2007), national or corporate language policies (Ammon 2010) or in the context of an emergent national language/English bilingualism that is deemed characteristic for the information age (Haarmann 2002). Theoretically important as they may be, these macro-sociolinguistic approaches have left a meso-level empirical space, that is, the actual use of English resources at a text and discourse level, in lack of theoretical and analytical development.

The notion of 'English on top' aims at contributing towards the development of such a meso-level framework. In a preliminary working definition, 'English on top' can be understood as a discourse strategy in which English features are used in addition to ('on top' of) the predominant national language, in specific textual positions and for specific discourse functions. The notion exploits the ambiguity of the metaphor '*on top*', in terms of both quantity and space: 'English on top' will be discussed as a process in which English is an additional code, always used next to the dominant or base code of the discourse under consideration, in our case German. At the same time 'English on top' is positioned in specific ways, including positions of more salience or visibility than the main code. Often, it is literally 'on top' of the base code.

Based on critical discussion of available scholarship and analysis of data from a range of genres and media, this paper aims at a reconceptualization of some usage patterns of English that have been noticed before, but not systematically considered so far. The main part of the argument unfolds in four sections: I distinguish three discourse functions of 'English on top' (section 4), which draw on three types of resources (section 5). I then discuss the position of these patterns within frameworks of code-switching (section 6), and suggest that indexical values of English may be as important here as symbolic ones (section 7). Before that, I briefly review the relevant research literature (section 2) and introduce the concept of 'English on top' in more detail (section 3).

2. From Anglicisms to English in (multilingual) discourse

Originating in the 1960s and based predominantly on linguistic data from newspapers and periodicals, research on Anglicisms (*Anglizismenforschung*) is the main tradition of scholarship on English in contact with national languages, in Germany and elsewhere in Europe (see papers in Görlach 2002). Anglicisms research focuses almost exclusively on the lexicon.¹ English lexis in German media texts is classified in terms of different types of loanwords, semantic relations between native and non-native lexical stock, grammatical integration into the receiving language, and stylistic functions. Different types of loanwords are analysed with regard to their degree of integration into the host language, as indicated by features such as plural and case marking, allocation of grammatical gender, participation of borrowed items in word-formation and, sometimes, adaptation to German spelling system (Eisenberg 2004). Anglicisms are often classified as 'necessary' or 'luxurious' according to their referential necessity, and their stylistic functions are described with categories such as linguistic economy, variation in lexical expression, expressiveness, euphemism, or local colour. This predominance of lexical analysis is supplemented by some questionnaire-based studies on the comprehension of and attitudes towards Anglicisms (see Wetzler 2005 and papers in Hoberg 2002). This research has generally not gone beyond lexical borrowing, and

the use of English phrases or clauses has generally not been considered. These are occasionally added on to the lexical categories with circumlocutions such as "entire sentences" or "non-integrated English phrases" (Janich 2003, Schütte 1996, Wetzler 2006), though this practice has been critiqued as inadequate (Hilgendorf 2007: 135).

The structuralist background of Anglicisms research is obvious in its conceptualisation of the main research issue as the impact, or influence, of Anglicisms on the German language. The use of code-switching approaches is only fairly recent in the German literature on Anglicisms (Onysko 2007), and connections to studies of institutional language choice and language policy have been equally little developed. Anglicisms research often operates on assumptions of correctness and stylistic appropriateness (Wetzler 2006; Glück 2004: 150), and a few scholars explicitly devalue what they see as an excessive use of Anglicisms (Glück 2004) and an apparent "threat of diglossia" with English as High variety and German and other „former national languages“ as Low varieties (Munske 2004: 167). While such a purist stance is rather an exception among linguists (Spitzmüller 2007), there is a broader link between Anglicisms research and a normative stance on English influence on German (Hilgendorf 2007:143).

Despite its merits in the lexicological study of English/national language contact, the Anglicisms tradition has not addressed other aspects of the highly complex relationship between English and national languages today. As Hilgendorf (2007: 132) puts it, its focus lies on Anglicisms in the German language rather than different uses of English language in the German context. This limitation also applies to its treatment of the media, which is used as the main source of data, but not theorised in its own right. 'The media' have commonly been viewed as 'point of entry' of Anglicisms into the German language, but this assumption is not empirically substantiated, and indeed contradicted by recent findings on the reception of Anglicisms (Wenzel 2006).

Alternative approaches to the relationship of English and national languages in the media exist as well. Since the 1990s, researchers have applied categories from code-switching studies to media texts, in particular newspapers and periodicals from different countries and languages (McClure 1998, McClure & Mir 1995, Graedler 1999). Pioneering work by McClure, in particular, has identified structural and stylistic patterns of English/national language code-switching in media data from Bulgaria, Mexico and Spain. In recent research on English in Finland (e.g. Leppänen 2007), English is conceived of as part of a multilingual repertoire (rather than a foreign language), and the range of its uses across Finnish media, genres and cultural domains is amply demonstrated drawing on categories from code-switching research. However, these researchers focus on computer-mediated communication and music lyrics rather than (written) mass media data, and it is perhaps for that reason that the patterns of 'English on top' discussed below are not prominent in Leppänen's (2007) analysis. The shift from Anglicisms to multilingual media discourse involving English was also advanced by research on advertising (Piller 2001, Martin 2007, Kelly-Holmes 2005).

Piller studies the uses of English in German advertising discourse in terms of the relationship between ‘voices’: The voice of *narrator* (the institution behind the ad) and the voice of *narratee* (the implied recipient) can be instantiated in various parts of an ad or commercial (Piller 2001: 159-162). The authoritative voice of the narrator is often encoded in a voice-over or slogan, but also in the headline or other text parts, depending on their visual design. If the English text “looks stronger” than the German one, then English is the ad’s dominant voice. Likewise, Martin emphasises that English is accentuated in French ads through its use in headlines and/or a larger size type (2007: 174, 181). From the perspective of the narratee, English contributes to constructing personality traits of the implied reader, such as international orientation, future orientation, success orientation, sophistication, and fun orientation. The relevant cues include the product categories English is selected for (e.g. English signifies 'future' in ads for communication technologies), the specific English resources used (e.g. English allusions and puns imply sufficient command of the language on the part of the implied reader), and the ad's visual components: implied readers are often portrayed as businessmen or managers, thus their success orientation is co-constructed visually. As Piller suggests, “... advertising on German TV has left the stage of borrowing far behind and it is really multilingualism that is being employed instead of German with English borrowings.” Moreover, “L2 use in German TV advertising is mainly a discourse phenomenon rather than a lexical phenomenon” (Piller 2001: 264).

Even though the data to be discussed in this paper are not restricted to advertising discourse, this work establishes the interrelation of three key points, which are used as points of departure for the discussion that follows: First, English in advertising comes in more than lexical items; second, it is characterised by specific textual placements; third, it has specific multimodal properties. Taken together, these points make clear that the use of English in German media texts is not (just) an issue of "borrowing" but a strategic language choice for specific text components, which anticipates pragmatic effects on the target audience.

3. Introducing ‘English on top’

Against that backdrop, Figure 1 and Example 1 illustrate the kind of textual usage to which the notion of ‘English on top’ responds. The example is a three-part brochure designed to stand folded on a table. It announces the refurbishment of a university cafeteria called *Conti*. English is used for all three headlines – *Bye-bye Conti*; *Your "Inter-Conti"*; *Conti to Come* – as well as for a sidebar that is repeated on all three sides (*the new conti. More than continuity*), with the items *more* and *conti* shaded so that they can be read as one separate phrase. But English is not used at all in the copy text (in the right part of the triptych reproduced in Example 1, *Campus* is of Latin origin).

