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Language, Normativity and Europeanisation

*Discursive Evidence from the
Eurovision Song Contest*

Heiko Motschenbacher



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Heiko Motschenbacher

Language, Normativity and Europeanisation

Discursive Evidence from the
Eurovision Song Contest

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Contents

Abbreviations	xi
List of Figures	xiii
List of Tables	xv
1 Introduction	1
1.1 European Identity and Eurovision: Challenges for Research	1
1.2 Overview of the Volume References	9 11
2 The Communicative Setting of the Eurovision Song Contest	13
2.1 A Short History of the ESC	13
2.2 Political Dimensions of the ESC	19
2.3 ESC Voting and European Integration	34
2.4 “Doing Europe” at the ESC	39
2.5 Conclusion References	46 46

3	The Language–Identity–Normativity Interface and Critical Discourse Studies	51
3.1	Language, Discourse and Identity	51
3.2	Normativity and Critical Discourse Studies	56
3.3	Language, Normativity and Sexuality	64
3.4	Language, Normativity and Nationalism	71
3.5	Language, Normativity and Europeanness	79
3.6	The Linguistics of Staged Performance	93
3.7	Analysing ESC Performances	96
	References	100
4	Language Choice Practices in the ESC	117
4.1	ESC Language Policy	117
4.2	Language Choice in ESC Performances: 1956–1965 and 1973–1976	125
4.3	Language Choice in ESC Performances: 1999–2015	132
4.4	The Use of English in ESC Performances	141
4.5	Conclusion	148
	References	150
5	Code-Switching Practices in ESC Performances	153
5.1	De-Essentialising the Language–Nation Connection	153
5.2	The Structural Dimension of Code Switching	156
5.3	The Functional Dimension of Code Switching	173
5.4	Conclusion	184
	References	185
6	The Linguistic Construction of Europeanness, Nationalism and Sexuality in ESC Performances	189
6.1	The Linguistic Construction of Europeanness	189
6.2	The Linguistic Construction of Nationalism	196
6.3	The Linguistic Construction of Sexuality	203
6.4	Interrelation Between European, National and Sexual Construction	210

6.5	The Linguistic Construction of Non-Normative Sexualities	227
6.6	Conclusion	241
	References	243
7	Multimodal Identity Construction in ESC Performances	247
7.1	Interaction of Linguistic and Audiovisual Construction	247
7.2	European Construction	251
7.3	National Construction	258
7.4	Sexual Construction	261
7.5	Conclusion	275
	References	276
8	Prevalent Discourses in ESC Lyrics	279
8.1	Eurovision Intertextuality	279
8.2	Intertextual Patterns in Eurovision Song Titles	282
8.3	A Corpus-Based Comparison of ESC Lyrics and General Pop Lyrics	298
8.4	Word Frequency Lists and Keywords	301
8.5	Positive and Negative Semantic Keyness	305
8.6	Lexically Gendered Nouns and Pronouns	323
8.7	Conclusion	326
	References	328
9	Overview	333
9.1	The Shifting Normativities of Europeanisation in the ESC	333
9.2	De-Essentialisation	337
9.3	Inclusion	340
9.4	Camp	345
9.5	Crossing	349
9.6	Languaging	352

x Contents

9.7	Looking Ahead	354
9.8	Epilogue: The ESC 2016 and Recent Developments	359
	References	363

Index		371
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Abbreviations

Country Codes

ALB	Albania	LAT	Latvia
AND	Andorra	LIT	Lithuania
ARM	Armenia	LUX	Luxembourg
AUS	Australia	MAC	Macedonia
AUT	Austria	MAL	Malta
AZE	Azerbaijan	MOL	Moldova
BEL	Belgium	MNT	Montenegro
BLR	Belarus	MON	Monaco
BOS	Bosnia-Herzegovina	MOR	Morocco
BUL	Bulgaria	NED	Netherlands
CRO	Croatia	NOR	Norway
CYP	Cyprus	POL	Poland
CZE	Czech Republic	POR	Portugal
DAN	Denmark	ROM	Romania
ESP	Spain	RUS	Russia
EST	Estonia	SAN	San Marino
FIN	Finland	SEM	Serbia and Montenegro
FRA	France	SER	Serbia
GEO	Georgia	SLK	Slovakia
GER	Germany	SLO	Slovenia
GRE	Greece	SUI	Switzerland
HUN	Hungary	SWE	Sweden
IRL	Ireland	TUR	Turkey
ISL	Iceland	UK	United Kingdom
ISR	Israel	UKR	Ukraine
ITA	Italy	YUG	Yugoslavia

Other Abbreviations

BNC	British National Corpus
CDS	critical discourse studies
EBU	European Broadcasting Union
EL	embedded language
ELF	English as a Lingua Franca
ESC	Eurovision Song Contest
ESC-ENG	Corpus of English Eurovision Lyrics
ESC-LY	ESC Lyrics Corpus
EU	European Union
GBoP	Giessen–Bonn Corpus of Popular Music
G-Charts	Corpus of German Chart Lyrics
ICE	International Corpus of English
LGBT	lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender
ML	matrix language
NP	noun phrase

List of Figures

Fig. 4.1	Language choice in ESC voting announcements (1958–1970; 1974–2010)	119
Fig. 4.2	Development of language choice strategies: 1999–2010 versus 2011–2015	136
Fig. 6.1	Development of national and European identity construction in ESC performances	225
Fig. 6.2	Development of sexual scenario construction in ESC performances	226
Fig. 6.3	Sexual scenario construction in relation to language choice in ESC performances (1999–2010)	227
Fig. 8.1	Relative frequencies of <i>love</i> in four corpora (tokens per million words)	303

List of Tables

Table 2.1	ESC victories by country (1956–2015)	17
Table 2.2	First ESC participations of the 28 EU countries	24
Table 2.3	EBU member states and their ESC participations (1956–2015)	27
Table 2.4	Least successful countries by decade, in relation to first ESC participation	35
Table 2.5	Least successful countries by decade, in relation to EU status	36
Table 2.6	Most successful countries by decade, in relation to first ESC participation	37
Table 2.7	Most successful countries by decade, in relation to EU status	38
Table 2.8	Timeline of national and European references in ESC performances	43
Table 4.1	Performances violating the national language rule in the ESC (1966–1972, 1977–1998)	123
Table 4.2	Language choice in ESC performances: 1956–1965	126
Table 4.3	Language choice in ESC performances: 1973–1976	128
Table 4.4	Language choice in ESC performances: 1999–2015	129
Table 4.5	Overview of language choice strategies in ESC performances: 1999–2010 versus 2011–2015	135
Table 4.6	Non-national language use in ESC performances: 1999–2015	137

xvi **List of Tables**

Table 4.7	Illustrations of non-native English lexicogrammar in ESC performances	145
Table 4.8	Rankings of English performances by IRL, MAL and the UK: 1957–1998	147
Table 4.9	Rankings of English performances by IRL, MAL and the UK: 1999–2015	147
Table 6.1	Ranking of performances with European and non-European references (1957–2010)	196
Table 6.2	Sexual scenario types in relation to ranking (1957–1965, 1973–1976, 1999–2010)	209
Table 6.3	Linguistic construction of sexual scenarios: ESC 2007	211
Table 6.4	Language choice and sexual scenario construction: ESC 2007	212
Table 6.5	Linguistic identity construction: ESC 2005–2010	213
Table 6.6	Linguistic construction of sexual scenarios: ESC 2005–2010	213
Table 6.7	Language choice and sexual scenario construction: ESC 2005–2010	214
Table 6.8	Sexual scenarios in relation to language type (1956–1965, 1973–1976, 1999–2010)	216
Table 6.9	Sexual scenarios in relation to European region (1956–1965, 1973–1976, 1999–2010)	221
Table 6.10	Sexual scenarios in relation to EU membership status (1956–1965, 1973–1976, 1999–2010)	223
Table 6.11	Development of national and European identity construction in ESC performances	224
Table 6.12	Development of sexual scenario construction in ESC performances	226
Table 7.1	Linguistic and visual construction of sexual scenarios in ESC performances (1956–1965, 1973–1976, 1999–2010)	267
Table 8.1	Most frequently used concepts in ESC song titles (1956–2015)	284
Table 8.2	Frequency of the concept <love> in ESC song titles across decades	286
Table 8.3	Frequency of female and male concepts in ESC song titles across decades	288
Table 8.4	The contribution of countries and languages to the introduction of concepts in ESC song titles	293

Table 8.5	Ranking list of countries contributing to the intertextuality in ESC song titles	296
Table 8.6	Positive key semantic tags of ESC-ENG in comparison to G-Charts	307
Table 8.7	The most frequent collocates of <i>love</i> in ESC-ENG (window span 1 left to 1 right)	314
Table 8.8	Negative key semantic tags of ESC-ENG in comparison to G-Charts	317
Table 8.9	Frequencies of lexically gendered nouns in ESC-ENG and G-Charts	323
Table 8.10	Frequencies of lexically gendered pronouns in ESC-ENG and G-Charts	326

1

Introduction

1.1 European Identity and Eurovision: Challenges for Research

Investigating European identity formation is more important today than ever before. On the political level, European Union (EU) enlargement has so far led to the inclusion of no less than 28 European countries, with still more candidate countries (ALB, MAC, MNT, SER and TUR) awaiting membership. Moreover, the EU member states have recently started to establish closer ties with some Eastern European non-EU countries, as the Eastern Partnership Summits with ARM, AZE, BLR, GEO, MOL and UKR have shown. These summits have played a crucial role as pressure instruments, enforcing democratic values in countries where these have not yet been fully established or where internal political opposition is still vehemently oppressed. The simplification of EU-internal travel regulations in the Schengen area and the adoption of the Euro currency by many EU member states facilitate the movement of people, capital and goods across Europe. The Treaty of Lisbon, which has been in effect since

December 2009, provides EU institutions with more regulatory power than ever before.

However, the most recent crises affecting the European landscape, that is, the Brexit, Grexit and refugee crises, have revealed quite drastically that what is still missing in this process of Europeanisation is the development of a credible European identity as the basis for cross-European solidarity. This can, for instance, be judged from the notoriously low participation figures in EU elections, which have monotonously decreased from 62 % in 1979 down to 43 % in 2014. Recent discussions of the measures adopted for the stabilisation of the Euro after the financial crisis in GRE have evoked reactions among the populations of many EU member states that echo a widely held opinion which is hardly reconcilable with a shared sense of European identity: “Why should *we* pay for mistakes *others* have made?” In addition, the recent flux of millions of refugees into the EU has resulted in mixed reactions, ranging from certain EU countries shouldering a significant share of the humanitarian burden to others blatantly refusing to take on any responsibility. In short, one can see asymmetries in the commitment to the European cause and a certain degree of Euro-scepticism due to a lack of trust in EU institutions (Meyer 2008: 11; Wodak 2007a: 72–73).

Still, it would be a misrepresentation to claim that European identification has not made any progress in the past decades. As discussed by Risse (2010: 43), the empirical evidence suggests that there are relatively few EU citizens who self-identify as exclusively European or as primarily European and secondarily national (even though their numbers are growing). The two largest groups are formed by people who identify as exclusively national (“exclusive nationalists”) and those who identify primarily as national and secondarily as European (“inclusive nationalists”). The success of Europeanisation can be seen in the recent growth of the latter group. The former group may also be thought of as promoting Europeanisation, although this is less true in the identification-related sense but rather in the discursive sense of shaping Europe as a concept. The two major groups of European citizens are centrally involved in the discursive construction of Europe but in different ways:

[T]wo ‘Europes’ can be distinguished in mass public opinion. First, EU Europe represents a modern, political entity encompassing liberal values such as democracy, human rights, the rule of the law, and the market economy. Modern Europe’s ‘others’ are the continent’s own past of militarism and nationalism, but also xenophobia and racism. Second, ‘nationalist Europe’ emphasizes a (Western) civilization and culture with references to a common historical heritage, strong national traditions, Christianity as its core religion, and clear geographical boundaries. Nationalist Europe’s ‘others’ are non-Christian countries such as Turkey, but also non-European immigrants and large parts of the Muslim populations in European cities. (Risse 2010: 10)

It is immediately evident that the discursive formation of Europe in the Eurovision Song Contest (ESC)—the focus of this book—corresponds more readily with the political rather than the nationalist type of frame. While “nationalist Europe”, or Europe in a cultural sense, draws heavily on exclusionary mechanisms that are well known from the discursive construction of the nation and national identities, the less essentialist view of Europe as a modern political entity avoids such normative ascriptions, which in turn makes it harder to grasp (for researchers, politicians and citizens) what “Europe” is. It adds to the complexity of the issue that Europeanisation is not equally distributed among social categories, since male, young and well-educated people as well as those with a higher income and socioeconomic status or with left-wing political attitudes show higher European identification rates (Risse 2010: 46–47).

The formation of a European identity that contrasts with Europeans’ well-established habits of national affiliation needs to proceed well beyond the status of an elite-based discourse (Fuss and Grosser 2006: 238), if it is to reach any deeper levels of commitment in the European population. Some European researchers and thinkers (Habermas 2008; Risse 2010) claim that the moderate success of European identity formation is due to a democratic deficit that is partly caused by the lack of a pan-European, media-based public sphere. The ESC is one of the few media events that provide exactly such a pan-European platform, and it is, therefore, interesting to investigate how it contributes to processes in the formation of European identity. Moreover, it represents a context in

which Europeanisation is not restricted to members of political or academic elites, as it manages to attract hundreds of millions of viewers from across Europe (and beyond) every year, uniting them in the shared experience of celebrating European togetherness and, more specifically, of picking the European pop song of the year.

The present book deals with the role of language in processes of Europeanisation as they manifest in the ESC. Its analyses are motivated by the assumption that contemporary European identity formation cannot be adequately described by means of a mere transfer of mechanisms of national identity construction to the European level (i.e. exclusive nationalists' concept of Europe). Both nationalism and Europeanness are the result of discursive construction processes that have been described as the formation of "imagined communities" (Anderson 1991). However, European and national discourses differ substantially in their constructive mechanisms. While national identity concepts are traditionally based on a homogenising legitimisation, the New Europe has generally taken the slogan "unity in diversity" as its motto. A focus on diversity as the basis for Europeanisation represents a greater challenge in terms of research-related operationalisation. National identities are typically conceptualised via certain defining criteria, whereas Europeanisation exhibits a conceptual openness which potentially provides a space for various cultural identities (e.g. heterogeneous national, religious or linguistic identities) and can be characterised as poststructuralist in the sense that it is, to some extent, contextually negotiable what it means to be "European" or to belong to "Europe". The resulting European construction will generally vary, depending on which aspect is taken as a defining or salient criterion: geography, politics, culture, religion or language. In other words, while national identities may (at least partially) be based on stable, normatively homogeneous ascriptions, the concept of Europe proves to fluctuate both diachronically and synchronically, as it cannot rest on the stabilising effects of a common *demos* or a shared language, for example.

Language in fact plays a central role in this process as a medium of discursive construction. Traces of (potentially competing) Europeanness discourses manifest themselves in linguistic practices, which in turn can be studied by discourse analysts. More specifically, contemporary Europeanisation is often associated with a renouncing of traditional,

nationally associated normative discourses. The present book studies the linguistic manifestations of such processes.

The adoption of a poststructuralist approach for this purpose is not just a purely theoretical matter. As Krzyżanowski (2010: 10–11) has pointed out, the EU (and more specifically its Reflection Group on the Spiritual and Cultural Dimension of Europe) has recently adopted a less essentialist and less normative view of Europeanness based on the notion of Europe as a negotiable concept. Furthermore, poststructuralist identity conceptualisations also regularly surface in ESC performances. Consider the following three excerpts from Eurovision lyrics:¹

Now's the time to hold my head up high, find my identity.
(NED 2005: *Glennis Grace* – “My impossible dream”)

I saw my ID and it wasn't me. It was someone else's identity.
(MAC 2004: *Toše Proeski* – “Life”)

Alles ist nur Theater und ist doch auch Wirklichkeit.
“Everything is just theatre and yet it is also reality.”
(GER 1980: *Katja Ebstein* – “Theater”)

The first two excerpts construct identities as not being tied to a person in an unquestionable or stable way. Instead, they are described as something that one needs to find or that can be taken over from other people. The third, a German excerpt, does not directly mention “identity” but is reminiscent of Goffman’s (1959) image of the theatre as a metaphor for human interaction and identity negotiation.² Interestingly, there is no song in ESC history that refers explicitly to “identity” in a language other than English. This suggests that the search for a European identity is connected to (non-native³) English as a means of negotiation.

¹ Throughout this book, ESC entries are identified by means of a notation consisting of the country code, year, artist name(s) and song title. Readers interested in watching specific performances can easily find the respective videos on YouTube.

² Goffman’s book *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959) has been published in a German version under the title *Wir alle spielen Theater* (lit. “We all play theatre”).

³ The word *identity* does not occur in any native English Eurovision lyrics but exclusively in non-native English lyrics. In 2013, ALB was represented by a song titled *Identitet* “identity”, performed by Adrian Lulgjuraj & Bledar Sejko in Albanian. However, there is no direct reference to identity in the actual lyrics of this song.

The ESC represents an (if not *the*) ideal context to study the discursive interface of European, national and sexual identity formation, because language and the three named identity facets play a crucial role in it. It is, therefore, not surprising that the ESC has developed into a veritable research object in recent years. Especially the humanities and social sciences have discovered the contest as a rich source for questions of identity formation, among them such disciplines as sociology, ethnomusicology, cultural studies, media studies, political science and economics. The year 2010 saw the inauguration of the interdisciplinary Eurovision Research Network (ERN)⁴, and ESC-related research has been published in numerous edited volumes and special journal issues, which attests to the gradual institutionalisation of Eurovision studies as an interdisciplinary field (see e.g. the contributions in Baker 2015a; Ehardt et al. 2015; Fricker and Gluhovic 2013; Georgiou and Sandvoss 2008; Raykoff and Tobin 2007; Tragaki 2013; Tuhkanen and Vänskä 2007).

Disciplines of linguistic provenience such as sociolinguistics and discourse analysis have so far only sporadically explored the ESC, even though issues of language in relation to identity play a decisive role in the contest (see Ivković 2013 and Thorne and Ivković 2015 on YouTube users' comments on ESC performances, Verschik and Hlavac 2009 for an analysis of the performance EST 2008: *Kreisiraadio*—"Leto svet", and Weigold 2015 on language choice in ESC performances). It is, therefore, desirable from an interdisciplinary perspective to fill this gap.

To be precise, the ESC is in fact mentioned in some sociolinguistic publications (see e.g. Ager 1997: 8; Doğancı-Aktuna and Kiziltepe 2005: 254), but such references to the competition tend to be short and rather dismissive, echoing widely held reservations concerning the ESC in academia (see also Bohlman 2004b: 5). As the present book will show, such attitudes lose some of their justification in the light of the evidence that the contest provides on how language is involved in processes of discursive identity construction and formation. The analyses in this book will, therefore, not be concerned with aesthetic evaluations of ESC entries but rather with their identity-forming potential—an aspect that is in principle independent of musical quality (see also Pennycook 2010: 78).

⁴Website of the ERN: <http://www.eurovisionresearch.net/> (accessed 23 September 2015)

One example of a (short) sociolinguistic discussion of the ESC is provided by Pennycook:

[T]he global spread of English is sometimes tied to visions of global homogenization [...]. And when we see English being used by the vast majority of singers in the Eurovision Song Contest, for example, we may be very tempted to accept this vision. Here in this competition that might be used to emphasize a multilingual and multicultural Europe, with varying styles of music and a range of national and regional languages putting European diversity on display, we find instead remarkably similar performances, the majority of which are in English. The Eurovision Song Contest, then, may well be taken to be an example of the apocalyptic vision of European homogenization that Phillipson (2003) envisages for the European Union [...]. (Pennycook 2007: 96–97)

It is hard to see how one can describe the performances in the ESC as “remarkably similar”, as Pennycook does. Even if “English” is used in many performances, the latter exhibit considerable differences in terms of musical styles—a fact that has also been realised by musicologists (see Björnberg 2007). Homogenisation is therefore not an adequate description of what takes place on the ESC stage. Moreover, an “Englishisation equals cultural homogenisation” position as evident in Pennycook’s discussion is too simplistic and blind to the hybridity and linguistic creativity covered by the umbrella term “English”. On the ESC stage, it is clearly not a monolithic native or national variety of English that is used by the majority of the artists but practices of “Englishing” that are substantially shaped by non-Anglophone European influences. Finally, Pennycook’s expressed preference for staging diversity through “a range of national and regional languages” corresponds to an enumerative approach to multilingualism that Pennycook himself has repeatedly found fault with (see e.g. Makoni and Pennycook 2007).

Whereas earlier ESC-related research has tended to focus on the representation of particular nations in the contest or on its national competitive dimension, the present study argues that the situation is somewhat more complex, as transnationalism and sexuality also play decisive roles in the contest and may at times shift the national competitive element to

the background. Therefore, the centre of attention here is not on the differences between the nations in the contest but on the discursive mechanisms that are used, in the service of Europeanisation, to make national issues less relevant and to question traditional, essentialist ideologies associated with the nation. Through this procedure, the current book seeks to draw attention to the discursive intersectionality between national, European and sexual identities.

It is noteworthy that this intersectionality is not just a matter of recent Europeanisation, but actually can be traced back to ancient European foundational myths. The famous narrative of the Greek godfather Zeus, who takes on the guise of a bull to abduct Europa from Phoenicia to the island of Crete, combines a (hetero)sexual scenario (variously interpreted as a matter of rape or of Europa's voluntary sexual indulgence) with a scenario of dislocation that, in modernist terms, could be described as a transnational symbol for the first Europeans migrating from Africa and Asia Minor across the Mediterranean, to settle in new territories of what was later to become Europe (see Fornäs 2012: 8–10, 15).

Even though the way in which the intersectionality of Europeanness, nationalism and sexuality manifests itself today has significantly changed since antiquity, one would be misguided to believe that there are no connections. This was illustrated at the ESC 2014, which was won by a much celebrated performance (AUT 2014: *Conchita Wurst*—“Rise like a Phoenix”) that also drew on one of the ancient European foundational myths, namely the Phoenix, a mythical bird that is said to repeatedly burn itself to rise again from the ashes with renewed strength.⁵ This process has in Christianity been interpreted as a symbol for the resurrection of Christ. In relation to Europe, the “cathartic narrative of crisis and salvation” (Fornäs 2012: 21) associated with the Phoenix was commonly taken to be a mirror image of European history, with Europe suffering from abominable wars, fascist regimes and other crises that it survived in order to rise to greater power afterwards.

⁵As pointed out by Fornäs (2012: 8), there may even be a direct connection between the Europa myth and the Phoenix myth, as Homer's *Iliad* states that Europa is Phoenix's daughter.

In Chinese mythology, where the Phoenix is called *Feng-huang*, it is a hybrid female–male being (Fornäs 2012: 20). This aspect also seems to be the most direct link to the stage persona of *Conchita Wurst*, a glamorous drag queen with a full beard, thereby combining female and male constructive symbols. This gender hybridity is also expressed in the artist’s name (Pewny and Röttger 2015: 192–193). The first name *Conchita* is a female name that is etymologically related to the Spanish noun *concepción* (echoing Christian discourses of the Virgin Mary’s immaculate conception) and can be interpreted as a diminutive form of the Spanish noun *concha* “conch”, which is sometimes used as a euphemistic expression for “vagina”. These connotations of piety and petiteness contrast markedly with the German surname *Wurst*, which literally means “sausage” and may be interpreted as a coarse way of referring to the penis. A competing reading of the term is as a colloquial adjective that is used in German to denote that something does not matter (*Das ist wurst.*), which suggests the message that it does not matter whether a person is female, male or something else. In addition, cultural hybridity is suggested by the combination of a Spanish first name and a German surname. In its expression of identity-related hybridity, *Conchita Wurst’s* performance is symptomatic for central issues that are being negotiated in the ESC today and will be the subject of investigation of the present book.

1.2 Overview of the Volume

The present book provides an in-depth analysis of the way in which linguistic practices in the ESC are involved in the discursive formation of Europe (“Europeanisation”), paying particular attention to the discursive interface of Europeaness, nationalism and sexuality.

Chapter 2 outlines central aspects of the unique communicative setting that is constituted by the ESC. It presents a short history of the contest, highlights the various political dimensions of the event, relates ESC voting to European integration, and describes how Europeaness is directly indexed in the contest. These aspects form important background knowl-

edge that serves as the basis for the analytical chapters of the book. Readers who are highly familiar with the ESC can, therefore, easily skip this part.

Chapter 3 sets the theoretical framework of the volume. It reviews approaches to the relationship between language and identity and elaborates on the theorisation of normativity as a key concept in critical discourse studies. These issues are then linked to the discursive mechanisms that have been found to be relevant for the construction of sexuality, nationalism and Europeanness in earlier research. Furthermore, the specificities of staged linguistic performance are discussed. The chapter closes with a short methodological section, setting the scene for the following empirical chapters.

Chapters 4–8 document the various kinds of language-related analysis of ESC songs and performances. The investigation starts with a detailed study of language choice practices in ESC performances (Chapter 4), mainly concentrating on the periods in the history of the contest in which no official restrictions on performance languages were in operation. Chapter 5 complements this picture by looking more specifically at code-switching practices in the contest, which form an important component in the de-essentialisation of normative language–nation associations.

Chapter 6 focuses on the linguistic construction of Europeanness, nationalism and sexuality in ESC performances, while Chapter 7 explores the interrelation between linguistic and audiovisual discursive construction in relation to the three identity facets. In the last empirical chapter (Chapter 8), the analysis identifies frequent discourses drawn on by Eurovision lyricists. For this purpose, a closer look will be taken at intertextuality patterns in ESC song titles and at key concepts manifest in English ESC lyrics in comparison to a general corpus of pop lyrics.

Chapter 9 uses the linguistic evidence accrued in the previous chapters to describe the normative shifts that constitute the discursive process of Europeanisation in the ESC. More specifically, six central discursive mechanisms of Europeanisation are outlined and contrasted with the top-down Europeanisation process regulated by the EU.

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2

The Communicative Setting of the Eurovision Song Contest

2.1 A Short History of the ESC

The ESC looks back on a history of 60 years¹ in which the competition has grown to become a European institution in its own right. This status has also been officially recognised, as in 2016 the ESC received the Charlemagne Medal for its contribution to European unification and identity formation.² Originally created by the European Broadcasting Union (EBU) with the aim to re-unite the war-ridden Europe of the 1950s through a popular music television format, the event is today more popular than ever before³ and continues to be an important driving force for European integration and identity formation. The TV broadcast of the ESC 2015 had a market share of 39.6 % (in the youngest age

¹ Detailed (non-academic) overviews of ESC history can be found in O'Connor (2005, 2015) and West (2015).

² See http://www.eurovision.tv/page/news?id=eurovision_song_contest_to_receive_charlemagne_medal (accessed 18 March 2016).

³ In GER, for example, the ESC 2011 was awarded the *German Television Prize* in the category “Best Entertainment Show”.

group, 15–24 years, even of 44.8 %), with individual countries showing remarkably high viewing rates (85.6 % in SWE, 95.9 % in ISL). In total, the contest attracted 197 million viewers.⁴ Audience segments show a roughly equal distribution across age, occupational and social-class groups (Le Guern 2000). This makes the ESC a powerful device to unite not just people from various cultures but also from diverse social backgrounds in an endeavour to celebrate Europe. Especially since the implementation of public televoting in 1997, the popular culture mediated access to European identity formation of the ESC has shown a strong bottom-up, affectively anchored element (see e.g. Zaroulia 2013), which contrasts markedly with the top-down approach to Europeanisation embodied by the EU.

In the beginning, there were hardly any rules concerning the participating entries. They had to be sung live and accompanied by a live orchestra. The famous three-minute rule has been in operation since 1957, but it was handled very casually in the early years of the contest. From 1957 to 1970, no more than two performers were allowed on stage. The number of performers was raised to maximally six in 1971 (including dancers, backing singers and (fake) musicians). In 1990, it was decided that performers must be at least 16 years of age. Today, the songs still have to be sung live, while the instrumental part has come from CD since 1999. From 1958 onwards, the winning country was generally responsible for staging the contest in the following year. The changing regulations concerning language choice in the ESC will be dealt with more specifically in Chapter 4.

In principle, the contest also involves some textual regulations, which state that the lyrics of Eurovision songs must not contain political or commercial messages or “swearing or unacceptable language” (EBU 2010: 4). However, breaches with these regulations that required rewording before the song could be staged have occurred only rarely in the history of the contest. For example, songs which originally contained brand names like *Facebook* or *Coca Cola* in their titles were deemed to make overtly commercial statements and had to be changed (SAN 2012: *Valentina*

⁴ Source: http://www.eurovision.tv/page/news?id=nearly_200_million_people_watch_eurovision_2015 (accessed 23 September 2015).

Monetta—“The social network song”, SWE 1987: Lotta Engberg—“Boogaloo”). Similarly, the singer *Silvia Night* had to replace the explicit *I'll fucking win* with the somewhat weaker line *I'll freaking win* in her ESC performance (ISL 2006: *Silvia Night*—“Congratulations”). On the other hand, overtly political messages as found, for example, in the performance BLR 2011 (*Anastasiya Vinnikova*—“I love Belarus”) were not censored. This attests to a relatively casual handling of the official textual restrictions, which leaves lyricists a high level of artistic freedom. It is notoriously difficult to decide what counts as a political message or unacceptable language use, which may partly explain why textual rules are only seldom officially enforced by the EBU.

The voting systems during the first 20 years of the contest were short-lived and varied with respect to the number of national jury members and the amount of points to be awarded. A rule that existed right from the start was that national jury members are not allowed to vote for their own country. A more permanent voting system was implemented in 1975, which required national juries to attribute twelve points to their favourite entry, ten points for the second favourite and from eight points down to one point for ranks three to ten. This system is still in place today, but points are no longer exclusively distributed by national juries. From 1998 to 2008, the Europe-wide TV audience decided the winner via large-scale televoting.⁵ Due to accusations of bloc voting, the EBU decided to re-introduce national juries in order to weaken potential voting biases. Therefore, the number of points awarded by each country has since 2009 been calculated on the basis of 50 % public televoting and 50 % professional jury voting.

Theoretically, all active member states of the EBU may take part in the ESC. Seven countries participated in the first contest in 1956 (BEL, FRA, GER⁶, ITA, LUX, NED, SUI), each of them sending two songs to the competition. Up to 1972, the contest was clearly in Western European hands, with YUG as the only participant from formerly Communist Eastern Europe. In 1973, ISR—a country that is geographically located

⁵Televoting was first tested at the ESC 1997 but involved only a handful of countries: AUT, GER, SUI, SWE and the UK.

⁶“Germany” up to 1989 equals former West Germany.

in the Middle East rather than in Europe, but has always stressed its ties with Europe—participated for the first time. In 1975, TUR made its debut—also a country that geographically lies more in Asia than in Europe and, furthermore, does not possess a Judeo-Christian tradition as the other countries participating in the contest up to that date. As a consequence, the contest increasingly became not just a stage for European popular music but also for communicating a nation's intent to align itself with Europe. 1994 was the year in which several Eastern European nations (EST, HUN, LIT, POL, ROM, RUS, SLK) took part in the ESC for the first time after the fall of the Iron Curtain. It was not until 2001 that one of these countries won the ESC, but after EST's victory, the door seemed open for many other non-Western European countries to win the contest. A look at Table 2.1 shows that the period from 2001 to 2008 exclusively saw first-time winners (EST 2001, LAT 2002, TUR 2003, UKR 2004, GRE 2005, FIN 2006, SER 2007, RUS 2008). Since the re-introduction of jury voting in 2009, only one more country (AZE 2011) managed to win the contest for the first time. Among the latest additions to the ESC family are countries that are geographically located on the Eastern periphery of the continent—ARM (since 2006), GEO (since 2007) and AZE (since 2008). This expansion makes ESC participant countries today largely correspond to the member states of the Council of Europe.⁷ While the spread of the Eurovision territory has been proceeding eastwards, a potential southwards extension has not made any progress since the 1970s. In 2015, Australia was invited as a guest participant to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the contest.

As more and more countries expressed their wish to participate in the ESC after the fall of the Iron Curtain, it proved increasingly difficult to accommodate all of them. From 1994 to 2003, those countries at the bottom of the ranking list did not qualify for the contest in the following year, which limited the number of entries to around 25. In 2004, the EBU introduced a qualifying round held in the same week as the actual final (the so-called semi-final), which allowed all countries to take part.

⁷ BLR is not a member of the Council of Europe; ISR only has observer status. Liechtenstein has never participated in the ESC, but is a member of the Council of Europe. Other Council of Europe members (AND, LUX, MON) have not participated in the ESC for a longer time.

Table 2.1 ESC victories by country (1956–2015)

Rank	Country	No. of victories	Years
1	IRL	7	1970, 1980, 1987, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1996
2	SWE	6	1974, 1984, 1991, 1999, 2012, 2015
3	FRA	5	1958, 1960, 1962, 1969 ^a , 1977
	LUX	5	1961, 1965, 1972, 1973, 1983
	UK	5	1967, 1969 ^a , 1976, 1981, 1997
6	NED	4	1957, 1959, 1969 ^a , 1975
7	DAN	3	1963, 2000, 2013
	ISR	3	1978, 1979, 1998
	NOR	3	1985, 1995, 2009
10	SUI	2	1956, 1988
	ITA	2	1964, 1990
	AUT	2	1966, 2014
	ESP	2	1968, 1969 ^a
	GER	2	1982, 2010
15	MON	1	1971
	BEL	1	1986
	YUG	1	1989
	EST	1	2001
	LAT	1	2002
	TUR	1	2003
	UKR	1	2004
	GRE	1	2005
	FIN	1	2006
	SER	1	2007
	RUS	1	2008
	AZE	1	2011

^aFour-way tie

A record number of 43 participating countries in 2008 necessitated an extension to two semi-finals since then. In 2000, the concept of the “Big 4” was introduced—a status granting privileges to the four countries that shoulder the greatest share of the financial burden within the EBU: ESP, FRA, GER and UK. When ITA returned to the contest in 2011 after its long absence since 1997, it was also admitted to this status (hence today “Big 5”). Besides the winning country of the contest in the previous year, these nations are automatically qualified for the ESC final and do not have to pass the semi-final.

Procedures to determine the annual national representative vary from country to country. While most countries stage national song contests

with public televoting or a mixture of televoting and jury voting to choose a winner, some rely on internal selection procedures carried out by the respective national television corporation. In most cases, the decision is an outcome involving a cooperation between the national broadcasting station, which selects a number of songs from the entries submitted for the national preselection, and the national audience, which democratically picks the final representative.

Contributing a song to the ESC is by many people not just seen as a means of competing, but as a way of showing solidarity with the European idea and of sharing both a song and the moment with one's European neighbours. This shows, for example, in the lyrics of the winning entry ITA 1990 (*Toto Cotugno*—"Insieme: 1992"), which contains the passage *L'Europa non è lontana. C'è una canzone italiana per voi. Insieme—unite, unite, Europe.* ("Europe is not far away. This is an Italian song for you. Together—unite, unite Europe."). Similar evidence surfaced during the voting procedure in 2006, when the announcer from SEM excused her country for not sending a song to the contest:⁸

Yovana (announcer from SEM): *Good evening so from Belgrade the capital city of Serbia and Montenegro (.) so you know we don't have a song for you this year but we promise that next year we will give you the best one*
 Sakis (host): *We need you*

In his reply, *Sakis Rouvas*, the host of the show, co-constructs the announcer's statement by framing SEM's absence from the contest in terms of a loss. Interestingly, the announcer from SEM predicted the victory of SER in 2007 in this exchange.

The ESC has helped quite a number of artists acquire international fame. Most famous examples include *ABBA* (SWE 1974: "Waterloo"), *Al Bano & Romina Power* (ITA 1976: "We'll live it all again"; ITA 1985: "Magic, oh magic"), *Celine Dion* (SUI 1989: "Ne partez pas sans moi"), *France Gall* (LUX 1965: "Poupée de cire, poupée de son"), *Julio Iglesias*

⁸This voting scene can be watched here (minutes 1.30–1.50): <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kGFBzpdkhTk> (accessed 23 September 2015). SEM did not send an entry to the ESC 2006 because the Serbian and Montenegrin delegations were not able to agree on a representative. The country withdrew a few weeks before the contest but nevertheless broadcast it and was allowed to vote.

(ESP 1970: “Gwendolyne”), *Nana Mouskouri* (LUX 1963: “À force de prier”), *Udo Jürgens* (AUT 1964: “Warum, nur warum?”; AUT 1965: “Sag ihr, ich lass sie grüßen”; AUT 1966: “Merci Chérie”) and *Vicky Leandros* (LUX 1967: “L’amour est bleu”; LUX 1972: “Après toi”), to name but a few.

Besides, many artists have entered the contest who already had international careers, including *Baccara* (LUX 1978: “Parlez-vous français”), *Blue* (UK 2011: “I can”), *Cliff Richard* (UK 1968: “Congratulations”; UK 1973: “Power to all our friends”), *Kate Ryan* (BEL 2006: “Je t’adore”), *Las Ketchup* (ESP 2006: “Bloody Mary”), *Patricia Kaas* (FRA 2009: “Et s’il fallait le faire”), and *t.A.T.u.* (RUS 2003: “Ne ver’, ne bojsia”). This is not to say that participation in the ESC is automatically connected to international success, quite to the contrary. In the past, this has often been seen as an index of the triviality of the contest, together with its alleged propensity to take up musical fashions with some delay. Still it is noteworthy that among the 20 best-selling pop music acts of all time identified by the International Federation of the Phonographic Industry, there are no fewer than five former ESC participants: *Nana Mouskouri*, *Cliff Richard*, *Celine Dion*, *Julio Iglesias* and *ABBA*.⁹

2.2 Political Dimensions of the ESC

An international popular music competition such as the ESC is likely to incite debates revolving around potential statements of a political nature in the performances. The official regulations of the contest explicitly prohibit political messages in ESC songs:

No lyrics, speeches, gestures of a political or similar nature shall be permitted during the ESC. [...] A breach of this rule may result in disqualification. (European Broadcasting Union 2010: 4; Section IV.9)

⁹The complete top 20 can be found here: <http://www.esctoday.com/news/read/5531> (accessed 4 November 2011).

In principle, this renders the ESC an apolitical pop music competition. Accordingly, when asked about political motivations, Eurovision artists are at pains to point out that politics do not or should not matter in a song contest like the ESC. This is illustrated by the following extract from the Georgian press conference at the ESC 2010, in which the artist distanced herself from the political issues of the conflict between GEO and RUS:

Georgian artist: *No uhm now well uh it's not uh we are not here uh for politics we're here for uhm showing that uh the better side of our country (.) so uh we are very uh uhm you know (.) Georgia is like music dancing and that's we gonna show on twenty-second on our party*

This standpoint must sound naïve, considering the fact that the ESC is framed as a competition between nations that have not always lived in peace with each other. Some intra-European national conflicts continue until the present day, for example, the conflict between GRE and TUR revolving around the partition of CYP, the conflict about the Nagorno-Karabakh region between ARM and AZE, or the conflict between RUS and UKR concerning the annexation of the Crimean Peninsula. But even if these overt conflicts are neglected, the claim that the ESC is an apolitical event certainly does not hold. This is also illustrated by the excerpt from the Georgian press conference above. Even though the participant claims that her delegation does not have any overtly political motivations, she states that she participates to “show the better side of her country”, and this is de facto a political goal.

It is also interesting to note that some former ESC participants have taken on political roles later in their careers, which indicates that the boundaries between music and politics are porous, if not fuzzy. Among them are *Åse Kleveland* (NOR 1966), who became Minister for Cultural Affairs in NOR, *Dana* (IRL 1970), who was a member of the European Parliament, and *Ruslana* (UKR 2004), who became a member of the Ukrainian parliament. The politicisation of the contest was maybe most obvious at the ESC 1996, when short video clips were shown before each entry in which political representatives of the respective country wished their representatives the best of luck. Most countries chose their presidents (BOS,

CYP, POL, SLO, TUR) or prime ministers (BEL, CRO, EST, IRL, ISL, MAL, NOR, POR, SWE, SLK) as spokespersons. In 2005, *Viktor Yushchenko*, the prime minister of UKR, handed over the prize to the winner of the contest. In 2009, the media reported that the Russian president *Vladimir Putin* had attended the rehearsals of the ESC in Moscow. ESC winner *Conchita Wurst* was invited to speak in front of the European Parliament on 4 October 2014, only some months after her victory.

In short, even though the ESC is officially claimed to be an apolitical event, one can easily identify (overt and covert) political aspects. After all, a central mechanism pervading the contest is that of national representation in front of a pan-European audience, and this aspect makes any claims of being apolitical questionable. It is evident that the ESC was created with an explicitly political aim in mind, namely that of recreating and fostering the unity of European nations in the time after World War II. The contest also served as a political instrument contributing to the disintegration of Communist Eastern Europe in the course of the Cold War. At that time, Eastern European countries were systematically excluded from the contest, and YUG's participation (1961–1992) was always considered a sore spot on both sides of the Iron Curtain (Bohlman 2004a: 55–56). As a culmination of this divide, the Eastern European countries even held their own song contest from 1977 to 1980 in Sopot (POL), organised by the *Intervision* (an Eastern European broadcasting organisation similar to the EBU in Western Europe). Still, the population in Eastern European countries had been able to watch the ESC since 1965. In many of the former Soviet republics, for example, watching the ESC was celebrated as a means of defying Russian occupation (Arntsen 2005: 155).

Musically, the Iron Curtain had fallen in the ESC 1989, when the group *Riva* gave YUG its first victory with the song “Rock me baby”. The 1990 contest was staged in Zagreb, and many of the participating entries referred to matters of pan-European unity in their lyrics, thereby anticipating the achievements of the Maastricht Treaty. This can already be seen in song titles like “Brandenburger Tor” (“Brandenburg Gate”, the symbol of German reunification; NOR 1990), “Frei zu leben” (“To live freely”; GER 1990), “Keine Mauern mehr” (“No walls anymore”; AUT 1990), and “Fri?” (“Free?”; FIN 1990). The winning song, *Toto Cutugno's*

“Insieme: 1992” (“Together: 1992”; ITA 1990) also made this point by explicitly asking Europeans to “come together”.