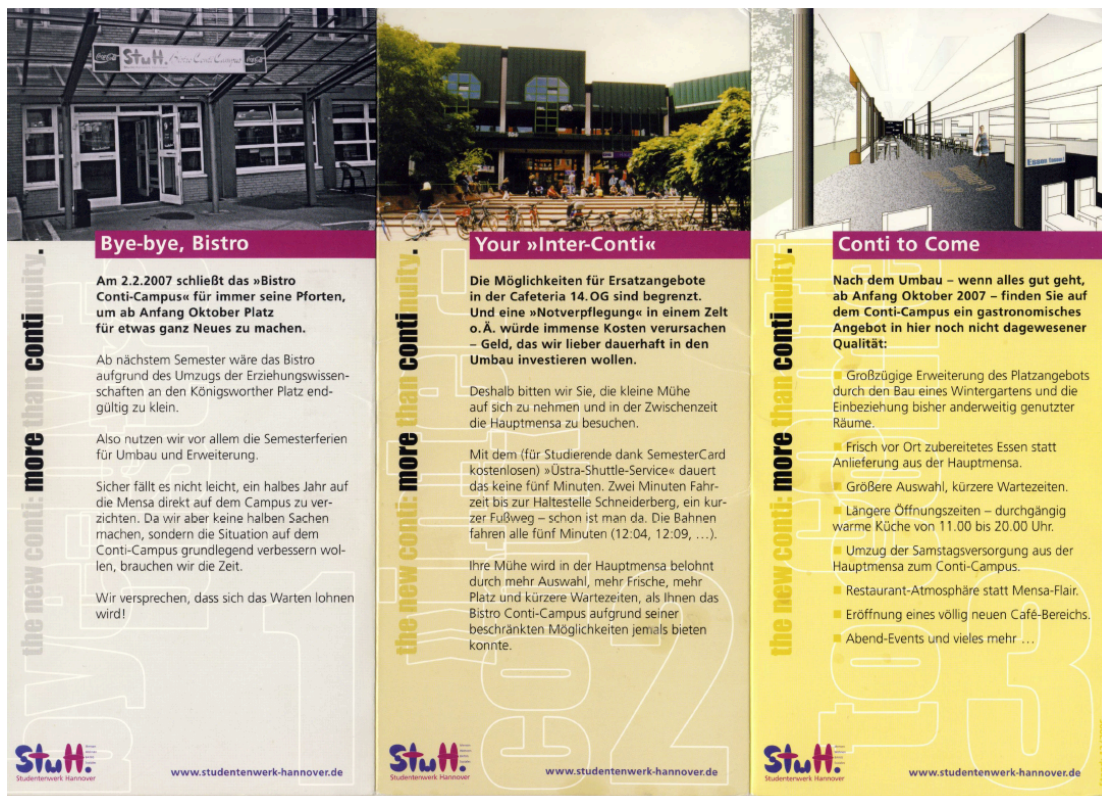


Figure 1: *Conti to Come*, triptych advertising, 2007

Example 1: Right part of the triptych shown in Fig. 1

Conti to Come

Nach dem Umbau – wenn alles gut geht, ab Anfang Oktober 2007 – finden Sie auf dem Conti-Campus ein gastronomisches Angebot in hier noch nicht dagewesener Qualität. [...]

Gloss:

'Conti to Come

After the refurbishment – if everything goes well, from early October 2007 – you will find on Conti Campus a range of gastronomic offer in unprecedented quality.'

The choice of English here is clearly an outcome of design. English phrases are used for specific parts of the text and are placed literally on top of the German copy in the headlines. A large and varied set of uses of English fit this pattern: they go beyond single lexical items but remain 'beneath', as it were, the choice of English for the entire text; at the same time, they are set off other parts of the entire text and are therefore less suited to an analysis in terms of their syntactic integration into the recipient language.

In this paper I use the ‘on top’ metaphor to explore this kind of exposed English. Besides the literature on English in the media reviewed in the previous section, the paper draws theoretically and in terms of methods on approaches from sociolinguistics, media discourse studies, and multimodality research. Following up on recent sociolinguistic theorising, the notion of ‘English on top’ implies a focus on the situated and motivated use of linguistic resources rather than the relationship between linguistic systems. I orient to an understanding of language as resource as advocated by Heller (2007) who argues “... against the notion that languages are objectively speaking whole, bounded, systems, and for the notion that speakers draw on linguistic resources which are organized in ways that make sense under specific social conditions”. Further, Heller proposes

‘a view of language as a set of resources which circulate in unequal ways in social networks and discursive spaces, and whose meaning and value are socially constructed within the constraints of social organizational processes, under specific historical conditions’ (Heller 2007: 1-2)

Adapting this to the present context, the question is not the influence of ‘English’ on ‘German’, but how media discourse actors use English resources in specific contexts. Therefore, ‘English on top’ should be understood not as a fixed variety or register, but as a discourse strategy, a way of using semiotic resources in discourse. On that basis, the notion of ‘English on top’ entails three further analytical implications. First, an understanding of media texts as complex, multilayered units that are composed of different building-blocks, which are bolted together in generically conventional configurations. The ‘on top’ metaphor draws attention to English resources in the periphery rather than the core of such configurations, to their (often visually salient) margins, which are juxtaposed to longer – and, in terms of propositional content, more ‘substantial’ parts of a text. Second, ‘English on top’ implies that multimodality and visual organisation are analytically important, and that the design and placement of English resources is part of their discourse function. A third implication is that the different contexts of the use of English resources are to be investigated rather than being taken for granted. This includes the genres English is used in, the textual units it selected for, and their (intertextual, semantic, pragmatic etc) relations to other co-present textual units.

The examples presented below come from both previous research and current observations. They originate both in the mainstream media and in music- and youth-oriented niches of the German mediascape. Though rather restricted in terms of target groups and cultural domains, the examples offer sufficient cross-media and cross-generic spread to support a key argument of this paper, i.e. that ‘English on top’ is not a just a niche phenomenon, but a strategy of using English resources with currency across genres, media types, and discourse domains.

4. Discourse functions of ‘English on top’

Three main discourse functions served by ‘English on top’ are discussed in this section: *heading*, *bracketing*, and *naming*. These usage patterns are repeatedly mentioned in research on media discourse in languages such as Norwegian (Graedler 1999), French (Martin 2007), Bulgarian (McClure 1998) or Greek (Makri-Tsilipakou 1999). However, they are rarely foregrounded as such, and their diverse forms and functions seem overlooked. There are different types, subtypes and variants of headlines, titles and names, which, taken together, may make up a considerable part of the elements that organise media discourse.

4.1 Heading

The discourse pattern of ‘English on top’ that has been most noticed so far is the use of English in headlines, titles, mottos, captions and other textual items, which head an adjacent text body and thereby announce or summarise that adjacent text. Such English usage has been reported for Bulgarian, Dutch, French, German, Mexican and Norwegian media discourse, and for genres such as advertising headlines and slogans, newspaper and magazine headlines, job announcement headlines and job titles, movie titles, photograph captions, and titles of regular columns in newspapers or magazines (Graedler 1999, Hilgendorf 2007, Kelly-Holmes 2005, Martin 2007, McClure 1998, Piller 2001, Van Meurs et al 2007). In all these cases, heading elements are usually set apart from their body text by multimodal means, including typeface, size, colour and combinations thereof.

Advertisement headlines are typical instances of ‘English on top’. One example is a printed advertisement by Deutsche Bank, which features a German body copy, an English headline (*It’s not the plan. It’s what’s behind it*) and an English slogan (*A Passion to Perform*). English is thereby ‘accentuated’ (Martin 2007) by means of its layout placement in the higher half of the page, its bigger font size, and distinct font choice. However, headlines are not a homogenous category. Within the complex layout of media products, single texts or pages may include a number of headlines, titles and mottos that are positioned hierarchically or adjacent to each other within a larger composition. What exactly counts as a headline is therefore not always straightforward but must be established in context. The same applies for the allocation of languages to headlines. An advertisement may include several headlines and sub-headlines that are visually arranged in specific ways, and English may be selected for some of these, depending on the advertising campaign’s conceptual design.