Political disputes between former Soviet republics and RUS have repeatedly surfaced in the ESC. For example, the Ukrainian entry “Dancing lasha tumbai” performed by drag act *Verka Serdutchka* (UKR 2007) contains numerous instances of the (non-sensical) phrase *Lasha tumbai*, whose phonetic similarity with the phrase *Russia goodbye* enabled the artist to make a political statement without being censored by the EBU. A similar incidence occurred in 2009. During the aftermath of the war between RUS and GEO, the Georgian song that had been selected to represent the country at the ESC 2009 was disqualified by the EBU because it was perceived to contain a political message. The title of the song was *We don't wanna put in*, exploiting the near-homonymy between the verb phrase *put in* and the name of the Russian president *Putin*. As the contest was staged in Moscow that year, the political dimension of these lyrics was all the more obvious. Interestingly, the lyrics of the same song also contain the line *I like all Europe countries and I love Europa*—a political statement that would certainly have been tolerated, if not welcomed, by the EBU.¹⁰

The former Yugoslav republics started participating individually in the ESC in 1993, when BOS, CRO and SLO made their debut. MAC joined the event in 1998, SEM in 2004. These countries have used the ESC to stage their national independence. The entries CRO 1993 (*Put*—“Don't ever cry”) and BOS 1993 (*Fazla*—“Sva bol svijeta”), for instance, dealt with the Balkan war from a Croatian and Bosnian perspective respectively. National autonomy also surfaced as an issue in 2006, when the national preselection in SEM ended in turmoil after the Serbian jury members had given points to Serbian as well as Montenegrin songs but the Montenegrin jury refused to give any points to Serbian songs. This caused the Montenegrin boyband *No Name* to win the preselection, but the group was booed out at the end of the show by the Belgrade audience and instead of a reprise of the winning song, the Serbian group *Flamingosi* performed

¹⁰Link to the performance in the Georgian preselection 2009: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gRXHFMPkcfk> (accessed 23 September 2015).

their song “Ludi letnji ples”.¹¹ The result was that the divided country was not able to agree on an ESC entry and therefore did not compete that year. Since MNT’s declaration of independence from SER on 3 June 2006, the two countries have taken part separately in the ESC.

It is remarkable that the development of the ESC has regularly anticipated political developments at the EU level. When the European Coal and Steel Community (which was later to become the European Economic Community, a forerunner of the EU) was founded in 1951, it had six member states: BEL, FRA, GER, ITA, LUX and NED. These countries were also the participants of the very first ESC in 1956, together with SUI. However, when more and more non-EU countries started to participate in the ESC, its initial connection to the EU became weaker.¹² The current Eurovision territory encompasses substantially more countries than the EU and, consequently, represents a different, more inclusive kind of Europe.

Today, all 28 EU member states have participated in the ESC (see Table 2.2). With the exception of CZE, all EU member states participated in the ESC before joining the EU (or its predecessor organisations). One can, therefore, see the ESC as a musical testing ground. If certain countries can be co-participants in a popular music competition, they may eventually also try to cooperate on the political level. Twenty-four of the 28 EU countries took part in the ESC 2015. Among the four countries that did not participate, three joined the EU relatively recently (BUL, CRO, SLK). In other words, the longer a country is a member of the EU, the more likely it is to participate in the ESC (the only exception being LUX, which has not participated since 1993).

The contest has always been a platform for voicing political protests. In the 1960s and early 1970s, protests were commonly directed against participating countries that still represented dictatorships. For example, AUT boycotted the ESC 1969 in Madrid to protest against the Franco regime in ESP. During the 1964 contest in Copenhagen, a man managed to get on stage, holding up a banner saying “Boycott Franco and Salazar” to protest

¹¹ This scene can be watched here: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MeU17jst9No&feature=related> (accessed 23 September 2015).

¹² For example, of the 43 countries participating in 2011, 18 were not EU members: ALB, ARM, AZE, BLR, BOS, CRO, GEO, ISL, ISR, MAC, MOL, NOR, RUS, SAN, SER, SUI, TUR, UKR.

Table 2.2 First ESC participations of the 28 EU countries

EU member states	First ESC participation
Belgium (founding member 1957)	1956
Germany (founding member 1957)	1956
France (founding member 1957)	1956
Italy (founding member 1957)	1956
Luxembourg (founding member 1957)	1956
Netherlands (founding member 1957)	1956
Denmark (member since 1973)	1957
United Kingdom (member since 1973)	1957
Ireland (member since 1973)	1965
Greece (member since 1981)	1974
Portugal (member since 1986)	1964
Spain (member since 1986)	1961
Austria (member since 1995)	1957
Finland (member since 1995)	1961
Sweden (member since 1995)	1958
Czech Republic (member since 2004)	2007
Estonia (member since 2004)	1994
Cyprus (member since 2004)	1981
Latvia (member since 2004)	2000
Lithuania (member since 2004)	1994
Hungary (member since 2004)	1994
Malta (member since 2004)	1971
Poland (member since 2004)	1994
Slovenia (member since 2004)	1993
Slovakia (member since 2004)	1994
Bulgaria (member since 2007)	2005
Romania (member since 2007)	1994
Croatia (member since 2013)	1993

against the regimes in ESP and POR. The Portuguese entry of 1974, “E depois do adeus” by *Paulo de Cavalho*, is said to have played a central role in the political turmoil during the so-called Carnation Revolution, which ended POR’s 40 years of right-wing dictatorship. In the following year, the Portuguese song “Madrugada” (“Dawn”) was performed by *Duarte Mendes*, one of the 200 soldiers who had fought against and overturned the regime. Similarly, the Ukrainian entry in 2005, “Razom nas bahato” (“Together we are many”) by *GreenJolly*, was strongly connected to the Orange Revolution in UKR. The original version of the song was sung completely in Ukrainian and explicitly praised *Viktor Yushchenko*

as the new president—a statement that was deemed too political for the ESC. Accordingly, the EBU made the group change the lyrics to a more general manifesto for freedom, which was sung in English and Ukrainian with some lines in (broken) Polish, German, Spanish, Czech, French and Russian.¹³ The most recent example of a political protest song was the Armenian entry 2015. The group *Genealogy* consisted of Armenian artists from five different continents, thereby highlighting the historical tribulations of the Armenian people and the formation of the international Armenian diaspora as the result of massive emigration. Their song “Face the shadow” repeatedly uses the imperative *Don’t deny* in the chorus, alluding to TUR’s refusal to acknowledge the genocide on thousands of Armenians that took place between 1915 and 1918.

Recent contests have also drawn the attention to the problematic role of RUS as a political actor on European soil (see Carniel 2015; Cassiday 2014; Johnson 2014; Meerzon and Priven 2013). The representation of the country by performances appealing to lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) audiences (RUS 2003: *t.A. T.u.*—“Ne ver’, ne bojsia”; RUS 2008: *Dima Bilan*—“Believe”) or peace hymns (RUS 2013: *Dina Garipova*—“What if”; RUS 2015: *Polina Gagarina*—“A million voices”) revealed a widely perceived clash with internal and external Russian politics. During the contest held in Moscow in 2009, an LGBT-related demonstration was violently terminated by police forces. Anti-homosexuality legislation has largely banned LGBT-related discourse from the public eye in RUS. In addition to this, RUS’s involvement in the conflict between Western and Eastern Ukrainians and its annexation of the Crimean Peninsula have caused a perception of RUS being less welcome in the contest (see Cassiday 2014; Vuletic 2015: 106). During the contests in 2014 and 2015, the hall audience was repeatedly heard booing the Russian entrants as well as countries that awarded them a high number of points. The media coverage of *Conchita Wurst*, the Austrian winner of the contest in 2014, showed a polarisation of RUS and Western Europe. Western media tended to read *Conchita*’s subversive

¹³The two versions of the lyrics can be found here: <http://www.diggiloo.net/?2005ua11> (Ukrainian version); <http://www.diggiloo.net/?2005ua> (multilingual version as performed in the ESC) (accessed 23 September 2015).

performance in terms of Western European liberality and tolerance, celebrating her victory as a strike against backward, homophobic Russian politics. Russian media, by contrast, constructed her as an emblem of the sexual decadence of the West, clashing with RUS as a righteous society that places greater emphasis on traditional values (see Cassidy 2014; Scheller-Boltz 2015; Wiedlack and Neufeld 2015).

Another political conflict surfacing in the contest since the 1970s revolves around the hostility between ISR and certain Islamic countries.¹⁴ While Judaism has generally been taken as an integral part of European culture, the question whether Islam is a legitimate component of European culture has been up to debate for quite some time (Nic Craith 2006: 17–18), especially since TUR entered EU membership negotiations. ISR has used the ESC as a means to stress its affiliation with Europe since 1973. This has caused a perception that the countries participating in the contest adopt a pro-Israeli stance.

Table 2.3 lists the active member states of the EBU, which are theoretically entitled to take part in the ESC, together with their actual participations. Of the 55 active EBU members in 2015, only 7 have never participated in the ESC. Six of these are countries with an Islamic tradition: Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya and Tunisia. The only predominantly Muslim countries that have taken part regularly since ISR's joining are TUR (since 1975), BOS (since 1993) and AZE (since 2008). MOR took part only in 1980, one of the years in which ISR did not participate in the ESC. Tunisia intended to enter the contest in 1977, but in the end withdrew—allegedly because ISR also participated, and officially because it was not happy with its early starting position (O'Connor 2005: 68). Another incidence, foreshadowing the war between Lebanon and ISR in 2006, took place when Lebanon registered for the ESC 2005. The country had already chosen a song (*Aline Laboud*—“Quand tout s'enfuit”), but withdrew only two months before the event because the national television station was not willing to broadcast the Israeli entry. Most Arab countries indeed broadcast the event with the exception of

¹⁴ The conflict between Israelis and Palestinians was topicalised in the ESC by the performance ISR 2009 (*Noa & Mira Awad*—“There must be another way (Einaich)”), which was sung in Hebrew, Arabic and English (see also Belkind 2010).

Table 2.3 EBU member states and their ESC participations (1956–2015)

Country	Years of participation in the ESC
Albania	2004–2015
Algeria	–
Andorra	2004–2009
Armenia	2006–2011, 2013–2015
Australia [associate member]	2015
Austria	1957–1968, 1971–1972, 1976–1997, 1999–2000, 2002–2005, 2007, 2011–2015
Azerbaijan	2008–2015
Belarus	2004–2015
Belgium	1956–1993, 1995–1996, 1998–2000, 2002–2015
Bosnia-Herzegovina	1993–1997, 1999, 2001–2012
Bulgaria	2005–2013
Croatia	1993–2013
Cyprus	1981–1987, 1989–2000, 2002–2013, 2015
Czech Republic	2007–2009, 2015
Denmark	1957–1966, 1978–1993, 1995, 1997, 1999–2015
Egypt	–
Estonia	1994, 1996–2015
Finland	1961–1994, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2004–2015
France	1956–1973, 1975–1981, 1983–2015
Georgia	2007–2008, 2010–2015
Germany	1956–1995, 1997–2015
Greece	1974, 1976–1981, 1983, 1985, 1987–1998, 2001–2015
Hungary	1994–1995, 1997–1998, 2005, 2007–2009, 2011–2015
Iceland	1986–1997, 1999–2001, 2003–2015
Ireland	1965–1982, 1984–2001, 2003–2015
Israel	1973–1979, 1981–1983, 1985–1993, 1995, 1998–2015
Italy	1956–1980, 1983–1985, 1987–1993, 1997, 2011–2015
Jordan	–
Latvia	2000–2015
Lebanon	–
Libya	–
Lithuania	1994, 1999, 2001–2002, 2004–2015
Luxembourg	1956–1958, 1960–1993
Macedonia	1998, 2000, 2002, 2004–2015
Malta	1971–1972, 1975, 1991–2015
Moldova	2005–2015
Monaco	1959–1979, 2004–2006
Montenegro	2007–2009, 2012–2015
Morocco	1980

(continued)

Table 2.3 (continued)

Country	Years of participation in the ESC
Netherlands	1956–1984, 1986–1990, 1992–1994, 1996–2001, 2003–2015
Norway	1960–1969, 1971–2001, 2003–2015
Poland	1994–1999, 2001, 2003–2011, 2014–2015
Portugal	1964–1969, 1971–1999, 2001, 2003–2012, 2014–2015
Romania	1994, 1998, 2000, 2002–2015
Russia	1994–1995, 1997, 2000–2015
San Marino	2008, 2011–2015
Serbia (Serbia and Montenegro)	2007–2013, 2015 (2004–2005)
Slovakia	1994, 1996, 1998, 2009–2012
Slovenia	1993, 1995–1999, 2001–2015
Spain	1961–2015
Sweden	1958–1963, 1965–1969, 1971–1975, 1977–2015
Switzerland	1956–1994, 1996–1998, 2000, 2002, 2004–2015
Tunisia	–
Turkey	1975, 1978, 1980–1993, 1995–2012
Ukraine	2004–2014
United Kingdom	1957, 1959–2015
Vatican State	–
(Yugoslavia)	(1961–1976, 1981–1984, 1986–1992)

the Israeli entry, for which the programme is usually interrupted by commercials. In 1978, most Arab TV channels (e.g. in Jordan¹⁵) terminated the transmission when it became clear during the voting procedure that *Izhar Cohen* would win the contest for ISR (O'Connor 2005: 74–75). TUR has co-participated with ISR in the contest since the 1970s. It did not take part in 1979, when the contest was held in Jerusalem, to protest against ISR's role in the oil crisis, but this was widely interpreted as a result of the pressure that the Arab states put on TUR, as they threatened to cut it off from the oil supply. However, TUR returned to the contest one year later with the protest song "Pet'r Oil", in which singer *Ajda Pekkan* staged her addiction to a fictitious man of the name "Peter Oil", that is, oil personified (O'Connor 2005: 76, 81).

¹⁵ Jordan even announced BEL as the official winner of the ESC the next day and claimed that it had to stop the transmission due to technical difficulties.

On another political battleground, namely the lasting conflict with GRE over CYP, TUR's behaviour was perceived as less positive. It took until 1978 for GRE and TUR to co-participate in the ESC, with only GRE entering in 1974, 1976 and 1977 and only TUR entering in 1975. GRE used the ESC stage in 1976 to draw international attention to the CYP conflict by sending the protest song "Panaya mou, panaya mou" ("My lady, my lady") to the competition, in which *Mariza Koch* called to the Virgin Mary and mourned "the death of Cyprus", as the title of the English version of the song explicates. Later on, when CYP joined the contest in 1981, voting patterns showed a strong political bias, with GRE and CYP generally awarding each other the maximum amount of 12 points while no points were exchanged between TUR and GRE/CYP.¹⁶ This changed with the introduction of public televoting. The political conflict, however, is still noticeable in the contest. In 2006, for example, when it was CYP's turn to announce its votes, spokesperson *Constantinos Christoforou* reminded the audience of the internal Cypriot situation by saying: *Good evening Athens. This is Nicosia calling, unfortunately the only divided capital left in Europe.* Moreover, he stressed his Greek alignment by stating *We Greeks we say twelve only with a song*, followed by the Greek song *Dodeka* ("twelve"), which he sang to award CYP's 12 points to GRE.¹⁷ As the political message seemed all too obvious, this scene was later removed and is therefore not included on the DVD release of the contest.

The political relationship between Europe and the US surfaces in the ESC in complex ways. The US is generally considered a trendsetter in international pop music. Nevertheless, a certain reluctance to wholeheartedly embrace US-based trends in the contest has created an atmosphere through which Europe distinguishes itself from the US. This tendency was already apparent in the early decades of the contest, when the French-based *chanson* genre was clearly preferred to US-based rock 'n' roll music by participants and juries. In 1966, FRA entered the contest with a song titled "Chez nous" ("With us"), in which the first-person

¹⁶The Cypriot ESC songs are generally chosen by the Greek broadcasting station on the island, which is a member of the EBU, and they were sung in Greek up to the year 2000. CYP has been experimenting with quite a few languages in the ESC since then, but Turkish was not among them.

¹⁷Link to this voting scene: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kGFBzpdkhTk> (see minute 8.20–9.49; accessed 23 September 2015).

plural refers collectively to Europe and is contrasted with the US on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. More specifically, the lyrics of the song state that the protagonist prefers the romanticised atmosphere and small villages of the “old continent” to the big cities of the US. In a similar fashion, the entry of LUX 1981 (*Jean-Claude Pascal*—“C’est peut-être pas l’Amérique”) overtly expressed an anti-US sentiment (*C’est peut-être pas l’Amérique, mais l’Amérique, ce n’est pas tout* “It may not be America, but America is not everything”), pleading in favour of European (and more specifically Romance) values and against the world’s Americanisation. Similar sentiments were expressed in FRA’s entry in 1986 (*Cocktail Chic*—“Européennes”), in which the artists, who self-confidently declare themselves to be “European women”, note at the end of their performance that “the weather is nice in California, but Saint-Tropez is also good” (*Il fait beau en Californie, mais Saint-Tropez est bien aussi*).

An overt assimilation to US culture has never fared particularly well in the ESC. This is particularly true for musical genres associated with the US market such as hip-hop and country (Bohlman 2011: 3). GER, for instance, had a streak of US-related entries from 2005 to 2007, which scored relatively poorly. *Gracia’s* song “Run and hide” (GER 2005) was introduced by the line *Twenty-five dollars wasted on you*, which immediately creates a fictitious US setting. In 2006, GER was represented by the group *Texas Lightning*, which brought US-inspired country music to the ESC stage. The singer acted like a stereotypical saloon lady sitting on a bar stool, with the male musicians dressed up as cowboys. Finally, the German performance in 2007 mimicked US-based swing music—an effect that was all the more heightened as the originally exclusively German song was performed half in English on the ESC stage (*Roger Cicero*—“Frauen regier’n die Welt”). In media coverage, bad ESC results are also regularly explained as a consequence of political alignment with the US. For example, the bad record of the UK in the years since 2003 has sometimes been attributed to the UK’s alliance with the US during the war in Iraq, an operation that was met with reservations in many European countries.

With respect to racial politics, it is apparent that singers of (seemingly) Afro-American or African descent were represented quite early in the history of the ESC, though with little success. The first black artists

to take part in the ESC were *Milly Scott* (NED 1966; from Suriname) and *Eduardo Nascimento* (POR 1967; from Angola). Even though the number of black artists on the ESC stage had been considerable since the 1990s, it was not until 2001 that a black artist actually won the contest, and even then *Dave Benton* (EST 2001; from Aruba) did not convince the audience as a solo artist but as part of a duet with a white, natively Estonian singer, *Tanel Padar*. The increasing visibility of black artists on the ESC stage since the 1990s is nevertheless an indicator of what has been called the “New Europeanness” and of a less essentialised concept of Europe that can more readily accommodate racial diversity.

A related political aspect surfacing in the ESC is the representation of ethnic minorities. NOR had a noteworthy entry in this respect in 1980, the song “*Sámiid Áednan*” (“Saami Earth”) by *Sverre Kjelsberg*, which constituted an appraisal of Saami culture, the lead singer being accompanied on stage by a man in a folkloristic costume (*Mattis Hætta*), who performed a traditional yoik.¹⁸ The German entry in 1999 (“Reise nach Jerusalem—Kudüs’e seyahat”; “Journey to Jerusalem”) was performed by the group *Sürpriz*, which consisted of six Germans of Turkish descent. It exhibited ethnic musical elements and was sung in Turkish, German, English, and Hebrew (the latter because the contest was staged in ISR in 1999). Another example is the Czech entry in 2009 (*Gipsy.cz*—“Aven Romale”; “Come on, Gypsies”), performed mainly in English, with a few words of Czech and Romani. This entry brought the issue of the Roma as an ethnic group without a nation to the ESC stage. In 2014, MAC also highlighted this aspect with an entry (“Pred da se razdeni”) performed in Macedonian and Romani by the duo *Esma and Lozano* (see also Szeman 2013). Some more examples of ethnic relevance will be discussed in Chapter 4.

Finally, gender and sexual politics have also commonly been negotiated at the ESC. In some aspects, the ESC represents a gender-biased, male-dominated context. For example, the fan communities associated with the ESC mainly consist of male fans. Similarly, lyricists, composers and (up to 1998) conductors of ESC entries have predominantly

¹⁸Yoiking is a “singing style used by the Saami to communicate to the animals of their herding culture, now symbolic of the distinctiveness of Saami culture” (Bohlman 2004b: 362).

been male.¹⁹ Gender and sexual representation on the ESC stage have changed throughout time, roughly corresponding (and often well ahead of) prevalent identity discourses of the respective period. This shows, among other aspects, in clothing styles, which have shifted from strictly gender-segregated evening gown and black suit in the early decades to less formal and more explorative outfits. Gender crossing has surfaced in the remarkable number of drag acts in recent years (to be discussed in more detail in Sect. 6.5), with the effect that female performers in suits and male performers in skirts are today an integral part of ESC aesthetics.

Gender stereotypical role portrayals have also become less common throughout the history of the contest. In the UK's winning performance of 1967, for instance, singer *Sandie Shaw* constructed herself as being like a "Puppet on a string", that is, hopelessly dependent on a man playing with her. *Odd Børre*, representing NOR in 1968, by contrast, enacted a stereotypical businessman in his performance, who has so much work to do that he suffers from "Stress". In contrast to such early constructions, more recent years have seen less traditional gender representations, including popular culture adaptations of feminist thinking, with female performers stylising strong woman characters (see Aston 2013; some examples will be discussed in Sect. 8.1). Recent gender-subversive performances have drawn the attention of the media coverage and developed into a trademark of the contest in the public eye. Among these are a number of winning performances, by transsexual artist *Dana International* ("Diva", ISR 1998; see Lemish 2006; Moriel 1998; Swedenburg 1997), Latvian singer *Marie N* ("I wanna", LAT 2002; staging a metamorphosis from a drag king to a feminine woman), Serbian singer *Marija Šerifović* ("Molitva", SER 2007; enacting lesbian desire) or, most recently, the bearded drag queen artist *Conchita Wurst* ("Rise like a Phoenix", AUT 2014). The significance of such subversive performances is further underlined by the fact that the two latest performances that managed to win the contest despite not being sung in English are among these four (ISR 1998 and SER 2007). Among the numerous non-winning subversive acts, notorious examples include the group *Sestre* (SLO 2002), a trio of

¹⁹ Women conducted the ESC orchestra only on four occasions: *Monique Dominique* (SWE 1983), *Nurit Hirsh* (ISR 1973, ISR 1978) and *Anita Kerr* (SUI 1985).

male-to-female cross-dressers, the pseudo-lesbian pop duo *t.A.T.u.* (RUS 2003; see Heller 2007a, b; Kerton 2006) and *Krista Siegfriids* (FIN 2013), whose performance of the song *Marry me* staged a lesbian wedding.

The recent visibility of non-normative gender and sexual identities in the ESC has significantly contributed to the discursive construction of Europe as a tolerant society, even though the respective performances often garnered considerably less support in their home countries, where certain audience segments received them in less positive or different ways. *Dana International* and *Sestre*, for example, had to face severe criticism in ISR and SLO. And *Marija Šerifović*'s performance was not celebrated as a lesbian victory in SER, while the rest of Europe clearly favoured this reading. As shown by Fricker (2008), *Šerifović*'s performance at the Serbian national final was much more in accordance with heteronormative imperatives, the singer wearing a dress and a feminine hair-do, which were replaced with a black suit and tie, thick black glasses and a boyish haircut at the ESC.

Dana International's victory in 1998 is widely considered to mark the coming out of the ESC as an LGBT-friendly event (Singleton et al. 2007). Before this time, this affinity was also in effect, but it was more of a closeted kind. Studies on ESC fan culture found unanimously that the various national fan clubs unite overwhelmingly gay men of diverse age-related, educational and socioeconomic groups (see e.g. Bauer 2015 on AUT, Fricker et al. 2007 on IRL, Jackson 2006 on the UK, Lemish 2004, 2007 on ISR, Moser 1999 on SUI, Wolther 2001 on GER). This predominance results in a community-based atmosphere of homonormativity (see Motschenbacher 2012b, 2013b), in which the identity category "gay man" is perceived as the norm and camp aestheticisation plays a central role (see Allatson 2007; Fricker 2008; Pajala 2007b; Rehberg 2007; Rehberg and Tuhkanen 2007; Singleton et al. 2007; Vänskä 2007). The dual presence of non-heteronormative identities on the performance and the reception side of the contest has led to a greater public visibility of such identities, which has fostered their gradual integration into the European mainstream.

Almost needless to say, many other topics of political relevance apart from those discussed above have been addressed in ESC performances throughout the years, including criticism concerning the superficiality and commercial orientation of the music industry (AUT 1971:

Marianne Mendt—“Musik”; AUT 1977: *Schmetterlinge*—“Boom Boom Boomerang”), environmental pollution (CYP 1991: *Elena Patroklou*—“S.O.S.”; MON 2004: *Märyon*—“Notre planète”; UKR 2010: *Alyosha*—“Sweet people”), or child abuse and abandonment (HUN 2014: *András Kállay-Saunders*—“Running”; ROM 2015: *Voltaj*—“De la capat/All over again”). Taken together, the various dimensions discussed in this chapter attest to the fact that the ESC has always been used as a political forum, even though it is officially claimed to be an apolitical event.

2.3 ESC Voting and European Integration

Another central aspect about the ESC that is frequently associated with politics is the voting. Giving (or not giving) points to ESC entries is a way of evaluating the performances, and by extension the respective countries, in relation to the Europeanness of the context. The voting can thus be taken as an indicator for the degree of integration into the European community. This is evident when one calculates which countries show the lowest average rankings per decade. The five least successful countries per decade are presented in Table 2.4, together with the year in which they first participated in the ESC.

Several aspects are noteworthy here. In the 1950s, all four countries in which German is an official language (AUT, BEL, GER, LUX) were among the bottom five. This is likely to have historical reasons, with German culture having low prestige in the time after World War II. Of these four, only BEL remained in the bottom five one decade later (ranking 5th), which indicates that the antipathy against German culture had decreased in the 1960s. It is also apparent that the least successful country, MON, is the latest joiner in the 1950s, which suggests that ESC newcomers were less integrated.

This trend continues in the later decades, that is, the countries that joined the ESC in a particular decade are often among the least successful countries of that decade (see shaded fields in Table 2.4). In the 1960s, three of the least successful countries were newcomers of the decade: FIN, NOR and POR. In the 1970s and 1980s, one only finds two newcomers in the bottom five per decade. However, in these two decades few new

countries joined the ESC (four in the 1970s, three in the 1980s), which means that at least half of the newcomers ended up in the bottom five (and actually formed the bottom two in both decades: MAL and TUR in the 1970s, ISL and MOR in the 1980s).

Many newcomers managed to leave the bottom five behind in the following decade and achieved better results later on (the newcomers of the 1960s, FIN, NOR and POR, being notable exceptions). The integration of TUR also took rather long, as it was the least successful country in the 1970s and still the third least successful country in the 1980s, coming a long way until its ESC victory in 2003. In the 1990s, four Eastern European newcomers were in the bottom five (LIT, MAC, ROM, SLK). BOS, CRO, SLO (all since the 1990s), MNT and SER (since the 2000s) have never been in the bottom five. This may be due to the fact that YUG had participated in the ESC since 1961, which apparently had the effect

Table 2.4 Least successful countries by decade, in relation to first ESC participation

Rank	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s
1.	MON (1959)	POR (1964)	TUR (1975)	MOR (1980)	LIT (1994)	SAN (2008)
2.	AUT (1957)	NED (1956)	MAL (1971)	ISL (1986)	FIN (1961)	CZE (2007)
3.	LUX (1956)	FIN (1961)	NOR (1960)	TUR (1975)	ROM (1994)	MON (2004)
4.	BEL (1956)	NOR (1960)	YUG (1961)	POR (1964)	SLK (1994)	AND (2004)
5.	GER (1956)	BEL (1956)	AUT (1957)	FIN (1961)	MAC (1998)	BEL (1956)
New participants of the decade	AUT, BEL, DAN, FRA, GER, ITA, LUX, MON, NED, SUI, SWE, UK	ESP, FIN, IRL, NOR, POR, YUG	GRE, ISR, MAL, TUR	CYP, ISL, MOR	BOS, CRO, EST, HUN, LIT, MAC, POL, ROM, RUS, SLK, SLO	ALB, AND, ARM, AZE, BLR, BUL, CZE, GEO, LAT, MNT, MOL, SAN, SER, UKR returner: MON

that the successor nations were perceived as already well integrated.²⁰ In the 2000s, three of the most recent joiners were in the bottom five: AND, CZE and SAN. MON is a special case because it had already taken part from 1959 to 1979. On its return to the ESC stage in 2004, the country was evidently treated more as a newcomer than as a returner and also ended up in the bottom five.

If one relates the results to EU membership, the picture becomes even clearer. The shaded fields in Table 2.5 indicate that a country was not an EU member in the respective decade. The data show that non-EU members are clearly more likely to end up in the bottom five. From the

Table 2.5 Least successful countries by decade, in relation to EU status

Rank	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s
1.	MON (non-EU)	POR (non-EU)	TUR (non-EU)	MOR (non-EU)	LIT (non-EU)	SAN (non-EU)
2.	AUT (non-EU)	NED (EU 1957)	MAL (non-EU)	ISL (non-EU)	FIN (EU 1995)	CZE (EU 2004)
3.	LUX (EU 1957)	FIN (non-EU)	NOR (non-EU)	TUR (non-EU)	ROM (non-EU)	MON (non-EU)
4.	BEL (EU 1957)	NOR (non-EU)	YUG (non-EU)	POR (EU 1986)	SLK (non-EU)	AND (non-EU)
5.	GER (EU 1957)	BEL (EU 1957)	AUT (non-EU)	FIN (non-EU)	MAC (non-EU)	BEL (EU 1957)
Non-EU participants of the decade	AUT, DAN, MON, SUI, SWE, UK	AUT, DAN, ESP, FIN, IRL, MON, NOR, POR, SUI, SWE, UK, YUG	AUT, ESP, FIN, GRE, ISR, MAL, MON, NOR, POR, SUI, SWE, TUR, YUG	AUT, CYP, FIN, ISL, ISR, MOR, NOR, SUI, SWE, TUR, YUG	BOS, CRO, CYP, EST, HUN, ISL, ISR, LIT, MAC, MAL, POL, NOR, ROM, RUS, SLK, SLO, SUI, TUR, YUG	ALB, AND, ARM, AZE, BLR, BOS, CRO, GEO, ISL, ISR, MAC, MNT, MOL, MON, NOR, RUS, SAN, SEM, SER, SUI, TUR, UKR

²⁰MAC's rank 5 in the 1990s is based on one participation only and therefore negligible. However, there may be a linguistic dimension to this because Macedonian was not used on the ESC stage until 1998, whereas "Serbo-Croatian" and Slovenian were already heard during the years of YUG's participation. In this book, the term "Serbo-Croatian" will be used when referring to the times of YUG or when such a variety is used by a nation other than BOS, CRO, MNT and SER. Post-Yugoslav uses of such varieties by these four countries are labelled Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin and Serbian, respectively.

1970s to the 1990s, at least four of the bottom five countries were non-EU members in each decade. Of the four cases of EU countries in the bottom five since the 1970s, three had joined the EU in the same decade in which they scored poorly (POR in the 1980s, FIN in the 1990s, CZE in the 2000s). Interestingly, today it seems to be the small non-EU countries (AND, MON, SAN) that are perceived to be least integrated, although they possess a strong geographical legitimisation as European countries. This may point to the fact that geography is nowadays less influential for defining what counts as European. Another aspect that points in this direction is that the countries furthest to the east, where the European boundary is most difficult to draw from a geographical perspective (ARM, AZE, GEO, ISR, RUS, TUR), have not occurred in the bottom five since the 1990s.

A look at the top five countries per decade confirms the observations made for newcomers above. Table 2.6 shows that ESC newcomers up to the 1990s were rare among the top five. This changed in the 2000s, when three newcomers (AZE, SEM, SER) managed to form the top three of the decade. Both EU and non-EU countries are commonly found in the top five (see Table 2.7). The 1980s and 1990s, however, were a period in which mainly EU countries reached the top five. This has also changed recently, with four non-EU countries (AZE, RUS, SEM, SER) in the top five of the 2000s. These changes in the latest phase of the contest suggest that the ESC has become more inclusive in terms of integration,

Table 2.6 Most successful countries by decade, in relation to first ESC participation

Rank	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s
1.	FRA (1956)	UK (1957)	UK (1957)	UK (1957)	ITA (1956)	SEM (2004)
2.	NED (1956)	FRA (1956)	ISR (1973)	IRL (1965)	IRL (1965)	SER (2007)
3.	SUI (1956)	IRL (1965)	FRA (1956)	GER (1956)	UK (1957)	AZE (2008)
4.	UK (1957)	MON (1959)	ESP (1961)	SWE (1958)	MAL (1971)	GRE (1974)
5.	ITA (1956)	LUX (1956)	IRL (1965)	ITA (1956)	SWE (1958)	RUS (1994)

Table 2.7 Most successful countries by decade, in relation to EU status

Rank	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s
1.	FRA (EU 1957)	UK (non-EU)	UK (EU 1973)	UK (EU 1973)	ITA (EU 1957)	SEM (non-EU)
2.	NED (EU 1957)	FRA (EU 1957)	ISR (non-EU)	IRL (EU 1973)	IRL (EU 1973)	SER (non-EU)
3.	SUI (non-EU)	IRL (non-EU)	FRA (EU 1957)	GER (EU 1957)	UK (EU 1973)	AZE (non-EU)
4.	UK (non-EU)	MON (non-EU)	ESP (non-EU)	SWE (non-EU)	MAL (non-EU)	GRE (EU 1981)
5.	ITA (EU 1957)	LUX (EU 1957)	IRL (EU 1973)	ITA (EU 1957)	SWE (EU 1995)	RUS (non-EU)

with both newcomers and non-EU countries standing better chances of reaching the top five than in previous decades. It can be assumed that this is partly due to the 2000s being the decade of exclusive public televoting, which means that the integration process evident in the voting constitutes a bottom-up phenomenon with higher integrative power than jury voting.

Tables 2.6 and 2.7 also document that the native English countries IRL and UK permanently used to be among the top five since their debuts. This has only changed in the last decade, in which both countries were less successful. MAL, where English also plays an official role, was among the bottom five in the 1970s, when its ESC entries were mainly performed in Maltese, and in the top five in the 1990s, when it was generally represented by English songs.²¹

The media commonly highlight the role of bloc and diaspora voting for the outcome of the contest (see also Gal 2006).²² Even though voting blocs are widely perceived as a form of bias, it is worthwhile to point out that such voting patterns work across national boundaries and therefore are an index of cross-national intra-European solidarities. These are in some cases highly remarkable, as they may involve groups of countries that up until recently used to be at war with each other (e.g. the former Yugoslav republics). Moreover, diaspora voting can be seen as a reflection

²¹ MAL did not participate in the 1980s.

²² For studies dealing with the question of potential voting biases in the ESC, see, for example, Ginsburgh and Noury (2008) or Spierdijk and Vellekoop (2009).

of intra-European migration patterns. As migration flows within Europe since the 1950s are much more prevalent from east to west than from west to east (Poulain 2008), this has often been claimed to be an advantage for Eastern European countries in the ESC. But the issue could also be seen in a more positive way, as the format of the ESC lends a stronger voice to immigrant minorities, which usually have only limited opportunities to influence decisions on the national level.

2.4 “Doing Europe” at the ESC

That the ESC is a context in which Europeanness is a salient issue is evident when one compares the contest with other pop-music-related contexts, which tend to exhibit a global orientation that is decisively structured by US American cultural influences. The European focus of the ESC is principally created through direct linguistic indexes of Europeanness and communicative adaptations to the pan-European audience, which are the subject of this chapter. The discursive work of these aspects forms an important background for the following empirical chapters, as the documentation of the Europeanness of the context facilitates the linking of less direct constructive mechanisms (e.g. via the discursive construction of nationalism or sexuality) to Europeanisation. In the terminology of Ochs (1992), such features form “indirect indexes” of Europeanness, whose European indexical potential is local in the sense that it relies on the prominence of Europe within the context. This means that, apart from features that serve as direct European indexes, Europeanness is in most cases not a stable semantic characteristic tied to certain linguistic features. Rather, the signification practices in ESC performances open up possibilities to infer Europeanness and, as a consequence, can be said to carry a European meaning potential that is supported by the context.

The concept of indexicality was originally developed in Peircean semiotics, but is today widely employed in the sociolinguistic description of the relationship between language and identity (Bucholtz and Hall 2010: 21–23; Johnstone 2010). Linguistic features have acquired the potential to index certain identities throughout their history of discursive materialisation. The signification practices staged in the ESC form a

central component in the imagining of Europe. However, such discursive constructions of Europe are not entirely arbitrary or free-floating but build on (and modify) signification practices of earlier ESC performances, especially those that proved to be successful in the past.

How Europeanness is directly indexed at the linguistic and audiovisual level in the contest is illustrated in the following with material from the broadcast of the ESC 2010 in Oslo (based on the DVD edition of the show), which can be taken as representative for contemporary stagings of the contest. In the intro of the show, European references are particularly dense. As is common practice, the 2010 contest is introduced by the famous musical piece *Te deum* (by French Baroque composer Marc-Antoine Charpentier), which is widely known as the signature tune of the EBU and therefore functions as a Eurovision anthem. Towards the end of the tune, the Eurovision logo and the name *Eurovision* are displayed. The actual broadcast starts with a mythical construction of the very first edition of the contest, verbally signified as *Lugano 1956*. The historical dimension of this reference is further supported on the visual level by the scenery of Lake Lugano, followed by a zoom in on a 1950s-style living room setting in which an Italian-speaking nuclear family (father, mother, daughter and son) are making themselves comfortable in front of a TV set that is broadcasting the Eurovision logo and the *Te deum* anthem, thereby echoing the earlier opening. That this is a constructed scenario is obvious when one considers that the first edition of the contest did certainly not yet enjoy the status of a popular family programme and was mainly received as a radio programme across Europe, since only few European households owned a TV set in 1956.

The broadcast continues fading in the names of various earlier ESC host cities, some of them musically accompanied by the respective winning entry, from *Vienna 1967* to *Moscow 2009*. The timeline is interspersed with pictures of famous European sites (Big Ben, Eiffel Tower, Brandenburg Gate, Atomium, Hagia Sophia, Kremlin). Finally, the Telenor Arena in Oslo (the venue of the ESC 2010) appears, where the cheering audience is shown to wave national flags of all European countries. In computer animation, the motto of the evening *Share the moment* is projected onto the stage, followed by the title *Eurovision Song Contest Oslo 2010* and again musically accompanied by *Te deum*. Finally, scenes

from living rooms in all participating countries across Europe are shown, suggesting that the whole of Europe is watching. This is followed by the opening act, *Alexander Rybak*, performing his winning song “Fairytale” from the previous year. Viewed in total, the opening sequence constitutes a powerful spectacle that highlights Europeanness as a prominent feature of the show, drawing the viewers’ attention to the historical continuity of the contest across more than five decades.

On the linguistic level, references to *Europe* and *Eurovision* abound throughout the night. With these references, various speakers (hosts, performing artists, announcers) co-construct a pan-European media space. The three hosts repeatedly address or refer to the audience collectively as *Europe*, as in the following quotes from the show:

Good evening Europe
Bonsoir l’Europe
Europe, you can start voting now
Europe, it’s time to dance
The whole of Europe is watching
The song that Europe has chosen as its favourite
Good night Europe

Some artists follow suit when addressing the audience during, or thanking the audience after, their performances (*Thank you Europe*).

In their voting announcements, the spokespersons from various countries also engage in this co-construction by addressing the audience as *Europe* (using phrases like *Good evening Europe*, in various languages, or *Hello Europe*). Interestingly, it is mainly spokespersons from countries in the Eastern half of the Eurovision territory who address the audience as *Europe* (full list: ARM, AZE, BOS, FIN, GEO, ISR, LAT, LIT, MAC, SLO, TUR, UK, UKR). This may be taken as evidence that these relatively recent joiners of the Eurovision family take Europe as “the other” and therefore feel less included in the concept. The two Western European countries in the list also fit this pattern. FIN looks back on a long history of bad results that was largely taken as a sign of the country’s non-integration (see Pajala 2007a, c), and the UK has always been notorious for its Euro-sceptic attitude (see Fricker 2013; Risse 2010: 81–84). However,

the speaker-exclusive (and therefore country-exclusive) use of the term *Europe* by the announcers contrasts with the inclusive use of *Europe* by the hosts and performing artists. In other words, even though the contest is on the production side constructed as an all-inclusive European event, it appears that not all countries feel equally integrated. The use of the noun *Europe* is in the ESC largely metonymical, with the political, geographical or cultural entity *Europe* standing for its inhabitants. Especially in greetings like *Hello Europe*, this metonymy has a personalising effect similar to addressing an individual with a personal name.

Europeanness is also directly indexed through Euro-references in ESC performances (see also Fornäs 2012: 189–192). Such references are particularly unlikely to occur in non-ESC-related pop songs and can be considered a means of specifically targeting the European audience. Table 2.8 presents a timeline of all ESC performances in which artists directly referred to their own country or to Europe.

Relatively few songs throughout the history of the contest contain national or European references, maybe because they are generally perceived as too direct in the political messages they convey. Of the 1396 performances until 2015, only 24 (1.7 %) showed Euro-references. Their distribution across time indicates that in the early years of the contest up to the 1970s, the concept of Europe played only a minor role. References to the nationality of the performers were more common than European references in the 1950s and especially in the 1970s (with a break in the 1960s, where no national references and only one European reference can be found). Higher frequencies of Euro-references can be identified in the early 1980s (a period, in which no national references are found). From 1983 to 2000, national references clearly outnumber European references. In the period 2006–2011, national and European references are equally represented. The development sees both national and European discourses gaining ground over time, the main difference being that nationalisation increased earlier (in the 1970s) than Europeanisation (since 2006), with the latter apparently having no subtractive effect on the former. This is also indicated by the fact that out of the 24 performances with Euro-references in Table 2.8, 7 simultaneously contain national references and therefore build up connections between a national and a European affiliation. Still, it is noteworthy that in the last three contests

Table 2.8 Timeline of national and European references in ESC performances

National references	Euro-references
NED 1956 "Holland"	
GER 1958 "Germany"	
	FRA 1966 "Europe"
MAL 1971 "l-Maltija"	
MAL 1972 "Maltin"	
	ESP 1974 "Europa"
POR 1976 "português"	
POR 1977 "Portugal"	
SUI 1977 "Swiss"	
MON 1978 "Monaco"	
	GRE 1980 "Evropi"
	BEL 1980 "Eurovision", "Europe"
	FIN 1982 "Euroopaamme"
ISR 1983 "Yisra'el"	
ITA 1985 "italiana"	
FRA 1986 "français"	FRA 1986 "Européennes", "le vieux continent"
ISL 1988 "Islandus"	
ESP 1988 "Spain"	
LUX 1990 "Luxembourg"	
IRL 1990 "Ireland"	IRL 1990 "Europe"
ITA 1990 "italiana"	ITA 1990 "Europa", "Europe"
POR 1991 "lusitana"	
	ITA 1993 "Europa"
GRE 1993 "ellada"	
BOS 1993 "Bosni"	
POR 1998 "Portugal"	
NED 1998 "Nederland"	
GER 2000 "German", "Germany"	
FIN 2000 "Finland"	
	ESP 2002: "Europe"
	SWE 2002: "Europe"
AUT 2005 "Austrians"	
UKR 2005 "Ukraini"	
ISL 2006 "Iceland"	ISL 2006 "Europe", "Eurotrash", "Eurovision nation", "European"
	MOL 2006 "Europio"
LIT 2006 "LT"	LIT 2006 "Eurovision"
	ESP 2007 "Europe"
	IRL 2007 "Europe"
FRA 2007 "française"	
UKR 2007 "Ukrājina"	UKR 2007 "Europe"
	UK 2007 "Eurovision"

(continued)

Table 2.8 (continued)

National references	Euro-references
ROM 2007 "Roumanie"	
IRL 2007 "Ireland", "Irlande", "Irish"	IRL 2007 "Europe", "Euro"
ARM 2008 "hay"	LAT 2008 "Europe"
FRA 2008 "française"	
CZE 2009 "Češi"	SUI 2009 "Europe"
ARM 2009 "hay"	
MOL 2009 "Moldova"	LIT 2010 "European", "EU", "Europe"
SLO 2010 "slovenskih"	
BLR 2011 "Belarus"	
MAC 2011 "Makedonec"	FIN 2011 "European"
	MNT 2012 "Euro"

(2013–2015) neither national nor European references were used, which may be taken as evidence for a certain degree of depoliticisation or, more likely, for a shift towards less direct means of identity construction.

Besides Euro-references, Europeanisation may also surface in the ESC in the shape of adaptations of performances to the transnational European audience. Such adaptive processes surface when one compares how performances were staged in national preselections versus on the ESC stage. What is deemed appropriate for a national preselection is not necessarily deemed to be compatible with the ESC as a pan-European event. Artists may choose to adapt certain elements of their performances accordingly. For example, the musical style may become less ethnic, costumes less traditional, stage gimmicks more professional, and so on.

On the linguistic level, artists' names are often affected by such adjustments. They may either be anglicised (e.g. the Icelandic artists *Silvía Nótt* and *Eurobandið* becoming *Silvia Night* and *Euroband* in the ESC) or shortened by dropping surnames that sound "too national" (e.g. the Finnish singer *Laura Voutilainen* becoming *Laura*; the German singer *Lena Meyer-Landruth* becoming *Lena*; the Icelandic singer *Jóhanna Guðrún Jónsdóttir* becoming *Yohanna*; and the Romanian duo *Nico și Vlad Mirișă* becoming *Nico & Vlad*). An exception to this trend was the UK's representative in 2010, who competed as *Josh* in the national preselection

and as *Josh Dubovie* on the ESC stage. One reason for this change may be that his surname carries French connotations and therefore sounds less typically English (and, as a consequence, less national). In short, while anglicisation helps non-Anglophone countries to construct a transnational, European orientation, de-anglicisation produces a similar effect for the UK as an Anglophone country.

Sometimes, the adaptation involves removing national references from lyrics. For example, the Icelandic entry 2006 competed under the title “Til hamingju Ísland” (“Congratulations Iceland”) in the national final, but was staged in English with the title “Congratulations” in the ESC. As the use of national languages is also widely perceived to convey a nationally oriented message, a particularly common adaptation process involves a change of the performance language. Some countries up until recently had a tradition of nominating mainly songs in their national language in the national preselection (e.g. ALB, ISL, ISR), whereas the winning song was then regularly performed entirely or partly in English on the ESC stage. When performances are half in the national language and half in English, it is striking that the English part mostly forms the second half of the song, which usually also contains the musical climax. This represents a common way of giving European affiliation more weight than national attachment.

It is remarkable that the adaptive processes described work almost exclusively unidirectionally, that is, it is not generally the case that an originally English song is performed in a national language in the ESC or that artists’ names, song titles or lyrics become “more national”. This shows that the downtoning of national affiliation is generally perceived as a powerful mechanism of European identity construction. Exceptional cases that show changes towards higher nationalisation can usually be explained by a country’s need to privilege national over European identity. An example of this is the performance SEM 2005, in which the group *No Name* repeatedly inserted the typically Montenegrin call *ojha* in the lyrics of their song “Zauvijek moja” on the ESC stage, to index a distinctly Montenegrin identity vis-à-vis SER. Overall, the practices discussed in this chapter (Euro-references and linguistic adaptations to the pan-European audience) construct Europe as a harmonious space in which the downtoning of national affiliations and consideration for the communicative needs of one’s fellow Europeans play a crucial role.

2.5 Conclusion

The description of the specific communicative setting of the ESC has demonstrated the importance of a number of aspects for identity construction in the contest, among them

- the absence of those Islamic (and especially Arab) countries that adopt an anti-Israeli stance and
- the avoidance of an overt assimilation to US culture.

These two aspects can be understood as central “othering” strategies employed to demarcate Eurovision territory from non-Eurovision territory. In addition to this, the following mechanisms have been shown to be of central relevance:

- the presentation of national affiliation in ways that are deemed compatible with Europeanness
- the increasing representation of racial and ethnic diversity as a component of the “New Europe”
- the partly subversive staging of gender and sexual identities in the contest and the LGBT-friendliness of ESC fan communities as signposts of European liberality and tolerance
- the voting as an indicator of European integration
- direct European references and adaptations to the pan-European audience.

Taken together, the prevalence of these aspects is a reflection of the conflicting ideologies surfacing in a contest that, on the one hand, celebrates European unity and, on the other hand, highlights national affiliation by framing this unity as an international competition.

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3

The Language–Identity–Normativity Interface and Critical Discourse Studies

3.1 Language, Discourse and Identity

The relationship between language and identity has been studied extensively in linguistics (for a detailed research overview, see Joseph 2004: 41–91), mainly in sociolinguistics (e.g. Omoniyi 2006), anthropological linguistics (e.g. McElhinny 2003), applied linguistics (e.g. Block 2006) and discourse analysis (e.g. Benwell and Stokoe 2006). Early variationist work (e.g. Labov 1966; Trudgill 1972) treated sociodemographic data as a pre-given, objective starting point for the analysis of linguistic variation. Speakers were categorised into social macro-groups (e.g. social class, region, gender or ethnic group), and their speech behaviour was correlated with these categories. This is problematic in a number of ways. The attribution of a certain social category label to a person is not always a straightforward process (how would one, e.g., classify speakers whose parents are of mixed origin in terms of social class, region or ethnic group?). Secondly, such an approach foregrounds intra-group homogeneity to the detriment of intra-group diversity (which is often much greater). Finally, people's sociodemographic characteristics are not automatically relevant

for explaining their speech behaviour across communication contexts. The incorporation of ideas from social psychology with its focus on language attitudes, communication accommodation and audience design (e.g. Bell 1984; Giles et al. 1991) has helped linguists to study identities in a multidimensional way. Such work highlights the influence of language ideologies, adjustment to one's interlocutor and audience targeting on the way identities are constructed and negotiated via language.

While traditional sociolinguistics builds on the notion that speakers use language in a certain way as a result of their belonging to particular social groups, more recent approaches influenced by social constructionism (e.g. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992; Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985) and poststructuralism (e.g. Block 2007; Bucholtz and Hall 2004; Joseph 2004; Motschenbacher 2010a; Pavlenko 2002; Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004; Pennycook 2004) rest on the assumption that there is no such thing as a stable, pre-given identity that is only waiting to be expressed via language. Instead, it is assumed that identities are created in language use and that this process is in principle independent of the social groups people belong to. Speakers mobilise the identity-indexing (Ochs 1992) potential of linguistic features to stylise, negotiate and fine-tune their identities, often navigating between competing and conflicting identity positions. The analysis of such practices results in a more intricate picture than concentration on a fixed grid of sociodemographic categories can grasp.

Social constructionist approaches have also for some time been used for studying European integration and identity formation (see Risse 2004 for an overview), though not from a linguistic point of view. This work highlights the role of the EU as an active identity creator from above and emphasises that European identity is constructed in contextually diverse shapes, with the EU forming just one such context associated with a specific form of European identity.

Compared to social constructionist work, poststructuralist approaches do not just attempt to overcome the essentialist treatment of identity categories of earlier research traditions. They additionally focus on the social power systems that shape linguistic identity construction (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 13). The relationship between language and identity is conceptualised as mutually constitutive: identity-related ideologies

influence how people use language and language provides resources for identity construction. This theorisation is associated with a motivation to expose dominant discourses that cause an ideological drive towards homogeneity and work to the detriment of “deviant” identities, which are excluded and/or marginalised.

Poststructuralist approaches are influenced by postmodernist debates revolving around the “linguistic turn” in the social sciences and cultural studies, which emphasise the role of language in the constitution of social realities and knowledge formation. Ironically, linguistics has responded only weakly to this development, maybe because it sounds non-sensical to establish a linguistic turn within linguistics. The task at hand, however, is not as redundant as it may seem at first sight. Obviously, there is nothing to be gained for linguistics if it (merely) turns to language because this is something it has always done. However, a Foucauldian reconceptualisation of language as a manifestation of discursive structures is a more recent trend that can be described as the “discursive turn” in linguistics (see also Warnke 2007 on “Discourse linguistics after Foucault”).

Poststructuralist theories suggest a distinction between the speaking individual and the speaking subject, that is, discursively conditioned subject positions (Albert 2008: 173). A person may take on, and be constructed by others through, a whole range of different subject positions, for example, as a professor, gay man, father, partner or golf player. All of these subject positions have evolved through a process of discursive materialisation and, as a consequence, are associated with certain (linguistic) practices. Performativity is therefore a central mechanism at the heart of linguistic identity construction, as linguistic signs and practices have typically gone through a process of repeated citation in language use that has endowed them with an identity-indexing potential which, in turn, can be contextually exploited. Temporarily activated subject positions can never represent individuals in their full complexity. They force parts of a person’s characteristics to the background, while temporarily locating a restricted selection of identity facets in the foreground (Albert 2008: 166).

Note that, from a poststructuralist point of view, both language structures and language use can be considered discursive manifestations, the main difference being that linguistic structures have gained a higher degree of discursive materiality (see also Warnke and Spitzmüller 2008: 9). The meaning

potential acquired by linguistic structures or usage patterns enables them to contextually evoke certain identities. This mechanism is not completely free-floating, as not any identity-related meaning can be activated. It is rather decisively structured by the normativity of dominant discourses (Butler 1990; Pennycook 2004). The meaning of a certain form used in a given context can be seen as a less-than-perfect re-citation of its earlier uses (cf. Derrida's 1982 [1972] concept *différance*). The degree of this deviance may vary. With identity performances that are perceived as subversive, it may even amount to a substantial clash, while other performances that are more in tune with dominant discourses are in general less obtrusive.

Poststructuralist analyses of language and/or identity are generally influenced by the theoretical insights of Foucault and Derrida (see also Angermüller 2014). Foucault sees knowledge not as a matter of the thinking individual but as a discursive formation embedded in omnipresent power structures. Importantly, he does not locate power in the hands of individual social actors but in the structuring characteristics of hegemonic discourses, which invariably co-occur and compete with non-hegemonic, alternative discourses. The term "discourse" is used by Foucault in the (less traditionally linguistic) sense of "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault 1972 [1969]: 49). In traditional linguistics, discourse is normally defined more narrowly, as "language above the sentence level", "text", "conversation" or "language in use" (cf. Warnke 2007: 4–5). Other disciplines in the humanities have adopted an understanding of discourse originating from critical theory, in which the term does not refer exclusively to language, but rather, more generally, to ideologies or ways of seeing the world. The Foucauldian conceptualisation of discourse extends well beyond individual texts or communicative events to the realm of intertextuality. Still, a specific text can be studied with respect to the contribution it makes to a certain discursive field and in terms of the constitutive role that it plays in knowledge formation.

Derrida (1976 [1967], 1982 [1972]) provides a critique of structuralist Saussurean theories and is particularly sceptical of the Chomskyan notion of a language system constituted by the grammatical competence of the native speaker. He also questions the notion that linguistic forms have stable literal meanings, which ultimately leads to the claim that communication between two parties is more a matter of pragmatic

approximation than of clear-cut understanding. Where de Saussure (1983 [1916]) theorises the linguistic sign as a stable connection between signifier and signified that is ruled by convention and can therefore be repeatedly exploited in communication, Derrida restricts this iterability to the formal component of the linguistic sign, the signifier. The signified, by contrast, is not stable in its relation to the signifier and depends on the context of usage as well as meaning materialisation across earlier uses. Semantic change and instability thus become the normal case. As opposed to Austin (1962), who sees citation as an exceptional phenomenon, Derrida claims that all utterances show citational characteristics (Derrida 1982 [1972]: 326).

In a poststructuralist framework, identities are not conceived as stable structural categories but as the result of discursive formation. They are not seen as a matter of performance alone, but involve co-construction by a performing and a receiving party. This entails that the performer's intended identity may in fact differ from the identities decoded by various parts of the audience, as people have varying sets of identity-related experiences at their disposal (Joseph 2004: 3). The contextual fluidity and significance of identities are not just caused by a person's diverse social identifications but also by various layers of identity, as described in social psychology (Hecht et al. 2001): (a) personal identity, that is, the self-concept a person has ("who am I?"); (b) enacted identity, that is, identities expressed for an audience ("who am I for others?"); (c) relational identity, that is, identities in relation to each other ("how am I different from others?"); and (d) communal identity, that is, group identities ("how am I similar to others?"). The concept of enacted identity can be seen as an attempt to shift identity theorisation from its traditional focus on personal self-identity towards the reception side, thereby highlighting co-construction as a central aspect of identity formation.

Relational identities are constructed in relation to other, disavowed identities. For example, constructing a male identity in hegemonic ways usually implies not stylising a female identity, if not overtly denying it. This is also true for identity formation types that do not work according to a binary scheme. A national identity construction, for instance, as Albanian is tantamount to constructing an out-group of non-Albanians who do not necessarily have to be distinguished in terms of their nationalities.

This process downplays the diversity within the national in-group and the out-group and neglects similarities between the two groups.

Communal identities stress intra-group sameness and at the same time fade out individual differences between group members. This is often done for strategic purposes, as the reduction of social complexity that such typifications achieve facilitates faster information processing (Ammon 2003a: 129) and helps individuals to benefit from the increased discursive power of materialised identity categories. A pertinent example is the formation of an LGBT identity, which lumps together lesbian, gay male, transgender and bisexual identities for the sake of having more political momentum—despite the fact that one finds huge differences between the single subgroups as well as between individuals within these subgroups.

Poststructuralist approaches have been gaining ground in the academic discussion of European identity formation (see Bruell 2007; Wæver 2004), where they are used to argue that the meanings of “Europe” or “European” escape any form of closure, are invariably in the making, and cannot be described in terms of a monolithic notion of “Europe” but rather as a matter of competing “Europes” (see Derrida 1992). Accordingly, European identity is conceptualised not as a fixed identity ascription but as a desire for belonging.

3.2 Normativity and Critical Discourse Studies

The present book seeks to make a contribution to the realm of socio-cultural linguistics with its focus on “both the details of language and the workings of culture and society” (Bucholtz and Hall 2010: 18; see also Bucholtz and Hall 2005), and, more specifically, to critical discourse studies (see Wodak and Meyer 2009) as a field that scrutinises the formation of (identity-related) discourses. In such a framework, the two major meanings of “discourse” (i.e. the linguistic sense and the Foucauldian sense) are brought together, that is, the analysis focuses on the question how linguistic features function as traces of certain discourses and, in turn, shape these discourses at the same time (cf. Cameron 2001: 123).

The use of normativity as an analytical concept in critical discourse studies is compatible with the recent shift towards discursive or post-structuralist theorisations of the relationship between language and identity as discussed in the previous chapter. Normativity can be thought of as a discursive formation in the Foucauldian sense. Similarly, the power struggles surfacing in the competition of dominant and marginalised discourses can easily be related to the degree of (non-)normativity associated with certain identity performances (see also Hogg and Giles 2012: 374).

The institutionalisation of language and sexuality studies since the early 2000s (see e.g. Bucholtz and Hall 2004; Cameron and Kulick 2003, 2006) has made researchers more aware of the structuring role that normativity plays in the discursive formation of gender, sexuality and other forms of identity (see Baker 2013; Motschenbacher 2014a). However, even though normativity has been widely employed as a fairly general explanatory tool in sociolinguistics and critical discourse studies, it is presently a largely “undertheorised” concept.¹ One reason for this may be the way in which norms have traditionally entered sociolinguistic discussions, namely as an integral part of the theorisation of the “speech community”, famously defined by Labov (1972: 120–121) via “participation in a set of shared norms”.² This highly influential normativity concept may have blocked the development of a more flexible conceptualisation of normativity that could more readily contribute to current debates on the relationship between language and identity (Piippo 2012: 35). The Labovian notion of norm is associated with patterns of normative language use more generally, and is therefore blind to the heterogeneity of the practices and identities found within a speech community. It is self-evident that such a macro-level concept of normativity is only of restricted relevance to any field of linguistic inquiry that has an interest in uncovering more subtle and less monolithic processes of identity formation. This is the case because a mere description of macro-social norms and their repercussions in people’s communicative behaviour fails to grasp a substantial issue, namely the way in which locally enacted (alternative) normativities

¹ Despite not using the term *normativity*, the tactics of intersubjectivity framework introduced by Bucholtz and Hall (2004: 503–505), in which the authors distinguish tactics of “authorisation” from tactics of “illegitimation”, does serve to illustrate the role of normativity in shaping sexuality.

² For a critique of this concept in relation to language and sexuality studies, see Barrett (1997).

and non-normativities surface in people's linguistic behaviour. For this purpose, the focus of attention must shift from taking normativity as a general explanation for linguistic behaviour to more specific questions of how normativity manifests itself locally in linguistic practices (often in contrast to macro-social norms), and how issues of power play a role in the negotiation of what is perceived as normal or normative.

Despite the negative connotations of the term "normativity" (especially in linguistics as a self-declared descriptive discipline), it is important to note that norms are not invariably negative. Their evaluation depends decisively on the perspective adopted. From a cognitive point of view, for example, identity-related norms possess the positive trait of helping people to structure complex social realities. Recourse to socially shared norms often facilitates the encoding and processing of information, as communicators can rely on the assumption of certain normatively supported aspects, which therefore need not be explicated.

The limitations of this cognitive advantage are evident once the social consequences of norms are considered. Norms are a central means of social exclusion and stigmatisation in cases where social actors do not adhere to what is normatively presumed (Taylor 1997: 156). From a social psychological perspective, norms can be considered a macro-threat to the negative face (Brown and Levinson 1987), because they restrict people's freedom of action by urging them to conform to certain normative patterns. At the same time, norms have the side effect of threatening individuals' positive face. This is the case because people who do not adhere to social norms will generally find it harder to be accepted as valuable members of society.

Theoretical approaches to norms generally distinguish descriptive from prescriptive group norms (Bicchieri 2006; Bowerman 2006; Hall and LaFrance 2012; Hogg and Reid 2006). Descriptive norms are quantitatively based and, in principle, value-neutral, as they are linked to observations of what people commonly do, without degrading other behaviours as deviant. Prescriptive norms, by contrast, possess a stronger normative force, because they stipulate what people are normatively expected to do.

The regularities associated with descriptive norms ("what many people do") may over time turn into prescriptive norms ("what people should do"), and are then taken as yardsticks for acceptable behaviour and enforced by society through a sanctioning of violations. Normativity is thus not

a binary matter of normative versus non-normative but a continual and negotiable concept, that is, linguistic identity performances can be more or less (non-)normative and are shaped by interactants' motivations to normalise or delegitimise certain practices.

There is a certain tension between descriptive and prescriptive normativity, because what people commonly do does not necessarily have to conform to prescriptively enforced social norms. To use a linguistic example, even though normative grammar dictates that speakers should use complete and grammatically well-formed sentences, this is seldom what speakers do in naturally occurring conversations. Similarly, it can be assumed that the full implementation of the normative ideal of heterosexual relationships (monogamy, lifelong faithfulness, being married, bearing children, fixed expectations in terms of the age and socioeconomic status of wife and husband, etc.) forms the exception rather than the rule when one looks at the actual lived experience of heterosexual couples. Still, this does not automatically reduce the power of these prescriptive norms, as people continue to orient to them in their communication:

Norms are *shared* patterns of thought, feeling, and behavior, and in groups, what people do and say communicates information *about norms* and is itself configured *by norms* and by normative concerns [. . .]. This communication can be indirect – people infer norms from what is said and done – but it can also be direct: people intentionally talk about, or nonverbally signal, what is and what is not normative of the group. (Hogg and Reid 2006: 8; italics in original)

The two types of normativity can be linguistically oriented to in various ways. Prescriptive normativities can, for example, be directly indexed through expressions of deontic modality, which convey an obligation or permission (Palmer 2001: 9–10) that generally depends on norms in operation in the wider community or society. Typical examples of such forms are modal auxiliaries of various normative strengths (compare e.g. statements like *Children must/ought to/should/may learn how to swim*). When prescriptive normativities are expressed in ESC song titles, for example, they mainly involve unmodified present tense verb forms that construct certain aspects as unquestionable matters of fact, or (more rarely) modal constructions:

Donny Montell – “Love is blind” (LIT 2012)

Marta Jandová & Václav Noid Bárta – “Hope never dies” (CZE 2015)

Noa & Mira Awad – “There must be another way (Einaich)” (ISR 2009)

Soluna Samay – “Should’ve known better” (DAN 2012)

maNga – “We could be the same” (TUR 2010)

Descriptive normativities can, for example, be directly indexed through the (vague) quantification of social actors practising a particular behaviour or through the specification how frequently a certain behaviour takes place. The more social actors are said to perform a certain behaviour or the more frequently a certain practice is said to occur, the higher is the normative force conveyed (compare e.g. statements like *All/Most/Many/Some/Few men drive a car*). It is interesting to note that descriptive normativities are notably absent from Eurovision song titles, which indicates that performances in the contest are less concerned with what all or many people do than with what people should do. This suggests an approach to normativity that is independent of majority behaviours and potentially sensitive to the needs of social minorities.

Finally, among the linguistic features that are involved in practices of shifting normativities are imperative sentences and other syntactic devices that may be used to realise directive speech acts (see Moessner 2010). These can be seen as interactants’ explicit attempts to induce people to act in specific ways and thereby to cause norms to change. In other words, positive directives (“do this”) provide language users with a means to engage in normalising practices that are meant to increase the legitimacy of certain behaviours. Negative directives (“don’t do this”), by contrast, may serve as linguistic strategies of illegitimation. For example, *Salt n’ Pepa*’s famous song “Let’s talk about sex” constitutes an attempt to shift sexuality-related norms, from a traditional state in which sexuality is conceptualised as something that people should not talk about to a state in which (public) talk about sex becomes possible or even desirable, as it helps enlighten people about problematic sexual aspects. The expression of shifting normativities is a common discursive strategy in Eurovision song titles, which indicates that many ESC songs orient to social change:

Times Three – “Believe ’n peace” (MAL 1999)

Birgitta – “Open your heart” (ISL 2003)

Max Jason Mai – “Don’t close your eyes” (CZE 2012)

Lisa Angell – “N’oubliez pas” [“Don’t forget”] (FRA 2015)

Besides these direct ways of indexing normativity, a more indirect normative mechanism is the frequency with which certain identity-constructing linguistic features are used. For example, the fact that sentences like *he loves her* and *she loves him* occur more frequently than same-sex constructions (*he love him; she loves her*) indicates that heterosexual desires are perceived as normal and same-sex desires as less normal. Similarly, if patterns of linguistic identity construction occur regularly in a context such as the ESC, this implies that these patterns are perceived as normal, desirable for or compatible with Europeanisation. Less frequently occurring ways of linguistic identity construction, by contrast, can be interpreted as less or non-normative constructions that are used to challenge or change dominant normativity discourses.

A normativity-based approach to critical discourse studies as employed in the present book targets the constitutive role that language plays in how identities and behaviours are discursively constructed as normative, non-normative or changing in their normativity status. This constitutive role has for some time been recognised in language and sexuality studies, as the following quote from Cameron and Kulick (2003) illustrates:

Language, arguably the most powerful definitional/representational medium available to humans, shapes our understanding of what we are doing (and of *what we should be doing*) when we do sex or sexuality. The language we have access to in a particular time and place for representing sex and sexuality exerts a significant influence on *what we take to be possible, what we take to be ‘normal’ and what we take to be desirable*. (Cameron and Kulick 2003: 12; italics added)

In this quote, Cameron and Kulick do not just refer to language as a means of constructing sexuality. They also highlight the normative dimension of the discursive construction of sexuality via language (cf. italicised passages). Furthermore, this description refers to the power dimension that is involved

in the linguistic construction of sexuality, which ranges from powerful, dominant discourses to marginalised or even silenced discourses that manifest themselves more rarely (if ever) in linguistic practices.

In a similar vein, Blommaert and Rampton highlight the relevance of normativity for linguistic practices as follows:

[I]t is vital to remember just how far normativity (or ‘ought-ness’) reaches into semiosis and communication. For much of the time, most of the resources materialized in any communicative action are unnoticed and taken for granted, but it only takes a slight deviation from habitual and expected practice to send recipients into interpretive over-drive, wondering what’s going on when a sound, a word, a grammatical pattern, a discourse move or bodily movement doesn’t quite fit. There is considerable scope for variation in the norms that individuals orient to, which affects the kinds of thing they notice as discrepant, and there can also be huge variety in the situated indexical interpretations that they bring to bear (‘good’ or ‘bad’, ‘right’ or ‘wrong’, ‘art’ or ‘error’, ‘call it out’ or ‘let it pass’, ‘indicative or typical of this or that’). (Blommaert and Rampton 2011: 12)

As the authors indicate, linguistic behaviour that conforms to the norms operative in a given context is generally not deemed noteworthy. Linguistic practices that clash with such norms are likely to be noticed as marked and may thus make recipients aware of the particular norm that has been transgressed. However, a linguistic analysis of normativity must deal with norm-conforming as well as norm-transgressing linguistic practices, that is, it is the task of the critical discourse analyst to also make the unnoticed noticeable.

When studying how language users orient to normativity in their communication, one needs to be aware of the fact that normativity operates at two levels. Dominant normative discourses are located on the macro-social level and structure social practices at large. As discussed by Thibault (2011), this is also true in the realm of language. Actual linguistic practices (what Thibault calls “first-order languaging”) are constrained, but not fully determined, by the normative force of the codified and standardised language system (“second-order language” in Thibault’s terminology). The language system in turn has become solidified across chains of linguistic performances, which have led to a conventionalisation

and, finally, normativisation of certain linguistic structures. Importantly, local linguistic performances do in many cases not (fully) conform to the macro-linguistic norms and may therefore cause such norms to change over time. Moreover, alternative communicative norms may contextually compete with official normative linguistic standards.

In relation to sexuality, it can be assumed that in most (if not all) cultures, some form of heteronormativity (see Sect. 2.3) operates on the macro-social level, which causes non-heteronormative sexualities to be perceived as less or non-normative. This contrasts, however, with the micro-level of concrete communicative events, where various other normativities may be effective and practices that have a non-normative status from the macro-social perspective may enjoy the status of a locally ritualised norm. Local performances of sexuality, in turn, may feed back into macro-social norms and induce certain shifts in sexual normativity (e.g. away from heteronormativity as the only or predominant discourse). What counts as normative, less normative or non-normative and which (non-)normativities language users draw on in their linguistic performances depends significantly on communicative context and on language users' intentions and normative expectations (see Burleson et al. 2005 or Kiesling 2013).

Concrete identity performances may in some cases differ considerably from what macro-social norms dictate. In fact, social actors may gain pleasure from the very knowledge of deviating from such norms. This means that normativity operates at the interface of structure and agency. Since macro-social norms work overindividually, across linguistic performances, their power is not so much a matter of individual agents. However, agency is clearly involved on the level of concrete linguistic performances, where social actors choose to draw on certain normativity-related discourses depending on their motivations to normalise or delegitimise certain identities or behaviours.

An important characteristic of norms is that they are never stable and, therefore, bound to change in social interaction (Piippo 2012). It is the gap between the norms on the macro- and micro-social levels that invariably causes norms to change as soon as people communicate about identity-related matters. The two normativity levels, therefore, do not operate independently of each other. Macro-social norms structure

concrete interactions and locally produced (non-) normativities feed into the materialisation of norms on the macro-social level. In other words, when certain (originally non-normative) identities and behaviours are frequently enacted, maybe even as locally valid norms, they are likely to become part of what is perceived as “normal” on the macro-social level.

Which local behaviours have a higher potential to cause normative shifts depends on their communicative reach.³ While more private communication practices are less likely to influence normativity discourses on a larger scale, mediated communication, which is associated with a higher public reach, is most likely to shape normativity-related discourses. In accordance with this latter issue, the present book aims to elucidate how linguistic practices in ESC performances contribute to the discursive construction of Europeanisation-related normativities. This procedure constitutes an extension of the application of normativity as an analytical tool, from explaining the discursive construction of sexuality to the investigation of nationalism and Europeanness discourses. The following three sections (Sects. 3.3–3.5) present an overview of central normativity-related mechanisms that have been shown by earlier research to be commonly involved in the discursive construction of sexuality, nationalism and Europeanness via language. The field of language and sexuality will be taken as a starting point, as discussions of discursive identity construction in relation to normativity are to date most visible in this particular field of linguistic inquiry.

3.3 Language, Normativity and Sexuality

Normativity affects the discursive construction of sexual identities, desires and practices in all cultures. As a consequence, it represents a fundamental explanatory tool in language and sexuality studies, where it continues to be a key concept (see Baker 2013). A central reason for the significance of normativity in academic discussions of the relationship between language and sexuality is the (initial) tendency of this research field to focus on non-heterosexualities, that is, sexual identities, desires

³I am indebted to Theo van Leeuwen for pointing out this aspect to me.

and practices that, at least traditionally, were considered non-normative (often gay male and lesbian sexualities, or third genders which challenge gender binarism and, hence, heteronormativity). The study of non-normative sexualities has proven to be particularly fruitful at the local level of concrete interactional contexts. This explains why ethnographic, bottom-up approaches that take an in-depth look at sexuality-related identity performances in specific communities of practice have figured prominently within the field (see e.g. Jones 2012; Sauntson and Morrish 2012; Schneider 2013a, b), while discourse-analytic studies on the linguistic construction of sexuality have gained ground more recently (see Motschenbacher forthcoming a).

The interest in non-normative sexualities was often caused by their very “deviance” from what society at large views as normal or normative in terms of sexuality (cf. Hall 2003). However, this focus has also had the (unintended and paradoxical) side effect of contributing to the discursive materialisation of these sexualities as “special” and fundamentally different from heterosexuality, the latter staying largely unquestioned as a default sexuality, even though it is, of course, subject to similar mechanisms of discursive construction via language. The formation of language and sexuality studies as a more coherent field in the early 2000s, and especially debates revolving around sexual identity versus desire as basic concepts in such research (Bucholtz and Hall 2004; Cameron and Kulick 2003, 2005), have improved our understanding of sexuality as a phenomenon that is socioculturally shaped and discursively produced rather than purely natural or biological. Still, it is problematic to assume that it is useful to make a clear decision for either identity or desire when conducting research. It would appear more plausible to acknowledge that in most contexts, the discursive construction of sexuality shows aspects of sexual identity as well as desire. Normativity cuts across the sexual desire versus identity divide, as both are shaped by normative mechanisms (see Motschenbacher 2014a, forthcoming b).

To gain an understanding of the role that normativity plays in communication about sexuality, it is necessary to take a look at the historical formation of sexuality discourses, and more specifically at the discursive normativisation of sexuality. As Foucault (1978 [1976]) shows in the first part of his *History of Sexuality*, the distinction between heterosexuality

and homosexuality is not just a predominantly Western phenomenon (and therefore culture-specific), but also relatively recent from a historical point of view. The terms *heterosexual* and *homosexual* were created in the second half of the nineteenth century and initially functioned as pathologising medical terms—a status that *homosexual* has never completely lost (as opposed to *heterosexual*).⁴ Interestingly, *heterosexuality* also was a term located outside the discourse of heteronormativity, because it was originally used to describe people who have sexual intercourse with a person of the “other” sex without the primary aim of reproduction (cf. Cameron and Kulick 2003: 21; McIlvenny 2002: 12). The linguistic labelling of these sexual categories has had a reifying effect, which ultimately led to the development of such sexual identities. What used to be conceptualised in terms of sexual practices (especially by the Church as a central regulator of sexuality) was from that time on rather viewed in terms of the practising person and, as a consequence of this discursive shift, acquired a wealth of identity-related social ascriptions, including normativities (Baker 2008: 187; Cameron and Kulick 2003: 19–24).

A look at time periods before the nineteenth century reveals that the binary hetero–homo distinction as we know it today formerly did not exist (cf. Baker 2008: 188 or Cameron and Kulick 2003: 22 on the linguistic representation of sexualities in Ancient Rome). Moreover, it is obvious that many non-Western cultures traditionally have not known this distinction and that the initial recognition of gay and lesbian identities is taking place as a consequence of global transcultural flows, with Western cultures being in the powerful position to import their dominant discourses to other cultures (for evidence, see the contributions in Leap and Boellstorff 2004).

Sexual identity labels construct people’s identities as clear-cut, often enforcing a binary either–or choice. This misrepresents the continuum of people’s lived sexual experiences and evokes a homogeneity that covers up intra-categorical differences. This aspect and the insight that sexuality was predominantly perceived in terms of sexual practices before the nineteenth century have induced some language and sexuality researchers to

⁴ See Baker (2005: 2–3) for a short historical overview of the discursive formation of the concept of “homosexuality”.

shift their analytical focus from sexual identity to expressions of sexual desire (Cameron and Kulick 2003; Kulick 2003a). This move can be interpreted as an attempt to reverse, or at least not further entrench, the discursive materialisation of (essentialist) sexual identity categories such as “heterosexual”, “gay” and “lesbian”. Identity-based research may, for example, study the linguistic behaviour of gay male or lesbian subjects as evidence for the production of these sexual identities, even in communicative settings where sexuality does not play a (central) role. Language and desire research, by contrast, studies contexts in which sexual desire manifests itself linguistically, for example, in dating advertisements, flirting, telephone sex talk, online sex chats, erotic literary genres, romantic greeting cards or love song lyrics. In such contexts, sexuality surfaces in relational practices, involving the construction of a desiring subject, a desired object and the relationship between the two.

It can be assumed that the extent to which a certain form of sexuality conforms to macro-social norms has an influence on how people communicate about the respective sexual identities, desires and practices, and this is, in fact, a key issue in language and sexuality studies. Strongly non-normative sexualities (such as objectophilia, Motschenbacher 2014a, b) may, in most contexts, not be talked about at all, which renders them silenced or marginalised (see also Kulick 2005). Where they manage to surface in language use, they are more likely to be constructed in terms of sexual practices and desires (typically through verbs: “he loves objects”) rather than in terms of identities (personal nouns or adjectives as identity labels: “he is (an) objectophile”), that is, they have not reached the higher levels of discursive materialisation that are associated with sexual identities.

Conversely, an increasing linguistic representation of a certain sexuality type in terms of identity may bestow a higher legitimacy on it, as recognised identities are less likely to be questioned. Normative sexualities, in general, have evolved as dominant identity discourses that enjoy a high degree of power. As can currently be witnessed in many Western societies in relation to the categories “gay man” and “lesbian woman”, the growing acceptance of these sexualities as legitimate identities tends to go hand in hand with an increasing recognition of the rights of the respective social groups.

Dominant sexuality discourses such as heteronormativity operate on the macro-social level and structure society at large. The term “heteronormativity” refers to a powerful discursive formation according to which certain forms of heterosexuality are deemed natural, normal, more legitimate or preferable in comparison to less normative sexualities (including non-normative forms of heterosexuality). Heteronormativity is strongly connected to dominant gender-related discourses such as gender binarism, gender difference, male dominance over women, and male agency versus female passivity, which have the cumulative effect of describing women and men as opposites that “naturally” attract each other (cf. Butler’s 1990 argument that gender binarism is a stabilising factor for what she calls the “heterosexual matrix”). Furthermore, heteronormativity belongs to a web of related, partly overlapping discourses, many of which can be considered logical outcomes of the description of certain heterosexualities as ideal. These include heterosexism (e.g. McLoughlin 2008) and homophobia (e.g. Peterson 2011, van der Bom et al. 2015), that is, discourses that surface in relatively overt forms of discrimination against non-heterosexual people.

A central research goal in language and sexuality studies is finding out how linguistic practices are involved in the discursive production of heterosexuality as normal or natural, often in everyday communication (e.g. Cameron 1997; Coates 2007, 2013; Ericsson 2011; Kiesling 2002). Accordingly, the impact of heteronormativity on people’s communicative behaviour has been documented for a range of, mostly Western, cultural contexts (see Archakis and Lampropoulou 2009 on GRE; Balder 2005 on Chile; Dalley and Campbell 2006 on Canada; Ericsson 2008 on SWE; Kitzing 2005a on the UK; Luyt 2012 on South Africa; Peterson 2011 on the US). Heterosexuality widely functions as the normative default. Without contextual information, people will assume that social actors are heterosexual, and constructing people (including oneself) as heterosexual is, therefore, a routine practice that is, in general, not consciously recognised as a form of sexuality-related construction. It has been found, for example, that heterosexual disambiguation (i.e. in accordance with macro-social norms) is commonly performed by means of parenthetical comments that are not seen as noteworthy (such as references to husbands/wives, marriage, divorce, kinship relations, and

so on; e.g. Ericsson 2008; Kitzinger 2005b; Rendle-Short 2005). Non-heterosexual and non-normative heterosexual constructions, by contrast, cannot usually be performed with the same ease because of their marked status from the macro-social point of view. As a consequence, they are often perceived as unwelcome sexual confessions that draw the interlocutor's attention, even though studies have shown that such admissions are mostly performed in situations in which incorrect heteronormative assumptions are merely corrected (Land and Kitzinger 2005).

Normative sexuality discourses are heavily intertwined with normative means of discursively constructing gender and may therefore partly rely on the same linguistic resources (cf. Morrish and Sauntson 2007: 13). Hegemonic norms dictate that “proper” women and men differ substantially and are mutually attracted to each other. This means that language is not just involved in the discursive construction of sexuality through sexual identity labels and other linguistic means that directly index sexuality. All linguistic features that can be employed to construct gender in a binary fashion are also potentially involved, among them lexically gendered personal nouns and pronouns (e.g. *woman*, *man*, *girl*, *boy*, *she*, *he*) or stereotypically gendered speech styles—both of them linguistic means that contribute to the discursive formation of the “heterosexual matrix” (Butler 1990).

In some contexts, the construction of heterosexuality as the norm is less straightforward, as heteronormativity faces substantial competition from alternative, locally operating normativities. For example, a certain (linguistic) practice, such as inverted appellation (Bunzl 2000; Johnsen 2008), may be considered a non-normative practice of sexual identity stylisation from the perspective of the macro-social level. However, it may possess the status of a local, community-based norm in certain non-heterosexual communities of practice, where rather heteronormative practices would be considered “abnormal”. Heteronormativity can therefore be considered a macro-level dominant discourse that may be challenged locally by various alternative normativities and non-normativities. In the transnational Salsa communities studied by Schneider (2013a, b), for example, traditional heterosexual identity constructions are framed as exoticised performances rather than as serious points of normative orientation.

Gay male and lesbian sexualities have today reached various degrees of public recognition and social acceptance in Western societies. Such widely recognised minority sexualities may in turn develop normativities of their own— notions of what it means to be a “good” gay man or lesbian woman in a certain context. The term *homonormativity* has been used to describe discursive mechanisms that sketch out same-sex sexualities as a (contextually salient) norm (e.g. Koller 2013; Milani 2013; Motschenbacher 2012b, 2013b; Motschenbacher and Stegu 2013).⁵ This includes practices of privileging gay and lesbian sexualities over bisexualities and transidentities within LGBT, practices of normatively constructing same-sex sexualities along heterosexual lines (e.g. lesbian *butch* and *femme* roles) and all other practices that result in (certain types of) same-sex sexualities being constructed as contextually normal or preferable. These new sexual normativities need to be studied just as critically as heteronormativities, as they build on similar mechanisms that result in stigmatisation and exclusion.

Homonormative linguistic practices have been documented in a number of contexts. For example, a study by Koller (2013) in the tradition of critical discourse studies sketches out the construction of (non-)normative identities in lesbian texts from different time periods (1970 and 2010), showing that lesbian identities do not just have to relate to heteronormative (out-group-based) discourses but also to in-group-based normative mechanisms that prescribe what lesbian women should be like in a particular context (cf. also Jones 2011, 2014). Similarly, Milani (2013) provides a corpus-based study of the discursive construction of gay male identities and desires in user profiles of the South African online dating community *meetmarket*. In this context, the normative notion of straight-actingness turns out to be a central component in the discursive stylisation of the male desired object, while mannerisms that are perceived as overtly gay or feminine enjoy only little prestige in this gay male community (cf. also Bogetic 2010).

A re-occurring pattern that has surfaced across sexuality-related discourse analytic studies is that in public media contexts, the discursive

⁵ For a discussion of alternative academic uses of the term *homonormativity*, see Motschenbacher (2014a, forthcoming b).

construction of non-heterosexual identities is either marginalised (see e.g. Braun and Kitzinger 2001 on heteronormativity in dictionary definitions of genital terms) or clearly less positive than that of the heterosexual norm (see Baker 2005 on the homophobic construction of same-sex sexualities in parliamentary debates and tabloids, or Morrish and Sauntson 2007 on how the British press constructs gay politicians). More positive and less normatively restricted constructions of non-heterosexual identities are possible in certain subcultures whose norms concerning gendered and sexual behaviour differ from those of more mainstream contexts.

In the course of the present study, it will be interesting to see how the linguistic construction of sexuality-related normativities in ESC performances forms a component, or an indirect index, of national and European identity construction. As sexual identity labels are unlikely to occur in pop lyrics, it can be assumed that the majority of the linguistic constructions of sexuality will be discursive constructions of sexual desire rather than identity, that is, a central focus will lie on the way social actors express their desires for other people in Eurovision songs.

3.4 Language, Normativity and Nationalism

Research on the discursive construction of national identities distinguishes between ethnic nationalism, which is based on common ancestry and culture (*ius sanguinis*), and civic nationalism, which pertains to the collectivity of people living in the same political entity (*ius soli*; see e.g. Joseph 2004: 92; Millar 2005: 28).⁶ Ethnic nationalism is based on supposedly objective criteria such as a common culture, language or history. However, these aspects are also discursively mediated and may even be intentionally shaped for purposes of nationalisation. Nations in the past have often evolved from ethnic groups, but this is clearly not always the case. Most nation states unite various ethnic groups on their territories and areas inhabited by ethnic groups often extend beyond national boundaries.

⁶Ethnic nationalism is often connected to the term *nation*, while civic nationalism corresponds to the term *state* (Edwards 2009: 171).

Edwards (2009: 175) points out that civic nationalism is widely perceived to be “more advanced, more inclusive and less problematic” in comparison to ethnic nationalism. The former is more strongly associated with democracy, a Western cosmopolitan vision and rational development, whereas the latter is considered to be responsible for a great deal of conflicts and tensions caused by the disparity between ethnically and nationally defined territories, also in Europe’s recent history.