Figure 2 is an example of a different advertising genre, i.e. event flyers that are distributed by hand or displayed in shops. A genre analysis of party flyers suggests that the choice of English for the flyer’s headline, or ‘motto’, was a conventional generic feature (Androutsopoulos 2000). By virtue of their placement in the top area of the layout, mottos represent the flyer’s ‘ideal’ in terms of the multimodal composition model by Kress & van



Figure 2: *Istanbul Party Night* (Hannover, 2006)

Leeuwen (1998). By contrast, information on the place and time of an event usually comes in the national language and is placed at the bottom of the graphic space, i.e. it takes on the position of the ‘real’. Figure 2, a flyer for a Turkish event in the German city of Hanover, illustrates this co-distribution of textual information and language choice is. English is selected for the motto, *Istanbul Party Night*, whereas practical information on the event is cast in German. Given the theme of the event, the flyer design offers cues of ethnicity such as the DJ name (*Prince Erkan*); the typeface of the DJ name, which seems to evoke associations of ‘orientalism’; and aspects of the visual background. The flyer’s flipside (not reproduced here) features the motto *World of orient*, which sets forth the choice of English for heading purposes.

Moving on to other types of heading elements, Figure 3 exemplifies the choice of English for a news headline on the young readers’ page of a German regional daily. English is selected for the headline of the top feature on the page, while German is selected for other headlines further down the page. English headlines are generally absent from other sections of this newspaper. In the German context, English news headlines can be expected on topics such as culture and lifestyle rather than for hard news, and in printed media for special target groups rather than the general public. Moreover, as in this example, English news headlines can be expected to draw on intertextual resources (see section 5).



Fig. 3. Excerpt from young readers' page (*Jugendseite*) of Northern German regional daily 'Goslarsche Zeitung', April 2004

The proliferation of heading elements in limited graphic space is obvious on web pages, because conventions of web design enable a larger number of textual chunks that are hyperlinked to full items of copy text on other web pages. Figure 4 shows the website of the German dependency of an international fitness gym chain.

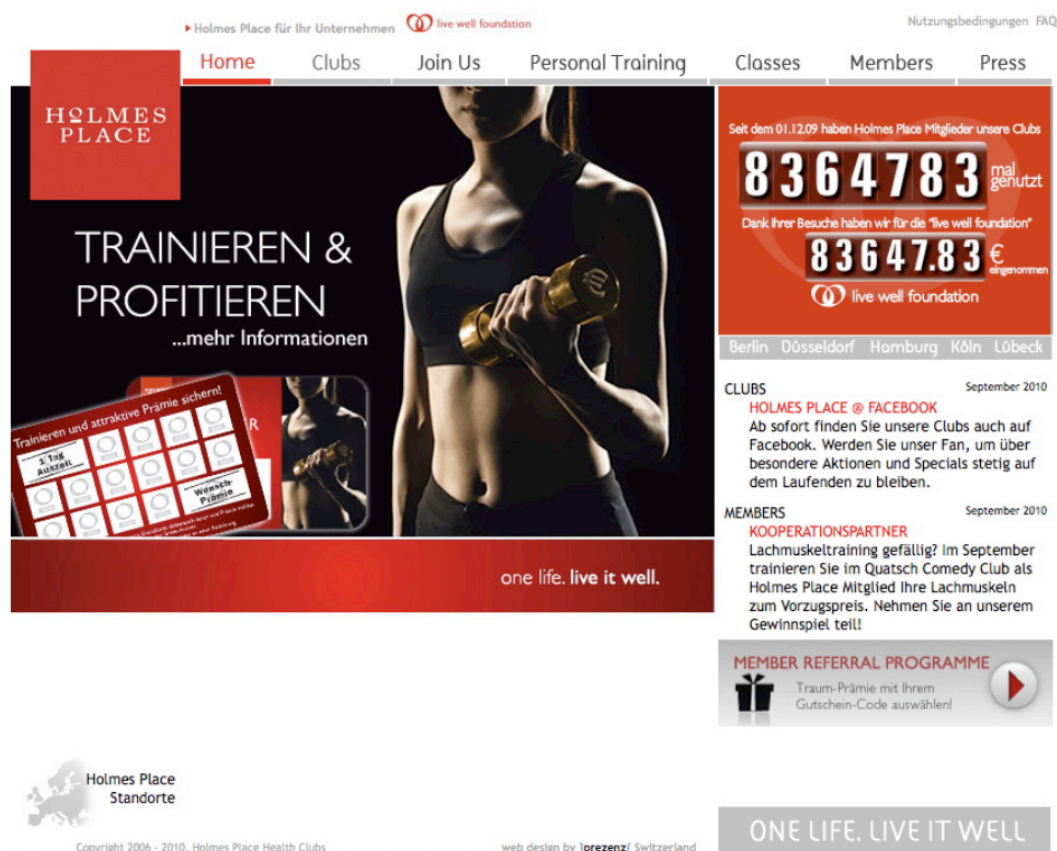


Fig. 4. Screenshot of holmesplace.de, September 2010

While the main headline and the copy text come in German, the items of the main navigation bar at the top of the screen page (*members, classes, etc.*) come in English. These are not headlines in the conventional sense, but they do act as headings of their respective link targets. In addition, this example shows how different patterns of ‘English on top’ may contribute to shaping the visual identity of a media actor, without replacing the base language of the copy text. Besides these heading elements, a number of distinct linguistic items in this screenshot are cast in English, including the name of the fitness company itself, the company’s corporate slogan (*one life. live it well.*), the name of an associated organisation (*live well foundation*), heading elements in the short text blocks to the right (*clubs, members, and holmesplace @facebook*), and two copyright-related lines at the bottom.

The Greek website of the same fitness company (*holmesplace.gr*, not reproduced here) uses Greek for the copy text and English for the corporate slogan (the same as in the German version) and the main headline, which is integrated into a visual at the top of the webpage and reads: *feel part of the club ... what a feeling!* The headline of the copy is also in English (*Holmes membership*), and all navigation bars on the webpage feature both English and Greek items.

As already obvious in the preceding examples, heading elements may also contribute to the segmentation and textual organisation of media genres. Example 2 is an excerpt from an e-mail newsletter that is disseminated by a commercial hip-hop website. This newsletter is organised in several thematic blocks, each preceded by a header. Two headers in this issue of the newsletter come in English, others are in German with integrated English lexis (as in *Releases der Woche*). We return to the co-occurrence of different types of English material in Section 6.

Example 2: Hiphop.de email newsletter, 2005

Hiphop.de Newsletter 08_03_2005

_01. Releases der Woche

PETE ROCK is back! War er das nicht erst? Richtig! [...]

`_01. Releases of the week

PETE ROCK is back! Wasn’t he before? Right!’

_02. Word Cup #7 online

Es ist soweit, viele haben darauf gewartet: [...]

‘The time has come, many have been waiting for this:’

_08. Games of the Week

Zocken im dunklen Zimmer ist nicht Euer Ding? [...]

‘Gaming in the dark is not your thing?’

In a Japanese example, the lifestyle website *morinaga.co.jp* (not reproduced here), the text columns on the homepage feature six headings, two of which come in English: *What's new* and *Pick up!* Notice how *new*, one of the oldest and most conspicuous English items in Japanese commercial discourse (Haarmann (1986: 110), comes in a chunk that occurs in an 'on top' position. Another type of heading elements is titles of regular columns in the press. The 'English on top' framework developed here predicts a tendency to select English for the column title, while the copy text of column text itself will be in the national language. In music-related media, examples for that pattern are available in genres such as editorials, news sections, and music reviews. In a corpus of 'partyazines', magazines on music and clubbing events in a particular region,² the music review column is called (in different publications) *drastic plastic* or *wax trax*; editorials go by titles such as *intro*, *intromental* or *homebase*; and the local news section is given titles such as *newsflash*, *in da mix* or *update*. To paraphrase a familiar notion in sociolinguistics, these titles can be thought of as different ways of 'titling' the same genre. They are characterised by a preference for intertextual and formulaic English material and by rhetorical techniques such as alliterations, metonyms and metaphors, which are all related to music culture. This fondness for intertextual and rhetoric work is not restricted to English, but holds just as true for German column titles in these magazines.

The final example for this section comes from an entirely different domain, thereby illustrating that 'English on top' is not just restricted to popular and youth-related media. Example 3 is the opening part of an academic call for papers for a conference in applied linguistics. The title is composed of an English motto, *Beyond routinising*, and a German main part, and the motto is labelled as such (and thus made transparent) in the main text.

Example 3: Section call for the annual conference of *Gesellschaft für Angewandte Linguistik* 2009

[Title] Beyond routinising. Aspekte der Professionalisierung mehrsprachiger und interkultureller Alltagspraxen

[Copy] Jüngere Arbeiten zur Mehrsprachigkeit und interkultureller Kommunikation zeigen, dass [...] Unter dem Motto *Beyond Routinising* bitten wir um Beiträge, die [...]

Gloss:

[Title] Beyond routinising. Aspects of professionalization of multilingual and intercultural everyday practices.

[Copy] Recent work on multilingualism and intercultural communication suggests that [...] Under the motto *Beyond Routinising* we invite contributions which [...]

The examples discussed so far suggest that ‘English on top’ is not restricted to a specific genre, medium or domain of discourse. Indeed, it is not even restricted to the mass media in a narrow sense, but is more aptly viewed as a discourse strategy that characterises mediated discourse with attention-seeking character.

4.2 Bracketing

In the second pattern of ‘English on top’, English is selected for linguistic items that bracket a textual unit, delimiting its beginning and end. The notions of bracket and bracketing originate in Goffman who points out that 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” (Goffman 1986: 251). Goffman distinguishes “opening and closing temporal brackets and bounding spatial brackets” (252), and illustrates bracketing on different scales of social organisation. Following up on Goffmann, the notion of bracketing has been used in the discourse analysis of the opening and closing of interactional encounters (see Ainsworth-Vaughn 2003 and papers in Tannen 1993). In media discourse analysis, the concept of framing has been used in similar ways (e.g. Coupland et al. 2003, Hinrichs 2006, Androutsopoulos 2004). Multimodal analysis distinguishes framing devices such as lines or blank space, which establish what textual elements within a graphic space are to be read together (Kress & van Leeuwen 1998: 189). In computer-mediated discourse analysis, the notion of framing has been related to code-switching. In bilingual contexts, the introductory and concluding chunks surrounding a contribution such as an email or forum post have been found to use a different code than the main text (Hinrichs 2006: 92-101; Androutsopoulos 2004, 2006). By either term, it is agreed that bracketing is “rich in meaning” (Ainsworth-Vaughn 2001: 459), as it has the capacity to frame the social relationship between the partners of an interaction.³

Even though not as widely noticed in the literature as headlines and titles, my observations suggest that the choice of English for bracketing thrives in contemporary German media discourse. English brackets come in a variety of linguistic forms, ranging from entire sentences to one-word sentences, and can be found around textual units such as reports, reviews, web forum posts, etc. In a code-switching perspective, English brackets can be analysed as autonomous intersentential code-switching that is structurally independent from adjacent German material (Onysko 2007). However, English brackets do not always co-occur at both ends of a text. Advertising texts often feature only a closing English bracket, which can be instantiated by the slogan that is conventionally placed at the bottom right of a printed advertisement or as voice-overs at the end of a commercial. If a body text has a single-sided bracket only, another textual unit such as the headline may be thought of as constituting the other bracket, even though it may not be directly adjacent to the main text body.

Example 4 illustrates an English end-bracket in a television commercial for a cosmetics product. The commercial features two teenage girls who examine each other's face for spots. One is repeatedly asking 'here? and here?' with the other replying, 'nothing'. The girls speak colloquial standard German, and the female voice-over that concludes the spot speaks standard German with English (example 4):

Example 4: 'Clean & clear' television commercial

Exfoliating daily wash von clean and clear. Reinigt porentief mit sanften peeling-körnchen. Für fühlbar glatte schöne haut. Clean and clear – and under control

Gloss:

Exfoliating daily wash by clean and clear. Cleans pore deep with mild peeling seeds. For tangibly smooth beautiful skin. Clean and clear – and under control

Product and brand name in the beginning of the voice-over come in English and are linked by the German preposition *von* 'by'. The concluding slogan, which forms the closing bracket in the terms of my analysis, supplements the brand name with the phrase: *and under control*. In Piller's (2001) terms, this is an instance of English as the voice of authority. Phonologically, this voice is styled with an accent that lacks any local indexicality. The brand name is pronounced as an English name, though with neither a heavy German accent nor a British or American vernacular one. In the printed advertisement for the same product, this slogan is located at the bottom right of the ad. English is a regular choice for such closing brackets in German advertising.⁴

Figure 5 is an example of double bracketing using English material. This is a record review page of a hip-hop magazine. Its title, *US Connection*, can be analysed as an instance of English heading, and its four columns are a continuous stretch of short record reviews. The column is introduced by a short paragraph in English: *Summer of '97: masses of phat records and no end in sight!* It is concluded by another English chunk that works as a sign-out: *Nuff talking, c ya – DJ Bizz* (here *c ya* stands for 'see you').

These bits of English exemplify Goffman's observation that brackets "are presumably neither part of the content of activity proper nor part of the world outside the activity but rather both inside and outside" (1986: 252). The opening bracket introduces the activity at hand, i.e. record-reviewing, in a self-referential way, and the concluding part consists of a metacommunicative comment and a farewell to the reader. Even though the entire review page is sufficiently delimited from the rest of the magazine in terms of pagination, the brackets mark the beginning and end of that activity.

US CONNECTION

Report über US-Neuveröffentlichungen der letzten Monate.

Summer of '97: masses of phat records and no end in sight!

Das ist der aktuelle Stand der Dinge, und da kann doch ein wenig Information über die wichtigsten Independent releases der letzten Monate nicht schaden, geile!

Los geht's mit **REZIDUE** und seiner „Dropin' Reizidue / Inner City Blues“- Maxi, erschienen auf DataBase Recordings. Die Produktion kommt von Reizidue und Tic. Beide Tracks sind ganz klar gelungen und daher: auf jeden Fall antesten! Die nächste 12" kommt von **BREEZ** und ist auf Hot Wax rausgekommen. Die A-Seite „Forsaken“ war auch schon auf einigen N.Y.- Mixtapes zu finden und das nicht ohne Grund. Die B-Seite „Dip...Dip“ kommt mit lustigem Loop, und steht in Sachen Dopeness der A-Seite in nichts nach. Lohnt sich auf jeden Fall, ist aber gar nicht so einfach zu bekommen, d.h. rarhalten.



HEATHER B., für mich die beste weibliche Rapperin zur Zeit, featured Ajax auf ihrer „Cloud 9“- Maxi, die von Kenny Parker produziert wurde. Wer dieses Baby, äußerst ruff, rugged and raw, nicht hat, der ist selber schuld! Neues kommt auch aus dem näheren Umfeld von Mad Skitz, und zwar in Form einer Maxi von **LONNIE B. DAINJA MOWF** und **THE SUPAFRIENDZ**. Alle Tracks eignen sich hervorragend zum relaxen, wobei „Make it hot“ von Dainja Mowf mir am besten gefällt. Das DJ Premier als Produzent der totale Knatter ist,

beweist er mal wieder auf der „Gettin' closer to god“- 12" von **KRUMB SNATCHA**, erschienen auf M.I.A. Records. Schön mellow, gute Vocals, also mitnehmen! Ebenfalls aus dem Primo-Umfeld kommen die nächsten East N.Y.- Head-nodder. Die Rede ist von



GROUP HOME, die jetzt aber nicht mehr auf Payday, sondern auf Tape Kingz Records sind. „Express / Run for your life“ kommt phat daher, wobei „Express“ definitiv der bessere Track ist und auch schon super limitiert als White Label zu haben war. Production kommt von BOff und Triple Beam. Tip!