Today, ethnically “pure” nations are the clear exception (if they exist at all), because the population of virtually every country includes people of various ethnic origins. This is also true for European nations, where migration flows within and to Europe have caused a growth in linguistic and cultural heterogeneity since World War II. As a consequence, most nations *de facto* exhibit ethnically as well as politically based elements. Nevertheless, the ethnically based “nation by birth” is still a powerful concept in the sense that the native inhabitants of a territory are generally perceived as the “true nationals”, as opposed to other populations that are seen as “foreigners” or “immigrants”. The two types of nationalism are, therefore, associated with competing normativity types. While ethnic nationalism builds on an ideal of intranational ethnic homogeneity, civic nationalism relies on a normativity of ethnic inclusion.

National identities are not necessarily fixed, even though normative nationality-related discourses may suggest this. An individual’s (official) nationality may change, for example, through marriage, migration, territorial annexation, colonisation or the proclamation of national independence. This means that national identity is at least to some extent subject to social influences and not an aspect that is forever determined by birth. At the same time, this shows that national continuity and stability are not automatic phenomena and require ongoing discursive work (e.g. by national governments).

Graphic examples of the reconfiguration of nations on European soil are the successor states of the former USSR (e.g. ARM, AZE, BLR, EST, GEO, LAT, LIT, UKR) or of former YUG (BOS, CRO, MAC, MNT, SER, SLO), which have established their own national identities after gaining independence in the first half of the 1990s. But even nowadays, one can find ethnically based conflicts in certain European nations, as ethnic minorities are striving to proclaim their own nations (e.g. Basque and Catalan populations in ESP, Flemish and Walloon populations in BEL, or the Kurds in TUR).

Within research on the discursive construction of the nation, the work of Anderson (1991) has been most influential. He delineates nations as “imagined communities”, that is, communities whose members consider themselves to possess substantial commonalities, even though they have never met. National identity thus is a matter of shared belief and involves not only a stressing of sameness but also a downplaying of individual differences. In principle, this makes nations inventions, but it is part and parcel of nation-building processes to conceal this invented character. Instead, myths of national identity are created that are meant to give the nation a deeper level of public legitimisation (Joseph 2004: 115). Nation-building practices may permeate everyday life (e.g. national symbols on coins, banknotes, passports and other ID cards), and people are often hardly aware of them. This phenomenon has been termed “banal nationalism” by Billig (1995) and can be contrasted with more conscious forms of national symbolisation, such as the playing of national anthems or flag waving. Billig notes that research on nationalism has concentrated on these latter forms of strong but merely punctual nationalism and neglected those more common aspects of it that pervade our daily lives.

Nationalism has a long history of discursive construction that can, to some extent, be traced back to the Bible or the late Middle Ages (Joseph 2004: 95–102; see also Schreiner 2006: 37–47). Still, the nineteenth century (i.e. the time after the French Revolution) is frequently considered as the period in which nationalism gained greater momentum throughout the Western world and in fact became the dominant ideology of geographical categorisation worldwide (May 2003: 211). Compared to earlier forms of social organisation, which tended to be vertically or hierarchically structured, nationalism represents a de-hierarchised, horizontal social reconfiguration (Joseph 2004: 116). Concomitant with the evolving concept of the nation is a re-orientation of political organisation based on the notion of cultural and linguistic homogeneity—something that was notably different in the earlier empires, such as the Greek, the Roman, the Ottoman or the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which united people of various cultural and linguistic backgrounds and were still seen as legitimate political unions (May 2003: 211; Millar 2005: 10).

The nationalisation of Europe led to a situation in which the Indo-European continua of regionally intercomprehensible dialects across Europe were broken down into separate national languages, which

further drifted apart through the normative nationalist pressures of codification and standardisation that were meant to provide all citizens of a particular nation with a shared means of communication (Wright 2000, 2011). May (2003: 212–213) makes the point that the nationalisation of Europe created not just national languages but also minority languages on the back side of the coin, because ethnic minorities are generally identified in relation to a national territory. Whereas nation-building processes supported the development of those languages that were accorded national language status, minority languages became associated with tradition and backwardness or came to be seen as a threat to the unity of the nation. Moreover, in later phases, “languages” were no longer exclusively seen as uniting the citizens of a nation but increasingly as a legitimisation of separatist ethnic movements arguing that social groups speaking the same language should form a nation.

As these developments indicate, language is an important tool for the discursive construction of national identity. While ethnic nationalism promotes the language of the numerically dominant ethnic group in a nation as the official language, civic nationalism generally favours a language that has a high number of speakers in the polity and causes the least offence to the majority of citizens. While for countries with moderate ethnic diversity, these two selection strategies will normally lead to the same outcome in terms of language choice, for other countries with a high degree of societal multilingualism the choice of the official language may show a different outcome, depending on whether ethnic or civic considerations predominate. Ethnic and civic nationalism may also simultaneously influence national language policies. In India, for example, Hindi is the ethnically based national language, while English is the civically based national language that is meant to counter the hegemony of Hindi vis-à-vis other Dravidian languages.

Ethnically based nationalism hinges on a normative “one nation – one language” correspondence that clashes with the realities of our largely civic nations, which all exhibit a certain degree of (ethnic and) linguistic diversity (Blommaert and Verschueren 1995; Gal 2006).⁷ Globally

⁷The *Ethnologue* project (Lewis 2009) lists a total of 6909 living languages spoken around the globe, but only 204 nation states are currently recognised.

speaking, this makes societal multilingualism the default case. National language policies have traditionally tried to promote monolingualism in order to strengthen cultural homogeneity. This has worked mainly to the detriment of minority languages, which in some countries (FRA, GRE) have not even been acknowledged.

The normative connection between language and nation is clearly more central in Europe compared to other parts of the world. Most European nations claim only one official language that distinguishes them from neighbouring states (see Extra and Gorter 2008: 5–6).⁸ This is different, for example, in South America, where most countries have the same national language (Spanish), or in Africa, where most languages are not associated with the formation of specific nationalities. In Asian societies like Pakistan and Myanmar, national identity is more based on religious affiliation than on language (Edwards 2009: 168).

The role of a language in nation building is usually supported by language planning, standardisation and codification, that is, prescriptive and purist practices that are supposedly meant to further inscribe a distinctive national character (see Edwards 2009: 225–230; Schreiner 2006: 61–73). This is achieved by emphasising linguistic differences compared to varieties of neighbouring states and by declaring intranational variation to be of secondary importance. As a consequence, national languages can be described as constructs that strategically abstract away from actual linguistic diversity. Political borders, rather than linguistic structures or mutual comprehensibility, dictate which dialect is considered to belong to which roofing language (compare, for instance, Polish, Czech and Slovak within the West Slavic dialect continuum, or Danish, Norwegian and Swedish within the North Germanic dialect continuum). In cases of extensive structural similarity and mutual intelligibility, the choice of different writing systems may serve as a nationalisation device (compare e.g. Moldovan written in Cyrillic script versus Romanian written in Roman letters; Cisel 2002).

The labelling of languages may be used strategically to contribute to the discursive construction of national affiliations or, conversely, to prevent such a construction. This is illustrated, for example, by the question

⁸ Notable exceptions are BEL, CYP, FIN, LUX and SUI.

what to call the dominant language in Flanders, with Belgian nationalists preferring the label *Flemish* to *Dutch*, in order to distinguish it from the national language of NED (cf. Suleiman 2006: 57–58). Other cases include the Romance varieties spoken in Graubünden (SUI), which were granted official status as *Romansh* in 1938 in order to dissociate them from Italian dialects and, as a consequence, from fascist ITA under Mussolini, or the Slavic varieties spoken by a minority population in Carinthia (AUT), which were called *Windisch* to dissociate them from *Slovenian*, the national language of the neighbouring country SLO (Trudgill 2004: 36–37).⁹ Notorious recent cases of politically motivated terminological separation and formal divergence of varieties as new national languages on European soil include the split of *Serbo-Croatian* into *Bosnian*, *Croatian*, *Montenegrin* and *Serbian* (see Bugarski 2004; Greenberg 2004; Pupavac 2003), the emancipation of *Slovak* from *Czech*, and the distinction of *Belarusian* and *Ukrainian* from *Russian*.

Despite the fact that languages have originally evolved in a particular culture, language users may transport them to other regions where they are subject to new cultural influences. These influences may also lead to linguistic changes, which, in turn, may serve as the basis for claiming a distinct national variety of a language. A graphic example of this is the English language, which originally evolved on the British Isles (until Middle English times), but was during the colonial period exported to various parts of the world, where it has become adapted to local cultural requirements. In the World Englishes paradigm (Kachru 1985), such inner and outer circle Englishes have been labelled along national lines (e.g. as British English, Australian English, Indian English, and Nigerian English) and have thus become components of contemporary nation-building processes.¹⁰

Apart from issues related to national language policies, national identity construction has also been studied by scholars in the tradition of critical discourse studies (CDS). A central work in this line of research

⁹ Many more European examples could be mentioned: the creation of *Macedonian* as distinct from *Bulgarian*, the labelling of *Luxembourgish* to dissociate this variety from German dialects, and so forth.

¹⁰ For an overview of the criticism voiced against the World Englishes paradigm, see Motschenbacher (2013a: 10–20).

is Wodak et al.'s (1998) analysis of Austrian national identity construction. Subscribing to the discourse-historical approach of CDS, a range of communication contexts are analysed in this study: political speeches, political campaigns against or in favour of AUT joining the EU, EU footage in a range of Austrian print media, group discussions and interviews centring on Austrian identity. The (Austrian) nation was found to be over wide stretches discursively constructed through the emphasising of internal homogeneity and the strategic downplaying of intranational diversity. Both of these discursive mechanisms can be related to normative notions of what a nation should be like and are meant to facilitate the imagining of a national community. Dispositions like nationally based in-group solidarity and out-group exclusion surface linguistically, for example, in pronominal choices (*us* vs. *them*; cf. Wodak et al. 1998: 68–71). Other discursive nationalisation strategies include the highlighting of the uniqueness of the nation, the construction of other nations as different, or the establishment of a common national past, present and future. However, the employment and negotiation of such strategies depends decisively on the communicative context (cf. Wodak 2006).

For the construction of an Austrian national identity, the role of language is problematic because German is primarily a symbol of GER as a nation, even though the Austrian constitution specifies German as national language. Obviously, Austrian nationalism has on the linguistic level not gone as far as national language separation. Voices that claim that Austrians speak a separate language are clearly in the minority. However, the promotion of a specific Austrian German standard variety is taking shape. When AUT joined the EU in 1995, Austrian German food terms were declared official alternatives to German German lexical items (e.g. Austrian German *Erdapfel* “potato”, *Karfiol* “cauliflower”, *Obers* “cream” vs. German German *Kartoffel*, *Blumenkohl*, *Sahne*; Wodak et al. 1998: 133–140). This provides evidence for the fact that an orientation to Europe can in some cases strengthen nationalistic tendencies in a similar fashion as it can create a higher visibility of ethnic minorities. However, as Wodak et al. (1998: 492–493) point out, the Austrian population shows only weak awareness of an Austrian German standard

variety and rather tends to take Austrian German dialects as symbols of national identity.

On the other hand, German has national Austrian prestige in the sense that it functions as the main criterion to distinguish “true” Austrians from other Austrians whose L1s are regional minority or immigrant languages (Wodak et al. 1998: 146). This documents once more that nationalistic ideologies go together with monolingual normativities (Millar 2005: 19) and that linguistic diversity is perceived as a threat to the nation. The intensity of this threat varies depending on the “othered” language. Prestigious allochthonous languages are relatively easily incorporated into the linguistic landscape without being perceived as a threat to national identity, while less prestigious allochthonous or autochthonous languages are more likely to be seen as a national problem.

Discourses of nationalism, and the normativities associated with them, have recently attracted the criticism of scholars who question the usefulness of national concepts in an increasingly globalised or, more specifically, Europeanised world (see e.g. Joseph 2010: 16). This critical line of reasoning is illustrated, for example, by Wright:

[A]t the end of a century in which nationalism is taken to have been a major factor in all the inter-state wars on the continent as well as in many intra-state conflicts, it would be inconceivable that nationalism should continue to attract unquestioning support. (Wright 2000: 10)

As critical voices on nationalism like these are becoming more pronounced, this leads to a clash between the academic treatment of nationalism and the (still) powerful repercussions of nationalism in contemporary societies across Europe. As Europe represents a space in which national structures are most highly entrenched, the weakening of such structures (if it does take place) should here be more noticeable, and more easily verifiable, than in other parts of the world. The empirical analyses in the present book (Chapters 4–8) set out to find linguistic evidence for such a weakening and de-essentialisation of the nation in the service of Europeanisation.

3.5 Language, Normativity and Europeanness

Of the three identity facets analysed in the present book, it can safely be claimed that the relationship between language and Europeanness has been studied to the least extent. This is, of course, due to the recency of Europeanisation, which started taking shape in the second half of the twentieth century and can in many ways be considered a process that was initiated in a top-down fashion, as a reaction to the cruelties of war that the heightened sense of nationalism had triggered in the preceding decades. A great deal of contemporary research in the humanities is concerned with the description of European identity formation (e.g. Borneman and Fowler 1997; Bottici and Challand 2013; Risse 2010). A central finding of such research is that the discursive formation of Europe as a transnational society differs significantly from national identity construction, and that normativity and, more specifically, normative shifts play a key role in Europeanisation.

Any attempt to formulate a European identity has to face the problem of defining what is actually meant by “Europe”. As Toolan points out, depending on which definitional criteria one applies, the resulting concept of Europe will vary:

Depending on whether you use political association, economic ties, geographical connection, defence ties, linguistic commonalities, shared recent history, ethnic similarity, and so on indefinitely, we can identify many different Europes, and these are neither all based on a common core nor without Europe-internal ‘non-European’ patches. The Europe of the twenty-seven EU states is but one of many Europes. But like others, it has a strong family resemblance with received ideas of Europe, and I think we must take it as common ground that such ideas are real and powerful. (Toolan 2007: 79–80)

Toolan’s work highlights Europe as a variable and negotiable concept, as a floating signifier that lacks a fixed essence, with the various notions of “Europe” exhibiting a certain family resemblance. While one can identify prototypically European patterns, not all of these patterns may be

fulfilled by certain versions of Europe, and there may not even be any stable characteristic that all notions of Europe have in common.

From a geographical perspective, Europe's border to Asia is notoriously difficult to draw. If one included political entities such as RUS or TUR, which geographically lie partly in Europe, the European territory would stretch widely into what is traditionally considered Asia. A political definition is even more problematic, as political circumstances change throughout time. Even if one accepts the EU as the central political European institution, one can identify various EU-related unions of countries. Compare, for example, the EU, which currently has 28 member states, with the Eurozone (19 countries) and the Schengen area (currently 26 countries, including the non-EU countries ISL, NOR and SUI). Definitions of Europe based on other criteria such as culture, religion or language are similarly problematic and add to the definitional variance of what counts as European.

As Europe cannot be easily defined by objective criteria, it may be of greater relevance to ask how European citizens conceptualise Europe. This is continuously studied within the EU in the so-called *Eurobarometer* studies. *Eurobarometer 71 "Future of Europe"* (European Commission 2010) presents the findings of a survey in which citizens of all EU countries were asked identity-related questions. The results document that national and regional identities are still most prominent for EU citizens, with 94 % and 91 % of the respondents aligning themselves with these identities. Identification with Europe is also relatively high (74 %) and on the rise (a growth of 3 % since the previous survey in 2008). This indicates that regional, national and European identities are not experienced as subtractive influences, as European identity affiliation rises without a concomitant decrease in national affiliation. The lowest degree of affiliation was achieved by the category global identity (64 %), which is also on the rise. The findings from the study, therefore, show that national and regional (often ethnic) identities increasingly face a co-presence of transnational identities.

The sense of European attachment varies across EU member states, ranging from 90 % in SLK down to 48 % in the UK (the only EU country that shows a European affiliation rate below 50 %). Moreover, European self-identification is more common among the youngest age

group (15–24 years) and well-educated subjects (European Commission 2010: 38).¹¹ When asked about the most important elements that make up a European identity, 41 % named “democratic values” followed by “geography” (25 %). Features that are traditionally associated with nationalism, that is, “common history” and “common culture”, ranked only fourth and fifth (European Commission 2010: 39). In a contrastive design that elicited from subjects what national versus European identities meant to them, remarkably similar answers were given for both identity types. The most prominent answers were “to feel national” (42 %) or “to feel European” (41 %) and “to be born in the country” (42 %) or “to be born in Europe” (39 %). Interestingly, the natively English-speaking countries IRL and UK show the lowest percentages of “feeling European” (23 % and 22 %, respectively). Aspects that were commonly named as pertaining to European identity include “to share European cultural traditions” (31 %), “to exercise citizens’ rights” (29 %), “to have been brought up in a European country” (27 %), and “to master any European language, in addition to your own language” (18 %) (European Commission 2010: 42, 46, 49–50).¹²

A more recent survey shows that identification with the EU is somewhat lower than with Europe. Sixty-one per cent of the EU population see themselves as citizens of the EU, with younger, more educated and white-collar subjects showing the highest rates (European Commission 2014: 99–101). This indicates that identification with the EU is mainly demonstrated by elite populations. Forty-eight per cent state that they identify primarily with their nation and secondarily with Europe. Five per cent prioritise their European over their national identification. Forty-two per cent of the EU subjects define themselves solely by their nationality, especially those who are older, working-class and less educated. Only 2 % define themselves exclusively as European (European Commission 2014: 103–107). Seventy-five per cent are of the opinion that peace and democracy are the most important achievements of the EU, and 67 % are proud of the EU having been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2012

¹¹ Regional and national identities show no such sociodemographic variation, which points to their stability (European Commission 2010: 36–37).

¹² Percentages for this aspect vary substantially in the individual countries, ranging from 7 % in ESP to 50 % in LUX (European Commission 2010: 48).

(European Commission 2012b: 13–14, 17–18). Other empirical studies (Fuss and Grosser 2006; Klonari 2013) present comparable findings.

Language-related investigations of Europeanness have surfaced mainly in three linguistic fields: Eurolinguistics, sociolinguistics and critical discourse studies. Eurolinguistics approaches questions of Europeanness from a structural, contrastive or language typological point of view (see e.g. Décsy 2002; Heine and Kuteva 2006; Stolz 2006, and the collections Hinrichs et al. 2009; Hinrichs 2010; Ureland 2013). As this line of research offers only limited associations between Europeanness and normativity and, as a consequence, has little relevance for the empirical analyses carried out in this book, it will here only be outlined in its basic tenets.

A central goal of Eurolinguistics is the description of Europe as a linguistic area. Incited by the enlargement of the EU and the fall of the Iron Curtain, Eurolinguistics was established with the aim of increasing a sense of European identity. Almost needless to say, this approach is less concerned with describing European identity, but more with creating it and with fostering the development of European unity and integration (Ureland 2005b: 14).¹³ To this aim, Eurolinguistics concentrates on the social dimension of intra-European language contact and European multilingualism, highlighting how European languages have influenced each other through transnational contacts between language users. This focus necessitates linguistic investigations that extend beyond the boundaries of individual philologies (Ureland 2005a: 1).

Of central interest to Eurolinguistics are similarities between European languages (so-called “Europeanisms”) and the diffusion of linguistic features across Europe as a linguistic area. Stolz (2006: 279–285) distinguishes three approaches to these phenomena: the egalitarian approach, the segregating approach and the centre versus periphery approach. The egalitarian approach is based on the premise that all European languages share certain features and display a sufficient degree of similarity (see e.g. Heine and Kuteva 2009). A significant component of this approach is the search for European linguistic universals, so-called “Europemes” or “Euro-versals” (Heine and Kuteva 2006: 13). However, so far we have no

¹³ For an overview of the history of Eurolinguistics, see Hinrichs (2009).

convincing evidence that there are features that are common to European languages exclusively (Heine and Kuteva 2006: 28), which means that the Europemes postulated are general universals rather than Euro-versals.

The segregating approach claims that structural similarity does not pertain to all European languages but rather to subsets of languages that form intra-European linguistic areas, so-called “Sprachbünde”. These linguistic areas show the distribution of certain features across language families or Indo-European sub-branches. Heine and Kuteva (2006), for example, use a diachronic typological approach to show that the way European languages have changed over time, namely from more synthetic-inflectional to more analytic (see contributions in Hinrichs 2004), constitutes a Europe-specific linguistic convergence process.¹⁴ Two linguistic areas within Europe that have been identified by this line of research are Standard Average European, consisting of Albanian, Dutch, French, German, Italian, Portuguese, Sardinian and Spanish (Haspelmath 2001; Heine and Kuteva 2006: 25) and the Balkan Sprachbund (comprising Albanian, Bulgarian, Greek, Macedonian and Romanian; König and Haspelmath 1999: 112).

The centre versus periphery approach is based on the notion that membership to Standard Average European is a matter of degree. That is, when a language shows many features of Standard Average European, it represents a prototypical member of this category, while languages that exhibit fewer such features form less prototypical members. Even though the prototypicality of a language varies to some extent with the selection of the features investigated, there is a tendency for French, German, Dutch and Italian (a combination sometimes called “Charlemagne Sprachbund”) to demonstrate the highest prototypicality degree in relation to Standard Average European, while European languages such as Basque, Maltese, Turkish and most Caucasus languages (except Georgian and Armenian) are peripheral members. An interesting finding is that English, from the point of view of European language typology, does not belong to the absolute core area (Haspelmath 2001: 1505; König and Haspelmath 1999: 126), which is in contrast to its dominant role as a pan-European lingua franca (see also Grzega 2010).

¹⁴ See Haspelmath (2001: 1506) for possible explanations for this convergence.

Sociolinguistics has mainly dealt with questions of European identity formation on the level of EU language policies, which have generally taken the slogan “unity in diversity” as an orientation point (see Ammon 2006a, b, 2008; Christiansen 2006; Gubbins 2002; Studer et al. 2010; van Els 2001; Wodak and Krzyżanowski 2011, and many more). Intranational and international multilingualism is considered a core feature of European culture (Extra and Gorter 2008). Individual and societal monolingualism today forms the exception rather than the rule across the globe.¹⁵ What is special about Europe’s relation to multilingualism is the fact that its heavily nationalised history has propagated monolingualism as the ideal, which creates a certain tension. In other words, whereas multilingualism is largely taken as normal and self-evident in other parts of the world, in Europe there is a need for it to be declared a cultural value in a top-down fashion.

As languages are never neutral entities, European multilingualism also has to face identity-based (i.e. ethnically or nationally motivated) and economy-driven conflicts of interest. The EU language policy tries to counter such conflicts by granting official status to one national language of each of its member states (today 24 languages in total). Speaker numbers are of no import to this practice. The EU languages Irish and Maltese, for example, have clearly lower speaker numbers than Catalan, which has only semi-official EU status.

There is a fundamental contradiction in this regulation. How can a language policy foster multilingualism (which after all is its declared aim) if it allows each country to choose only one of its languages as an official EU language? In doing so, the EU actually reinforces national structures as hardly any other international organisation (see also Brumfit 2006). Another contradiction becomes apparent when looking at which languages are used for which purposes in EU institutions. Even though all EU languages are officially equal in their status, this equality has been found to be nothing more than fiction. All EU languages are only used in more public and formal contexts (i.e. the European Parliament

¹⁵ See Millar (2005: 22–27) for a description of the extreme circumstances under which monolingualism develops. *Eurobarometer 243* documents that linguistic minorities exist in all EU countries (European Commission 2006: 2).

and the European Council of Ministers), whereas in the more informal contexts of internal bureaucracy only a small number of languages are used: English in first position, French in second position (but already far behind, with a decreasing tendency), and German, Spanish and Italian used only marginally (Ammon 2006a). A similar situation pertains to the European Commission, where officially all EU languages should be used, but de facto only a limited number of working languages is employed (Krzyżanowski 2010: 137). One can conclude from this situation that, even though it seems unlikely that English will replace national languages on the national level (leaving aside the influence of English on these languages), there are clear signs of this happening on the transnational European level.

In the early years of the European Economic Community (EEC), it was the French language that dominated the picture. French enjoyed a history as a language of diplomacy (e.g. as the sole official language of the European Coal and Steel Community) and was a national language of three of the six EEC founder states (BEL, FRA, GER, ITA, LUX, NED). But after the joining of DAN, IRL and UK in 1973, English started to gain ground, which caused FRA to adopt a heavily purist policy against the spread of English and the influence of English on French (cf. Braselmann 2005). Later accessions of non-Francophone countries further supported the use of English (Nic Craith 2006: 46–48). Despite the fact that German is the language with the largest number of native speakers in the EU, it has never played a significant role in the competition for becoming Europe’s main *lingua franca*.¹⁶

Although English in practice dominates as an EU working language, continuing language-related rivalries between member states (Ammon 2006a: 330–332) are likely to preclude an official English-only policy for the EU. In the absence of a “neutral” language that could be used as a *lingua franca*, the implementation of translation services is the price the EU has to pay. The official protection of linguistic diversity also has to be seen as a strategy to differentiate the EU from the US and its (former) “melting pot” ideology.

¹⁶According to *Eurobarometer 243*, 18 % of EU citizens are native speakers of German, followed by English, Italian (both 13 %) and French (12 %) (European Commission 2006: 4).

The EU has recently promoted the learning of European languages as foreign languages. This strategy is meant to support multilingualism as a European cultural value and efficient intra-European communication. It can further be legitimised on democratic (linguistic human rights), economic (language competence as a form of capital), and ecological grounds (countering language loss and linguistic domain loss; Lüdi 2002: 15–17). The envisaged goal is for all EU citizens to have three languages at their disposal: their L1 for national communication, a language for regional intra-European communication, and a language for wider international communication. Critical voices have pointed out that an uncritical promotion of multilingualism is biased in the sense that it takes the social milieu of cosmopolitan, European intelligentsia (i.e. researchers' own social background) as a point of orientation and extends its values to other population segments which may be less inclined to learn (several) foreign languages (Wright 2000: 237). Furthermore, the promotion of European multilingualism de facto boils down to a promotion of a handful of larger languages which are popularly learnt as foreign languages (English, French, German, Italian, Spanish). The learning of other European languages remains at best marginal, a situation which has been described as “hegemonic multilingualism” (Wodak 2010: 25).

Significant work remains if the three-language goal is ever to be achieved. According to the *Special Eurobarometer 243 “Europeans and their Languages”* (European Commission 2006), only 28 % of the EU citizens consulted stated that they could speak at least two foreign languages. Fifty-six per cent said they could speak at least one foreign language, which also means that 44 % do not see themselves in a position to hold a conversation in any foreign language (the Anglophone countries IRL and UK showing the highest figures: 66 % and 62 % respectively). English is the most popular foreign language across Europe, with 38 % of the EU citizens claiming that they can speak it. Foreign languages are overwhelmingly acquired at school, increasingly on the primary education level. Seventy-seven per cent of the subjects name English as their first foreign language. French is popular in the natively Anglophone countries (IRL, UK) and in countries with a Romance language tradition. German has a stronger presence as a foreign language in Eastern Europe (e.g. in CZE and HUN), Russian in the Baltic states.

In order to be able to identify developments, the same study was replicated six years later (*Special Eurobarometer 386 “Europeans and their Languages”*; European Commission 2012a), showing that in fact not much progress has been made with respect to reaching the EU’s envisaged three-language goal. By contrast, EU citizens on average even showed a slight decrease in their foreign language competences (54 % speaking at least one and 25 % at least two foreign languages), which may indicate that a saturation point has been reached (European Commission 2012a: 7). While English competences remain stable at 38 %, the overall decline in foreign language competences affects the other languages, especially French, German and Russian (European Commission 2012a: 11).

In general, more foreign languages are learnt in smaller countries (whose national languages are not usually languages of wider communication), and in the north of Europe compared to the south. The typical multilingual European is young, well-educated, resident in another country than the one he or she was born in, and uses foreign languages in his or her profession. Only one out of five EU citizens is an active language learner. However, the benefit of foreign language learning is generally recognised (all findings in this paragraph: European Commission 2006).

However, European multilingualism does not just involve foreign languages and those languages that enjoy national or EU language status. According to Ammon (2003b), about fifty autochthonous minority languages (such as Breton in FRA or Sorbian in GER) and an indefinite number of exogenous (immigrant) languages (such as Hindi or Turkish) are spoken in Europe. Minority languages are protected by the *European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages* (EBLUL) and the *European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages* (see Nic Craith 2006: 75–80). The growing influence of the EU as a transnational body has in many contexts led to a strengthening of regional issues, for example, in the form of institutional support for minority language communities (Caviedes 2003: 260; Wright 2000: ch. 8). Since the 1990s, the protection of ethnic minorities has also been a declared prerequisite for EU accession (Schreiner 2006: 109). Immigrant languages, however, do not normally receive EU support despite the fact that there are, for example, more speakers of Turkish than of Danish in the EU. This makes the EU’s commitment to multilingualism a highly selective business (Ammon 2003b: 394–395).

Overall, the language constellation of Europe shows the following hierarchy: (1) English and French as (*de facto*¹⁷) EU working languages, (2) the remaining 22 EU languages (Bulgarian, Croatian, Czech, Danish, Dutch, Estonian, Finnish, German, Greek, Hungarian, Irish, Italian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Maltese, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Slovak, Slovenian, Spanish and Swedish), (3) national languages of non-EU countries (e.g. Albanian, Bosnian, Icelandic, Montenegrin, Norwegian, Serbian), (4) regional languages with semi-official status in the EU (Basque, Catalan, Galician), (5) acknowledged indigenous minority languages (e.g. Scottish Gaelic in the UK, Sorbian in GER), (6) unacknowledged indigenous minority languages (e.g. Romani in most European countries), and (7) exogenous minority languages (e.g. Hindi in the UK, Turkish in GER) (Ammon 2006b: 221–222).¹⁸

English has become the dominant European language despite the fact that its spread is generally considered to privilege the Anglophone member states. The smaller non-Anglophone language communities are not often heard to protest against this situation. They are unlikely to promote their own languages to the status of a language of wider communication, and supporting languages other than English would mean an extra burden of foreign language learning for them. Protests mainly come from larger European language communities, which want to prevent their languages from losing their *lingua franca* function (Ammon 2006a: 323).

Even though the continuing spread of English as a European *lingua franca* is often criticised, it must be acknowledged that the use of English as a foreign language by Europeans is neither automatically in opposition to multilingualism nor a threat to it, especially not if one takes the widely propagated goal of the EU that citizens should master three European languages seriously. If one accepts the L1 and English as two such languages, there is still space for one more foreign language (in the case of English native speakers even for two). Some scholars consider the ongoing spread of English as a sign of Anglo-American neo-colonialism. According to them, English constitutes a killer language that causes the extinction of smaller languages

¹⁷ Officially, all EU languages are called “working languages” (Ammon 2006a: 321).

¹⁸ Ammon (2006b: 222) also includes varieties of debated language status (e.g. Scots) and dialects further down in the hierarchy.

and a substantial loss of the world's linguistic diversity—a development that is also claimed to be relevant for Europe (see Phillipson 2003; Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1997). These scholars tend to base their arguments on a notion of linguistic diversity as a cultural value in need of protection. Positive as this may seem at first glance, this reasoning is often quite detached from the actual needs of language users (see also Edwards 2009: 245; Joseph 2004: 23). The global spread of English clearly demonstrates that we do not actually lose linguistic diversity as such, but rather witness the emergence of new forms of linguistic diversity, be it in the shape of new outer circle varieties or in terms of the linguistic heterogeneity and hybridity exhibited by lingua franca uses of English (e.g. Cogo and Dewey 2012; Jenkins 2007; Motschenbacher 2013a; Seidlhofer 2011). Accordingly, recent work has highlighted the fact that a realistic European language policy can only take shape if the central role of English as a lingua franca (ELF) for intra-European communication is acknowledged and adequately reflected (e.g. Cogo and Jenkins 2010).

The phenomenon of ELF has recently been studied in great detail, often in relation to Europe as a linguistic space (see e.g. Cogo and Dewey 2012; House 2008; Jenkins 2007; Seidlhofer 2011). At ESC press conferences, for example, ELF represents the default language choice, with the majority of the participants being non-native users of English (Motschenbacher 2013a). It is obvious that in these interactions, normative notions of standard and nativeness orientation play only a limited role and that, at the same time, the issues of efficient communication and transnational European identity stylisation are strongly foregrounded. Purist normativities are questioned by the way language is used at the press conferences, as the use of ELF exhibits hybridity in the sense that transfer patterns and material from other languages frequently surface in these conversations.

The discursive side of European identity formation has been analysed in a range of discourse analytic studies (e.g. Carta and Wodak 2015; Cramer 2010; Diez 1999; Galasińska and Galasiński 2007; Grad 2008; Krzyżanowski 2009, 2010; Toolan 2007; Wodak 2003a, b, 2004, 2007a, b, 2010; Wodak and Angouri 2014; Wodak and Puntischer Riekmann 2003; Wodak and Weiss 2002, 2004, 2005; Wodak and Wright 2007).

In the following, a selection of such studies is discussed in order to draw attention to central aspects of the discursive construction of European identities documented in this field of research.¹⁹

Wodak's (2004) analysis of interviews with EU officials (members of the European Parliament and the European Commission) revealed that identity work in that context was not a matter of choice between European and national affiliations. The majority of officials self-identified as European and national at the same time ("*I am European and I am Dutch*"; Wodak 2004: 105), which bears witness to the fact that the two types of identities are not experienced as subtractive—a finding that has also been repeatedly documented in other studies (see Fuss and Grosser 2006; Toolan 2007: 81). In fact, a national rooting was widely perceived as a prerequisite to European identity. However, the EU officials also voiced their experience that in EU politics national interests often stand in the way of European interests (Wodak 2004: 109). Interestingly, some of the officials exhibited a stronger affiliation with a transnational European sub-region (such as Scandinavia) than with Europe as a whole (Wodak 2004: 120–121).

Another finding of CDS-based studies is that European identity construction may partly exhibit similarities to national identity construction with respect to the discursive strategies employed (Wodak and Puntischer Riekmann 2003: 284–286).²⁰ These include the construction of a common European history (and future) and a contrasting of a European in-group (*we*) with a non-European out-group (*them*), the latter mainly referring to the US and Japan (Wodak 2004: 122–123). However, inclusion and exclusion are not static as far as European identity construction is concerned, but may fluctuate contextually, depending on the dimensions on which they are based (religion, language, culture, ethnicity, etc.; Wodak and Puntischer Riekmann 2003: 287).

Many of the CDS-related studies on European identity formation, including those outlined in the preceding paragraphs, focus on identity construction in (overtly) political contexts (see also Krizsán 2011;

¹⁹ A more detailed overview can be found in Krzyżanowski (2010: 50–65).

²⁰ On the non-linguistic level, this point can be made about common EU symbols, such as the EU flag, the European anthem (Beethoven's *Ode to Joy*), the EU common passport, the Euro as a common currency and the annual Day of Europe on May 9 (Bruter 2008: 39–40).

Krzyżanowski 2010; Wodak 2009, and the contributions in Carta and Wodak 2015; Fløttum 2013 and Mole 2007). Consequently, their findings describe mainly a top-down picture of Europeanisation, that is, a normative vision of what Europeanness should be like from the point of view of the EU. Studies that focus on bottom-up processes of European identity formation are more rarely found, but may represent a more direct point of comparison for the ESC data analysed in this book.

Toolan (2007), for example, analysed telephone calls to a local radio station in Birmingham with respect to European identity construction. What he finds is first of all an almost complete absence of European constructions. He takes this as evidence that (so far) European identity discourses do not permeate people's everyday lives and appear to be in the background compared to more local kinds of identification (see also Meyer 2008: 19). This, in turn, does not rule out that people may sometimes find themselves in contexts in which Europeanness is salient, but these are probably still the exception rather than the rule.

Galasińska and Galasiński (2007) conducted a study in which they interviewed inhabitants on the Polish side of the German–Polish border community Görlitz-Zgorzelec. POL is a relatively recent EU member, and this was reflected in the way people in Zgorzelec position their country in relation to the EU. In this context, national and European identities turn out to be less well compatible. On the one hand, the EU is considered to be similar to the former Soviet Union, namely as a (Germany-headed) superpower dominating POL (Galasińska and Galasiński 2007: 98). On the other hand, Poles construct their country as being too backwards and therefore not ready to be part of the EU (Galasińska and Galasiński 2007: 103). These two mechanisms lead to a rejection of the EU among the older generations. It is only the younger generation that seems to view the EU in a more positive light and as a chance to escape “negatively perceived Polishness” (Galasińska and Galasiński 2007: 110). Just like other studies dealing with national constructions of Europeanness, this work illustrates that visions of Europe may be constructed through a national filter that is often an obstacle to transnational European efforts. Krzyżanowski (2010: 133–164) demonstrates the media's use of this national filter in a study of European coverage in newspapers from FRA, GER, POL and the UK. He detects that these national media construct a

distorted and nationally strategic picture of a European duality. Europe as a union of nations, cultures and languages is described in a positive fashion, as an inclusive space. EU institutions, by contrast, are portrayed in a negative light, for example, as chaotic, conflict-ridden and lacking values.

Studies that analyse the discursive construction of the EU in national newspapers form a relevant point of comparison for the present book, because they focus in a similar way on public media contexts. Petraškaitė-Pabst (2010), for example, investigated discursive constructions of EU enlargement in the German and Lithuanian press, identifying the wealth of metaphors that are used to make the EU more tangible for European citizens. In the German print media, construction and building metaphors are centrally employed to conceptualise the process of European integration and unification. Another common metaphorical pattern is the construction of the EU as a family, suggesting that old and new member states “naturally” belong together and that EU enlargement, therefore, is a process of family reunification. In the Lithuanian newspapers, the EU is constructed as an express train to a better future or as a wealthy bridegroom. Lithuanian EU integration is conceptualised as a journey or in terms of education, with the EU acting as a strict teacher and LIT as a pupil who has to learn, carries out homework tasks and is subject to the teacher’s evaluation. The role of FRA and GER as central promoters of European enlargement is commonly expressed by means of engine metaphors.

Vaara (2014) offers a critical discourse analysis of Finnish newspaper articles covering the recent upsurge of the financial crisis of the Eurozone, and of GRE more specifically. The crisis is connected to questions concerning the legitimacy of the EU as a transnational European institution. The use of legitimisation strategies in this Finnish newspaper data surfaces in the construction of a “belief that Europeans have common values and interests that transcend national identity” (Vaara 2014: 506). By contrast, a strategy of delegitimation was also identified, which draws on national stereotypes of Finns as a trustworthy and hard-working in-group (*us*) versus Greeks as an opportunistic and morally questionable out-group (*them*) (Vaara 2014: 511). Strategies drawing on such nationalist discourses in general possess a delegitimising force for Europeanisation and make cross-European solidarity-building more difficult.

Studies in the tradition of discourse analysis demonstrate that European identity is just as much a matter of discursive construction as national identities, a process that Wodak (2007a) describes with the phrase “doing Europe”. Another point that is documented by this research is that the discursive construction of European identity is not monolithic but subject to competing discourses, and varies significantly across (historical, national, domain-specific) contexts. Despite the illuminating findings of earlier work in CDS, it must be acknowledged that this research tends to focus on a relatively narrow aspect of Europeanisation, namely the discursive construction of the EU. The present study complements such earlier work in a number of interesting ways. Firstly, it can be assumed that Europeanness is constructed differently in a pan-European pop-music competition compared to EU political contexts. Secondly, the ESC is explicitly celebrated as a pan-European media event in which viewers across Europe “share the moment” (to echo the motto of the ESC 2010 in Oslo). This facilitates relatively immediate forms of co-participation and interactive identity negotiation, for example, through televoting or social media. These aspects provide an indication which identity performances are perceived to be more or less in line with European citizens’ concept of Europeanness. Thirdly, the ESC has the potential to appeal to a broad range of European citizens. This is all the more important as previous research found that a sense of European identity has so far primarily been developed among Europeans belonging to higher socioeconomic classes (Fuss and Grosser 2006: 238). It is likely that for many viewers, the ESC nights form the central annual opportunity to directly experience the idea of Europeanness.

3.6 The Linguistics of Staged Performance

The notion of performance is a highly influential one in linguistics, not the least due to Chomsky’s theorisation of “performance” as actual language use versus “competence” as the cognitively based, abstract linguistic system available to native speakers of a language. However, this

concept of performance is not the one that is relevant in this context. Rather, “performance” is used here with respect to the fact that the ESC represents a context in which linguistic practices form components of artistic, (explicitly) staged performances, that is, communicative events that are also widely perceived to be “performances” by non-linguists. The use of language in such staged performances is subject to idiosyncratic mechanisms which are briefly outlined in the present chapter (for a more detailed elaboration, see Bell and Gibson 2011).

Staged performance can be defined as follows:

Staged performance is the overt, scheduled identification and elevation (usually literally) of one or more people to perform, typically on a stage, or in a stage-like area such as the space in front of a camera or microphone. It normally involves a clearly visible and instantiated distinction between performer and audience. Prototypically, staged performance occurs through genres such as a play, concert or religious service, and in venues dedicated to such presentations – a theatre, concert hall or place of worship. (Bell and Gibson 2011: 557)

This definition highlights the pre-planned, and often pre-announced, character of staged performances, which contrasts with the preference for naturally occurring, spontaneous linguistic data in traditional sociolinguistics (Bucholtz 2003: 405–406). Moreover, it draws attention to the central role of the audience in staged performance. In fact, staged performances are not just enacted *in front of* but *for* a certain audience, that is, they cater for the (assumed) communicative needs, interests and expectations of an imagined audience. This is clearly also true for ESC performances, as they are pre-planned, carefully rehearsed and pre-announced, and stage identities of which artists assume that they will resonate with the Europe-wide mass audience.

The audience of a staged performance is generally meant to evaluate the performance by subjecting it to a scrutinising gaze, and this evaluation forms an integral part of communicative negotiation between the performing and the receiving communicative party. More specifically, staged performances tend to invite recipients to engage in critical reflexivity and metalinguistic commentary.

The linguistic performances found in the ESC are part of multimodal communicative acts that involve various types of visual and auditive signification (costumes, hairstyle, make-up, choreography, music) in addition to (mainly sung) language. They possess an extraordinarily high communicative reach, as they are staged for thousands of audience members in the venue hall, for a Europe-wide TV audience that comprises almost 200 million viewers, and for a large audience that buys the DVD release of the show. These different audience types have specific feedback options at their disposal, which may in turn have an influence on the signification practices used in future ESC performances. The hall audience can immediately respond to a performance by various types of audible and visible feedback, including applause, clapping, dancing, screaming, shouting, whistling or booing. The television viewers can voice their feedback during the show by means of televoting. Finally, the least immediate and least direct feedback types are viewing rates and sales figures (TV and internet viewers of the live broadcast, online video clicks, CD and DVD sales, downloads), which can also provide evidence of the reception of the performances in the time after the contest.

Staged linguistic performances show a tendency to draw on stylisation practices that are exaggerated or (deliberately) inauthentic to achieve a certain effect. They heavily build on the performativity of linguistic features, that is, the identity-indexing potential that such features have acquired across earlier linguistic performances (see Silverstein 2005), and often use them in ways that are incoherent with more traditional usage types. The latter mechanism is made possible by the liminality that is generally associated with artful performance, which gives artists the freedom to express a variety of identity-related messages, ranging from serious self-identification with the identity indexed by certain features, to more playful or mocking modes of linguistic representation that enable artists to question identities. Even though such practices are unlikely to be imitated by recipients, they may still have more subtle effects on the direction of social change, as they form an additional voice in the public negotiation of what counts as “normal” or “desirable” in a given context.

As pointed out by Bell and Gibson (2011: 559), staged performance operates at the interface of structure and agency. Performances

are structured by powerful essentialist identity-related discourses, from which language features draw a great deal of their meaning potential. However, performers possess agency in the sense that they can choose on which discourses they draw in their performances and how they do this, thereby selecting from communicative alternatives that are associated with various messages. In addition to this, the context of staged performance gives them greater licence to question or twist dominant discursive structures in their artistic practices.

3.7 Analysing ESC Performances

The primary focus of the analyses in the empirical chapters of this book (Chapters 4–8) is on the question of how Europeanness is “done” via language in ESC performances. Linguistic practices are, for this purpose, viewed as a matter of ideologically significant choices whose implications are not necessarily self-evident and need to be exposed by discourse analysis (Cameron 2001: 51). More specifically, it will be investigated how the discursive construction of nationalism and sexuality intersects with Europeanisation, and how linguistic practices are involved in the discursive construction of Europe-related normativities.

The analyses conducted in the following chapters range from more quantitative procedures (e.g. for the description of language choice strategies, the development of European, national and sexual identity constructions over time, and intertextual patterns) to more qualitative approaches (e.g. in the analysis of code-switching practices, non-normative sexual construction and the interaction between linguistic and audiovisual identity construction). At first glance, the incorporation of quantitative methods in a poststructuralist-minded project may be met with reservation (Baker 2005: 10–11). However, category-based, quantitative approaches are not automatically ruled out in such a framework. Identity construction is always about the construction of an essence, so there must be some space for dealing with the expression of such essentialist ideas within identity negotiation processes. Identities are performative, as they rely to a certain extent on the re-citation of essentialising,

and thus quantifiable, stylisation practices. Still, quantification is in a poststructuralist project weakened in the sense that it is not claimed to possess a higher level of objectivity and is (merely) accorded the status of one among many approaches that sheds a particular light on the research object. A crucial aspect is the continued questioning of the quantified categories, keeping in mind that they regularly cover up “problematic” category members (e.g. prototype effects and incoherences). This is why the quantitative analyses in this project are complemented by qualitative analyses.

Quantitative analyses of ESC performances prove to be a particularly valuable tool for identifying changes over time or the strength or normativity degree of a certain discourse. On the other hand, micro-level qualitative analyses of individual performances are particularly important for the study of the discursive construction of those identity aspects that are traditionally considered less or non-normative, but may still play a role in contemporary Europeanisation in terms of normative shifts.

Among the various schools of CDS (see Wodak et al. 1998: 41–42; Wodak and Meyer 2009), it is the discourse-historical approach (Reisigl and Wodak 2009) that has inspired the present study, partly because substantial earlier work on the discursive construction of national and European identities was carried out in this line of research (see overviews in Sects. 3.4 and 3.5). Another reason is that this approach emphasises the historical background of language use and discursive changes over time—aspects that are highly relevant to the discussion of Europeanisation. An additional aspect that figures prominently in the discourse-historical approach is the incorporation of ethnographic fieldwork (cf. Krzyżanowski 2011). Accordingly, the analysis of the collected video and corpus data is considerably enriched by participatory observation of ESC press conferences, rehearsals and delegation parties, namely during research stays at the ESC venues in Helsinki (May 2007), Belgrade (May 2008) and Oslo (May 2010). Further insights have been gained from participatory observation of ESC fan communities, mainly in the context of the two German fanclubs *Eurovision Club Germany* and *OGAE Germany*.

The analyses of ESC performances rest on a database that consists of videos of all contests that have been staged up to 2015.²¹ Based on this material, a linguistic dataset was compiled for the purposes of the present study, the *ESC Lyrics Corpus* (ESC-LY). As the research project on which this book is based terminated in 2011, this corpus contains all lyrics performed in the ESC from 1956 to 2010 (a total of 1195 texts).²² Material from more recent contests is also integrated, though it does not (always) form part of the systematic quantitative analyses. The corpus was set up with the help of the online database *The Diggiloo Thrush*²³, an archive containing the lyrics of all Eurovision songs from 1956 to 2013, together with English translations of the non-English texts. The texts extracted from the archive were compared and adapted to the lyrics used in the actual ESC performances. For texts sung by several artists, the transcript marks which passage is sung by which performer(s), using speaker codes in the following way: [M1:] (for first male singer), [F3:] (for third female singer) and so on; [B:] (for both singers in a duo), [A:] (for all singers, if more than two). The corpus material is highly multilingual and comprises texts in all major and many smaller European languages (see Chapter 4).

Pop song lyrics have only recently become a well-studied linguistic data type. Various reasons can be identified for linguists' initial scepticism to consider lyrics as useful data. Firstly, song lyrics generally do not constitute a spontaneous form of language use (Pennycook 2003: 529). On the contrary, they are carefully crafted, often with a certain communicative intention and/or commercial success in mind. At the same time, this means that studying pop song lyrics as a motivated form of language use can be enlightening with respect to how language is instrumentalised to achieve certain goals. Secondly, pop songs are widely perceived to be trivial, as they are stereotypically associated with love as a central topic and often seem to avoid references to political issues and social developments. However, the changes in love songs over time may be expected to reflect broader social changes, for example, in terms of gender- and sexuality-related discourses

²¹ For the contests in 1956 and 1964, only audio data is available.

²² For contests after 2003, the corpus also includes the semi-final performances that did not manage to qualify for the final. The international preselection shows in 1993 and 1996 were excluded because they were not broadcast.

²³ Website link: www.diggiloo.net (accessed 23 September 2015)

(Machin 2010: 11). Thirdly, pop music as music for the masses is often viewed as the epitome of capitalism, lacking the authenticity of artistic creativity that is sometimes attributed to other musical genres, such as hip-hop, folk or indie rock (see e.g. Pennycook 2007: 96–97 for a discussion of Eurovision songs vis-à-vis hip-hop). Still, it needs to be noted that pop music “can be said to have influenced the social, cultural and linguistic habits of several generations of human beings since the 1950s” (Morini 2013: 284) and can therefore be considered to provide relevant evidence for changes in language and society.

While song lyrics are notably absent from most large-scale corpora (Kreyer and Mukherjee 2007: 31), recent research has recognised their influence on the formation of socially circulating discourses and has increasingly studied them in their own right. Various strands of research can be identified in this respect. Some studies have concentrated on the question of how the register of pop song lyrics differs linguistically from other registers, often by comparing pop lyrics corpora to major reference corpora (e.g. Bértoli-Dutra 2014; Kreyer 2012, 2015; Kreyer and Mukherjee 2007; Werner 2012). Others have compared British and American English usage in pop songs (e.g. Simpson 1999; Trudgill 1980; Werner 2012) or taken a qualitative look at culture- or genre-specific types of lyrics (e.g. Lee 2004; Moody 2006; Pennycook 2003). The applied linguistic dimension of pop song lyrics has been explored in studies on their usefulness for English language teaching (e.g. Murphey 1990). Finally, work in the CDS tradition has studied pop songs as a multimodal genre, incorporating not just verbal but also non-verbal modes of construction (musical and visual semiotics in performances and video clips; e.g. Machin 2010; Morini 2013).

Pop songs mediate between the public and the private, since they produce an intimisation of public space (Frith 2006: 160–161; Stoeva-Holm 2005: 37). They achieve this, for example, by incorporating various features of spoken language use (despite being scripted texts) and through mimicking practices of individual address, even though they talk to a mass audience. Although lyrics constitute in principle a monologic form of communication, they may invite (less immediate) interaction via reception practices. Eurovision songs, for example, may cause recipients to vote or not to vote, to buy a CD or not to buy a CD, to interpret and comment on a performance in a certain way, and so on. As a consequence,

ESC entries can be understood as communicative offers that may evoke various reactions in different parts of the audience, which in turn may have an impact on the songs performed in later contests. The construction of Europeanness in ESC songs is, therefore, not free-floating but based on representational practices of earlier ESC performances and their evaluation in relation to the Europeanness of the context.

ESC performances are in the present study not evaluated with respect to their aesthetic or artistic quality. The analysis concentrates on their identity-indexing potential, as they can be assumed to form a central driving force for the re-imagining of identities more generally (see also Pennycook 2007: 82–83) and Europeanisation more specifically. Seen from this point of view, it is a particular strength of the ESC lyrics data that they have generally been created with a European audience in mind. Concrete linguistic (and audiovisual) representational features of ESC performances can therefore be thought of as motivated semiotic choices whose discursive effects can be uncovered by critical discourse analysis.

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4

Language Choice Practices in the ESC

4.1 ESC Language Policy

Language choice practices represent sociolinguistic macro-choices that constitute acts of identity (Coulmas 2006; Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985). In the ESC, language choice is an important means of identity construction because it is likely to be decoded as identity-relevant even if recipients have no command of the respective language. Thus the choice of a certain language activates semantic layers (such as national affiliation or transnational European affiliation) that work independently of the denotational content of the words used in the lyrics. Apart from identity-oriented functions, language choice in pop songs can be influenced by issues of international comprehensibility and, often connected with this, commercial success. If artists aim at an international market, English is generally a more effective choice than other languages, which in turn may be more successful on national markets (see Larkey 2000; McCann and Ó Laoire 2003; Survilla 2003).

The present chapter focuses on language choice practices in ESC performances and their historical development. These practices are not just a means of identity construction on the ESC stage but, as noted by Ivković

(2013), also a salient discussion topic among recipients of the contest. In a study of (folk linguistic) comments on ESC performances on the online video platform YouTube, Ivković found that users discuss language choice strategies in relation to various arguments, which echo competing and partly contrasting language-related discourses: the affective function of a language, the instrumental function of a language for increasing chances of winning the contest, the wider communicative reach of ELF and the symbolic national function of a language (for expressing distinctiveness and countering anglicisation; Ivković 2013: 11–12).

Among the seven countries participating in the first contest in 1956, four have French as a national language (BEL, FRA, LUX, SUI), and this group was joined by MON in 1959. This caused a clear dominance of French on the ESC stage. In 1956, for example, seven out of fourteen songs were sung in French, and up to the 1960s, it was common that up to five French-language songs participated in the contest.

French and English are the two official working languages of the EBU and have until recently been used in tandem for the presentation of the contest and the voting announcements.¹ However, the development of the use of these two languages in the contest parallels that of English and French as EU working languages, that is, the role of English has increased to the detriment of French. For example, the contest used to have two official names, *Grand Prix Eurovision de la Chanson* and *Eurovision Song Contest*, of which the English name is normally used today. A gradual shift from French to English can also be detected when monitoring the development of language choice in the voting announcements (1958–1970; 1974–2010²). Figure 4.1 shows how many countries used English and French to announce their points throughout the years. It is evident that the two languages were in competition up until the 1970s. French was in general somewhat more prominent until 1963. The language choice patterns

¹In 1957 and 1983, when the contest was staged in GER, German was also partly used in the presentation of the contest. Similarly, Hebrew and Irish were used to some extent when the contest was organised by ISR and IRL in the past. The most multilingual presentation probably took place at the ESC 1967 in Vienna, when host *Erika Vaal* welcomed the audience in English, French, German, Italian, Polish, Russian and Spanish.

²In 1956, only the winner but no points were announced. In 1957, points were announced in English, French or German. From 1971 to 1973, points were not announced by national spokespersons. All of these years have been omitted in Fig. 4.1.

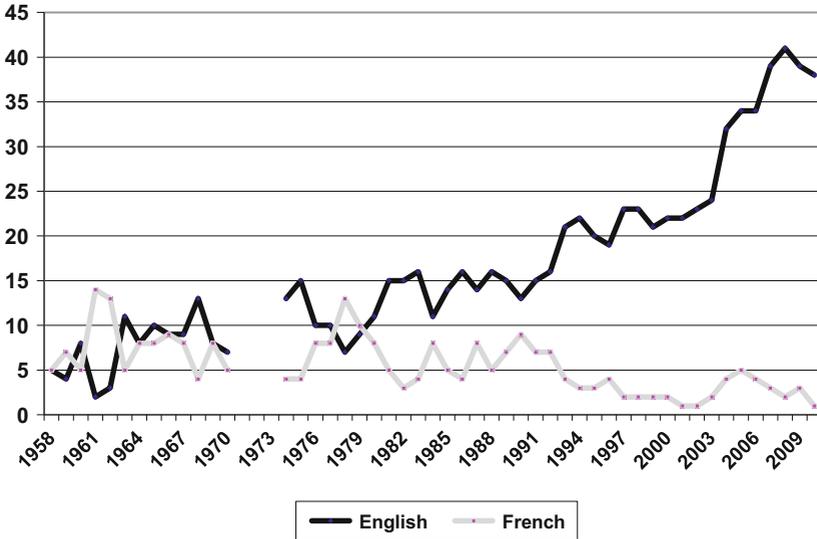


Fig. 4.1 Language choice in ESC voting announcements (1958–1970; 1974–2010)

in the early phase of the contest exhibited a certain degree of accommodation, depending on where the contest was staged in a particular year. When a French-speaking country hosted the contest (which was frequently the case in the early decades), more national spokespersons used French when announcing their points, and a similar pattern held for the use of English with Anglophone host countries. From 1980 onwards, the share of English steadily increased to the detriment of French. This trend has become particularly pronounced since the mid-1990s, as many new (non-Francophone, Eastern European) countries joined the Eurovision family. The only two countries that have until 2010 always given their points in French are MON, which currently is no longer participating, and FRA. This means that today virtually all countries (including Francophone countries such as AND, BEL and SUI) use English for announcing their votes. Apparently, this evolving (largely non-native) English hegemony is not perceived as a negative aspect or as being in conflict with the Europeanness of the context. In ESC press conferences, English is today the only working language. When languages other than English are used, the national delegations are required to provide a translation.

In recent years, the contest presenters have also metalinguistically commented on the use of French as a working language during the show, often in quite disparaging ways. This is even more remarkable if one considers that the presenters' conversations are carefully planned in advance. Two such instances (provided below) occurred when the three presenters of the ESC 2015 in Vienna, *Arabella Kiesbauer*, *Mirjam Weichselbraun* and *Alice Tumler*, introduced the first semi-final:

Arabella: *They will bring life to our motto Building Bridges with a shared language that everybody understands.*

Mirjam: *French?*
[audience laughs]

Arabella: *Music.*

Mirjam: *Yes, music. [...]*

In this first passage, the hosts are making fun of French, humorously identified as “a language that everybody understands”—a notion to which the audience in the hall reacts with laughter. The joke crucially hinges on the perception that French is today no longer a language with a wide communicative reach.

Arabella: [...] *Well, that's it for now. Anything you want to say ladies?*

Mirjam: *Mais oui, maintenant on recommence tout en français.*
“Well yes, now we start all again in French.”

Alice: *Mais non. [winks]* “Oh, no.”

Mirjam: *Non?* “No?”

Alice: *Croyez-moi, les téléspectateurs n'attendent qu'une seule chose, c'est que la compétition commence.*

“Believe me, the TV viewers are waiting only for one single thing, namely that the competition starts.”

Arabella: *Tu as raison. Alors, qu'est-ce qu'on attend? Trois, deux, un...*

“You are right. So what are we waiting for? Three, two, one...”

All: *Let the Eurovision Song Contest begin.*

The second passage took place some minutes later in the presentation, after the basic regulations of the contest had been pointed out in English to the audience. Traditionally, one would expect that the regulations are also explicated in French as the second official working language of the

contest. In fact, Mirjam also orients to this normative stance in her utterances, firstly by providing an introduction to such a translation (*Mais oui, maintenant on recommence tout en français.*), and secondly by expressing astonishment when Alice states that a French translation is not necessary (*Non?*). Alice's winking suggests a tacit bonding between her and the audience. This construction blatantly ignores Francophone audience segments, which may be less convinced that a French translation is not needed. In her following turn, Alice continues this overgeneralisation by saying that the viewers in general (*les téléspectateurs*) are waiting for the contest to start, which implicitly constructs a French translation as a waste of precious time. She even specifically addresses the Francophone audience segments to the exclusion of other viewers, by speaking in French. In other words, the group of viewers that is least likely to favour an omission of a French translation is most directly confronted with the idea that the use of French in the contest represents an obstacle, while the use of English is suggested to be in everyone's interest.

In terms of language choice on the ESC stage, a major difference between the language policy of the EU and that of the ESC results from the fact that the former allows the nomination of only one official language per country, while the regulations of the ESC formerly permitted the use of all national languages and today impose no restrictions whatsoever on language choice in ESC performances. Certain languages that have no official status in the EU or are only recognised as semi-official or minority languages have been used in the competition as national languages and are, therefore, better represented in the ESC. This is true for Albanian, Armenian, Bosnian, Catalan, Hebrew, Icelandic, Macedonian, Montenegrin, Norwegian, Russian, Serbian, Slovak, Turkish and Ukrainian, which all have in fact been used at some point during the last decade of the contest (despite the fact that language choice is no longer officially restricted to the use of national languages). In fact, only AZE (since 2008) and BLR (since 2004) have never used their national languages in ESC performances, which may be due to the fact that they have joined the contest relatively recently.³ Linguistically speaking, the ESC can therefore be said to be more inclusive than the EU.

³ This group is joined by DAN, ISL and SWE, if one considers only the contests after 1998, that is, the time in which the national language rule was no longer in effect.

Throughout the history of the ESC, language choice in the performances was regulated in various ways. For many years, the “national language rule” was in effect, which dictated that performers had to use one or several of the national languages of the country they represented. In certain other time periods, language choice was free, namely in the first decade of the contest (1956–1965), a short period in the 1970s (1973–1976) and the period after 1998, that is, in total 31 years up to 2015. Language choice is in the present chapter mainly analysed in relation to these three periods, because the national language rule left only little, and for most countries no, freedom of choice.

However, this does not mean that the years in which the national language rule was in place do not show any heterogeneity with respect to the languages used. The national language rule was apparently handled in a relatively casual way. Although it was not usually possible to perform a song entirely in a non-national language, quite a few performances exploited code switching in order to convey not just a national but also a transnational European orientation. This latter function is evident because code switching is rarely used exclusively with national languages (theoretically possible for countries with several national languages such as BEL, CYP, FIN, IRL, ISR, LUX, MAL, SUI)⁴, but almost invariably with national and non-national European languages. In some such performances, the share of the non-national language in the lyrics is quite substantial. In the performance CRO 1993, for example, the group *Put* repeatedly sang the chorus of the song in English (*Don't ever cry, don't ever cry. Never say goodbye, never say goodbye, my Croatian sky*). In total, 58 word tokens were sung in Croatian and 70 in English. This indicates that songs were accepted by the EBU as long as some passages were sung in a national language.

Table 4.1 provides a list of the performances in which non-national languages were used during the years of the national language rule. Almost all of these performances employ code switching with a national

⁴The following performances employ code switching between national languages exclusively: SUI 1958 (*Lys Assia*—“Giorgio”, German-Italian), SUI 1969 (*Paola*—“Bonjour, bonjour”, German-French), BEL 1983 (*Pas de Deux*—“Rendez-vous”, Dutch-French), SUI 1985 (*Mariella Farré & Pino Gasparini*—“Piano, piano”, German-Italian), LUX 1993 (*Modern Times*—“Donne-moi une chance”, French-Luxembourgish), MAL 2000 (*Claudette Pace*—“Desire”, English-Maltese). Note that such exclusively nationally oriented switching practices have not been employed on the ESC stage for the last 15 years.

Table 4.1 Performances violating the national language rule in the ESC (1966–1972, 1977–1998)**1966–1972:**AUT 1966: *Udo Jürgens*—“*Merci chérie*” (German-French)FIN 1966: *Ann Christine*—“*Playboy*” (Finnish-English)GER 1968: *Wencke Myhre*—“*Ein Hoch der Liebe*”
(German-English-French-Spanish)MON 1970: *Dominique Dussault*—“*Marlène*” (French-German-English)MAL 1972: *Helen & Joseph*—“*L-imħabba*”
(Maltese-English-Italian-Spanish-German)**1977–1998:**AUT 1977: *Schmetterlinge*—“*Boom Boom Boomerang*” (German-English)GER 1977: *Silver Convention*—“*Telegram*” (English)BEL 1977: *Dream Express*—“*A million in one, two, three*” (English)GRE 1977: *Pascalis, Marianna, Robert & Bessy*—“*Mathima solfege*”
(Greek-Italian)SUI 1977: *Pepe Lienhard Band*—“*Swiss Lady*” (German-English)SWE 1977: *Forbes*—“*Beatles*” (Swedish-English)ESP 1978: *José Vélez*—“*Bailemos un vals*” (French-Spanish)AUT 1978: *Springtime*—“*Mrs. Caroline Robinson*” (German-English)GRE 1979: *Elpida*—“*Socrati*” (Greek-English)POR 1980: *José Cid*—“*Um grande, grande amor*”
(Portuguese-Italian-French-German-English)GER 1981: *Lena Valaitis*—“*Johnny Blue*” (German-English)POR 1981: *Carlos Paião*—“*Play-back*” (Portuguese-English)BEL 1981: *Emly Starr*—“*Samson*” (Dutch-English)NOR 1982: *Jahn Teigen & Anita Skorgan*—“*Adieu*” (Norwegian-French)NED 1983: *Bernadette*—“*Sing me a song*” (Dutch-English-French)YUG 1984: *Vlado & Isolda*—“*Ciao amore*” (“Serbo-Croatian”-Italian)ITA 1984: *Alice & Franco Battiato*—“*I treni de Tozeur*” (Italian-German)ESP 1984: *Bravo*—“*Lady, lady*” (Spanish-English)BEL 1984: *Jacques Zégers*—“*Avanti la vie*” (French-Italian)GER 1984: *Mary Roos*—“*Aufrecht geh’n*” (German-French)ITA 1985: *Al Bano & Romina Power*—“*Magic, oh magic*” (Italian-English)AUT 1985: *Gary Lux*—“*Kinder dieser Welt*”
(German-English-Swedish-Spanish-French-Italian-Portuguese)LUX 1985: *Margo et al.*—“*Children, Kinder, enfants*” (French-English-German)TUR 1986: *Klips ve Onlar*—“*Halley*” (Turkish-French-English-Italian)FIN 1986: *Kari Kuivalainen*—“*Päivä kahden ihmisen*” (Finnish-English)BEL 1987: *Liliane St Pierre*—“*Soldiers of love*” (Dutch-English)YUG 1987: *Novi Fosili*—“*Ja sam za ples*” (“Serbo-Croatian”-English)TUR 1988: *MFÖ*—“*Sufi*” (Turkish-English)ESP 1988: *La Década Prodigiosa*—“*Made in Spain*” (Spanish-English)FIN 1989: *Anneli Saaristo*—“*La dolce vita*” (Finnish-Italian)YUG 1989: *Riva*—“*Rock me*” (“Serbo-Croatian”-English)*(continued)*

Table 4.1 (continued)

FRA 1990:	<i>Joëlle Ursull</i> —“White and black blues” (French-English)
ITA 1990:	<i>Toto Cotugno</i> —“Insieme: 1992” (Italian-English)
AUT 1990:	<i>Simone</i> —“Keine Mauern mehr” (German-English-French-“Serbo-Croatian”)
IRL 1990:	<i>Liam Reilly</i> —“Somewhere in Europe” (English-French)
YUG 1991:	<i>Bebi Doll</i> —“Brazil” (“Serbo-Croatian”-Italian)
CYP 1991:	<i>Elena Patroklou</i> —“S.O.S.” (Greek-English)
ISR 1992:	<i>Dafna Dekel</i> —“Ze rak sport” (Hebrew-Italian)
SUI 1992:	<i>Daisy Auvray</i> —“Mister Music Man” (French-English)
AUT 1992:	<i>Tony Vegas</i> —“Zusammen geh’n” (German-Italian-English)
FRA 1992:	<i>Kali</i> —“Monté la riviè” (French-Martiniquan Creole)
CRO 1993:	<i>Put</i> —“Don’t ever cry” (Croatian-English)
FRA 1993:	<i>Patrick Fiori</i> —“Mama Corsica” (French-Corsican)
ISR 1993:	<i>Lahakat Shiru</i> —“Shiru” (Hebrew-English)
FIN 1994:	<i>CatCat</i> —“Bye bye baby” (Finnish-English)
GER 1994:	<i>Mekado</i> —“Wir geben ‘ne Party” (German-English)
GER 1995:	<i>Stone & Stone</i> —“Verliebt in dich” (German-English)
FRA 1996:	<i>Dan Ar Braz & L’Héritage des Celtes</i> —“Diwanit bugale” (Breton)
ISL 1996:	<i>Anna Mjöll</i> —“Sjúbídú” (Icelandic-English)
FRA 1990:	<i>Joëlle Ursull</i> —“White and black blues” (French-English)
NOR 1997:	<i>Tor Endresen</i> —“San Francisco” (Norwegian-English)
AUT 1997:	<i>Bettina Soriat</i> —“One step” (German-English)
BOS 1997:	<i>Alma Čardžić</i> —“Goodbye” (Bosnian-English)
ISR 1998:	<i>Dana International</i> —“Diva” (Hebrew-Italian)

language. For some performances in the list, the use of non-national languages is restricted to single words or phrases (see also Chap. 5 for a qualitative analysis of code-switching practices). However, these individual items often form the song title, which tends to be repeated in the choruses, and are therefore salient in the performance.

Throughout the two periods, only three performances were entirely sung in a non-national language. Two of these are the English performances BEL 1977 (*Dream Express*—“A million in one, two, three”) and GER 1977 (*Silver Convention*—“Telegram”). Although the national language rule was valid in 1977, BEL and GER were allowed to perform in English because they had already selected their national entries before the rule had been officially re-introduced.

The third performance is FRA 1996, which was sung entirely in Breton (*Dan Ar Braz & L’Héritage des Celtes*—“Diwanit bugale”), even though the latter is not a national language but an autochthonous minority language of

FRA. FRA in fact has a tradition of staging regional and minority languages spoken in its territory, as is further illustrated by the performances FRA 1992 (*Kali*—“Monté la riviè”, sung half in French and half in Martiniquan Creole), FRA 1993 (*Patrick Fiori*—“Mama Corsica”, sung half in French and half in Corsican), and FRA 2011 (*Amaury Vassili*—“Sognu”, sung in Corsican). It is certainly no coincidence that most of these performances date from the 1990s. At that time, FRA was notorious for its purist language policy that sought to curb the English influence on French and the use of English in public domains in FRA. Moreover, French language policies had been criticised for ignoring (if not outright denying) the existence of minority languages in FRA (see Braselmann 2005). Staging minority languages in the ESC was, therefore, a pertinent strategy to counter this negative image of FRA in the European public eye.

4.2 Language Choice in ESC Performances: 1956–1965 and 1973–1976

In the following, the focus is on the three periods in which language choice was free: 1956–1965, 1973–1976 and 1999–2015. In the first of these periods, language choice was not explicitly regulated, but there seems to have been a tacitly accepted norm to perform in national languages. This allowed officially multilingual countries to change the performance language on an annual basis (e.g. BEL alternating between French and Dutch; SUI alternating between French, German and Italian).⁵

Table 4.2 documents the patterns of language choice in the first period. National language use clearly dominates the picture in the early years of the contest, that is, countries largely adhere to a “one nation – one language” norm (ESP, FRA, IRL, ITA, MON, NED, POR and YUG even exclusively). On the other hand, 8 out of 19 countries experimented with a non-national language at least once, mostly using code switching between the national language and English or French. However, such

⁵ The group *Peter, Sue and Marc* represented SUI four times in the ESC, each time in a different language: French in 1971 (“Les illusions de nos vingt ans”), English in 1976 (“Djambo Djambo”), German in 1979 (“Trödler und Co.”) and Italian in 1981 (“Io senza te”).

Table 4.2 Language choice in ESC performances: 1956–1965

Country (participations)	Languages used (1956–1965) [Non-national languages in capitals]
AUT (9)	German: 7 German-ENGLISH: 1 German-FRENCH: 1
BEL (11)	French: 6 Dutch: 5
DAN (9)	Danish: 8 Danish-FRENCH: 1
ESP (5)	Spanish: 5
FIN (5)	Finnish: 4 Finnish-ENGLISH: 1
FRA (11)	French: 11
GER (11)	German: 5 German-ENGLISH: 3 German-FRENCH: 1 German-FRENCH-SPANISH: 1 German-ENGLISH-FRENCH-ITALIAN-SPANISH: 1
IRL (1)	English: 1
ITA (11)	Italian: 11
LUX (10)	French: 9 Luxembourgish: 1
MON (7)	French: 7
NED (11)	Dutch: 11
NOR (6)	Norwegian: 5 Norwegian-FRENCH: 1
POR (2)	Portuguese: 2
SUI (11)	French: 6 German: 2 Italian: 2 German-Italian-ENGLISH: 1
SWE (7)	Swedish: 6; ENGLISH: 1
UK (8)	English: 7 English-FRENCH: 1
YUG (5)	“Serbo-Croatian”: 5

performances remain the exception rather than the rule. Only GER used code switching with non-national languages to a larger extent (in six performances between 1956 and 1961). This can be explained by the low prestige of German culture after World War II, which apparently induced artists not to convey an exclusively national message in terms of language choice but a transnational orientation. Additional evidence for this is provided by the performance GER 1958, *Margot Hielscher*—“Für zwei Groschen Musik”, which is inspired by US American swing music. The lyrics of the song contain a number of anglicisms (e.g. *Miss Germany*, *Miss Italy* and *Miss Jukebox*). An anti-German attitude is conveyed when the singer asks *Darf es Dixieland sein? Oder Lieder vom Rhein?* (“How about dixieland? Or songs from the Rhine?”) and the background choir answers the latter question with *Nein!* (“No!”). This rejection stands out all the more because other similar questions concerning musical tastes throughout the performance invariably remain unanswered.

The only performance that was sung completely in a non-national language in the first decade of the contest was SWE 1965. The Swedish representative *Ingvar Wixell* performed his song “Absent friends” in English instead of Swedish. This caused an outcry across Europe, which ultimately led to the introduction of the national language rule in 1966. The language choice practices described suggest that, from the very beginning of the contest, there were signs of national structures becoming weaker or less essentialist, and it was only the introduction of the national language rule by the EBU that kept them firmly in place.

Table 4.3 provides a similar overview of language choice strategies in the years 1973–1976. The list of participating countries had grown to 21 by that time, and 11 of them still used their national languages exclusively: ESP, FRA, GRE, IRL, ISR, MAL, MON, POR, TUR, UK and YUG. All other countries employed non-national languages at least once in this short period. Apart from the countries named above, a preference for national languages can also be seen for BEL, GER, ITA, LUX and SUI. The dominant non-national language used in the ESC during this period was English. It was used exclusively by FIN and SWE, and in three out of four years by NED and NOR, which shows that English infiltration processes started in the northwest of Europe. Moreover, French had lost its role as a code-switching language to English.

Table 4.3 Language choice in ESC performances: 1973–1976

Country (participations)	Languages used (1973–1976) [Non-national languages in capitals]
AUT (1)	ENGLISH: 1
BEL (4)	French: 2 Dutch-ENGLISH: 1 Dutch-FRENCH-ENGLISH-SPANISH: 1
ESP (4)	Spanish: 4
FIN (4)	ENGLISH: 4
FRA (3)	French: 3
GER (4)	German: 2 German-ENGLISH: 2
GRE (2)	Greek: 2
IRL (4)	English: 4
ISR (4)	Hebrew: 4
ITA (4)	Italian: 3 Italian-ENGLISH: 1
LUX (4)	French: 3 French-ENGLISH: 1
MAL (1)	English: 1
MON (4)	French: 4
NED (4)	ENGLISH: 3 Dutch: 1
NOR (4)	ENGLISH: 3 Norwegian-ENGL-FR-SP-GER-IT-DUT-HEBR-SERCRO-FIN-IR: 1
POR (4)	Portuguese: 4
SUI (4)	German: 2 French: 1 ENGLISH: 1
SWE (3)	ENGLISH: 3
TUR (1)	Turkish: 1
UK (4)	English: 4
YUG (4)	“Serbo-Croatian”: 3 Slovenian: 1

4.3 Language Choice in ESC Performances: 1999–2015

The data on language choice patterns in the last of the three periods (1999–2015) is presented in Table 4.4. In this period, far more countries participated in the contest. As language choice strategies have become highly heterogeneous, broader categories of strategies are used in Table 4.4. The following language choice strategies are distinguished: use of national language(s) exclusively (language names in regular spelling), use of non-national English exclusively (ENGLISH), use of non-national language(s) exclusively except non-national English (= NNC), code switching between a national language and non-national English (= n-EN), and code switching between a national language and non-national language(s) except n-EN (= n-CS).

For each country, the different strategies are listed in descending order, starting with the strategy that was employed most frequently. For 31 out of 49 countries, “non-national English exclusively” is the most common strategy. Only two countries (AZE, DAN) employed this strategy exclusively, while all other countries that have regularly participated show some degree of variance in their language choice strategies. This indicates that experimenting with language(s) is seen as highly compatible with the Europeanness of the context. ISR and TUR show a preference for code switching between a national language and English. National language use is most common in CRO, ESP, FRA, IRL, ITA, MAL, MNT, POR, SEM, SER and UK. Choosing national languages other than English on the ESC stage cannot be explained in terms of a motivation to increase international comprehensibility or commercial success and, therefore, functions as an index of national affiliation. In fact almost all national languages of the participating countries have been used on the ESC stage at some point since 1999, the only exceptions being Belarusian, Danish, Irish, Romansh and Swedish.⁶ Of these, only Belarusian has so far never been used in the contest, while Danish, Irish, Romansh and Swedish were used on the ESC stage in times before 1999. That most national

⁶One may also include Azerbaijani in this group, but it was used as part of a highly multilingual performance from BUL in 2012 (*Sofi Marinova*—“Love Unlimited”).

Table 4.4 Language choice in ESC performances: 1999–2015

Country (participations)	Languages used (1999–2015) [Non-national languages in capitals]	Average index score
ALB (12)	ENGLISH: 6 Albanian: 4 n-EN: 2	2.17
AND (6)	Catalan: 3 n-EN: 3	1.50
ARM (9)	ENGLISH: 6 n-EN: 3	2.67
AUS (1)	English: 1	1.00
AUT (12)	ENGLISH: 8 German: 3 NNC: 1	2.50
AZE (8)	ENGLISH: 8	3.00
BEL (15)	ENGLISH: 10 French: 2 IMAGINARY LANGUAGE: 2 n-EN: 1	2.67
BLR (12)	ENGLISH: 11 NNC: 1	3.00
BOS (13)	Bosnian: 5 n-EN: 4 ENGLISH: 3 n-CS: 1	1.85
BUL (9)	ENGLISH: 4 Bulgarian: 2 n-EN: 2 n-CS: 1	2.22
CRO (15)	Croatian: 9 ENGLISH: 4 n-EN: 2	1.67
CYP (15)	ENGLISH: 8 n-CS: 3 Greek: 3 NNC: 1	2.40
CZE (4)	ENGLISH: 2 Czech: 1 n-CS: 1	2.25
DAN (16)	ENGLISH: 16	3.00
ESP (17)	Spanish: 10 n-EN: 7	1.41

(continued)

Table 4.4 (continued)

Country (participations)	Languages used (1999–2015) [Non-national languages in capitals]	Average index score
EST (17)	ENGLISH: 12 Estonian: 4 NNC: 1	2.53
FIN (14)	ENGLISH: 10 Finnish: 3 Swedish: 1	2.43
FRA (17)	French: 9 n-EN: 5 n-CS: 2 NNC: 1	1.53
GEO (8)	ENGLISH: 7 n-EN: 1	2.88
GER (17)	ENGLISH: 12 n-EN: 3 n-CS: 1 NNC: 1	2.76
GRE (15)	ENGLISH: 8 n-EN: 6 n-CS: 1	2.53
HUN (9)	ENGLISH: 5 Hungarian: 2 n-EN: 2	2.33
IRL (16)	English: 15 n-CS: 1	1.06
ISL (16)	ENGLISH: 14 NNC: 1 Icelandic: 1	2.88
ISR (17)	n-EN: 10 n-CS: 3 Hebrew: 3 ENGLISH: 1	1.88
ITA (5)	Italian: 3 n-EN: 2	1.40
LAT (16)	ENGLISH: 11 NNC: 2 Latvian: 1 n-CS: 1 n-EN: 1	2.75

(continued)

Table 4.4 (continued)

Country (participations)	Languages used (1999–2015) [Non-national languages in capitals]	Average index score
LIT (15)	ENGLISH: 10 NNC: 3 Lithuanian: 1 n-CS: 1	2.80
MAC (14)	ENGLISH: 5 Macedonian: 4 n-EN: 3 n-CS: 2	2.07
MAL (17)	English: 15 English-Maltese: 1 n-CS: 1	1.06
MNT (7)	Montenegrin: 5 ENGLISH: 1 n-CS: 1	1.43
MOL (11)	ENGLISH: 7 n-EN: 2 NNC: 1 Romanian: 1	2.64
MON (3)	French: 2 n-CS: 1	1.33
NED (16)	ENGLISH: 14 NNC: 1 Dutch: 1	2.88
NOR (16)	ENGLISH: 13 NNC: 2 Norwegian: 1	2.88
POL (13)	ENGLISH: 5 n-CS: 3 Polish: 2 n-EN: 2 NNC: 1	2.31
POR (14)	Portuguese: 9 n-EN: 4 n-CS: 1	1.36
ROM (15)	ENGLISH: 10 n-CS: 2 NNC: 2 n-EN: 1	2.80

(continued)

Table 4.4 (continued)

Country (participations)	Languages used (1999–2015) [Non-national languages in capitals]	Average index score
RUS (16)	ENGLISH: 12 n-EN: 2 n-CS: 1 NNC: 1	2.81
SAN (6)	ENGLISH: 4 Italian: 2	2.33
SEM (2)	Serbian: 1 Montenegrin: 1	1.00
SER (8)	Serbian: 6 n-EN: 1 ENGLISH: 1	1.38
SLK (4)	Slovak: 2 ENGLISH: 2	2.00
SLO (16)	ENGLISH: 8 Slovenian: 6 n-EN: 2	2.13
SUI (14)	ENGLISH: 10 Italian: 2 French: 2	2.43
SWE (17)	ENGLISH: 16 NNC: 1	3.00
TUR (14)	n-EN: 7 ENGLISH: 4 Turkish: 3	2.07
UK (17)	English: 17	1.00
UKR (12)	ENGLISH: 8 n-CS: 2 n-EN: 1 NNC: 1	2.75

Abbreviations:

n-EN = Code switching: national language + non-national English

n-CS = Code switching: national language + other language(s) [except n-EN]

NNC = Exclusive use of non-national language(s) [except non-national English]

languages have been represented on stage in the latest phase of the contest indicates that a complete erasure of national identity construction is not seen as desirable in this context. In other words, there is space for the expression of both (non-national) European and national affiliations.

In order to be able to compare the individual countries with respect to their language choice strategies, an index score was calculated. Performances that exclusively used national languages received a score of 1 and those that exclusively used non-national languages (i.e. ENGLISH and NNC in Table 4.4) a score of 3. Performances that used both national and non-national languages (n-EN and n-CS) were given a score of 2. Based on these individual scores, an average score could be calculated for each country. The lower the average score, the more nationally focused are the language choice practices of a certain country.

Most nationally focused countries:

UK, AUS, SEM 1.00 < IRL, MAL 1.06 < MON 1.33 < POR 1.36 < SER
1.38 < ITA 1.40 < ESP 1.41 < MNT 1.43 < AND 1.50 < FRA 1.53 <
CRO 1.67 < BOS 1.85

Least nationally focused countries:

AZE, BLR, DAN 3.00 > GEO, ISL, NED, NOR 2.88 > RUS 2.81 >
LIT, ROM 2.80 > GER 2.76 > LAT, UKR 2.75 > ARM, BEL 2.67 >
MOL 2.64

Several patterns can be deduced from this data. The countries in which English plays a national role (AUS, IRL, MAL, UK) show hardly any non-national language use on the ESC stage, even though it is questionable that the use of English by these countries can signal a transnational European affiliation. Two other groups of countries are relatively national in their language choices. The first group is successor states of YUG (BOS, CRO, MNT, SEM, SER), whose use of national languages on the ESC stage may be motivated by their relatively recent national independence. Interestingly, this only seems to affect those countries whose national languages were formerly part of “Serbo-Croatian”, whereas MAC and SLO have average scores of 2.07 and 2.13 and, therefore, are slightly more transnationally than nationally focused. The second group is countries

with a Romance language tradition (AND, ESP, FRA, ITA, MON, POR), which are clearly less likely to use non-national English exclusively on the ESC stage. This trend does not affect countries in which both Romance and Germanic languages are co-official (BEL, SUI) and countries in which Romanian (MOL, ROM) plays an official role. National language use is more common among four of the “Big 5” countries (ESP, FRA, ITA, UK). It may therefore be concluded that a power factor is also involved in language choice strategies. Only GER is less likely to use its national language, which may again have historical reasons.

Among the countries that are least nationally focused, one finds a preponderance of two geographically contingent areas: northwestern European countries (BEL, DAN, GER, ISL, NED, NOR, SWE), which are generally known for showing the highest levels of English language competences across Europe (House 2008: 65), and northeastern and far eastern European countries (the former Soviet republics ARM, AZE, BLR, GEO, LAT, LIT, RUS, UKR, plus MOL and ROM). For both of these groups of countries, considerations of cross-European intelligibility and wider commercial success seem to outweigh the wish for a nationally distinct representation. Interestingly, EU membership does not seem to play a role for the language choice strategies employed.