Brennenderweise kommt ganz klar die auf Dark Records erschienene „Off Balance/ Misery/ Da Outro“- Maxi von **LASTER**. Alle Tracks sind gradenlos gut, und „Off Balance“ featured den cheffigen **ED O.G.I**. Wem dieses Teil nicht gefällt, kann sich gleich mit den Kellys auf den Mond schiessen lassen. Kaufpflicht!!! Auf Dixie Cup Records rocken die immerguten



BEATNUTS mit einer Auskopplung aus ihrem aktuellen Album. „Here's a drink“ heißt das gute Stück und kommt mit guten Beats und

netten Vocals. Sehr empfehlenswert! Munter weiter geht's mit **F.A.T.A.L. FOUNDATION**, A-Seite „All about wars“ produziert von Buckwild, der u.a. schon für Artifacts, Big L, Sadat X etc. produziert hat. Kommt vom Sound her so'n bißchen Wumäßig. B-Seite „Heavyweights“ ist wieder was für die Kopfnicker unter Euch. Gute Platte.

Back on track ist auch **RAKIM**, den man ja wohl



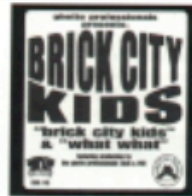
noch aus den guten alten Eric B & Rakim-Zeiten kennen sollte. Im Gegensatz zu seinem alten Partner ist Rakim jedoch noch genauso phat wie eh und je, und da die Lala zu It's been a long time“ dann auch noch von Primo kommt, lautet mein Urteil: Genial!!! Auch wieder am Start ist **POSITIVE K** mit „How yah livin“, featuring



M.O.P., die den Chorus in meinen Augen total verkacken, aber Pos K. und die korrekte Produktion, die von The Mic Check Family kommt, gleichen das locker wieder aus. Erschienen auf Mic Check Records, weckt diese Platte den John Travolta in Euch. Phat! Ganz dicker Brenner kommt die-

ser Tage auch vom **D.I.T.C.-MOB**.

„Internationally Known“, produziert von Showbiz und Lord Finesse, knallt mit ungewohntem, aber äußerst geilem Beat durch die Boxen, und „The Enemy“, produziert von Primo, hinterläßt auch ein gediegenes Lächeln auf meinem Gesicht. Kaufpflicht! Next sure shot ist die neue 12" von **3rd EYE**, erschienen auf Sure Shot Records. „Circles“ sowie 3 andere Tracks bzw. Versionen sind drauf, und ich sag' Euch: „Circles“ brennt! Also, Asbest-Handschuhe an und kaufen. Vorletzter Tip ist **BIG RED** featuring Mo' Money und Genovesee mit



„If you want it“. Rausgekommen auf Diehard Records, Production von Mo' Money und D. Mitchell, ist dieses Teil definitiv was zum Abgehen. Auf jeden Fall antesten! Zu guter Letzt kommt jetzt noch ein ganz dicker Hund und zwar von den **BRICK CITY KIDS**, deren Maxi Mitte August auf Rawkus Records erschienen ist. Hinter den B.C.K. verbirgt sich niemand Geringeres als die Artifacts, die mit der A-Seite „Brick City Kids“ wirklich den letzten Hanno zum Head-nodder par excellence machen. B-Seite kommt auch cool daher. Kaufen oder ab zu den anderen ins Kelly-Raumschiff! ■

Nuff talking, c ya - Dj Blizzo

Figure 5: *Backspin* magazine, review page, 1999

In addition, this example illustrates the recursive nature of bracketing, i.e. its occurrence on different levels of discourse organisation. Within the stretch of text, a few reviews are themselves introduced by English phrases, which mark the beginning or end of a specific review in a metacommunicative or expressive manner. Two openings consist of mixed English-German clauses. One reads *Next sure shot ist die neue 12" von 3rd EYE* („Next

sure shot is the new 12“ by 3rd Eye’), the other is: *Back on track ist auch RAKIM...* (‘Back on track is also Rakim...’). Another short review is emphatically concluded with: *Phat!* Here English material is used in order to bracket smaller units off each other within a larger unit, which is itself bracketed off other large units. Furthermore, the linguistic style of this bracketing material should also be noted. The example confirms a point recently made by studies of bilingual computer-mediated communication (Hinrichs 2006, Androutsopoulos 2006): Brackets provide opportunities to draw on identity-relevant linguistic resources, which are not used as main code of communication in the context under investigation. In Hinrichs’s study, Jamaicans write emails predominantly in English, but regularly use Jamaican Creole elements in the beginning and/or end of their emails. In Androutsopoulos’s 2006 data from diasporic web forums in Germany, the use of greetings, closings and other formulae in minority languages was common, even though the forum posts were predominantly in German. Similarly, the bracketing elements of this example draw on features from ‘hip-hop English’, the base language of the reviews being German (see Section 5 for discussion).

Example 6, a concert announcement from the listings of a city guide, is another example of single-sided English bracket. Its concluding phrase, *Maximum Respect!*, occupies the position that is conventionally reserved for a concluding evaluation or recommendation, and in fact it expresses both. Note once again the indexicality of this phrase, which raises associations to the discourse of reggae music and culture, and is also used in the English-language discourse of that culture.

Example 5: Music preview (city magazine *meier*, Mannheim)

Linton Kwesi Johnson

Der Mann ist in den letzten Jahren zu Unrecht etwas in Vergessenheit geraten. Aber LKJ ist nach wie vor der unübertroffene Meister der Dub Poetry und des Dub-Reggaes, der Einfluss von Alben wie „Making History“ oder „Bass Culture“ auf die Black Music der Jetztzeit ist gewaltig. Zusammen mit der treuen Dennis Bowell Dub Band und dem französischen Support-Act Sinsemilia kommt LJK endlich wieder auf Tour. Maximum Respect!

Gloss:

‘Linton Kwesi Johnson

The man was somewhat forgotten in the last years, unfairly so. But LKJ is still the unsurpassed master of dub poetry and dub reggae, the influence of albums such as "Making History" or "Bass Culture" on contemporary black music is tremendous. Together with his faithful

Dennis Bowel Dub Band and the French Support-Act Sinsemilia, LKJ is finally on tour again. Maximum respect!’

Another instance of end-bracketing occurs in the young readers’ newspaper page (Figure 3). Below the headline ‘Just do it’, the opening paragraph of the feature concludes with the phrase: *Think positive!* Addressed to the readers, this can be classified as intersentential English code-switching with summarising and evaluative function, a pattern that is common in German mainstream media (discussed by Onysko 2007 for *Der Spiegel*). Another instance of an English opening bracket is Example 2, where the first news block, offering an enthusiastic announcement of the topic, begins with a formulaic English sentence.

Throughout these examples, the intertextual, formulaic and stylistic aspects of English material are obvious. It is no coincidence that the parts that are ‘rich in meaning’, shaping the interpretation of the enclosed discourse, are also rich in indexical inferences and intertextual evocation. We return to these issues in the next section.

4.3. Naming

A third discourse function of ‘English on top’ is naming. I focus here on names of media products and media institutions (e.g. periodicals, websites, broadcast shows, radio stations), which have received some attention in the literature (see Graedler 1999, McClure 1998, Martin 2007, Androutsopoulos et al. 2004). Names serve to identify an actor, organisation or a media product, and while they of course also occur integrated in the copy text, I am primarily interested here in their function as emblems, in which they are set off their surrounding discourse by virtue of their position and typography (e.g. on a newspaper masthead or the top of a periodical cover). Names are similar to headlines in terms of their textual placement and multimodal treatment, but differ from these in that they designate social and institutional identities instead of heading textual units.

English names for German media products are quite widespread and extend beyond the music domain into fields such as computing, fitness or lifestyle. In the music domain, the choice of English names for periodicals, websites, radio shows etc. is constrained by the cultural knowledge surrounding particular music styles. For example, the German hip-hop magazine named *Backspin* draws its name from a hip-hop dance technique, and a now defunct punk fanzine named *Wasted Paper* grounds its metaphorical name on the self-derogation and nihilist imagery that are common in punk culture. The mottos or slogans that accompany such English names are often in German, sometimes including English-derived lexis (e.g. *Backspin – HipHop Magazin*). Such combinations of English name and national language slogan can be understood as the outcome of a dual language choice strategy, which indexes both a globally circulating cultural mythology and a nation-state specific target audience.

In the music domain, web publications build on naming conventions that originate in the periodical press. The names and slogans of German hip-hop websites listed below (Example 8; a hyphen is added to separate name from slogan) show an even stronger orientation to English as the language of choice for both name and slogan, though their content is in German. At the emblematic level, the indication of their nation-state context is rather taken on by the top-level domain (in this case, the .de suffix). Again, language style and multimedia make-up are important parts of the 'on top' design: The cultural contextualization of these websites is enhanced by the salient indexicality of language style choices (see discussion in section 6), and their typographic choices which orient to graffiti.

Example 5: Names and slogans of German hip-hop websites

- *rap.de* - *ROCKIN' YOU SINCE 1996*
- *www.hiphop.de* - *musik infos community*
- *epoxweb.de* - *Home of German HipHop*
- *Bouncing Beatz* - *BOUNCING BEATZ CLUB*
- *LEE WUN* - *check those abstract rap-stylezzz*

The currency of English names and slogans in the domain of popular music cuts across media, but varies with regard to audience groups. Figure 6 displays a selection of radio station names and slogans arranged according to language choice and media sector.

öffentlich-rechtliche Sender	NDR	Das Beste am Norden.	Deutsch ↑ ↓ Englisch
	NDR 2	Und das Leben beginnt.	
	NDR Kultur	Der Klassiker.	
	Bayern 2	Hörbar mehr vom Leben.	
	Bayern 3	Klingt dreimal gut.	
	SWR 3	Mehr Hits. Mehr Kicks. Einfach SWR 3.	
Private bzw. Jugendsender	Radio Charivari	Der klasse Musikmix. Top Hits. Classic Hits. Scharfe Hits.	
	Jump Radio	Der neue Sound im Radio.	
	Pirate Radio	Fette Beats, Geile Grooves.	
	Planet Radio	Maximum Music.	
	Jam FM	The Finest in Black Music.	
	N-Joy Radio	Enjoy the music.	

Tabelle 2: Radiosender-Slogans (2003)

Figure6: Radio station names and slogans by type of station and language choice (Source: Androutsopoulos et al. 2004)

The list suggests that station names and slogans drawing on English are more common for private-commercial stations and public domain, youth-oriented stations. Public radio stations select German, while youth-oriented stations or those playing pop music select English or mixed-language slogans, though this doesn't exclude youth radio stations from selecting German slogans.

A different area of naming practices involving English is computer-mediated communication by and for diaspora groups. On websites and discussion forums that cater for Germany's immigrant population, the choice of English for naming is quite widespread even when the ethnic group in question is not connected to English in historical or political terms. A study of seven websites (Androutsopoulos 2006) suggested a discrepancy between language choice for names as opposed to slogans and content. English is the resource for website names which refer to the target ethnic group (such as *theinder.net* or *greex.net*), the homeland (e.g. *iran-now.de*) or a larger geographic region (e.g. *asia-zone.de*); however, their adjoining slogan is often in the language of the website's content, that is, German. The currency of English continues in the naming practices of website users with regard to their screen names and signatures. As these constitute individual semiotic territory, their owners are free to draw on resources that go beyond the conventional language choices of forum discussions, which are mainly combinations of German and the respective minority language. A comparison of one Persian and one Greek discussion forum suggested that user screen names may draw on the respective community language, English, German, language mixing, or other languages, in that order of frequency. Their English screen names appropriate images from global popular and youth culture, such as *FightClub* (a Hollywood movie) or *G-Style* (a reference to gangsta rap). But English is also used to express ethnicity and gender in screen names, as in *PersianLady* or *GreEk_Chica*. So while English in diasporic forums is generally not positioned as language of interaction, it is a popular resource for 'on top' purposes, especially the styling of website emblems and user self-presentation devices.

5. Resources for 'English on top'

In terms of language style, many instances of 'English on top' share one or more of the three following properties: they are *intertextual*, i.e. quotations from other texts; *formulaic*, i.e. routine expressions with a specific communicative function; and originate in *specific varieties and styles of English*. These are now discussed in turn, thereby returning to some of the preceding examples.

The notion of intertextuality suggests that 'English on top' items are often lifted from particular textual sources, which are supposed to be recognisable by the target recipients of a media text. Typical intertextual references are titles or quotations, which are repeated in identical or modified form in a new text. From the examples presented so far, consider *Just do*

it (Figure 3) a commercial slogan turned into a headline; and *in da mix*, a catchphrase from dance music turned into a column title (section 4.1). These are fairly similar to English intertextual references in the body copy of mainstream media from Germany (Onysko 2007), France (Martin 2007) or Norway (Graedler 1999). Given that intertextual English permeates media discourse in general, it should come as no surprise to find such intertextual usage extended to ‘on top’ functions. Whether text features recognised as intertextual by the analyst are also recognised as such by the intended audience, is of course a different issue. Intertextuality may be restricted in its social scope to a small circle of community members. An example is the English motto *Beyond routinising* (Example 3), which I personally recognise as allusion to a recent English-language volume, entitled *Beyond misunderstanding*, by the two convenors of that conference. Here, the construction *Beyond X-ing* can be viewed as indexically linking the announced conference section to that publication (see Section 7).

Second, ‘English on top’ often consists of fixed expressions or idiomatic constructions with a conventional communicative purpose. Examples in this paper include the farewell *Bye-bye* (Figure 5), the farewell ‘*c ya + name*’ used as a closing bracket (Figure 5), the phrase ‘*X is back*’ used as opening bracket (Example 2) or the phrase *Maximum Respect!* used as closing bracket (Example 5). All these items have a specific discourse function; some are constructions with an empty slot to be filled in with lexical material tailored to the context at hand. A term for such material is routines, defined by Coulmas (1979) as ‘ready-made’ solutions for particular communicative problems. Routines are defined through their situational adequacy, i.e. they are ‘the right thing to say’ according to the norms of a community or culture. Such English material is neither an clearly identifiable, intertextual reference nor entirely freely formulated. (However, the boundaries between intertextual and formulaic material may be thin and difficult to establish.)

The importance of English phrases and formulaic chunks is pointed out by McClure (1998). Typical categories of formulaic English in ‘on top’ functions include greetings and farewells; expressive speech acts; representatives or directive slogans (e.g. *underground will survive; keep on rocking*); directives calling to action (e.g. *get it, check it out*); formulaic constrictions of phatic rapport; and a variety of other phrases with discourse organising functions such as topic-shifters, emphatic responses, conclusers, openers etc. These function categories let us predict an inclination to use formulaic material in bracketing, especially in closing brackets, which often express a recommendation or evaluation or bring a conclusion to the point. Drawing on Goffman's explanations on bracketing as a ritualised part of an activity, one would indeed expect material used in bracketing to be formulaic.

Finally, many instances of ‘English on top’ originate in particular language styles and varieties beyond Standard (British or American) English. Most music-related examples in this paper orient to (stylized) representations of African-American or Jamaican English (see Figures 2,5,6 and Examples 2,4,5,6) whose selection is motivated by their association with

hip-hop, reggae and dancehall music (see Androutsopoulos 2004, Blommaert 2005). Such associations of particular varieties, registers, jargons or social styles of English with particular cultural domains go beyond music, and include, among others, web culture and diasporic media. Linguistically, they rarely reach beyond single lexical items or formulaic phrases, which might include vernacular variants of function words (such as determiner *da*) and widespread vernacular spellings. Most non-standard English phrases in ‘on top’ functions are formulaic rather than freely formulated.