To identify most recent changes in language choice strategies, Table 4.5 gives the overall frequencies and percentages of the various strategies

Table 4.5 Overview of language choice strategies in ESC performances: 1999–2010 versus 2011–2015

Language choice strategies	Absolute frequency (1999–2010)	Percentage (1999–2010)	Absolute frequency (2011–2015)	Percentage (2011–2015)
National language(s) exclusively	114	28.6	54	26.9
Code switching: national + non-national language(s)	84	21.1	27	13.4
[of these: national + non-national English]	[57]	[14.3]	[23]	[11.4]
Non-national language(s) exclusively	200	50.3	120	59.7
[of these: non-national English]	[182]	[45.7]	[115]	[57.2]
Total	398		201	

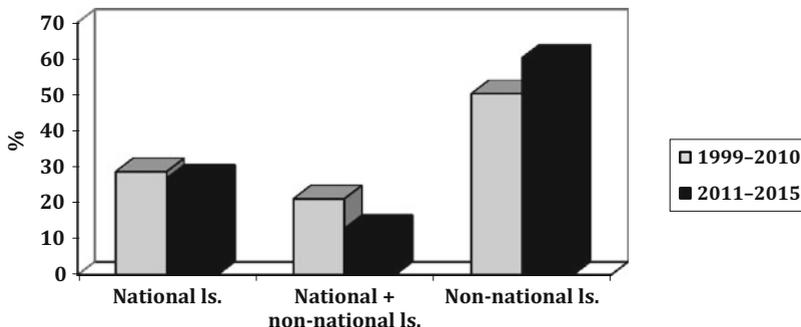


Fig. 4.2 Development of language choice strategies: 1999–2010 versus 2011–2015

identified for two periods: 1999–2010 and 2011–2015. Looking at the period 1999–2010, one finds that the use of non-national languages exclusively is the most common strategy, accounting for approximately 50 % of all performances. The majority within this group of performances is constituted by exclusive use of non-national English (45.7 %). National language use exclusively is the second most frequent strategy (28.6 %). Code switching between national and non-national languages is also common and amounts to 21.1 %. Within this latter group of performances, code switching with English is the dominant strategy (14.3 %). Based on this data, it is evident that the linguistic landscape of ESC performances is, despite the abolishment of the national language rule, still substantially multilingual, even though non-national English clearly plays a central role.

The overall ranking of the three language choice strategies is still the same in the period 2011–2015. However, certain developments are apparent (see also Fig. 4.2). The use of national languages exclusively has stayed constant, which means that there is no evidence for a further retreat of the national languages. The code-switching strategy has decreased from 21.1 % to 13.4 %, while at the same time the exclusive use of non-national languages has increased from 50.3 % to 59.7 %. This development indicates that the use of non-national English exclusively is perceived as more and more compatible with the Europeanness of the context, while a juxtaposition of national and European affiliations through code switching

is losing ground. This suggests that Europeanisation, at least to some extent, has a subtractive effect on national identity construction, as more countries choose an exclusively non-national strategy, while performances that reconcile national and European orientation become less frequent. The fact that 71.4 % (1999–2010) and 73.1 % (2011–2015) of the performances show non-national language use (either exclusively or in code switching) indicates that participants feel the need to avoid or tone down the construction of national affiliation in the ESC.

Table 4.6 provides information on which languages have recently been used as non-national languages in the contest. When a non-national language is used for an entire song, it is almost certainly English (296 out of 300 performances). Two cases in which this was different are CYP 2007 (*Evrídiki*—“Comme ci comme ça”, sung in French) and LAT 2007 (*Bonaparti.lv*—“Questa notte”, sung in Italian). Two Belgian performances used invented, imaginary languages: BEL 2003 (*Urban Trad*—“Sanomi”) and BEL 2008 (*Ishtar*—“O julissi”). The latter two may be said to have European potential in the sense that they put the whole European audience on an equal footing in terms of (non-)intelligibility. This is different for “natural” languages, which are always intelligible to certain parts of the European audience and therefore exclude others. It may be suspected

Table 4.6 Non-national language use in ESC performances: 1999–2015

Entire song in non-national language	Code switching with non-national language
English: 296 [98.7 %]	English: 108 [58.1 %]
Imaginary language: 2	Spanish: 17
French, Italian: 1 each	French: 14
	Russian: 9
Total: 300	German: 8
	Italian: 6
	Turkish: 3
	Romani: 3
	Greek: 2
	Serbian/“Serbo-Croatian”: 2
	Sign language: 2
	Arabic, Azerbaijani, Corsican, Czech, Finnish, Hebrew, Imaginary language, Polish, Swahili, Tahitian, Udmurt, Ukrainian: 1 each
	Total: 186

that non-national language choices are motivated by receiving more points from those countries that host a share of the respective language community. However, such a motivation is ruled out for performances in imaginary languages and only marginally plausible for the Italian performance LAT 2007 (because ITA did not participate in 2007 and the Italian-speaking community in SUI is small). Similarly, the use of non-national English is motivated by appealing to a large cross-European audience rather than targeting British, Irish and Maltese speakers of English more specifically. It is, therefore, clear to see that non-national language choices represent a Europeanisation strategy in the ESC.

A phenomenon related to that of imaginary languages, which has been repeatedly exploited in ESC performances, is the extended use of passages consisting of non-sense (or onomatopoeic) syllables in a song. Some famous winning songs also made use of this strategy in the past, for example, ESP 1968 (*Massiel*—“La la la”), UK 1969 (*Lulu*—“Boom bang-a-bang”), NED 1975 (*Teach-In*—“Ding dinge-dong”) and SWE 1984 (*Herreys*—“Diggi-loo diggi-ley”). As can be seen from these examples, such strategies were often employed in times in which the national language rule was in effect and can therefore be considered a means of targeting the Europe-wide audience within the restrictive frame of the regulations. In these cases, it is the non-use of national languages in the chorus that carries transnational, European meaning potential.

Table 4.6 furthermore provides the usage frequencies of non-national languages involved in code-switched performances throughout the latest phase of the contest. Again, English plays the dominant role here (108 out of 186 cases of non-national language use; 58.1 %), but this dominance is less pronounced than for songs sung entirely in a non-national language. Other languages that are commonly used as non-national languages on the ESC stage are Spanish (17), French (14), Russian (9), German (8) and Italian (6), that is, languages of wider communication in Europe.

Two of the three performances in which Turkish was used non-nationally are German performances (GER 1999: *Sürpriz*—“Reise nach Jerusalem – Kudüs’e seyahat”, sung in German, Turkish, English and Hebrew; GER 2004: *Max*—“Can’t wait until tonight”, sung in English and Turkish) and may be seen as a representation of the sizable population of Turkish descent in GER. Yet, one has to note that the decisions to nominate these

performances were not made by the German public. The Turkish-based entry in 1999 could only participate in the ESC after the actual winner of the national final had been disqualified. And *Max* had won the German national final 2004 with an exclusively English version of his song.

Other idiosyncratic language combinations include code switching between non-national English and an imaginary language (NED 2006: *Treble*—“Amambanda”), using a combination of non-national English and sign language (LAT 2005: *Walters & Kazba*—“The war is not over”) or of non-national English, French and sign language (LIT 2011: *Evelina Sašenko*—“C’est ma vie”), and performing in non-national Serbian, German and Finnish (EST 2008: *Kreisiraadio*—“Leto svet”; see also Verschik and Hlavac 2009). Some performances extensively exploit code switching. For example, in the Romanian entry 2007 (*Todomondo*—“Liubi, liubi, I love you”), each stanza was performed in one of the following six languages: English, Italian, Spanish, Russian, French and Romanian. Similarly, the Bulgarian entry 2012 (*Sofi Marinova*—“Love unlimited”) was mainly sung in Bulgarian, but contained translations of the sentence “I love you” (some with slight modifications) in Arabic, Azerbaijani, English, French, Greek, Italian, Romani, “Serbo-Croatian”, Spanish and Turkish. All these performances document that playing with and mixing linguistic varieties is perceived to be an adequate Europeanisation strategy in the ESC. While European languages are predominantly used for this purpose, the transnationality suggested may occasionally extend beyond Europe in a classical sense. Throughout the history of the contest, one finds three performances in which non-European languages were used in code switching with European languages: Martiniquan Creole (FRA 1992: *Kali*—“Monté la riviè”), Swahili (NOR 2011: *Stella Mwangi*—“Haba haba”) and Tahitian (MON 2006: *Séverine Ferrer*—“La coco-dance”).

Minority languages have played a marginal role in the ESC. Not surprisingly, minority languages that enjoy co-official status in a certain country have also been used on the ESC stage: Swedish in FIN (FIN 1990: *Beat*—“Fri”; FIN 2012: *Pernilla Karlsson*—“När jag blundar”); Irish (IRL 1972: *Sandie Jones*—“Ceol an ghrá”), Luxembourgish (e.g. LUX 1960: *Camillo Felgen*—“So laang we’s du do bast”; LUX 1992: *Marion Welter & Kontinent*—“Sou fräi”), and Romansh in SUI (SUI 1989: *Furbaz*—“Viver senza tei”). But also other minority languages that do not enjoy national

language status have been used. Examples include the use of Turkish by GER or of Breton and Corsican by FRA (already discussed above). Another minority language whose visibility has recently increased in the contest is Romani, used, for example, in part in the performances CZE 2009 (*Gipsy.cz*—“Aven Romale”, besides English and Czech) and MAC 2013 (*Lozano & Esmá*—“Pred da se razdeni”, besides Macedonian). In a similar vein, RUS sent a group of elderly women to the contest in 2012, who sang in English and Udmurt (*Buranovskiye Babushki*—“Party for everybody”). Minority language entries often have not been chosen in national pre-selection shows with public televoting, as they are unlikely to attract the majority of the votes. It usually requires the conscious effort of an internal selection procedure to bring such performances to the ESC stage.

Dialectal varieties are also rarely used on the ESC stage. Examples from the history of the contest include performances in the Estonian dialect Võro (EST 2004: *Neiokõsõ*—“Tii”), the Neapolitan dialect of Italian (ITA 1991: *Peppino di Capri*—“Comme è ddoce ‘o mare”), the Samogitian dialect of Lithuanian (LIT 1999: *Aistė*—“Strazdas”), and an Eastern Finnish dialect (FIN 2010: *Kuunkuiskaajat*—“Työlki ellää”). In the case of AUT, Austrian dialects of German were sometimes used in the contest. Such varieties carry national Austrian prestige in the sense that they offer a means of distinguishing AUT from GER, whose national identity is strongly connected to the use of Standard German. In 1971, *Marianne Mendt* performed her song “Musik” in a Viennese German dialect. *George Nussbaumer’s* song “Weil’s dr guat got” (AUT 1996) was sung in a Vorarlbergisch dialect and *Alf Poier’s* “Weil der Mensch zählt” (AUT 2003) was performed in a Styrian dialect. The most recent example is the performance AUT 2012 (*Trackshittaz*—“Woki mit deim Popo”). This song was performed in a dialect called *Mühlviertlerisch* on the ESC stage, but was additionally released in what the artists call a “German” version (“Wackl mit dem Popo”), which suggests that the dialectal version is the Austrian version. Austrian performances may also contain distinctly Austrian German lexis. For example, the entry AUT 1977 (*Schmetterlinge*—“Boom Boom Boomerang”) contained the line *Klingel Kassa*, *klingel* (“Ring cash register, ring”), in which the Austrian German form *Kassa* as opposed to the German German item *Kasse* is used. SUI, on the other hand, has never used Swiss German in the contest, even

though it is the medium of everyday communication in its German-speaking community and could well have served as an index of Swiss national identity. However, SUI up to 2002 concentrated on staging a multilingual national identity by alternating between its various national languages. Since then, SUI has been represented by only two more performances in national languages (SUI 2008 in Italian and SUI 2010 in French), while in most years (non-national) English has been used.

4.4 The Use of English in ESC Performances

Representing a country in a pan-European pop music competition confronts the artists with an ideological dilemma. On the one hand, representing a country is a clearly nationally focused role. On the other hand, the fact that a pan-European audience (excluding one's own national audience) decides on the success of the performances probably means that overly nationalist forms of representation carry little or no prestige in this context. As a consequence, many artists will try to tone down the issue of national representation by avoiding direct indexes of national identification in their performances. This is also likely to have consequences on language choice, as national languages can easily be read as a direct index of national identification, while the use of non-national languages allows more readily for a transnational, Europe-oriented interpretation.

O'Driscoll (2001) has proposed a face model of language choice (inspired by Goffman's face concept), which is particularly relevant for contexts involving language users of diverse linguacultural backgrounds, proficiencies and value systems (see also Lavric 2007). In such contexts, language choice is a means of negotiating identities. Code uniformity represents a normative communication default. Every instance of code switching causes a re-definition of the situation and results in a re-arrangement of the participants' face. At the same time, the use of a certain language projects specific normative assumptions on native and non-native speakers.

Accordingly, O'Driscoll (2001: 252–256) distinguishes three types of linguistic face. The use of L1 foregrounds one's ethnolinguistic group

identity and, therefore, is associated with a speaker's positive face (ethnolinguistic face). The use of a lingua franca, on the other hand, enables speakers to express that they have no need to stick to their L1 (cosmopolitan face). Whereas a person's ethnolinguistic face (taking pride in one's linguistic identity) is generally thought to be predetermined in the sense that it is naturally acquired, cosmopolitan face (taking pride in one's foreign language competences) can be deliberately acquired, for example, through formal education. Finally, in contexts where the signalling of cooperation is important, speakers may use the L1 of their interlocutor (polite face). This can be compared to convergence processes in contexts where social approval is sought by means of accommodation. For such a convergence through language choice, proficiency-related issues are less relevant than showing consideration for the needs of one's interlocutor. The three types of face are not mutually exclusive. Hybrid face types can be found, for example, if somebody uses ELF in a context where the interlocutor's L1 is English (cosmopolitan + polite face).

When two people with different L1s (L_x and L_y) communicate with each other, they have three options: (1) using L_x , (2) using L_y , or (3) using a lingua franca. The use of a certain language leads to face projections: using the L1 of one of the two communicating parties activates the ethnolinguistic face of the L1 user and, at the same time, the polite face of the non-native user. The use of a lingua franca that is not a native language of either participant activates the cosmopolitan face of both communicating parties.

This face model of language choice has high explanatory power for identity negotiation processes on the European linguistic market (Bourdieu 1977; Kelly-Holmes and Mautner 2010). From the perspective of this model, non-national language use in the ESC helps national representatives to avoid the projection of ethnolinguistic face and, at the same time, to project their (Euro-)cosmopolitan face. Polite face is only marginally involved because it is doubtful that a non-national language is used to accommodate to certain national sub-audiences within the Europe-wide audience. For example, non-national English is on the ESC stage not primarily used to converge to Anglophone countries but to communicate transnationally.

Besides issues of identity projection, intelligibility-related and commercial considerations may also be assumed to play a role in the ESC. Taken

together, then, the use of non-national and non-native English provides performers with the linguistic means to orient to three aspects simultaneously: playing down national representation, demonstrating a European orientation, and maximising cross-European intelligibility and the chances of commercial success (in terms of voting results or sales figures across Europe). As the use of national languages enhances ethnolinguistic face to the detriment of (Euro-)cosmopolitan face, code switching with non-native/non-national English can be seen as a strategy to redress cosmopolitan face loss and to increase intelligibility and chances of wider success. It can be concluded that, because of the three aspects mentioned above, non-native and non-national uses of English possess a certain prestige in the ESC.

The use of non-national languages other than English also potentially serves to downplay national representation and to demonstrate a European orientation, but it is generally associated with drawbacks in terms of communicative reach and commercial success chances. The use of native and national English on the ESC stage (by IRL, MAL and the UK), by contrast, may be associated with a potentially high level of communicative reach and success chances, but it cannot serve to diminish the role of national representation and, consequently, possesses only limited potential to be perceived in terms of a European orientation. This effect is probably strongest for the UK, which has English as an exclusive national language. IRL and MAL claim two national languages, and their use of English in an international song contest can, therefore, to some extent be interpreted as a transnational communication strategy. However, such a reading is particularly unlikely for IRL, due to the low number of Irish L1 speakers in the country. It is more likely for MAL, where English functions as a second official language and Maltese is the default L1.

Non-national language choices destabilise essentialist national identity discourses (“one nation – one language”) and can, therefore, be seen as a type of linguistic crossing (Rampton 1999) in the interest of European identity construction. However, the use of English represents a special case in this respect, since in transnational contexts of European prominence (such as the ESC), non-national and non-native uses of English are becoming the default and are no longer seen as remarkable (in contrast to other types of language crossing). This implies that the national indexical potential of English is becoming weaker.

As we have seen in the previous chapters, the use of English in ESC performances increased throughout the years in which language choice was not restricted by the national language rule. English on the ESC stage is used as a *lingua franca*, that is, as a means of communication between people of various European linguacultural backgrounds. However, in this context it is not native or national uses of English that predominate but non-national and non-native uses. The cultural hybridity of these uses surfaces regularly in pronunciation patterns and, to a lesser extent, on the lexicogrammatical level. While the former are due to the non-nativeness of the singing artists, the latter can be assumed to result from the non-native English competences of the lyricists (which are less likely to surface, as they would probably be taken as a sign of low professionalism). Where lexicogrammar approaches native-like usage, a non-native accent may therefore play a key role in marking an English performance as non-national.⁷ As we will see below in the analysis of voting patterns in relation to the type of English used, these non-native features are not necessarily viewed in a negative light in the ESC and may be taken as indexing a transnationally oriented European identity.

On the phonological level, non-native English performances may depart from native pronunciation patterns, for example, through idiosyncratic vowel qualities, devoicing of word-final consonants, and epenthetic schwa insertion within consonantal clusters. A graphic example of the latter is the performance ESP 1988, in which the group *La Década Prodigiosa* uses schwa insertion whenever the song title *Made in Spain* is repeated in the chorus ([meɪd ɪn ə speɪn]).⁸ Evidence that non-native accents are perceptually salient in ESC performances is provided by the fact that they are frequently discussed in the media (Motschenbacher 2013a: 89–97; O'Connor 2005: 157). Table 4.7 illustrates some non-native lexicogrammatical patterns in ESC performances from the history of the contest.

⁷ Interestingly, a similar mechanism seems to have operated for French up to 1999. LUX was often represented by artists from other countries, some of them singing in notably foreign French accents (e.g. LUX 1974: *Ireen Sheer*, LUX 1978: *Baccara*, LUX 1986: *Sherisse Laurence*).

⁸ Intelligibility is normally not affected by such non-native pronunciations. However, it may be affected where the singer's pronunciation patterns depart from native English patterns in the core phonological features (Jenkins 2000; see e.g. the performance BLR 2004: *Alexandra & Konstantin*—"My Galileo").

Table 4.7 Illustrations of non-native English lexicogrammar in ESC performances

Lyrics excerpts	Standard alternative
Plural marking: <i>With little boys and girls around his <u>feets</u></i> (SUI 1976)	<i>... feet</i>
Multiple negation: <i>I <u>don't</u> need <u>no</u> new sensations.</i> (AUT 1976) <i>Why <u>nobody</u> <u>can't</u> stay?</i> (EST 2001)	<i>... don't need any...</i> <i>Why can't anybody stay?</i>
Dropping of articles: <i>We started out <u>long time ago</u>.</i> (EST 2001)	<i>...a long time ago</i>
Dropping of 3rd person -s; was replacing were: <i>It's me who <u>find</u> you when you <u>was</u> stray</i> (LAT 2002)	<i>...who finds... ...you were...</i>
3rd person -s insertion: <i>Why does the wind still <u>blows</u> and blood still <u>leaks</u>?</i> (LAT 2010)	<i>does ... blow and ... leak?</i>
Idiosyncratic use of verbal tense forms: <i>I know that it's you who <u>choose</u> to play this trick.</i> (MOL 2010)	<i>...chose...</i>
Idiosyncratic syntax (here: verb–adverbial–object): <i>Come and spend <u>with me the night</u>.</i> (ROM 2010)	<i>(Verb–object–adverbial) spend the night with me</i>
Unidiomatic expressions: <i>Happy end</i> (UKR 2007)	<i>Happy ending</i>

How English songs are received across Europe can be judged from voting patterns. English performances have been quite popular throughout the history of the contest. This could already be seen in the ranking lists of the five most successful countries per decade (Sect. 2.3): The UK ranked in the top five from the 1950s to the 1990s, IRL from the 1960s to the 1990s and MAL also was among the top five countries after its return to the contest in the 1990s. However, this has changed drastically in the most recent phase. A presentation of the rankings of the English entries from the UK, IRL and MAL prior to 1999 and from 1999 onwards can be found in Tables 4.8 and 4.9.⁹

A comparison of the results in the two time periods shows drastic differences. Prior to 1999, English performances from the UK, IRL and MAL only rarely missed the top ten. Thirty-nine out of 41 UK-based

⁹The entries IRL 1972, MAL 1971 and MAL 1972 are not included because they were sung in Irish or Maltese.

performances (95.1 %), 28 out of 32 Irish performances (87.5 %), and 8 out of 9 Maltese performances (88.9 %) ranked in the top ten. The UK achieved five victories and came second on 15 occasions, and IRL won the competition seven times and came second four times. It can therefore safely be assumed that native (and, in the case of MAL, nativised) English used to enjoy high prestige on the European scene. This development seems to have peaked in 1992, when the three Anglophone countries formed the top three. From 1992 to 1997, five out of six winning performances were sung in native English. The only exception is NOR 1995, which was sung in Norwegian but only contained 25 words and therefore was almost an instrumental piece.

However, since 1999, that is, the time when many other countries started using English non-natively and non-nationally in the contest, the results of the UK, IRL and MAL have plunged. The three countries managed to climb to the top ten far less frequently (2 out of 17 UK-based performances (11.8 %), 3 out of 16 Irish performances (18.8 %), and 5 out of 17 Maltese performances (29.4 %)), and mostly ended up with rankings worse than 20. The UK, as a “Big 5” country automatically qualified for the final, came last three times in the final. IRL came last in the 2007 final and failed to pass the semi-final on five occasions. MAL came last in the 2006 final and failed to qualify for the final five times. In all contests since 1999, the best English song of the night was not performed in native, nativised or national English. Even in 2002 and 2005, when MAL came second, it was topped by non-native English performances from LAT and GRE respectively. In most years, several non-native English performances outdid the native and national English performances.¹⁰

It needs to be noted that Tables 4.8 and 4.9 are not directly comparable because the number of participating countries has increased throughout the history of the contest from 10 in 1957 to 43 in 2011. In order to test the differences for statistical significance, it was identified how often the three Anglophone countries ended up in the top third of the field in the two time periods. Prior to 1999, this was the case for 29 out

¹⁰ Throughout the years, there are remarkably few performances of native speakers of English representing countries other than IRL, MAL and the UK, that is, non-national, native English performances. Of these, only three managed to reach the top ten: CYP 2004, HUN 2014 and AUS 2015 (all ranked fifth).

Table 4.8 Rankings of English performances by IRL, MAL and the UK: 1957–1998

Rank	UK (1957, 1959–1998)	IRL (1965–1971, 1973–1982, 1984–1998)	MAL (1975, 1991–1998)
1.	1967, 1969, 1976, 1981, 1997	1970, 1980, 1987, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1996	
2.	1959, 1960, 1961, 1964, 1965, 1968, 1970, 1972, 1975, 1977, 1988, 1989, 1992, 1993, 1998	1967, 1984, 1990, 1997	
3.	1973, 1980	1977	1992, 1998
4.	1962, 1963, 1971, 1974, 1985	1966, 1968, 1986	
5.		1978, 1979, 1981	1994
6.	1983, 1990	1965, 1985	1991
7.	1957, 1979, 1982, 1984, 1986	1969, 1974	
8.	1996	1988	1993
9.	1966	1975, 1998	1997
10.	1991, 1994, 1995	1973, 1976, 1991	1995, 1996
11.–15.	1978, 1987	1971, 1982, 1995	1975
16.–20.		1989	
20.–25.			
Worst result	13. (1987)	18. (1989)	10. (1995, 1996)

Table 4.9 Rankings of English performances by IRL, MAL and the UK: 1999–2015

Rank	UK	IRL	MAL
1.			
2.			2002, 2005
3.	2002		
4.			
5.	2009		
6.		2000	
7.			
8.		2011	2000
9.			2001, 2013
10.		2006	
11.–15.	1999, 2001, 2011	1999, 2003	1999, 2004
16.–20.	2000, 2004, 2006, 2013, 2014	2012	
20.–26.	2003, 2005, 2007, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2015	2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013	2003, 2006, 2009, 2012, 2014
Worst final result	Last in final (2003, 2008, 2010)	Last in final (2007, 2013)	Last in final (2006)
Not qualified for final (2004–)	—	2005, 2008, 2009, 2014, 2015	2007, 2008, 2010, 2011, 2015

of 41 UK entries (70.7 %), for 20 out of 32 Irish entries (62.5 %) and for 5 out of 9 Maltese entries (55.6 %). The corresponding percentages are much lower for the time after 1998: the UK ranked in the top third with 3 out of 17 participations (17.6 %), IRL with 3 out of 16 participations (18.8 %) and MAL with 4 out of 17 participations (23.5 %). It can therefore safely be claimed that native and national English performances are nowadays less successful in the ESC than they used to be and that non-native and non-national uses of English enjoy a higher popularity among the Europe-wide audience, which may be taken as evidence for the fact that the latter uses of English are perceived to be more compatible with the prominent European character of the event.

One aspect that may have heightened this effect is the introduction of public televoting in 1998. Henceforth, the voting reflected the opinion of the audience across Europe more closely than in previous times of jury voting. The differences between the two periods would then indicate that native English carries higher professional prestige (jury members are often musical experts), whereas non-native uses of English may appeal more to the broad European masses. The preference for non-native English performances therefore represents a bottom-up Europeanisation effect.

Another reason for this development may be that the national uses of English as practised by the UK, IRL and MAL are increasingly met with reservation in a broader European context such as the ESC. This may be equally true for other countries using their national languages in the contest. Looking at the semi-final results of the ESC 2010, for example, one finds that 10 of the 14 countries that did not qualify for the final mainly or exclusively used a national language (i.e. BUL, CRO, FIN, MAC, MAL, NED, POL, SLK, SLO, SUI). Among the 20 qualifying countries, only 5 used a national language on stage (GRE, IRL, ISR, POR, SER).

4.5 Conclusion

The largely quantitative and historical analysis of language choice practices in the ESC in this chapter has revealed various aspects of the discursive formation of Europeanisation. More specifically, it has documented the language-related normativities as they have evolved throughout the history of the contest.

The early years of the contest (1956–1965) were largely driven by national language use as a normative practice and the use of French as a highly prestigious language of international communication. Initial signs of national de-essentialisation in terms of language choice led to the official prescription of the use of national languages on the ESC stage from 1966 onwards, and the joining of numerous non-Francophone countries to a gradual replacement of French as a *lingua franca* with English. The most recent phase of the contest (1999–2015) has seen an increasing use of non-national languages, and among these mainly of English. This rise of non-national English is associated with aspects that carry local prestige in the ESC: the downplaying of national representation, the indexing of a transnational, European affiliation, and the increase of communicative reach and potential commercial success. At the same time, it is equally obvious that the growing use of English has not led to a complete erasure of national languages, as these are still commonly used in the contest and show no (further) signs of decrease. A certain degree of variance in terms of the language choice strategies employed in the contest is today constructed as normal in this context. However, the decrease of code switching between national and non-national languages and the concomitant increase of non-national English as a language choice strategy in the latest phase of the contest indicate a subtractive effect to the detriment of national identity construction.

Viewed in total, the language choice practices documented roughly correspond to the reported preferences of the audience as they surfaced in a recent survey by Weigold (2015: 37–40) among 1000 ESC fans across Europe. The study found that 56.4 % of the subjects were in favour of the use of non-national English in the contest and 70.0 % were against the re-introduction of the national language rule, on grounds of its incompatibility with the general artistic freedom of the contest. Only the French subjects were mainly in favour of the use of national languages, which points to a protective stance concerning the use of French, whose function as a language of wider communication has almost completely been taken over by English in the ESC.

It is interesting to note that recent Europeanisation seems to be associated with a renouncing of prescriptive language-related normativities (national language rule; adherence to normative English-language standards), which are gradually being replaced with more descriptive

normativities. For example, while certain language choice strategies are more common than others, a departure from these majority patterns by individual performances is in general not viewed as negative or less valuable. Similarly, non-native and non-standard language use is not generally stigmatised but can potentially be read as a means of constructing a transnational European orientation. A central norm-negotiating element in this respect is public televoting, through which the Europe-wide audience decides which discursive mechanisms are deemed most compatible with the Europeanness of the contest.

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5

Code-Switching Practices in ESC Performances

5.1 De-Essentialising the Language–Nation Connection

The quantitative analyses of language choice practices in Chap. 4 were based on the premise that languages are clearly separable and, therefore, countable codes. Such a procedure builds on traditional and still dominant discourses that construct “languages” as self-evident and clearly delineable linguistic systems, often associated with particular nations. This conceptualisation has for a long time affected not just linguistics but also language policies, foreign language education, discussions of linguistic human rights and language preservation, as well as popular notions of linguistic diversity. However, as has been pointed out by Pennycook (2007: 136), such a conceptualisation of languages as countable is the result of a highly entrenched, monolingually biased metadiscursive regime (see also Makoni and Pennycook 2007).

Researchers in the fields of linguistic anthropology (e.g. Kroskrity 2000) and integrational linguistics (e.g. Harris 1999) have for quite some time highlighted that languages are neither discrete entities nor abstract systems.

Instead they have argued that “languages” are discursively produced and shaped in linguistic performance (Pennycook 2007; Thibault 2011; Thorne and Lantolf 2007). In a similar vein, Hopper has proposed the concept of “emergent grammar” (Bybee and Hopper 2001; Hopper 1998), which he contrasts with the “a-priori grammar perspective”. In this theorisation, linguistic structure is the result of continuing repetition across communicative practices. These instances of re-citation congeal over time and lead to the formation of structures that are described (and prescribed) in the codification of a language. Codification is, of course, not the endpoint of such a development. It rather represents a snapshot that pins something down to the state of a stable system that in reality is subject to continuous change in communication. In other words, the emergence of linguistic structure is a natural process that is today partly restricted by normative institutions such as grammars and dictionaries (Hopper 1998: 160). The claim that “language” is a discursive construction entails that speakers perform languages with words or, alternatively, engage in “linguaging” processes (Jørgensen 2008; Møller and Jørgensen 2009; see also related sociolinguistic concepts such as “polylingualism”, Jørgensen 2008; “transidiomatic practices”, Jacquemet 2005; or “metro-lingualism”, Otsuji and Pennycook 2010).

The present chapter aims to complement the relatively essentialist treatment of linguistic diversity in the analyses of the previous chapter by means of a qualitative examination of code-switching practices in ESC performances. Code switching between national and non-national languages has been found to be a common strategy that caters for the conflicting functions of national representation and transnational European communication at the same time. The use of non-national languages in such code-switched performances is a de-essentialising practice in the sense that national representation is not restricted to national language choice, that is, the normative ties between “language” and “nation” are weakened.

For the purposes of the present analysis, code switching in ESC performances is seen as a form of linguaging that carries European prestige. The linguistic practices documented in such performances cannot serve as evidence that the performing artists possess competences in several languages or have various language systems at their disposal. They are instead conceptualised as parts of a linguistic repertoire (see Androutsopoulos

2014; Blommaert and Backus 2012; Busch 2012), which consists of (often tokenistic) linguistic resources that are traditionally thought to belong to various “languages”. For many of these linguistic resources, the performers cannot claim ownership, nativeness or full competence. Still they constitute legitimate and functionable material that allows performers to convey certain identity-related messages. Linguistic repertoires typically contain a continuum of linguistic competence levels, ranging from extensive competences in a small number of languages to numerous minimal language competences, such as knowledge of individual lexical items that are often perceived as emblematic for certain languages (e.g. greetings) or even just the ability to recognise certain languages (see Blommaert and Backus 2012: 12–13). However, all components in an individual’s linguistic repertoire, even the most minimalist ones, possess a certain functional value:

The resources that enter into a repertoire are indexical resources, language materials that enable us to produce more than just linguistic meaning but to produce images of ourself [sic], pointing interlocutors towards the frames in which we want our meanings to be put. (Blommaert and Backus 2012: 26)

Linguistic repertoires possess a strong biographic association, as they reflect, and are perceived to reflect, the linguistic experiences of an individual.

The focus is here on the way in which individuals exploit linguistic resources independently of the normative notions of language boundaries, ownership, linguistic competence, national association and supposedly legitimate language use (see Møller and Jørgensen 2009: 145). It is obvious that an analysis of the language use in ESC performances cannot provide an in-depth description of a performer’s or lyricist’s linguistic repertoire as it has taken shape throughout his or her lifetime. What such an analysis can offer is a description of the languaging practices that artists use strategically in the contest to appeal to the pan-European audience and to attract votes. Consequently, the linguistic practices on the ESC stage can best be described as a matter of staged linguistic repertoires, which need not necessarily correspond with the artists’ actual linguistic repertoires. The way in which linguistic repertoires are staged is, of course, not random

but affected by the contextual function of representing a nation in a pan-European media event.

A staged linguistic repertoire that largely consists of resources from a country's national language suggests a (fictitious) life trajectory that is strongly national in its focus. Such a trajectory may be thought to be increasingly in conflict with processes of Europeanisation, which would rather favour cross-national intra-European mobility and cultural openness. These latter aspects can be indexed by staging a linguistic repertoire that is multilingual, no matter how minimalist this construction may be. A higher visibility of code-switching practices in the ESC, therefore, forms a component in the shifting of language-related normativities from nation-based monolingualism to European polylingualism.

The crossing potential (Auer 2006; Rampton 1999) of code switching varies with the non-national languages used. According to Rampton, a crucial aspect of language crossing is "that others don't think that you truly, seriously, mean or believe in the identity you're projecting" (Rampton 1999: 54). Due to the default status of ELF in the ESC, it can be assumed that code switching with non-national English does not normally cause the perceptual effects of crossing, because the association of ELF with Anglophone nations is diminished in this context. This means that questions of legitimacy in connection with the use of non-national English do not usually arise, while code switching with other non-national languages is more likely to make legitimacy a salient issue. Crossing is in principle independent of questions of proficiency or authenticity. The fact that a switch has taken place is more important than the question of how well the switch has been performed. It is the boundary-transgressing quality of crossing that makes it an excellent means of European identity construction.

5.2 The Structural Dimension of Code Switching

The analyses in the present chapter centre on the structural dimension of code switching in ESC performances. Code switching is typically defined in the following way:

Code-switching (CS) refers to the mixing, by bilinguals (or multilinguals), of two or more languages in discourse, often with no change of interlocutor or topic. Such mixing may take place at any level of linguistic structure, but its occurrence within the confines of a single sentence, constituent, or even word, has attracted most linguistic attention. (Poplack 2010 [2001]: 15)

Common structural distinctions are made between single-word and multiword switching and between intersentential and intrasentential switching¹ (Gardner-Chloros 2008: 63; for an overview of various, more detailed structural accounts of code switching, see Mahootian 2006: 517–524). These rather broad distinctions have to be refined to adapt them to code switching in Eurovision lyrics.

Code switching has mainly been studied in relation to spoken data (conversational code switching), even though written usage has been shown to be subject to similar code-switching mechanisms (see e.g. Callahan 2004). ESC lyrics are in some aspects similar to written texts because they are drafted and scripted before they are performed on stage. This means that the switches they contain are in most cases not spontaneous but well planned. On the other hand, performance lyrics may differ to some extent from the text originally written by the lyricist, that is, there is also some space for spontaneous switching, even though it is less likely to occur and normally restricted to short passages (e.g. when addressing the audience in the hall as part of the live performance).

Code switching in Eurovision lyrics may be minimal in the sense that the switched element has a low denotational information value and therefore contributes little to the content of a song. For example, the performance LAT 2009 (*Intars Busulis*—“Probka”) was sung entirely in Russian, but was introduced by the artist with a countdown in Latvian. Although this countdown does not contribute to the meaning of the song (*probka* means “traffic jam”), it nevertheless represents a minimalist construction of a Latvian national identity. As the CD recording of the song does not contain this countdown, it can be assumed that this national construction was specifically added to the performance in the ESC.

¹Another terminological distinction is sometimes made between (intersentential) code switching and (intrasentential) code mixing. However, as Mahootian (2006: 512) notes, the two terms are often used interchangeably in the research literature.

Minimal switching may also involve the insertion of proper names that index the presence of a second language:

(1) [German frame]

Am Sonntag mit Jimmy, am Montag mit Jack / Am Dienstag, da gehst du mit Johnny weg

“On Sunday with Jimmy, on Monday with Jack / On Tuesday, you go out with Johnny” [GER 1956b]

(2) [Spanish frame]

Oh Michèle, ¿dónde estás? “Oh, Michelle, where are you?” [ESP 1978]

(3) [Icelandic frame]

Louis hann söng margt sjúbíú / Sarah og Ella með

“Louis, he sang shoo-bee-doo a lot / Sarah and Ella, too”

Frankie hann söng New York, New York / Og sjúbíú, sjúbíú

“Frankie, he sang New York, New York / And shoo-bee-doo, shoo-bee-doo” [ISL 1996]

In excerpts 1 and 3, English proper names are inserted into an otherwise German or Icelandic frame. This mixing with English names is also paralleled on the musical level, because both performances stage musical genres that are associated with US American culture (GER 1956b: rock ‘n’ roll; ISL 1996: swing). In example 2, which is the first line of the performance ESP 1978, a French personal name is inserted into a Spanish frame. This French association is further strengthened by the chorus of the song, which is sung entirely in French (*Voulez-vous danser avec moi?* “Do you want to dance with me?”).

Another example of minimal switching is the largely English performance TUR 2009 (*Hadise*—“*Düm tek tek*”), which onomatopoeically mimics the sound of a drum as *düm tek tek*. Here it is only the high rounded front vowel [y] (represented by the letter <ü> in the written medium) that indexes Turkish as the source language, because such a vowel does not exist in English. The construction of a Turkish national identity is further supported on the audiovisual level of the performance

by ethnically inspired musical influences, dancing routines and costumes. Overall, the cases of minimal switching discussed illustrate that identity messages on the linguistic level tend to be reiterated on other performance levels.

Practices of mixing linguistic resources within a sentence can be described as a continuum ranging from embedded language (EL) islands to single-word switches to nonce borrowings to established borrowings. The boundaries between the individual types are fuzzy. Still certain criteria are usually adduced to facilitate categorisation. Established borrowings are in regular use, are considered to be fully available even to monolingual speakers of the target language, and have typically gone through a process of phonological, morphological or syntactic adaptation to the target language (Mahootian 2006: 513). Phonological assimilation can be an especially problematic criterion in this respect, as it necessitates a distinction between adaptations to the target language (for borrowings) and foreign accent features (for nonce borrowings and switches), which is hard to draw. Furthermore, it is notoriously difficult to separate borrowings from single-word switches, especially when the respective word does not show any overt inflection markers (Poplack 2010 [2001]: 18). Where inflections are present, they point to borrowing if they come from the host language and to switching if they come from the EL. Nonce borrowings are (despite their name) more similar to switches on a number of dimensions: like switches, they are spontaneous, not established, not adapted to the host language and used by speakers with a certain degree of bilingual competence.

According to the Matrix Language Frame model of code switching (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2010 [1995]), intrasentential switching involves the matrix language (ML), which generally provides the morphosyntactic frame (morpheme order and system morphemes), and the EL, from which mainly content morphemes are taken (Mahootian 2006: 522). Both languages are said to be activated at the same time, even though the ML predominates (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2010 [1995]: 24). More specifically, the Matrix Language Frame model makes predictions about the likelihood of certain morpheme types to come from the EL. Whereas the ML can supply all types of morphemes, the EL is most likely to supply content morphemes (e.g. nouns, verbs, adjectives, prepositions).

As an intentionally broad working definition for the present study, all forms that did not show any assimilation to the host language were considered as instances of code switching (i.e. including nonce borrowings and unassimilated established loans) (see also Picone (2002: 193) and Sarkar and Winer (2006: 178) for similarly broad definitions of code switching in relation to song lyrics). This was done to circumvent the problems associated with the structural distinction of the different types of interlingual phenomena and for two further reasons. Firstly, it is unlikely that the majority of the ESC audience would distinguish, for example, borrowings from single-word switches (see Callahan 2004: 38–40). Still people are generally aware of the insertion of foreign language material, even in cases where they show limited or no competence in the host language. Secondly, it is assumed that the insertion of foreign language material has the same effect independently of its structural status, namely that of downplaying national affiliation and indexing a wider, European orientation.

Besides the practices of minimal switching discussed above, ESC performances exhibit four major forms of code switching, ranging from macro- to micro-switching: switching between longer stretches of text, intersentential switching, interphrasal switching and intraphrasal switching. In the latter two, the grammars of the two languages involved are in direct contact. One problem for the analysis of code switching in song lyrics from a structural point of view is that such texts often do not contain full sentences (a problem that is similarly acute for conversational data). This makes it frequently impossible to determine the ML.

One frequently finds songs in the contest in which two (or more) languages are used over longer passages in alternation. In such performances, the languages used have the least degree of contact and, therefore, largely correspond to the notion of languages as separable entities. As switching is in general used between national and non-national languages, it is not surprising that macro-level switching widely coincides with the periods in which the national language rule was not in effect (i.e. 1956–1965, 1973–1976, 1999–2015). At the same time, it is apparent that macro-level switching has become more prominent in the latest phase of the contest.

Only three performances can be identified throughout the history of the contest that used macro-level code switching between national languages (SUI 1958, LUX 1993, MAL 2000). It is interesting to note that none of these performances dates from later than the year 2000, whereas code switching exclusively involving non-national languages is a fairly recent trend that has been employed in 12 performances from 2004 onwards (GER 2004, POL 2004, LAT 2005, AUT 2005, NED 2006, ROM 2006, EST 2008, LIT 2009, SWE 2009, NOR 2011, ROM 2012, RUS 2012). Macro-switching between national and non-national languages that involves the use of more than two languages is also a trend that has recently gained momentum (LUX 1985, GER 1999, POL 2003, POL 2006, ISR 2007, UKR 2007, EST 2008, ISR 2009, MAC 2011, BUL 2012, MNT 2012).