These three types of ‘English on top’ resources are not mutually exclusive. Quite the contrary, individual instances of ‘English on top’ can be allocated to two or three types simultaneously, as for instance with the phrase *in da mix* that bears both intertextual and vernacular qualities. Such tokens of ‘English on top’ seem to carry a strong indexical load, in that they strengthen the relation of ‘English on top’ to domains of popular culture. On the other hand, none of these resources is exclusive to ‘on top’ functions of English. Intertextual, formulaic and vernacular forms of English also occur in the respective copy or main text.

6. ‘English on top’ as a pattern of language contact

The notion of ‘English on top’ focuses on the ‘margins’ of media texts: on spatially peripheral, yet pragmatically important elements of complex textual units. Out of the three discourse patterns, only brackets are adjacent to the respective main text body. Therefore, an analysis of ‘English on top’ does not predict anything on the use of English resources within the text body. ‘English on top’ may occur in the complete absence of other English material in the text body (see Examples 1 and 3) as well as together with heavy lexical borrowing, switching or mixing in the body text. Such co-occurrence, or its absence, will vary according to topic, cultural domain, and the linguistic market a given text is situated in. My examples for dense co-occurrences of ‘English on top’ together with English lexis and code-switching in the body text come from music and youth media. For instance, a coding of the entire review page depicted in Figure 5 for every single instance of English revealed a dense pattern of integrated English borrowings and a few instances of English code-switching (inter- and intrasentential), which co-occur with the heading and bracketing instances of ‘English on top’ discussed above. Similar cases are documented for other genres and media types. The point is that the notion of ‘English on top’ aims at complementing rather than replacing the analysis of English/national language contact at the lexical and discourse level. It represents an independent level of discourse organisation and should not be thought of as an extreme case or a consequence of borrowing.

This leads to the question of how to locate ‘English on top’ within a typology of bilingual discourse. Since ‘English on top’ is defined in terms of its discourse function and textual distribution, the framework of choice ought to be a functional one, such as the one by

Peter Auer (e.g. Auer 1998), which is widely used in multilingual discourse analysis (e.g. Leppänen 2007, Hinrichs 2006, Androutsopoulos 2006). This framework is based on a twofold distinction between alternation and insertion on the one hand, and switching and mixing on the other. Alternation is defined as a bidirectional process, in which the return to other language is not predictable, whereas insertion is a unidirectional process, in which elements of one language are embedded into the base language of an interaction. On the other hand, code-switching fulfils interpretable discourse functions and contributes to the contextualization of the adjacent discourse, whereas code-mixing is often referentially motivated, e.g. as a preference of lexical material from one language, but cannot be assigned a contextualizing function.

On that basis, I suggest that 'English on top' belongs to the insertional type, as it does not challenge the predominance of German as base language of discourse, no matter how salient its individual instances might be. Moreover, 'English on top' can be viewed as code-switching, because it contributes to the contextualization of adjacent discourse. This is achieved both with regard to the discourse function of English on top' elements and in terms of the stylistic properties of the English material as discussed in the previous section.

Having said that, 'English on top' could also be viewed as a distinct type of language alternation that cannot be accommodated by the existing literature on code-switching, which focuses on conversational data. The reason is not just the mere difference between spoken and written discourse, but rather the textual and discursive discontinuity between 'on top' elements and the textual backdrop to which they relate and against which they gain their pragmatic meaning. From the three discourse functions considered here, only bracketing has obvious functional similarities to classic conversational code-switching. Many instances of bracketing can be classified in traditional code-switching categories such as emphasis, evaluation, exemplification etc. (Gumperz 1982), and are comparable in that respect to intersentential code-switching in mainstream media (e.g. Onysko 2006, 2007; McClure 1998). However, the choice of English for heading and naming elements is not juxtaposed to sequentially adjacent material but rather to language choices for other, spatially distinct parts of a text. Their relation to the body text is discontinuous in terms of both layout and authorship, and that discontinuity reflects the specific conditions of production of media discourse. In other words, what comes 'on top' may co-occur with other material within a textual ensemble, but is not necessarily co-produced with that other material. The assumption of spontaneity that underlies much code-switching research therefore does not apply to some instances of bracketing, to most cases of heading and especially to naming. These are strategically designed language choices for specific generic elements, choices that are probably taken separately from, and prior to, code-choices in the body text.

7. 'English on top' as a framing device

In addition to the specific discourse functions of heading, bracketing and naming, all instances of 'English on top' can be theorised as framing devices. Following Goffman's frame analysis (1986), framing is the process by which social actors establish interpretation frames for their ongoing activities. English headlines, titles, brackets and other textual elements discussed in this paper offer recipients cues for the interpretation of the adjacent discourse, i.e. the news feature beneath the headline, the body text encased within the brackets, and so on.

It seems important to clarify that what serves as a framing device is not English *per se*, but the specific ways it is positioned in discourse. Even though detached from, and spatially peripheral to, the main textual content, headings, brackets, names and slogans are pragmatically exposed portions of text. This is constituted on three levels: First, their visual salience relative to other textual units, which results from their placement in graphic space, their typography (size, type, style of fonts) and the design principle of the 'prominence of borders' (Scollon & Scollon 2003:102; Kress & van Leeuwen 1998). Second, their topical relevance, in other words their capacity to be read as summarising or encapsulating the essence of a text. Third, their identity relevance, i.e. their capacity to be read as identifying people, organisations, or their products. We see this especially with names and accompanying mottos or slogans, but also with brackets, to the extent the bracketing material indexes identities of and relations between authors or show hosts and their imagined audiences, email writers and their individual addressees, and so on.

By selecting English for these 'on top' elements, media discourse actors turn English into a key resource for "indexing frames of reference with respect to which local action is interpretable" (Heller 2003: 258); in other words, they turn to English to offer hints for the interpretation of the surrounding discourse in the respective national language. Clusters of framing cues may make this interpretation easier and more reliable (Heller 2003), and this ties in well with the co-occurrence of English in various 'on top' positions, as in Figure 5. As various 'on top' elements come together on newspaper pages, magazine covers, websites and so on, English gains importance in the multimodal organisation of media discourse and may eventually dominate the visual space of a media product, even if its main content is in the national language.

The suggestion that English "serves to anchor preferred readings" (Martin 2007:185) of the discourse it occurs in, is of course not new. However, the existent literature has emphasised the symbolic associations transported by English. Symbolic values of English, as suggested for different languages and domains of discourse, include progress, future, success, internationalism, innovation, openness, but also individuality, leisure, modernity, lifestyle, fun and trendiness.⁵ As Martin (2007: 170) puts it for French, 'The mere presence of English associates the product with modernity, quality engineering, exclusivity, professional mobility,

international appeal, and other positive concepts'. Augustyn (2004: 310) suggests that the connotative value of Anglicisms in the German media and public sphere lies in people's "desire to follow a global aesthetic":

"It is in the hope of participating in an imaginary community outside of our limited territory that we wish to make *global connections* instead of *Auslandsgespräche*, or buy tickets at the *ticket counter* rather than a *Fahrkartenschalter*. While the English in phone bills and at train stations expresses where we *could go*, the German only reminds us of where *we are*." [Italics in the original.]

In advertising, such values are evoked in order to associate a product or service with the ethno-cultural stereotypes transported by the foreign language. Researchers point out that these associations are stereotypical, and that the symbolic value of a foreign language is quite independent from the linguistic meaning of particular utterances. To Piller (2001:277),

[English] 'only' serves the function to symbolically associate the product with another language community and the stereotypes held about the community, the areas where it is spoken and the people who speak it" [...] "The symbolic meaning of English is fragmented and polyvocal [...] English is not associated with one single set of symbolic meanings".

This line of interpretation suits well some instances of 'English on top' discussed here, such as diasporic website names. It was found that webmasters evoke the 'international touch' of English to motivate their language choice for names such as *iran-now.de* (Androutsopoulos 2006). However, the symbolic values of English seem less suited to other cases. In Example 2 (*Beyond routinising*), to say that the choice of this English motto is a symbol of internationalism would ignore the fact that this motto alludes to previous work by the text authors. In the preceding music-related examples, the choice of English headlines, brackets and names cannot be reduced to a symbolic value such as 'modernity' or 'coolness', for such an interpretation would overlook the specific intertextual and stylistic properties of these English choices. Thus I argue that the symbolic functions of English in media discourse cannot account for a number of 'English on top' instances presented in this paper.

Drawing on the notion of indexicality, I suggest that the power of 'English on top' to cue interpretive frames can be due to its indexical rather than symbolic force. Originating in semiotic theory, the notion of indexicality has been productively used in linguistic anthropology and interactional sociolinguistics, and has gained in currency in recent discussions of language and globalization (Blommaert 2010, Higgins 2009). While the symbolic dimension of signs emphasises their conventional, or arbitrary, nature, the indexical dimension foregrounds the relation of signs to some aspect of their context of use. Applied to

'English on top', indexicality emphasises that English is selected as a hint (a pointer, or index) to the linguistic practices of certain groups or places that are deemed important for the interpretation of the on-going discourse. The power of 'English on top' to cue frames of interpretation is therefore not just an outcome of conventional associations of English, but results from a link to specific social contexts and practices established by (a particular style of) English (Androutsopoulos 2004, Blommaert 2005).

Rather than assuming symbolic values of an undifferentiated English, an understanding of English choices as indexically motivated requires the analyst to reconstruct the social worlds, discourses and texts indexed by the specific bits of English used in the data. This results in a higher explanatory adequacy for certain instances of 'English on top' which are insufficiently covered by the symbolic dimension of English. Thus the indexical dimension explains the link between the English motto of Example 2 to a preceding discourse, and the capacity of the particular style of English brackets in Figure 5 to index knowledge of and association to globally circulating hip-hop styles. More generally, the indexical dimension of 'English on top' does not assume one homogenous English but allows for, indeed presupposes a variety of English styles and resources, with different indexical values attached to each.

Indexical and symbolic motivations of English can be viewed as complementary. A given instance of 'English on top' can be either symbolic or indexical, or perhaps even a combination of the two. We might say that 'English on top' *frames discourse symbolically* to the extent it constructs a conventional symbolic value of English as relevant for interpretation. Alternatively, 'English on top' can *frame discourse indexically* by linking that discourse to certain social groups or domains of practice. This in Figure 5 and Example 6, the use of particular English resources for bracketing invites the interpretation of the encased discourse as "genuinely" hip-hop – in other words, it authenticates that discourse. However, classifying instances of 'English on top' as symbolic or indexical may not always be straightforward. One diagnostic criterion may be to examine a given instance of English on top for indexical pointers, bearing in mind its specific media context in terms of genre, cultural domain, target audience, and so on. Intertextual and non-standard English resources seem good indicators of indexical choices, as they contextualize, by virtue of their provenience, the ongoing discourse as part of, or associated with, specific sites of cultural practice. One generalization might therefore be that socially distinctive resources of English will probably contextualize indexical rather than symbolic values of English.

8. Conclusion

The aim of this paper is to articulate a theoretical and analytical perspective from which to shed light on some discourse patterns of English usage in the media discourse of a non-

English-speaking country. I argued that the historically most important stream of scholarship on English/national language contact, Anglicisms research, cannot account from some text-level uses of English in contemporary media discourse. Indeed, the most striking aspect of English in German mediascapes is how it is being made prominent by its selection for specific textual functions and its multimodal/visual treatment. By drawing on specific stylistic resources, such prominent English connects the discourse it is embedded in to larger orders of indexical meaning. It is the placement and provenance of such English that is important, not just its semantic equivalents or syntactic integration in the host language. With that in mind, the framework proposed in this paper shifts the focus of attention from English as lexical structure to English as a discursive resource. Drawing on impulses from English in the media literature as much as from contemporary sociolinguistics, it focuses on the in-between area between lexical borrowing and the wholesale choice of English, draws attention to the margins of media texts rather than their 'core', the main text body, and systematically takes the textual and multimodal dimension of English-in-use into account. "English on top" approaches English as a resource rather than a system, and focuses on the textual positions and discourse functions of English rather than its structural (especially lexicogrammatical) properties.

In the four main sections of this paper, I first identified three usage patterns of English, which are the outcome of language choices for specific textual positions with three main discourse functions: heading, bracketing, and naming. Despite the empirical focus on music and youth media, the examples offered in this paper should be sufficient to suggest that 'English on top' can be encountered across media types and genres. Next, I identified three types of English resources repeatedly encountered at 'on top' positions. Furthermore, I argued that while some aspects of 'English on top' seem compatible with existing code-switching frameworks, others are less so, because 'English on top' may transgress a *sine-qua-non* condition code-switching, that is, its unfolding within a single interactional episode. 'English on top' is rather characterised by discontinuity: what is presented adjacently at the level of the discourse product is not the outcome of adjacent, continuous production. More discussion is therefore needed on how to integrate this into an adequate framework of multilingual media discourse. Finally, I suggested to complement the symbolic dimension of English in national language contexts by its indexical function, and to theorise 'English on top' as a framing device that establishes, symbolically or indexically, frames of interpretations for the adjacent national-language content.

Taken together, these four levels of analysis – the three discourse functions; three types of stylistic resources; the relation to a typology of code-switching; and the interplay of symbolical and indexical aspects of English – can be viewed as constituting an analytical framework that aims at complementing, rather than replacing, other levels of study of multilingual discourse involving English. This framework is not language-specific, but rather applicable to a variety of sociolinguistic settings, in particular nation-states where English

was traditionally positioned as ‘foreign’ rather than official or second language. It is safe to say that ‘English on top’ is a discourse strategy that occurs across languages and countries, but the extent to which this is the case, in terms of frequency, distribution and so on, is far from clear. Contrastive studies on these issues could offer a new take on the tradition of comparative/contrastive Anglicisms research (see e.g. Görlach 2002). ‘English on top’ is not restricted to one specific genre of media discourse, such as advertising. Admittedly, there is a certain bias in my examples both towards certain type of genres (promotional, marketing discourse) and certain domains and audiences (music, youth-oriented media, narrowcast/niche media), but as evidence was produced that ‘English on top’ is not strictly restricted in these regards, further research is needed in order to establish the generic and social spread of ‘English on top’ as a discourse strategy. It is obviously possible that certain constellations of media/genre/audience provide more opportunities for ‘English on top’, and identifying more precisely these constellations seems a worthwhile question with a view on the relationship between English and discourse change.

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NOTES

1. See the comprehensive research review in Carstensen & Busse 1993, the volumes by Hoberg 2002, Munske 2004 and Stickel 2001, and the research monographs by Yang 1990, Onysko 2007 and Wetzler 2006.
2. These magazines, some now defunct, went by names such as *Flyer*, *subculture*, or *Partysan* (the latter has its own entry in German Wikipedia).
3. In previous work (Androutsopoulos 2004) I used the term 'framing' for this pattern. The motivation for the term bracketing here is to disambiguate framing, which will be evoked on a higher plane of abstraction below (section 7).
4. The prevalence of English slogans in non-English media discourse has been repeatedly pointed out (Piller 2001, Schütte 1996). The overall rate of English slogans in German advertisements from 2000-2003 is 30%, rising to over 60% in some product branches (Androutsopoulos et al. 2004).
5. See Androutsopoulos et al. 2004, Augustyn 2004, Cheshire & Moser 1994, Kelly-Holmes 2005, Martin 2007, Piller 2001, van Meurs et al. 2007.