The structural types of code switching at the sentence level or below will in the following be illustrated with examples from ESC-LY (frame language and ELs are specified in square brackets; EL material is underlined). When only a single sentence is inserted, the grammars of the two languages are not in contact. Interestingly, such inserted sentences often represent love confessions (“I love you”, etc.), thereby establishing a connection between code switching and the construction of sexual desire (excerpts 4–7). Such switching practices suggest that love is constructed as an experience that transcends language (and national) boundaries and, therefore, represents a cross-European phenomenon:

(4) [French frame; English embedded]

Bye bye, I love you, love you

C’était le plus bel été de ma vie, I love you, chéri

“It was the most beautiful summer of my life [French], I love you [English], darling [French]” [LUX 1974]

(5) [Hebrew frame; English, Greek, French, Spanish embedded]

It’s my way to say I want you

S’agapo, je t’aime, I love you / Te amo, o pashut ohev otakh

“I love you [Greek], I love you [French], I love you [English]” / “I love you [Spanish], or simply I love you [Hebrew]” [ISR 2003]

(6) [English frame; French embedded]

Je t'adore, here's my heart, so take it

Je t'adore, only you can break it

"I adore you [French], ..." [BEL 2006]

(7) [Bulgarian frame; Turkish, Greek, Spanish, "Serbo-Croatian", French, Romani, Italian, Azerbaijani, Arabic, English embedded]

(a)

Seviyorum seni, s'agapao poli "I love you [Turkish], I love you much [Greek]"

Yo te quiero a ti, volim te, mon chéri

"I love you [Spanish], I love you ["Serbo-Croatian"], my darling [French]"

Teb obiçam, samo tebi obiçam "I love you, I love only you [Bulgarian]"

Teb obiçam kazvam az "I say that I love you [Bulgarian]"

(b)

But dehaftu mange, voglio bene a te "I love you much [Romani], I love you [Italian]"

Mən səni sevirəm, ya habibi, je t'aime

"I love you [Azerbaijani], my love [Arabic], I love you [French]"

Teb obiçam, samo tebi obiçam "I love you, I love only you [Bulgarian]"

Njama granici za nas, I love you so much

"There are no borders for us [Bulgarian], I love you so much [English]"

[BUL 2012]

Apart from such transnational love messages, inserted sentences often contain imperative verb forms and function as directives telling the addressee to take some sort of action, often to join in dancing or making music (excerpts 8–11):

(8) ["Serbo-Croatian" frame; English embedded]

Rock me, baby, nije važno šta je "... it is not important what is"

Rock me, baby, samo neka traje "... just let it persist"

Rock me, baby, ovo je za nervni stres

"... this is nerve-wrecking" [YUG 1989]

(9) [German frame; English embedded]

- (a) *Na dann shake it, take it, make it all right* “Well, then...”
 (b) *So rock me, Baby, heute ist alles egal* “... today nothing matters”
 (c) *Besser wir vergessen die, come on, let's dance*
 “We better forget them, ...” [GER 1994]

(10) [English frame; Spanish embedded]

Ven a bailar conmigo / Come dance with me tonight
 “Come and dance with me [Spanish]” / “...” [NOR 2007]

(11) [Spanish frame; English embedded]

Come on and take me, come on and shake me
Quiero saber lo que sientes por mí
 “I want to know what you feel about me”
Come on and take me, come on and shake me
¿Que no lo ves que estoy loca por tí? “Can't you see that I'm crazy about you?”
Come set me free, just you and me
La noche es para mí “The night is for me” [ESP 2009]

Code-switched sentences may also directly refer to European identity formation. The following examples show calls for Europeans to unite (excerpt 12), to tear down walls or borders between countries (excerpt 13), or to celebrate and join in partying (excerpt 14):

(12) [Italian frame; English embedded]

Insieme. Unite, unite, Europe. “Together. ...” [ITA 1990]

(13) [German frame; English, French, “Serbo-Croatian” embedded]

- (a) *Keine Mauern mehr, no walls anywhere / Tombées les barrières, keine Mauern mehr*
 “No walls anymore [German], no walls anywhere [English]” / “Fallen (are) the walls [French], no walls anymore [German]”

(b) *Nema više zidova, keine Mauern mehr*

“There are no walls anymore [“Serbo-Croatian”], no walls anymore [German]” [AUT 1990]

(14) [Spanish frame; English embedded]

Europe’s living a celebration / Todos juntos, vamos a cantar

“Europe’s living a celebration [English] / All together, we’re going to sing [Spanish]”

Europe’s living a celebration / Nuestro sueño – una realidad

“Europe’s living a celebration [English] / Our dream – a reality [Spanish]” [ESP 2002]

When more than one performer sings in a performance, switching between sentences often coincides with singer alternation. In mixed-sex duets, for example, the female singer may use one language in her solo parts and the male singer another. Examples include ITA 1976 (*Al Bano* singing in Italian and *Romina Power* singing in English), CYP 2000 (*Alexandros Panayi* singing in Italian and *Christina Argyri* singing in Greek) and ROM 2008 (*Vlad* singing mainly in Romanian and *Nico* singing mainly in Italian).

A similarly gendered example, though of higher multilingual complexity, is the performance NOR 1973 (*Bendik Singers*—“It’s just a game”), in which over wide stretches, the two female group members sing in French, while the two male group members are simultaneously singing in English (and vice versa). In the remaining parts, the singers perform (mostly phrasal) switches that can be read as emblematic for various European languages: Dutch (*o goeie genade*), Finnish (*rakkaani*), German (e.g. *Sag nur ich liebe dich*), Hebrew (*yekiri*), Irish (*mo chuisle*), Italian (*o mamma mia*), Norwegian (*skål*), “Serbo-Croatian” (*dragi*) and Spanish (e.g. *caro querido*). Again switching is here connected to sexual identity construction, with the German switch involving an “I love you” formula and the Finnish, Hebrew, Irish, “Serbo-Croatian” and Spanish switches representing terms of endearment.

Another example of a performance that illustrates simultaneous language and singer switching is GER 1999 (*Sürpriz*—“Reise nach Jerusalem – Kudüs’e seyahat”). This performance contains a part in which two female singers (F1 and F2) alternate singing sentences in English and Turkish. They are later joined by a male singer (M), who switches from a Turkish to a German sentence (a more detailed analysis of this performance is provided in Sect. 7.2):

(15) [German frame; English, Turkish embedded]

[F1:] *We walk hand in hand to a peaceful land*

[F2:] *Barış olsun diye yürüyelim el ele*

“I wish there was peace and all would be hand in hand [Turkish]”

[F1:] *We walk hand in hand to a peaceful land*

[F2:] *Dost kalırsak eğer yarışmaya değer*

“There would be friendship and no quarrels [Turkish]”

[F1:] *And if we stay friends, a dream will live forever*

[M:] *Ve bir zaman, hedefe vardığımız an / Irgendwann kommen wir an*

“And all this will happen in the future [Turkish]” / “Some day we will arrive [German]” [GER 1999]

Code-switched sentences may also be inserted to mark passages as quotations. For example, in the performance MON 1970 (*Dominique Dussault*—“Marlène”), the singer, who poses as German actress *Marlene Dietrich*, inserts German and English sentences into the otherwise French lyrics:

(16) [French frame; German, English embedded]

Sie sagte: ‘Die Liebe, das ist mein Leben’ / ‘Nur auf die bin ich eingestellt’

“She said: ‘Love, that is my life’ / ‘I am focused only on it’ [German]”

Non, non, je ne peux pas “No, no, I cannot [French]”

‘I want you, I love you, darling’ / ‘I’ve got you’

Je ne pourrai jamais, jamais chanter comme ça

“I could never ever sing like that [French]” [MON 1970]

A similar example of a quotation switch can be found in ITA 1984 (*Alice & Battiato*—“I treni di Tozeur”). The performance is sung in Italian, but towards the end of the song the background choir sings a German passage quoted from Mozart’s *Magic Flute*: *Doch wir wollen dir ihn zeigen und du wirst* (“But we want to show him to you and you will”).²

²The quoted passage ends right in the middle of the sentence. The complete sentence from the original reads: “Doch wir wollen ihn dir zeigen und du wirst mit Staunen sehn, dass er dir sein Herz geweiht.” (“But we want to show him to you and you will see with astonishment that he has dedicated his heart to you.”) The passage is taken from the scene in which the three boys tell *Pamina* that *Tamino* loves her.

As far as the insertion of phrases within clauses or sentences is concerned, all kinds of phrases occur as switches in ESC lyrics, even though noun phrases are most frequent.³ The focus is here on phrases that form sentential constituents. Such phrases question monolingual normativities more strongly, because they represent instances in which the grammars of the two languages are in contact and cannot be neatly separated. The extracts in (17) illustrate switched noun phrases, whereas the examples in (18) show other switched phrase types (adjective and adverb phrases):

(17)

(a) [German frame; French embedded]

... *das ist alles l'amour*

"... that is all [German] (the) love [French]" [SUI 1969]

(b) [Finnish frame; English embedded]

Koskaan sano en the end

"I will never say [Finnish] the end [English]" [FIN 1986]

(c) [German frame; English embedded]

Bei dem einen, den ich meine, da habt ihr no chance

"With the one that I mean you have [German] no chance [English]" [GER 1994]

(d) [English frame; Spanish embedded]

[MI:] *Every night I need mi loca. Every night I need her boca*

"Every night I need [English] my crazy girl. [Spanish] Every night I need her [English] mouth [Spanish]"

[F:] *Every night I need mi loco. Need him crazy just un poco*

"Every night I need [English] my crazy boy. [Spanish] Need him crazy just [English] a bit [Spanish]" [MOL 2006]

(18)

(a) [Spanish frame; English embedded]

Ella es made in Spain, la mejor garantía

"She is [Spanish] made in Spain [English], the best guarantee [Spanish]" [ESP 1988]

³This is a common finding across studies on code switching (see e.g. Callahan 2004: 48).

(b) [German frame; Italian, English embedded]

Zusammen gehn zum Horizont

“To go together to the horizon [German]”

Insieme a te, together strong

“Together with you [Italian], together strong [English]” [AUT 1992]

(c) [Portuguese frame; English embedded]

De mar em mar, hey / Ver e vencer, hey / Amar, amar / Sempre, sempre, anyway

“From sea to sea, hey / To see and to conquer, hey / To love, to love / Always, always [Portuguese], anyway [English]”

De mar em mar, hey / Ver e vencer, hey / Amar, amar / Always, day by day

“From sea to sea, hey / To see and to conquer, hey / To love, to love [Portuguese] / Always, day by day [English]” [POR 2005]

With intraphrasal switching, the two languages are in even closer contact. In mixed phrases, content morphemes are normally expected to come from the EL, whereas system morphemes usually originate from the ML (see Mahootian 2006: 522; Myers-Scotton and Jake 2010 [1995]). Noun phrases (NPs) are the most frequently found mixed phrase type:

(19) [German frame; English embedded]

Man wählte die Miss Germany, Miss Frankreich und Miss Italy

“One selected the [German] Miss Germany, Miss [English] France and [German] Miss Italy [English]” [GER 1957]

Excerpt (19) illustrates different types of noun-phrase-related switching. The first noun phrase (*die Miss Germany*) consists of a system morpheme (the definite article *die*) from German as the ML and content morphemes (nouns) from English as the EL. The second noun phrase (*Miss Frankreich*) shows a juxtaposition of content morphemes from English and German. Finally, the third noun phrase (*Miss Italy*) is not mixed but consists entirely of content morphemes from the EL.

Other examples of mixed noun phrases from performances throughout the years include the excerpts in (20) (ML = matrix language; EL = embedded language):

(20)

- (a) *ein Weekend* “a weekend” (German frame; English embedded; ML indefinite article + EL noun) [SUI 1958]
- (b) *die Teenager* “the teenagers” (German frame; English embedded; ML definite article + EL noun) [GER 1959]
- (c) *liukas playboy* “smooth playboy” (Finnish frame; English embedded; ML adjective + EL noun) [FIN 1966]
- (d) *meine Swiss Lady* “my Swiss lady” (German frame; English embedded; ML possessive + EL adjective + EL noun) [SUI 1977]
- (e) *zo’n klein chanson* “such a little song” (Dutch frame, French embedded; ML adverb + ML indefinite article + ML adjective + EL noun) [NED 1983]
- (f) *le white and black blues* “the white and black blues” (French frame; English embedded; ML definite article + EL adjective + EL conjunction + EL adjective + EL noun) [FRA 1990]
- (g) *old Bruxelles* “old Brussels” (English frame, French embedded; ML adjective + EL noun) [IRL 1990]
- (h) (*auf*) *uns’rem Highway* “(on) our highway” (German frame; English embedded; ML possessive + EL noun) [AUT 1997]
- (i) *that crazy baba* “that crazy old woman” (English frame, Romanian embedded; ML demonstrative + ML adjective + EL noun) [MOL 2005]
- (j) *los brother* “the brothers” (Spanish frame; English embedded; ML definite article + EL noun) [ESP 2008]
- (k) *the nor par* “the new dance” (English frame, Armenian embedded; ML definite article + EL adjective + EL noun) [ARM 2009]

If one compares the original phrases with the English translations, one can see that grammatical morphemes are particularly unlikely to come from the EL. For example, the inflections required in the English translations do not occur with the embedded English forms (cf. *Teenager*, *brother* as plural forms in 20b and 20j). In all examples in (20), the EL contributes the nominal head plus an optional adjective, that is, content morphemes. In only one of the examples (20f), a system morpheme is embedded, namely the conjunction *and* in *white and black blues*, which points to an EL island. Otherwise system morphemes such as articles and pronouns do not come from the EL.

Switching may occasionally occur between the two components of a compound:

(21)

(a) [English frame; German embedded]

Please put your patsche hands together

lit. "...your [English] clap [German] hands... [English]"

For the sensational super sack of German television

lit. "... super [English] sod [German] of ... [English]"

(b) [German frame; English embedded]

kein Actionheld

"no [German] action [English] hero [German]" [GER 2007]

Other mixed phrase types apart from noun phrases are illustrated in (22) (verb and prepositional phrases):

(22)

(a) [German frame; English embedded]

Sie pushen Beckham und stürzten Clinton

"they push Beckham and overthrew Clinton"

(embedded English verb *push* with German 3rd person plural inflection *-en*)
[GER 2007]

(b) [German frame; English embedded]

[...] *für girls and boys* "for girls and boys"

(ML preposition + EL-coordinated NP) [AUT 1977]

In some cases of code switching in the corpus, it is more difficult to determine ML and EL. Consider the following excerpt:

(23) [English frame; Romanian embedded]

Bunica beat the drum-a like I never heard before

"Grandmother [Romanian] beat the drum ... [English]" [MOL 2005]

In this excerpt, English provides the largest part of the linguistic material. This would normally suggest that English is the ML and Romanian the EL. There are two instances in which a switch from English to Romanian takes place. The first is the Romanian lexeme *bunica* “grandmother”, which functions as the subject of the sentence and stands before the verb. This switch is unremarkable, as it represents a content morpheme provided by the EL, which is a common phenomenon. On the other hand, in the second switch, it is definitely a system morpheme that is inserted, namely the ending *-a* attached to the English noun *drum*. This ending corresponds to the feminine singular form of the definite clitic in Romanian, which means that definiteness is marked twice in this noun phrase (by the Romanian clitic and by the English definite article). The English parts of the sentence also contain system morphemes (*the, I*), and therefore it is not possible to decide which of the two languages counts as the ML.

Another interesting example occurs in the performance BOS 2001 (*Nino Pršeš*—“Hano”). The chorus of the song is several times sung entirely in Bosnian:

(24)

Hano, hajde, de, zar ti oči ne vide? / Zar ti duša ne sluša kad kažem da volim te?

“Hanna, come, come on, don’t your eyes see?” / “Does your soul not hear when I say that I love you?” [BOS 2001]

The chorus contains a direct address to a female person that is constructed as the desired object. The name of the addressee is *Hana*, but it is used here in the vocative case (*Hano*). An English version of the chorus is also used twice in the performance:

(25) [English frame; Bosnian embedded]

*Hano, come, come on, tell me what is going on
Tell me, would it be alright for me to be your light?*

The English chorus is not a translation of the Bosnian chorus. However, the two versions are clearly connected through the direct

address *Hano*, which is used in both. It is interesting that the English version also uses the name with the Bosnian vocative inflection, that is, inserting a Bosnian system morpheme. This is even more remarkable as the ending *-o* in personal names is in many European languages associated with male names. Recipients who have no command of Bosnian or related varieties are therefore more likely to decode the name in the English version as male. This gives rise to competing sexuality discourses, with a heterosexual reading targeting the national audience (and other audiences consisting of L1 speakers of mutually comprehensible South Slavic languages) and a potentially gay male reading for some other parts of the Europe-wide audience.

A last example that blurs the distinction between ML and EL is the performance FRA 2007 (*Les Fatales Picards*—“L’amour à la française”). As can be seen from the lyrics excerpts presented in (26) below, the artists use a mixture of English and French which they call *Français* (French parts are underlined).⁴

(26) [FRA 2007]

Lyrics	Translation
1 <i>I remember <u>jolie demoiselle</u></i>	I remember beautiful girl
2 <i>The last <u>summer</u>, <u>nous</u>, <u>la tour Eiffel</u></i>	The last summer, us, the Eiffel Tower
3 <i>I remember <u>comme tu étais belle</u></i>	I remember how beautiful you were
4 <i>So beautiful with your <u>sac Chanel</u></i>	So beautiful with your Chanel handbag
... [...]	[...]
[Chorus:]	
21 <i><u>Et je cours</u>, <u>je cours</u>, <u>je cours</u></i>	And I run, I run, I run
22 <i>I've lost <u>l'amour</u>, <u>l'amour</u>, <u>l'amour</u></i>	I've lost love, love, love
23 <i><u>Je suis perdu</u>, here without you</i>	I'm lost, here without you
24 <i>And I'm crazy, <u>seul à Paris</u></i>	And I'm crazy, alone in Paris
25 <i><u>Je tu le manques</u>, <u>sans toi</u> I can't</i>	I miss you, without you I can't
26 <i><u>Et sous la pluie</u>, I feel sorry</i>	And under the rain, I feel sorry
27 <i><u>Champs-Élysées</u>, alone, <u>la nuit</u></i>	Champs-Élysées, alone, the night
28 <i><u>Le Moulin Rouge</u>, I feel guilty</i>	The Moulin Rouge, I feel guilty
... [...]	[...]

⁴The full lyrics can be found here: <http://www.diggiloo.net/?2007fr>

The performance exhibits a high degree of fluctuation in the linguistic resources used. English and French are in extensive contact throughout the lyrics, which surfaces in particular in the wealth of EL islands. The two languages also switch their roles as ML and EL several times in the text. In some parts, the lyrics do not consist of full clauses or sentences but only of phrases, for which ML and EL status cannot be determined (cf. l. 27–28: *Champs-Élysées, alone, la nuit / Le Moulin Rouge*; or at a later point in the song: *A souvenir, a rendez-vous / Des fleurs, des fleurs, des fleurs for you*). Most EL islands in the text are French (often sentence adverbials; for example, l. 6: *sur le pont de la Seine*; l. 26: *et sous la pluie*). They show grammatically well-formed French structures and a French word order that is in some cases clearly different from English (l. 2: *la tour Eiffel* [vs. English *the Eiffel Tower*]; l. 4: *sac Chanel* [vs. English *Chanel handbag*]; l. 22: *l'amour* [vs. English *love*, without a determiner]).

One may be inclined to see French as the EL for large parts of the lyrics. However, when considering pronunciation, one finds that over wide stretches the English parts contain stress patterns that depart from those of native or Standard English. The instances in which the performance stress deviates from traditional stress norms are marked in bold print in (26). It is apparent that many English words are stressed on their final syllable, a stress pattern more typically associated with French (as opposed to English, which often shows Germanic word-initial stress). Examples include *remember* (l. 1), *summer* (l. 2), *beautiful* (l. 4), *crazy* (l. 24), *sorry* (l. 26), and *guilty* (l. 28). This indicates that, even though English lexical items are used, French is simultaneously activated. Sometimes English function words carry stress in the performance, although they are usually unstressed in Standard English (for instance, the indefinite article *a* or the pronouns *it* and *you*, e.g. in l. 23). Finally, line 25 contains the English words *I can't* without a main verb following. This creates the impression of a French structure with English wording, because constructions like *Je ne peux pas/plus* without a main verb are perfectly possible in French, whereas main verb deletion is in English (normatively) restricted to contexts where the main verb has been explicated beforehand.

A final aspect to be noted about this performance is the competition of sexual identity discourses along language lines. The English components

of the lyrics do not specify the sex of the desired object, which is referred to by means of the gender-neutral pronouns *you* and *your* throughout the song. This is different in the French parts, which from the beginning clearly specify the addressee as female, namely by means of the lexically gendered form *demoiselle* (“girl”, 1.1) and the grammatically feminine adjectival form *belle* (“beautiful”, 1.3). Note that spoken French normally facilitates gender-ambiguous scenarios because most inflectional gender distinctions are only made in the written medium, whereas in spoken usage feminine and masculine forms are often homophonous. The French parts of the lyrics, therefore, sketch out a heterosexual scenario between the male singer and a female addressee, whereas the English part in isolation is sexually open. This indicates a connection between national and heteronormative desire construction on the one hand, and between European and non-heteronormative desire construction on the other. This may lead to different interpretations in different subparts of the audience, as not everybody is able to understand both languages.

5.3 The Functional Dimension of Code Switching

Code switching in song lyrics, and in ESC performances more specifically, may fulfil various functions that differ to some extent from those of conversational code switching (see Picone 2002, Sarkar and Winer 2006 and, for an overview of previous studies on lyrical code switching, Davies and Bentahila 2008: 248–249). Lyrics are carefully crafted, and when they contain code switching, this is normally consciously employed for a certain artistic purpose. Code switching enables artists to create multiple messages for various subparts of the audience. For example, national language components in ESC lyrics may be geared towards the own national audience, whereas non-national English passages cater for a wider European audience. We have already seen this in relation to the linguistic construction of sexual desire in ESC performances, with heterosexual messages being more likely to target a national audience and non-heteronormative messages being more likely to target a pan-European audience (see excerpts 24–26 in Sect. 5.2).

Two macro-functions of code switching stand out as particularly important for languaging in ESC performances, both with a socially oriented meaning: the directive function (including or excluding listeners) and the expressive function (indexing a mixed cultural identity; Gross 2006: 508). Directive and expressive function may be in competition in ESC performances. As far as the directive function is concerned, the use of linguistic resources from a national language may be understood in terms of linguistic maintenance and as excluding large parts of the Europe-wide audience. The use of non-national linguistic material may be interpreted in terms of convergence, that is, the performer targets a particular community of language users to gain social acceptance, which in this context is meant to translate into votes. As English is the language that is most widely spoken across Europe, it goes with the highest inclusiveness rate in this respect.

In relation to the expressive function, national language use constitutes an act of identity that emphasises national affiliation, whereas the use of resources from non-national European languages indexes a transnational, European affiliation. Code switching thus becomes a means of linguistically transgressing boundaries that are normatively connected to nations, and this is compatible with Europeanisation. The mixing of national and non-national linguistic resources enables artists on the ESC stage to construct hybrid identities that incorporate both national and European affiliations. That switching between national languages and non-national English occurs regularly in the contest suggests that inclusion and Europeanisation possess higher prestige in the ESC than exclusion and nationalism.

It is evident from the functional description above that code switching in ESC lyrics is a matter of metaphorical or emblematic (rather than transactional or situational) switching (Callahan 2004: 5; Kelly-Holmes 2005: 11), that is, it expresses identity-related meanings that are viewed as positive by the production and/or reception side. This is remarkable because traditionally code switching is viewed in negative terms (by non-linguists). Such attitudes are based on purist discourses that see monolingualism as the norm and stipulate that people should (for reasons of transparency and inclusion) not use communicative means that are not understood by recipients. For song lyrics, however, intelligibility is not

invariably the most important issue. Recipients may like a song even if the lyrics are (partly) in a language that they do not understand (Davies and Bentahila 2008: 250).

An analysis of the ESC-LY data shows that one can identify several more specific micro-functions of code switching in ESC performances. Many of these are well known from previous code-switching research (see Callahan 2004: 71–80; Gumperz 1982: 75–80), others are idiosyncratic to ESC lyrics. The micro-functions that predominate in the present data are: greetings (and leave-takings), exclamations, translations, quotations, direct address of a desired object, and references to love.⁵ What unites all of these functions is their social orientation, that is, they are employed to index certain identities or to achieve a certain effect in the audience.

Code switching that involves the insertion of small structures (individual lexical items or phrases) does not usually presuppose any deeper knowledge of the EL on the side of the lyricist or the audience (cf. also Kelly-Holmes 2005: 11–12 in relation to multilingual advertising). Many such switches involve set phrases and phraseological units which often need not even be incorporated into a syntactic frame and can easily be used in isolation. In the following, those functional categories that occur regularly in the corpus will be illustrated.

Code switching in ESC lyrics may involve the use of greetings or leave-taking formulas, which stand emblematically for a certain language (and often an associated nation). These may be assumed to be widely known by the audience across Europe, that is, the linguistic repertoires of many Europeans contain such items, even if they have no actual command of the respective languages. In general, greetings have a phatic function. In ESC performances, they represent attempts to directly engage the audience (in a similar way as the code-switched imperative sentences discussed in Sect. 5.2, excerpts 8–11). The following examples illustrate such switched greetings and leave-takings:

⁵Callahan (2004: 75) distinguishes the following functions, which partly correspond to those identified for the ESC-LY (here in brackets): vocative (cf. direct address of desired object), set phrases, tags and exclamations (cf. exclamations, greetings), commentary and repetition (cf. translations), expletives, discourse markers and directives. Expletives and discourse markers are a rare code-switching category in ESC performances.

(27)

(a) [English frame; French embedded]

[M1:] *So long*, [M2:] *so long*, [M1:] *au revoir*, [M2:] *au revoir*

“So long, so long [English], goodbye, goodbye [French]”

[B:] *It's hard, but I'll pull through* [UK 1961]

(b) [German frame; French embedded]

Bonjour, bonjour, es ist schön dich mal wiederzusehen

“Hello, hello [French], it is nice to see you again [German]”

Bonjour, bonjour, grade heut' scheint die Sonne so schön

“Hello, hello [French], today of all days the sun is shining so beautifully

[German]” [SUI 1969]

(c) [Norwegian frame; French embedded]

Tro meg, vi kan ta adieu

“Believe me, we can say [Norwegian] goodbye [French]” [NOR 1982]

(d) [Bosnian frame; English embedded]

Goodbye, o o o o o, zbogom ljubavi

“Goodbye [English] oh oh oh oh oh, goodbye love [Bosnian]” [BOS 1997]

(e) [English frame, Spanish embedded]

Hasta la vista, baby / I'm gonna miss you, maybe

“Goodbye [Spanish], baby ... [English]”

Hasta la vista, blame me / But I don't care

“Goodbye [Spanish], blame me ... [English]” [BLR 2008]

One performance that maximally exploits this strategy is YUG 1969 (*Ivan & 3M*—“Pozdrav svijetu”, “A greeting to the world”). It mainly consists of translations of the greeting “good morning” inserted into a “Serbo-Croatian” frame. Besides the frame language form *dobar dan*, it contains corresponding Spanish (*buenos días*), German (*Guten Tag*), French (*bonjour*), English (*good morning*), Dutch (*goedendag*), Italian (*buongiorno*), Russian (*zdravstvuyte*) and Finnish (*hyvää päivää*) expressions. Although this performance is entitled “a greeting to the world”, it is obvious that a selection of European languages is used, which suggests that “the world” that is being addressed consists of large parts of Europe rather than the entire world (non-European languages being notably absent). Still, it is

remarkable that Russian is also used in the song, because 1969 was a long time before RUS finally joined the contest in 1994. The concept of Europe constructed by the Yugoslav song is therefore a highly inclusive one for the Cold War period of the late 1960s and can be explained by the dual affiliation of YUG with Western and Eastern Europe during that time.

A functional category related to greetings also commonly employed in ESC lyrics for phatic reasons is code-switched exclamations of various kinds, as illustrated in (28):

(28)

(a) [German frame; French, English, Spanish embedded]

Ein Hoch der Liebe, vive l'amour / Three cheers for love, viva l'amor

“A toast to love [German], long live love [French] / Three cheers for love [English], long live love [Spanish]”

Die unsre Welt so jung erhält

“which keeps our world so young [German]” [GER 1968]

(b) [French frame; Italian embedded]

Avanti, avanti la vie / Traverse la mémoire des hommes

“Forward, forward [Italian] in life / Cross the history of mankind [French]”

Du cœur et des poings, avanti

“Heart and fists [French], forward [Italian]” [BEL 1984]

(c) [Hebrew frame; English embedded]

Happy birthday to you, khalomot yitgashmu

“Happy birthday to you [English], dreams will come true [Hebrew]” [ISR 1999]

(d) [English frame; Greek embedded]

Ela, ela, ela, la. I'll make your heart go bang, bang

“Come on, come on, come on, come. [Greek] I'll make your heart go bang, bang [English]” [CYP 2005]

(e) [English frame; Armenian embedded]

Come gele, move gele

“Come [English] let's go [Armenian], come [English] let's go [Armenian]” [ARM 2008]

While code-switched greetings and leave-taking formulas are commonly used in ESC lyrics to address an audience broader than the national audience, one can see that code-switched exclamations do not always fulfil this function. In excerpts (28a) to (28c), they seem to show this audience-extending function, whereas excerpts (28d) and (28e) come from performances that are mainly sung in non-national English. In such performances, switching fulfils the function of giving an otherwise non-national linguistic performance a national (here: Greek/Armenian) touch.

Another code-switching pattern that occurs frequently in ESC performances is the specification of musical genres via switched linguistic material. Such shifts are largely restricted to the embedding of English and French music-related terms, which pays witness to the musical influence of the French “chanson” and a range of US-based musical genres:

(29)

(a) [German frame; English embedded]

Rhythm and Blues, Rock ‘n’ Roll, Reggae, Shuffle oder Soul

“Rhythm and blues, rock ‘n’ roll, reggae, shuffle [English] or [German] soul [English]” [AUT 1977]

(b) [German frame; English embedded]

Er spielte Rock ‘n’ Roll, er spielte Dixieland

“He played [German] rock ‘n’ roll [English], he played [German] dixieland [English]”

Und war bekannt als die One-Man-Mountain-Band

“And was known as the [German] One-Man-Mountain-Band [English]” [SUI 1977]

(c) [Dutch frame; English, French embedded]

Sing me a song / Zo’n klein chanson

“Sing me a song [English] / Such a little [Dutch] song [French]”

Blues, ballads of folk / Kinderliedjes mag ook

“Blues, ballads of folk [English] / Children’s songs are allowed too [Dutch]” [NED 1983]

(d) [German frame; English embedded]

Ich hab genau so’n Hip-Hop Feeling wie du

“I have exactly such a [German] hip-hop feeling [English] as you [German]” [GER 1994]

Code switching may also be exploited for rendering direct speech in ESC performances. In the following example, the female singer of the band *Novi Fosili* (YUG 1987) sings in “Serbo-Croatian”, but passages attributed to the male protagonist of the story narrated by the song are sung in English (passages in brackets are sung by the backing singers):

(30) [“Serbo-Croatian” frame; English embedded]

(a) *Odjednom se stvori, ja čujem govori: ('This is okay') ('This is okay')*
 “Suddenly he appears, I hear him say: [“Serbo-Croatian”] ‘This is okay. This is okay.’ [English]”

(b) *Čujem nešto kao: 'Do you wanna dance?'*
 “I hear something like: [“Serbo-Croatian”] ‘Do you wanna dance?’ [English]” [YUG 1987]

Some performances incorporate quotations from other, internationally famous songs. The following excerpts (31–33) contain song titles of the *Beatles* (“Yesterday”; “A hard day’s night”), *Frank Sinatra* (“New York, New York”), *Elvis Presley* (“Love me tender”), the *Mamas and Papas* (“California Dreamin’”) and *Bob Dylan* (“Blowin’ in the wind”), and partly also references to the respective artists:

(31) [Swedish frame; English embedded]

(a) *Beatles gav oss sin musik, 'Yesterday', vad den var fin*
 “The Beatles gave us their music, [Swedish] ‘Yesterday’ [English], how nice it was [Swedish]”

(b) *Många gick och nynna på / 'A Hard Day's Night' fast de var små*
 “A lot of people went around humming [Swedish] / ‘A hard day’s night’ [English] although they were small [Swedish]” [SWE 1977]

(32) [Icelandic frame; English embedded]

(a) *Frankie hann söng 'New York, New York'*
 “Frankie, he sang [Icelandic] ‘New York, New York’ [English]”

(b) *Manst' eftir Elvis syngja 'Love Me Tender?'*
 “Do you remember Elvis singing [Icelandic] ‘Love me tender?’ [English]” [ISL 1996]

(33) [Norwegian frame; English embedded]

(a) *Det føles ennå som det var i går / Da alle sang: ‘Make love, not war’*
 “It still feels like yesterday / When everybody sang: [Norwegian] ‘Make love, not war’ [English]”

(b) *Da det å være bror og søster var in / California dreamin’*
 “Being brothers and sisters was in [Norwegian] California dreamin’ [English]”

De store spørsmål og et åpent sinn / Svarene was blowin’ in the wind
 “Important questions and an open mind / The answers were [Norwegian] blowin’ in the wind [English]” [NOR 1997]

Performances paying overt homage to Anglophone (musical) cultures, as illustrated above, in general achieve poor results in the ESC. For example, SWE 1977 and NOR 1997 both came last in their respective years. Such performances, therefore, seem to be perceived as less compatible with the Europeanness of the context by large parts of the audience.

Songs may also use code switching to quote from previous Eurovision songs, thereby creating intertextual links between ESC performances. For example, the performance GER 1994 (*Mekado*—“Wir geben ‘ne Party”) repeatedly quotes the chorus of the winning ESC entry 1989 (YUG 1989: *Riva*—“Rock me”):

(34) [German frame; English embedded]

So rock me, Baby, heut ist alles egal

“So rock me, baby [English], today nothing matters [German]” [GER 1994]

Interestingly, GER 1994 was a relatively successful entry (ranking third) compared to the performances in (31) to (33). This indicates that it is less the use of code-switched English passages in general that carries lower prestige in the contest but rather the use of English in reference to (native) Anglophone cultures.

Another example of ESC intertextuality through code switching was the Irish entry 2008 (Dustin the Turkey—“*Irlande douze pointe*” [sic]), whose French title (embedded within an English frame) represents a quote from previous voting announcements in the contest. As IRL is the

country that has won the ESC most often (seven times), the speech act attributing 12 points to IRL in French is certainly one that viewers of previous contests regularly heard in the past. However, as this particular switch conveys an explicitly nationally focused message (IRL is said to be awarded the maximum number of points), it is maybe not surprising that the performance was not particularly popular with the pan-European audience and failed to pass the semi-final.

Another function of code switching in ESC lyrics is the translation of text passages into other European languages, to get the respective message across to a higher number of people in the audience. For example, in the performance AUT 1985 (*Gary Lux*—“Kinder dieser Welt”), translations of the German word *Kinder* “children” into a range of European languages were sung by the backing singers (including German *die Kinder*, Swedish *barn*, Spanish *los niños*, French *les enfants*, Italian *bambini*, and Portuguese *crianças*).⁶ Translations in ESC lyrics range from literal word-by-word translations to approximate renditions and may involve several languages (see excerpts 35–37) or two languages (excerpt 38):

(35) [Maltese frame; Italian, Spanish, German, English embedded]

(a) *L'imhabba hi bacio, beso, Küsse*

“Love is [Maltese] kiss [Italian], kiss [Spanish], kisses [German]”

(b) *L-imhabba hi bacio, bewsa, u kiss*

“Love is [Maltese] kiss [Italian], kiss, and [Maltese] kiss [English]” [MAL 1972]

(36) [Portuguese frame; Italian, French, German, English embedded]

Addio, adieu, auf Wiederseh'n, goodbye

“Goodbye [Italian], goodbye [French], goodbye [German], goodbye [English]”

Amore, amour, meine Liebe, love of my life

“Love [Italian], love [French], my love [German], love of my life [English]”

[POR 1980]

⁶There are three more languages involved in the performance, but which languages and which specific forms are used is not discernible. The lyricist (personal communication) cannot remember the missing words and languages either. The studio version of the song is less multilingual than the version in the ESC performance.

(37) [German frame; Turkish, English embedded]

Selâm, selâm, hand in hand on the journey to Jerusalem

“Hi, hi [Turkish], hand in hand on the journey to Jerusalem [English]”

Selâm, selâm, lasst uns gehn auf die Reise nach Jerusalem

“Hi, hi [Turkish], let’s go on our journey to Jerusalem [German]”

Selâm, selâm, hadi gidelim Kudüs’e hep birlikte

“Hi, hi, come on, let’s all go to Jerusalem together [Turkish]” [GER 1999]

(38) [Bosnian frame; French embedded]

[M:] *Šta smo ti i ja* “What are we, you and I [Bosnian]”

[F:] *Que sommes-nous, toi et moi / Sinon des voyageurs sans place?*

“What are we, you and me / If not travellers without a place? [French]”

[BOS 1999]

Finally, it is apparent that love is a central theme that is expressed by means of code switching in ESC lyrics. The reasoning behind this involves a (questionable, see Wilkins and Gareis 2006) belief that love and the expression of love are universal human experiences to which viewers across Europe can easily and equally relate, that is, love is constructed as a phenomenon that transcends national boundaries. Code-switched passages often contain a noun denoting “love” (see 39 a, b) or translations of the sentence *I love you* (see 39c):

(39)

(a) [Danish frame; French embedded]

Og man er tro, tro mod amour

“And you are faithful, faithful to [Danish] love [French]” [DAN 1959]

(b) [German frame; French embedded]

Was ich erlebe mit dir, das ist alles L’amour

“What I experience with you, it is all [German] love [French]” [SUI 1969]

(c) [Hebrew frame; English, Greek, French, Spanish embedded]

It’s my way to say I want you / S’agapo, je t’aime, I love you

“It’s my way to say I want you [English] / I love you [Greek], I love you [French], I love you [English]”

Te amo, o pashut ohev otakh

“I love you [Spanish], or simply I love you [Hebrew]” [ISR 2003]

Similar to love confessions are cases in which the desired object is addressed with a code-switched personal reference form. Lexically gender-neutral examples are mainly restricted to the English lexeme *baby*, a stereotypical feature of pop songs (see 40 a, b), or depersonalised references to the addressee (e.g. as “love” in extracts 40 c, d, or as “sugar” in extract 40e). As some of the examples in 40 show, such address forms are often combined with switched greetings or leave-takings:⁷

(40)

(a) [German frame; English embedded]

Ooh... fühl den Rhythmus, Baby

“Ooh... feel the rhythm [German], baby [English]” [GER 1994]

(b) [Finnish frame; English embedded]

Bye bye, baby, baby, goodbye / Lähden pois vaikka yksin jään

“Bye bye, baby, baby, goodbye [English] / I’ll go away, though I’m left alone [Finnish]” [FIN 1994]

(c) [“Serbo-Croatian” frame; Italian embedded]

Ciao, amore, ciao, ljubavi

“Goodbye, love, goodbye [Italian], love [“Serbo-Croatian]”

Ciao, amore, ciao i piši mi

“Goodbye, love, goodbye [Italian], and write me [“Serbo-Croatian]” [YUG 1984]

(d) [English frame, Spanish embedded]

Shake, shake, shake, shake, shake, mi amor

“Shake, shake, shake, shake, shake [English] my love [Spanish]” [GRE 2004]

(e) [English frame; Turkish embedded]

Shake it up, şekerim, I know what you’re feelin’

“Shake it up [English], my sugar [Turkish], I know what you’re feelin’ [English]” [TUR 2007]

⁷Another address term that often occurred in code switching in the early decades of the ESC is French *cheri(e)* “darling”, which is gender-specific in the written medium but gender-ambiguous in the spoken (and sung) form, because masculine and feminine forms are homophonous.

Otherwise examples abound in which the desired object is addressed by means of lexically gendered switched forms. Such forms are invariably used to construct a heterosexual love scenario between the singing persona and the addressee:

(41)

(a) [German frame; Spanish embedded]

Mein Herz ist schon vergeben, no señor

“My heart is already engaged [German], no mister [Spanish]” [GER 1957]

(b) [German frame; French embedded]

Bonne nuit, ma chérie / Gute Nacht, bitte träume von mir

“Good night, my[FEM] darling [French] / Good night, please dream of me [German]” [GER 1960]

(c) [Dutch frame; English embedded]

Ooh... playboy, ik wil met je leven

“Ooh... playboy [English], I want to live with you [Dutch]” [BEL 1981]

(d) [German frame; English embedded]

Liebe ist kein ungedeckter Scheck – bad man

“Love is not a bounced cheque [German] – bad man [English]” [AUT 1997]

(e) [Greek frame; French embedded]

Femme fatale, sta onira mu triposes

“Femme fatale [French], you found your way into my dreams [Greek]” [CYP 2008]

5.4 Conclusion

The code-switching practices found in ESC lyrics are structurally and functionally heterogeneous. At the structural level, ESC lyrics exhibit various types of switching, ranging from the alternating use of several languages over longer stretches of text (macro-switching) to micro-switching

practices, in which the involved languages are in direct contact. At the functional level, code switching generally exhibits a phatic function in ESC lyrics in the sense that it is employed to address and involve (certain parts of) the audience (e.g. through code-switched greetings, exclamations, translations, or direct address). Code switching is overwhelmingly performed between national and non-national European languages and thus serves artists in the ESC to make identity statements that go beyond a merely national affiliation and emphasise a transnational orientation. It is, therefore, a powerful means of indexing the meeting and merging of cultures (Davies and Bentahila 2008: 266) as an integral part of Europeanisation. Another aspect that appears to be frequently connected to code switching in ESC lyrics is the discursive construction of sexuality. Switching is often used for love confessions or addressing a desired object, which linguistically constructs (largely heterosexual) love as a universal human experience that viewers across Europe can relate to.

Code switching in ESC performances clashes with purist linguistic normativities that would see national languages as the only authentic means of national representation and native users as the only legitimate users of a language. Allowing non-national languages to represent a nation therefore clearly constitutes a de-essentialising instrument, turning linguistic crossing practices into powerful indexes of a transnational European orientation. In addition, some forms of micro-switching challenge the view of “languages” as clearly separable entities, and instead suggest the notion of a linguistic repertoire that contains elements of numerous languages of which artists do not have a full command and for which they cannot claim any ownership or authenticity from a traditional point of view. However, the non-national components of the staged linguistic repertoires (switches to non-national English, French, Italian, Spanish, etc.) are often not just meant to target specific national European sub-audiences. Rather, their use is based on the assumption of a substantial overlap of the staged linguistic repertoire and recipients’ actual linguistic repertoires, which may also contain minimal competences in certain languages that allow viewers to decode emblematic lexical items or phrases or to merely recognise that a certain language is being used.

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6

The Linguistic Construction of Europeaness, Nationalism and Sexuality in ESC Performances

6.1 The Linguistic Construction of Europeaness

The previous chapters have demonstrated how language choice and code-switching practices in the ESC are involved in national, transnational European and, to some extent, sexual identity construction. Chap. 5 extends these analyses by taking a more comprehensive look at how these three identity facets, and their interrelation, are linguistically constructed in ESC performances. As pointed out in Sect. 2.4, the identity-indexing potential of linguistic features ranges on a continuum from direct to more indirect indexing mechanisms. The quantitative analyses carried out in the present chapter necessarily rely on features that are located at the direct end of this continuum. On the one hand, this has methodological reasons: direct identity indexes are easier to quantify. On the other hand, such a procedure allows the analyst to capture those constructive mechanisms that possess a high identity-related meaning potential and, consequently, may be perceived as identity-related by the majority of recipients, whereas indirect linguistic

identity indexes are more likely to be interpreted in alternative ways. Indirect linguistic indexes and audiovisual constructive elements will be incorporated in the qualitative part of the analysis (especially in Sect. 6.5 and Chap. 7).

The features contributing to the construction of Europeanness, nationalism and sexuality are here not conceptualised as reflecting the respective identities but as producing them. As language choice plays a decisive role in national and European identity construction (cf. Chaps. 4 and 5), the quantitative analysis of the ESC-LY data has to be restricted to those years in which the rules of the contest did not restrict language choice, that is, in total 26 years (1956–1965, 1973–1976, 1999–2010). The main focus is on the question of whether an interrelation between European, national and sexual identities can be verified and how identity construction has developed historically.

A transnational European orientation cannot be directly indexed through language choice in the same way as national identities, as there is no language that is officially tied to Europe like a national language to a nation. However, as direct Euro-references are relatively rare in ESC lyrics (cf. Sect. 2.4), language choice still plays a central role in the discursive construction of Europeanness. A European orientation can be constructed by the use of (material from) non-national languages from the European cultural realm in ESC performances. As has been shown in Chap. 4, English plays the dominant role among the non-national language uses in the contest. It has to be stressed that the interpretation of the use of non-national English as a means of constructing a transnational European orientation is strictly contextual within the ESC. In many contexts, non-native and non-national uses of English today possess a meaning potential that can be described as global. However, when English is used as a non-national language in the ESC, this is more likely to be interpreted in terms of a pan-European rather than a global strategy.

Sometimes direct references to Europe can be verified in Eurovision lyrics. These references represent a decisive feature in which ESC song lyrics differ from other pop song texts. In the English part of ESC-LY, the form *Europe* occurs 26 times in 14 texts. Other related forms used include *Euro*

(in two texts), *Eurovision* and *European* (both in four texts). Examples of the usage of these forms in ESC performances are given in (1).

(1)

Wave Euro hands and Euro feet

(IRL 2007: *Dustin the Turkey* – “Irelande douze pointe” [sic])

We are the winners of Eurovision

(LIT 2006: *LT United* – “We are the winners”)

I'd like to welcome you aboard this Eurovision flight

(UK 2007: *Scooch* – “Flying the flag (for you)”)

I love you, my European children

(ISL 2006: *Silvia Night* – “Congratulations”)

As these examples illustrate, references to European matters in the contest are often part of humorous performances and therefore convey a less than serious attitude to Europe as a concept. This can be seen, for instance, in the example *wave Euro hands and Euro feet*, which involves a humorous word play replacing the possessive pronoun *your* (*wave your hands/feet*) with the near-homophonous form *Euro*.

The form *Europe*, by contrast, is more commonly used in a non-humorous way, often as a matter of directly addressing the audience during the performance:

(2)

OK Tallinn... OK Europe... let's party... let's go

(SWE 2002: *Afro-dite* – “Never let it go”)

Hey Europe, show me your hands

(SUI 2009: *Lovebugs* – “The highest heights”)

Do you feel my heartbeat Europe?

(RUS 2011: *Alex Sparrow* – “Get you”)

Apart from the use of non-national European languages and direct references to Europe, European identity can be constructed in ESC performances through references to non-national entities belonging to the European cultural realm. For example, names of other European countries, or of European places, people, food, sights and so on that are not associated with the nation that a performance officially represents can

count as linguistic indexes of Europeanness. Besides entities that can be linked to particular countries, some other entities were in the present study counted as indexing Europeanness, namely references to Roman mythology (e.g. *Amor, Cupid*), Christianity (e.g. *Hristos, Maria Magdalena*) and transnational geographic formations (e.g. *Adriatic, Alpine, Balkan*).¹ All such references, together with direct Euro-references, are in the following collectively called instances of “lexical Europeanisation”.

Lexical Europeanisation mainly builds on the referential potential of proper names, especially of place names. As opposed to appellative nouns, which denote classes of objects (Willems 2000), proper nouns are typically devoid of lexical meaning (Werner 1995; Willems 2000; Wimmer 1995).² They refer to individual objects in their entirety, without focusing on particular qualities of referents. Moreover, proper names tend to be less strictly associated with particular “languages” (Werner 1995: 479; Wimmer 1995: 376), as the names of a certain referent (e.g. *Berlin, Paris, London*) exhibit extensive formal similarity across languages. For the use in ESC performances, this means that such forms rank high on the comprehension level across the pan-European audience, as they form part of the linguistic repertoires of most Europeans.

An example of a performance that draws heavily on lexical Europeanisation is the Irish entry 1990, *Liam Reilly*—“Somewhere in Europe”, as can be seen in the following excerpt from the lyrics:

(3) [IRL 1990]

*I remember Amsterdam as we sailed along the canal
And as the leaves began to fall, we were walking in Old Bruxelles
In the Black Forest on a German summer's day
And the memories refuse to go away
Don't you remember those Adriatic days?
I miss your laughter and all your little ways
I can still see you in London, walking on Trafalgar Square
And drinking wine in Old Seville, how I wish that we were there*

¹The forms are here given as they occur in ESC-LY.

²This is not necessarily true for the initial act of name giving, in which descriptive considerations may lead to the choice of a certain name. However, this initial etymological meaning of proper names is later regularly supplanted by their referential function (Wimmer 1995: 378).

In these lyrics, the performer constructs himself as a desiring subject located in *Ireland*, longing to meet his lover and remembering a range of famous places around Europe where the couple had apparently met before. In the chorus of the song (not included above³), one finds references to *Paris*, the *Champs-Élysées*, *Rome* and the *Trevi fountain*. In excerpt (3), the couple is said to have been in *Amsterdam*, in *Old Bruxelles*, in the *Black Forest on a German summer's day*, at the *Adriatic coast*, in *London on Trafalgar Square*, and finally in *Old Seville*. The Europeanness of these geographical references is further supported by various direct references to *Europe* throughout the song. As this example illustrates, the combination of such geographical references clearly heightens the European meaning potential of a performance.

For the quantification of European identity construction, all non-national references to entities belonging to the European cultural realm were manually retrieved from ESC-LY. It is interesting to note which country names or country-related references have been most frequently used non-nationally in ESC performances across the years, as this indicates the perceived centrality of a given country for Europe. A ranking list of the countries that have been (non-nationally) referred to at least five times in ESC-LY looks as follows:

1. FRA (50), 2. ITA (47), 3. UK (37), 4. GER (26), 5. ESP (13), 6. RUS (10), 7. AUT (9), 8. GRE (8), 9. SWE (7), 10. FIN (6), NED (6), 12. CZE (5).

Interestingly, the top five correspond exactly to the “Big 5” Eurovision countries, which bears witness to their notional centrality for Europe. With RUS in sixth position, one may also conclude that it is the more powerful countries that tend to be mentioned more often in ESC lyrics. RUS is the only non-EU country in this top 12 list, which indicates that the EU is a highly relevant point of orientation for staging Europeanness in the ESC. Judging exclusively from references to cities in ESC lyrics, Europe’s capital would be *Paris*, as it was mentioned non-nationally in 19 performances throughout the history of the ESC (references to sights and other parts of the city not included), that is, more than twice as often as *Rome* (eight occurrences) in second position.

³ The full lyrics of the song can be found here: <http://diggiloo.net/?1990ie>

Non-national uses of European languages and lexical Europeanisation in most cases go together with a rather uncritical celebration of European identity in the contest. However, more recent years have also sometimes seen the construction of more critical attitudes towards Europe, and especially towards the EU. For example, the entry MNT 2012 (*Rambo Amadeus*—“Euro Neuro”) humorously described the development of the Euro currency as “neurotic” and the Euro crisis as “monetary break dance”. Similarly, a relatively critical reflection on contemporary Europe is demonstrated by the entry LIT 2010 (*InCulto*—“Eastern European funk”), which also draws on a humorous construction to voice its criticism (repetitions of the chorus line omitted):

(4) [LIT 2010]

[M1:] *You've seen it all before, we ain't got no taste, we're all a bore
You should give us a chance, 'cause we're all victims of circumstance
We've had it pretty tough, but that's okay, we like it rough
We'll settle the score, survived the reds and two world [A:] wars*

[Chorus:]

[A:] *Get up and dance to our [M1:] Eastern European [A:] kind of funk*

[A:] *Yes sir, [M1:] we are legal, [A:] we are, [M1:] though we're not as legal
[A:] as you*

[A:] *No sir, [M1:] we're not equal, [A:] no, [M1:] though we're both from the
[A:] EU*

[M1:] *We build your [A:] homes, [M1:] we wash your [A:] dishes, [M1:] keep
your hands all squeaky [A:] clean*

[M1:] *Some day you'll come to realise Eastern Europe is in your [A:] genes*

In their song, the artists criticise that the Cold-War-related distinction between Eastern and Western Europe has, to some extent, survived under the auspices of the EU. The Western part of Europe is directly addressed as a male second person (personal pronoun *you*, address term *sir*, imperative verb forms), while the Eastern part of Europe is constructed as an in-group through first-person plural references (*we*). It is stated that Eastern

Europeans had to experience a range of hardships in the past (*we're all victims of circumstance; we've had it pretty tough; survived the reds and two world wars*) and are subject to discrimination from their Western European neighbours (*you should give us a chance*). This claim culminates in the affirmation that Eastern European countries are also legitimate EU members, even though they are considered less than equal (*we are legal; we are not as legal as you; we're not equal... though we're both from the EU*). Finally, the lyrics point to the fact that Eastern European migrant populations significantly contribute to the workforce in Western European countries, often working in menial jobs (*we build your homes, we wash your dishes, keep your hands all squeaky clean*). Interestingly, LIT received only 44 points in the ESC semi-final and failed to qualify for the final. Of the Eastern European EU countries entitled to vote in this semi-final (BUL, ROM, SLO), none gave any points to this entry, which may be taken as an indication that the sentiments expressed in the song are not widely shared by the population of these countries and that a re-polarisation of Western and Eastern Europe is in general not well received.

Europeanness is, of course, not just a matter of the production side of the contest. Recipients are also involved in negotiating what counts as compatible with the Europeanness of the context. We saw in Sect. 4.4 that non-national uses of English have been more successful than national uses in the latest phase of the contest. Similarly, it is interesting to compare the results of performances containing lexical Europeanisation with those that contain references to entities from cultures outside Europe (e.g. *San Francisco, Las Vegas, Singapore*). For this purpose, the results of three groups of performances were contrasted: (1) performances that contain non-national European references exclusively, (2) performances that contain non-European references exclusively, and (3) performances that contain both non-national European and non-European references at the same time (see Table 6.1).

The number of performances that show lexical Europeanisation exclusively amounts to 86 throughout the years. Those with exclusively non-European references are less common (39 performances). Twenty-eight performances contain both European and non-European references, which indicates that referring exclusively to non-European entities may be deemed less appropriate for the ESC. Performances with lexical

Table 6.1 Ranking of performances with European and non-European references (1957–2010)

Lexical Europeanisation	Non-European references	European + non-European references
86 performances	39 performances	28 performances
Upper third: 28 (= 32.6 %)	Upper third: 9 (= 23.1 %)	Upper third: 9 (= 32.1 %)
Middle third: 26 (= 30.2 %)	Middle third: 11 (= 28.2 %)	Middle third: 5 (= 17.9 %)
Lower third: 32 (= 37.2 %)	Lower third: 19 (= 48.7 %)	Lower third: 14 (= 50.0 %)

Europeanisation on average achieve better results than those with non-European references. Their distribution is rather balanced across the three thirds of the field: 32.6 % ended up in the upper third, 30.2 % in the middle third, and 37.2 % in the lower third. Of the performances with non-European references, only 23.1 % reached the upper third and 28.2 % the middle third. Almost half of these performances (48.7 %) ranked in the lower third. In a similar vein, performances containing both European and non-European references mostly ranked in the lower third (50.0 %). This indicates that the voting audience tends to perceive performances with non-European references as less compatible with the Europeanness of the context.

6.2 The Linguistic Construction of Nationalism

National identities can be indexed in song lyrics by using one or several of a country's national languages. Even though this representational practice is widely perceived as clear-cut, the issue of national representation via language choice is in some cases more complex, as a language may fulfil an official national function in several European countries. The use of French, for example, is a strong index of national identity in a performance representing FRA. However, French is neither spoken only in FRA nor do all citizens of FRA speak French. In the ESC, French serves as a national index for a whole range of countries (BEL, FRA, LUX, MON, SUI) and can therefore not per se be seen as an exclusively French

national symbol. Yet, when a certain performance is declared to represent a certain Francophone country, its use of French is particularly likely to be perceived as an index of national identity. Still it is important to note that a particular language can contextually index different nationalities.

Although performances were widely constructed along national lines in terms of language choice in the initial period of the contest (see Sect. 4.2), it is interesting to note that national structures were otherwise less prominent, as the ESC was not necessarily seen as a competition of nations but rather of composers. Up to the late 1960s, the scoreboard, for example, did neither show flags nor names of countries. Instead, only the song titles were specified and points were attributed in English to *song number X* or in French to *chanson numéro X* rather than to specific countries. A reason for this early practice may have been that an explicit competition between nations would have been too reminiscent of the respective nations fighting against each other in World War II, while the ESC was expressly created to overcome such hostilities in post-war Europe. The denationalised voting announcements of this early period contrast with today's practice of awarding points to nations (*Ireland—12 points*), and it is remarkable that the increasing nationalisation in the presentation of the contest coincides roughly with the introduction of the national language rule for ESC performances in 1966. In other words, it was mainly in the second half of the 1960s that national structures were strengthened and made official in the contest, maybe as a reaction to the insight that they are not automatically upheld when they are not firmly regulated.

As has been demonstrated in Sects. 4.2 and 4.3, the (exclusive) use of national languages has decreased across the three periods of free language choice. Also within the latest phase of the contest, the use of national languages (either partly or exclusively) decreased from approximately 50 % of the performances in the period from 1999 to 2010 to about 40 % in the most recent period (2011–2015; cf. Table 4.5 in Sect. 4.3).

In a similar way as a European orientation can be constructed through lexical Europeanisation, national identities can be indexed in song lyrics by referring to famous national entities (places, rivers, sights, famous people, etc.) or the nation itself. Lexical nationalisation is particularly

likely to occur in performances of countries which share their national language(s) with other European countries. In such cases, language choice may be a marker of national identity, but it is less distinctive. An interesting case in point is AUT, which shares its national language German with BEL, GER and SUI. In Sect. 4.3, it was demonstrated that AUT on several occasions in the past tried to project a distinctly Austrian identity by performing in regional Austrian dialects. In the early years of the contest, lexical nationalisation was another strategy employed by AUT for the same purpose. Performances that make use of this device are, for example, AUT 1959 (*Ferry Graf*—“Der K und K Kalypso aus Wien”; “The imperial and royal calypso from Vienna”), or AUT 1962 (*Eleonore Schwarz*—“Nur in der Wiener Luft”; “Only in the Viennese air”), parts of whose lyrics are quoted in (5)⁴:

(5) [AUT 1962]

Lyrics	Translation
<i>Stephansdom, Rathausmann</i>	St. Stephen's Cathedral, the City Hall Man
<i>Sacher und Würstelmann</i>	Sacher cake and sausage vendor
<i>Kennt jedes Kind auf der Welt</i>	Knows every child in the world
<i>Von unsern Backhendln, Schubert und Staatsoper</i>	About our roast chickens, Schubert and the National Opera
<i>Hat schon der Opa erzählt</i>	Grandfather already talked
<i>Und dann noch Grinzing und Burgtheater</i>	And also Grinzing and Court Theatre
<i>Schrammeln und Hauptallee</i>	Schrammeln and the Main Avenue
<i>Sind unsere Spezialität</i>	Are our speciality
<i>Aber da fehlt noch was Wichtiges, nämlich das</i>	But an important thing is still missing, namely something
<i>Was net im Baedeker steht</i>	That is not written in the Baedeker

As can be seen, the text contains numerous references to entities emblematically connected to AUT and more specifically to Vienna. The text parts omitted in (5) exhibit repeated references to the Austrian capital (*Wiener Luft* “Viennese air”; *Wienerkind* “Viennese child”), the famous Viennese Waltz (*Walzer* “waltz”, *Walzermelodie* “waltz

⁴The full lyrics of the song can be found here: <http://diggiloo.net/?1962at>

melody”, *Walzerpoesie* “waltz poetry”) and Austrian composer *Johann Strauß*. Likewise, excerpt (5) contains references to Austrian composer *Franz Schubert* and numerous Viennese sights and specialities such as *Stephansdom* (St. Stephen’s Cathedral), *Staatsoper* (National Opera), *Rathausmann* (City Hall Man, a statue), *Grinzing* (a district of Vienna), *Burgtheater* (a famous Viennese theatre), *Hauptallee* (the Main Avenue of the Prater, Vienna’s funfair), *Sacher* cake and *Schrammeln* (traditional Viennese folk music). Finally, the text contains forms readily identifiable as (colloquial) Austrian German (*Würstelmann* “sausage vendor”; *Backhendln* “roast chickens”; not included in (5): *b’sondern* vs. High German *besonderen*; *’naus* vs. *hinaus*; *net* vs. *nicht*). On the musical level, Austrianness is further emphasised through the musical genre of the performance. It can be described as a synthesis of a Viennese Waltz and the female singer’s operatic vocals, which conjures up associations of the internationally well-known Vienna Opera Ball. A national Austrian in-group identity is additionally constructed through the use of first-person plural pronouns (*von unsern Backhendln* “about our roast chicken”; *unsere Spezialität* “our speciality”).

Viewed from today’s perspective, such an openly national and touristically oriented construction clearly has an outdated flavour. It is doubtful whether such an emphasis on national identity is compatible with the contemporary idea of a pan-European identity prevalent in the ESC. Even in 1962, AUT did not receive a single point for this performance. In a similar way as the use of national languages has decreased throughout the history of the contest, lexical nationalisation also has become less common. The following list gives an overview of ESC performances whose titles contain the name either of the respective nation or of its capital:

(6)

NED 1956 (*Jetty Paerl* – “De vogels van Holland”; “The birds of Holland”) [ranking unknown]

SWE 1963 (*Monica Zetterlund* – “En gång i Stockholm”; “Once upon a time in Stockholm”) [13/16]

MAL 1971 (*Joe Grech* – “Marija l-Maltija”; “The Maltese Maria”) [18/18]

- POR 1977 (*Os Amigos* – “Portugal no coração”; “Portugal in my heart”) [14/18]
- SUI 1977 (*Pepe Lienhard Band* – “Swiss Lady”) [6/18]
- MON 1978 (*Caline & Olivier Toussaint* – “Les jardins de Monaco”; “The gardens of Monaco”) [4/20]
- NED 1980 (*Maggie MacNeal* – “Amsterdam”) [5/19]
- ESP 1988 (*La Década Prodigiosa* – “Made in Spain”) [11/21]
- POR 1991 (*Dulce* – “Lusitana paixão”; “Lusitanian passion”) [8/22]
- GRE 1993 (*Keti Garbi* – “Ellada hora tou fotos”; “Greece, country of light”) [9/25]
- FRA 2007 (*Les Fatals Picards* – “L’amour à la française”; “Love the French way”) [22/24]
- IRL 2007 (*Dustin the Turkey* – “Ireland douze pointe” [sic]; “Ireland twelve points”) [not qualified for final]
- MOL 2009 (*Nelly Ciobanu* – “Hora din Moldova”; “Dance from Moldova”) [14/25]
- BLR 2011 (*Anastasia Vinnikova* – “I love Belarus”) [not qualified for final]

It is noteworthy that no overt case of lexical nationalisation in song titles occurred from 1994 to 2006, which pays witness to the fact that such overt nationalisation strategies have become less successful in the contest, maybe because they can be seen to clash with the Europeanness of the event. Viewed from this perspective, the occurrence of four nationalised song titles since 2007 may appear like a new upsurge of nationalism in the contest. However, it is evident that these later performances partly incorporate a qualitatively different, less serious approach to nationalism than the performances in earlier decades. This is especially true of the two performances by EU countries in this group, FRA 2007 (*Les Fatals Picards*—“L’amour à la française”) and IRL 2007 (*Dustin the Turkey*—“Ireland douze pointe” [sic]). These performances stage a tongue-in-cheek attitude to nationalism in their performances, whereas the two performances by non-EU countries (MOL 2009, BLR 2011) have a less humorous flavour. As far as voting results are concerned, it shows that performances with

nationalised song titles achieved fairly good results from the late 1970s to the early 1990s, though they were never near to winning the contest. The four most recent instances since 2007, by contrast, scored poorly, which indicates that the pan-European audience was less inclined to co-construct such overtly national constructions as compatible with the broader European profile of the ESC.

Taken together, these developments suggest that if explicitly nationalised performances are staged in the ESC, this has to be handled with care. National self-praise is today perceived as less acceptable in the contest, and where it is still employed, this is increasingly done in a self-ironic fashion. An alternative, more subtle nationalisation strategy that is increasingly evident in the contest is the discursive construction of a nation as welcoming the whole of Europe (see e.g. the performance UKR 2012, *Gaitana*—“Be my guest”, or the chorus of the performance ISR 2015: *Nadav Guedj*—“Golden boy”, which contains the line *And before I leave, let me show you Tel Aviv*).

Another recent trend that can be verified for performances from Eastern European countries is the discursive construction of transnational regional identities, as expressed in the following performance titles:

(7)

Elena – “The Balkan girls” (ROM 2009)

Inculto – “Eastern European Funk” (LIT 2010)

Milan Stanković – “Ovo je Balkan” (“This is the Balkans”; SER 2010)

Donatan & Cleo – “My Słowianie” (“We Slavs”; POL 2014)

However, as such constructions are not per se national, they were not counted as national in the quantitative analyses below (Sect. 6.4).

As we have already seen in the discussion of code-switching practices in Chap. 5, the construction of national identities in the ESC does not preclude a simultaneous construction of a transnational European orientation. Both identity aspects regularly co-occur. One such example is the Polish performance 2003 (*Ich Troje*—“Keine Grenzen – Żadnych granic”; see also Sieg 2013: 223–226 for a discussion of this performance):

(8) [POL 2003]

Lyrics	Translation
[B:] <i>Żadnych granic, żadnych flag</i>	No borders, no flags
[M:] <i>Nie ma głupich waśni, nie ma różnych ras</i>	No stupid quarrels, no different races
[B:] <i>Żadnych wojen, żadnych państw</i>	No wars, no states
[M:] <i>Keine Kriege kann man dort von oben sehen</i>	No wars you can see from up there
[F:] <i>Bezgranicznyj</i> [M:] <i>Bezgranicznyj</i>	Unlimited, unlimited
[F:] <i>Mir bez flagow</i> [M:] <i>Mir bez flagow</i>	Peace without flags, peace without flags
[M:] <i>S wysoty granitsy vouse ne vidny</i>	From the height, borders cannot be seen anymore
[F:] <i>Bezgranicznyj</i> [M:] <i>Bezgranicznyj,</i> [B:] <i>neprivychnyj</i>	Unlimited, unlimited, unusual
[M:] <i>Bez razdorov, vzryvov, zlosti i vojny</i>	Without quarrels, explosions, rage and wars
[M:] <i>Von dort oben ist die Welt einfach nur schön</i>	From up there, the world is simply just beautiful

The co-existence of national and European construction is in this performance mainly achieved on the level of language choice, because the song contains some passages sung in the national language Polish and others sung in German and Russian as non-national European languages.⁵ This tripartite structure is also reflected in the three choruses, the first one being performed in German, the second one mainly in Polish with the last line in German, and the third one mainly in Russian with the last line in German (the latter two choruses are quoted in (8)). The message of Europeans living together in peaceful co-existence is also supported by the distribution of the vocal parts of the two lead singers. While they sing separately in the beginning, with the male singer using mainly German and the female singer using mainly Polish, passages in which they sing together or in quick alternation occur towards the end of the performance, in the last two choruses (8), which does not just suggest nations co-existing but approaching each other and uniting. The song also signals a deconstructionist stance on national affiliation by explicitly

⁵The full lyrics of the song can be found here: <http://diggiloo.net/?2003pl>

drawing a visionary picture of a better world without nations (*keine Grenzen, keine Fahnen* “no borders, no flags”; *keine Länder, keine Völker, keine Kriege* “no countries, no peoples, no wars”).

6.3 The Linguistic Construction of Sexuality

We have already seen in Chap. 5 that love is a popular theme in ESC performances that is often constructed multilingually, since it is seen as a universal concept that has the potential to unite people from different cultures. However, the linguistic construction of sexual desire in ESC lyrics is more complex than the linguistic construction of European and national identities in the sense that it involves the construction of three components: the desiring subject (*I*), the desired object (*you*) and the relationship between the two (*love*).

For the purposes of the present study, it is of particular interest whether or not the constructed sexual scenarios talk explicitly about female and male social actors. Especially the desired object (*you*) is often not gendered in ESC lyrics, which opens up a conceptual space for non-heteronormative readings (an aspect that may prove to be relevant on the reception side; see Sect. 2.2 on ESC fan communities). On the linguistic level, gender specificity and gender ambiguity depend, to some extent, on language structure. It is more difficult to construct a gender-ambiguous scenario in a language with a grammatical masculine–feminine contrast (e.g. Croatian, French, Greek) than in grammatical gender languages without such a contrast (e.g. Danish, Dutch, Swedish) or in languages without grammatical gender (e.g. English, Finnish, Turkish) (see Hellinger and Bußmann 2001; Motschenbacher 2008). These structural restrictions are not absolute. Languages without a grammatical masculine–feminine distinction also possess other means of gender specification (lexical, social and referential gender), and lyrics in languages with a grammatical masculine–feminine contrast can also be constructed in gender-ambiguous ways (see the contributions on European languages in Hellinger and Bußmann 2001–2003; Hellinger and Motschenbacher 2015).

For the quantitative analysis of sexual identity construction, all performance lyrics were screened in order to identify those performances that construct romantic scenarios. A performance was declared to express sexual desire when it contained constructions of the desiring subject, the desired object and their relationship. Such love scenarios are generally recognisable through (a) verbs belonging to the semantic realms of loving, kissing, caressing, touching, longing, missing, adoring and so on, or (b) descriptions of the beauty of a desired object (e.g. adjectives of beauty or body-part lexemes).

The form *love* is, of course, polysemous and can be used to refer to not just romantic or sexual but also other kinds of love (e.g. love experienced for relatives, friends, inanimate objects, ideas or activities, etc.). As Kreyer and Mukherjee (2007: 46–49) have shown, in pop song lyrics it is clearly love for other people that dominates the picture (see also Kuhn 1999). In the analysis of the ESC-LY data, *love* was only treated as an expression of sexual desire if it referred to love between human beings (i.e. ruling out cases such as “*love to VERB*” or “*love NON-PERSONAL OBJECT*”). Of these interpersonal love scenarios, few had to be excluded, namely those in which the lyrics specified that the person loving or loved was in fact not a romantic partner (but a relative, for example).

For the desiring subject and the desired object, it was analysed whether they were constructed as explicitly female/male or as ungendered throughout the lyrics of a performance. Heterosexual desire is here not contrasted with same-sex desire but with non-heteronormative desire (which includes sexually open and same-sex scenarios). This makes sense with respect to the present dataset, because ESC lyrics show a strong tendency to either construct heterosexual desire or leave gender open (with very few texts constructing same-sex scenarios).

Gender may be specified by means of lexically gendered forms that carry the semantic feature [female] or [male]. Across languages, such forms are typically third-person singular pronouns (e.g. *helshe*) or nouns belonging to certain semantic subfields of the personal lexicon (nouns denoting women and men in general: *man/woman*, *girl/boy*, kinship terms: *mother/father*, nobility titles: *king/queen*, address terms: *Ms/Mr*, nouns denoting romantic partners: *girlfriend/boyfriend*, *wife/husband*, and nouns denoting sexual roles: *dominatrix*, *sugar daddy*). An example of how lexically gendered forms can be used to construct sexual desire in ESC lyrics is the following extract from the Bulgarian entry 2007 (*Elitsa Todorova and Stoyan Yankoulov*—“Water”):

(9) [BUL 2007]

Lyrics	Translation
<i>More, ludo mlado, konče jazdi</i>	Lo, a reckless lad, he rides a horse
<i>Mitre le, ij... Mitre le</i>	Oh Mitra, eeh... oh Mitra
<i>More, konče jazdi, moma ljubi</i>	Lo, he rides a horse, he loves a lass
<i>Mitre le, ij... Mitre le</i>	Oh Mitra, eeh... oh Mitra

As can be seen, this passage sketches out an explicitly heterosexual love scenario between a “reckless lad” (*ludo mlado*) and a “lass” (*moma*) by means of lexically gendered personal nouns. However, such clearly gendered scenarios with protagonists talked about in the third person are found relatively rarely in Eurovision songs.

The most common love scenario type in ESC performances is between a first person as the desiring subject, embodied by the singer on stage, and the desired object, addressed by second-person forms. As in most European languages, neither first- nor second-person pronouns are lexically gendered, this leaves room for gender ambiguity. In performances, it is especially the second-person references that may not be gendered, whereas first-person singular pronouns are invariably referentially gendered, depending on the sex of the performer. The performance ISL 2010 (*Hera Björk*—“*Je ne sais quoi*”), of which an excerpt is presented below, may serve as an illustration⁶:

(10) [ISL 2010]

*I am standing strong, I've overcome the sadness in my life
Now I look up and see the bright blue sky above me
And it's reflecting in your eyes*

[Chorus:]

*Je ne sais quoi, I know you have the special something
Je ne sais quoi, oh, something I just can't explain
And when I see your face, I wanna follow my emotions
Je ne sais pas pourquoi*

⁶The full lyrics of the song can be found here: <http://diggiloo.net/?2010is>

All references to the desiring subject by means of first-person singular pronouns (*I, me, my*) are referentially female, as this song is performed by a female artist. The references to the desired object (*you, your*), however, stay lexically and referentially gender-neutral throughout the performance and, therefore, leave it open whether the addressee is female or male. On the visual level, the scenario is not disambiguated either, because the singer does not interact with the backing singers on stage.

In other performances, second-person pronouns are disambiguated through other gendered elements in the co-text. This can be illustrated with a passage from the Hungarian entry 2007 (*Magdi Rúzsa*—“Unsubstantial blues”):

(11) [HUN 2007]

*How many times have you fooled me and denied that
It's her who you love, and it sure isn't me?
So now that it's over, I'll try and take it sober
Leave questions unasked, remember us laughing at the broken past
God, if I could make it on without you*

*You're such a casual man, oh, wavin' an empty hand
I'm helpless and I'm lonely without you
Yes, you're a casual man, lendin' an empty hand
Left me breathless with nothing more to lose*

These lyrics construct a heterosexual scenario between the female singer (referentially gendered first-person pronouns *I* and *me*) and an addressee who is disambiguated as a *casual man*. Moreover, a secondary heterosexual love relationship is indicated between the male addressee and an unknown female third person (*it's her who you love*). On the visual level, no sexual construction takes place in the stage performance, which involves four male artists playing the guitar, the piano and drums in the background but not interacting with the lead singer.

Subversive constructions of gender and sexual identities may not be found as frequently in the ESC as heteronormative and sexually open love scenarios, but they tend to be the performances that are highly visible in the media coverage of the event. Two kinds of subversiveness play

a potential role here: gender incoherence and same-sex disambiguation. Both mechanisms are generally staged in a camp-like fashion that stereotypically exaggerates gender and sexual identity features.

Gender incoherence is typically constructed through clashes between the lexical and referential gender of particular linguistic forms (similar to inverted appellation practices that have been documented for certain gay male communities; see Bunzl 2000; Johnsen 2008). This strategy is epitomised by two drag queen performances at the ESC 2007, which involved male artists referring to themselves by means of lexically female forms. The performance DAN 2007 (*DQ*—“Drama queen”) involves a man in drag who repeatedly sings the line *I’m your drama queen tonight* in the chorus. Whereas the noun *queen* is a lexically female form that may be used in gay male communities to talk about certain gay men (Baker 2002a: 187), the compound *drama queen* indexes a non-normative form of masculinity, as it is commonly used in gay slang to talk about “anybody (but especially a gay man) whose emotional response tends to be exaggerated in every situation” (Baker 2002b: 113; see also Cameron and Kulick 2003: 89). Similarly, in the gender crossing performance UKR 2007 (*Verka Serdutchka*—“Dancing Lasha Tumbai”) the male artist introduces himself with the utterance *Hello everybody, my name is Verka Serdutchka*, that is, he self-identifies with a female personal name. Same-sex disambiguation occurs in the performance UK 2007 (*Scooch*—“Flying the flag (for you)”), in which one of the male performers stylises a camp flight attendant role, addressing an imaginary male passenger with the utterances *Some salted nuts, sir?* and *Would you like something to suck on for landing, sir?*, which burst with (homo)sexual innuendo. A closer analysis of this performance is provided in Sect. 7.2 below.

In accordance with the description above, the quantitative analysis of ESC performances distinguishes three types of sexual identity construction: heteronormative, sexually open and sexually subversive performances. For the identification of these three scenario types, a central focus is on linguistic forms that serve as direct gender indexes through their lexical, referential or, to some extent, grammatical gender value.⁷ Grammatical gender

⁷ Socially gendered personal nouns (nouns like *model* or *farmer*, which are in non-specific contexts perceived as stereotypically female or male, respectively) were not included in the quantitative analysis because they serve as indirect rather than direct gender indexes. Such personal nouns are not commonly involved in the construction of love scenarios in Eurovision lyrics.

proves to be a rather complex category in its relation to gender specification. Whereas the feminine grammatical gender of personal reference forms is strongly associated with female specificity, this cannot automatically be claimed for grammatically masculine personal reference forms, which in many contexts oscillate between gender-indifferent and male-specific meanings. For the quantification of sexual scenarios in ESC lyrics, such masculine forms were not counted as male-specific when they referred generically to people, either as a group (e.g. LUX 1961: *Nous les amoureux* “We the lovers.MASC.PL”) or indefinitely (e.g. GER 1988: *Lied for einen Freund* “Song for a.MASC friend.MASC”). By contrast, uses in which the form in question referred to a specific person were counted as male-specific. An example of this can be found in the Austrian entry 2004, which contains the line *Du bist ein Wahnsinnsoptimist* (“You are a total optimist.MASC.”). In this specific second-person reference (to a desired object), the masculine noun *Optimist* clearly points to a male referent, as it competes with the feminine form *Optimistin*, which would normally be used for a female addressee.⁸

Contrary to this, the performance MON 1973 (*Marie*—“Un train qui part”) may be adduced as an example in which the generic masculine was not taken to be male-specific (even though heteronormative discourses would suggest so). The song contains the following line:

(12) [MON 1973]

Elle ne sait pas grand-chose, elle n'a jamais rien fait sinon de quitter ceux qu'elle aimait.

“She does not know much, she has never done anything other than leaving those.MASC she loved.”

In this passage, the lyrics create a romantic scenario between a female third person (*elle* “she”) and her lovers, literally “those that she loved”. The desired object is constructed by means of a generic masculine plural form (*ceux* “those.MASC”) that may in principle be used for male, mixed-sex or gender-indifferent reference. Accordingly, such uses were not counted as male-specific.

⁸ Note that this makes the entry AUT 2004 (*Tie Break*—“Du bist”) a sexually subversive, same-sex scenario, as it is performed by a boy band.

Table 6.2 Sexual scenario types in relation to ranking (1957–1965, 1973–1976, 1999–2010)

Ranking	Heterosexual lyrics	Non-heteronormative lyrics	Total
Upper third	59 [32.2 %]	65 [24.9 %]	124
Middle third	59 [32.2 %]	69 [26.4 %]	128
Lower third	65 [35.5 %]	127 [48.7 %]	192
Total	183	261	444

Another problematic aspect concerns potential discrepancies between the written lyrics in the corpus and the lyrics performed on stage. This phenomenon is mainly restricted to French lyrics. Whereas spoken French in many cases does not formally distinguish gender, masculine and feminine forms are more systematically distinguished in the written language (e.g. masculine *tu es venu* vs. feminine *tu es venue* “you have come”, with identical pronunciation). Even though the written medium enforces gender disambiguation, such forms were treated in accordance with the actual language use in the performance, that is, as gender-ambiguous, if there were no other cues in the co-text or performance context that caused gender disambiguation.

As far as identity negotiation via voting is concerned, it is of interest which types of sexual scenario are judged by the audience to be more compatible with the European significance of the context. Table 6.2 presents evidence of the popularity of heterosexual and non-heteronormative scenarios in Eurovision lyrics by relating these two types of sexual scenario to the ranking of the respective performances. Even though performances with non-heteronormative lyrics are more frequent overall (261 performances vs. 183 heterosexual performances), almost half of them (48.7 %) rank in the lower third of the field, while the percentages for the upper and middle thirds are clearly lower (about 25 % for each). Explicitly heterosexual performances, by contrast, show no such variance: they are equally likely to rank in any of the three thirds of the field. This result is not surprising if one considers that the majority of the Europe-wide audience can be assumed to be heterosexual (in contrast to ESC fan communities).⁹

⁹ Comparable findings are presented in Bechdolf's (2001) study on the reception of gender roles in music video clips, which found that subjects generally favoured constructions of gender difference than of gender blurring. Especially heterosexual men were found to criticise more progressive gender constructions.

6.4 Interrelation Between European, National and Sexual Construction

In order to test whether there is an interrelation between European, national and sexual identity construction, a pilot study was conducted based on the ESC performances of the year 2007 (see also Motschenbacher 2010b). In accordance with the categories illustrated above, the following identity configurations were distinguished: exclusively national, exclusively European, national and European, national and sexual, European and sexual and national, European and sexual performances.¹⁰ National and European construction were quantified in terms of language choice and lexical nationalisation/Europeanisation. Within the category “sexual”, a more specific distinction is made between heterosexual scenarios, sexually open scenarios and sexually subversive scenarios (through gender mismatch or same-sex disambiguation).

Out of the 42 performances in 2007, 23 show linguistic traces of national identity construction, 36 of European identity construction and 33 of sexual identity construction. This proves that the three identity facets indeed play an important role in the ESC. Even more interesting is the question of whether and how the three occur in combination. None of the performances in 2007 is exclusively national. If national and European identities are conceived as competing discourses, this indicates that national identity construction is less important in the contest than European identity construction. A group of four performances is exclusively European (AUT, GEO, MOL, SWE), that is, they use a non-national language but stay silent on sexuality. Five performances combine national and European identity construction, mainly by code switching between a national and a non-national European language (ALB, AND, IRL, ISR, MAC). Six entries show a combination of national and sexual identities (BOS, BUL, MAL, MNT, SER, SLO). It is noteworthy that five out of these six performances come from a specific sub-area of Europe, namely the Balkans. The most frequent combinations are European and sexual (15 performances; BEL, BLR, CYP, DAN, EST, FIN, HUN, ISL, LAT, LIT, NED, NOR, POL, RUS, SUI) and co-occurrence of all three

¹⁰ As nearly all performances use languages that are culturally embedded and imaginary languages cannot be used to construct sexual scenarios, there is no category “exclusively sexual”.

identities (12 performances: ARM, CRO, CZE, ESP, FRA, GER, GRE, POR, ROM, TUR, UK, UKR). It can be concluded from this that it is the intersection of the three identity facets, rather than their individual construction, that is of particular relevance in the contest.

A look at the 33 entries that incorporate sexual scenarios reveals an interesting pattern of interdependence (see Table 6.3). Within the group of performances containing national identity construction, the number of sexually open performances is relatively low (3 out of 6 or 50 % for national-sexual and 3 out of 12 or 25 % for national-European-sexual). In the absence of national identity construction (European-sexual), however, the number of sexually open scenarios rises to 10 out of 15 (67 %). This indicates that sexually open construction may be an indirect means of European identity construction. Overall, heteronormative (14) and sexually open performances (16) are fairly equal in their frequencies. Sexually subversive constructions are never found without European co-construction, which indicates that they are less likely to be perceived as compatible with national identity construction.

For the purpose of relating sexual identity construction to language choice, it is essential to note that one performance may use several languages that may construct sexual identity in different ways. As a consequence, a separate sexual scenario was assumed for each “language” involved in the quantification (see Table 6.4).

Table 6.3 Linguistic construction of sexual scenarios: ESC 2007

Performances	Heterosexual lyrics	Open lyrics	Subversive lyrics
National-sexual (6)	3 (BUL, MNT, SLO)	3 (BOS, MAL, SER)	–
National-European-sexual (12)	7 (CRO, CZE, FRA, GER, GRE, ROM, TUR)	3 (ARM, ESP, POR)	2 (UK, UKR)
European-sexual (15)	4 (HUN, LAT, POL, RUS)	10 (BEL, BLR, CYP, EST, FIN, ISL, LIT, NED, NOR, SUI)	1 (DAN)
Total: 43	14	16	3

Table 6.4 Language choice and sexual scenario construction: ESC 2007

Sexual scenarios	Languages used
Heterosexual (18)	English: 6 [33.3 %] 2: French; 1 each: Bulgarian, Croatian, Czech, German, Greek, Italian, Montenegrin, Romanian, Russian, Slovenian Sum total: 12 [66.7 %]
Open (28) + subversive (3) = non-heteronormative (31)	English: 20 [64.5 %] 4: Spanish; 1 each: Armenian, Bosnian, French, Italian, Portuguese, Serbian, Turkish Sum total: 11 [35.5 %]

The percentage of languages other than English is higher for heterosexual scenarios (66.7 %) than for non-heteronormative scenarios (35.5 %). This pattern is reversed for English. Whereas it is involved in only 33.3 % of the heterosexual scenarios, its percentage rises to 64.5 % for the non-heteronormative scenarios. The three sexually subversive performances are all in English. Interestingly, all languages involved in the construction of heterosexual scenarios, except English, show a grammatical masculine–feminine contrast. That such structural prerequisites do not automatically lead to heterosexual disambiguation is shown by the fact that sexually open scenarios are constructed in languages without a masculine–feminine contrast (Armenian, English, Turkish) as well as in languages that possess such a contrast (Bosnian, French, Italian, Portuguese, Serbian, Spanish). French and Italian, for example, are in the ESC 2007 used for the construction of both heterosexual and sexually open scenarios. A similar point can be made about Croatian and Montenegrin on the heterosexual side and Bosnian and Serbian on the sexually open side, as the four varieties possess virtually identical grammatical gender systems.

In order to find out whether the results obtained for the year 2007 are typical of recent editions of the contest, the quantification was repeated on a larger scale, incorporating the six editions from 2005 to 2010. As Table 6.5 shows, there are minor differences between 2007 and this time period.

Table 6.5 Linguistic identity construction: ESC 2005–2010

ESC 2005–2010 (242 performances)	Absolute frequency	Percentage
National	18	7.4
European	36	14.9
National-European	16	6.6
National-sexual	47	19.0
European-sexual	81	33.5
National-European-sexual	43	18.2
(Other) ^a	(1)	(0.4)

^aBEL 2008 does not fit into any of the categories because it was performed in an imaginary language.

Table 6.6 Linguistic construction of sexual scenarios: ESC 2005–2010

Performances	Heterosexual lyrics	Open lyrics	Subversive lyrics
National-sexual (46)	24 [52.2 %]	22 [47.8 %]	–
National-European-sexual (44)	24 [54.5 %]	15 [34.1 %]	5 [11.4 %]
European-sexual (81)	24 [29.6 %]	56 [69.1 %]	1 [1.2 %]
Total: 171	72	93	6

Whereas none of the performances in 2007 was exclusively national, the period from 2005 to 2010 has 18 exclusively national performances (out of 242), amounting to 7.4 %. The combination national-European also occurs rather infrequently (6.6 %), which indicates that the connection between national and European identities is primarily constructed together with sexual scenarios. Exclusively European construction is twice as frequent (14.9 %) as exclusively national construction (7.4 %). The combinations national-sexual, European-sexual and national-European-sexual again form the most frequent categories. European-sexual is the most frequent strategy by far (33.5 %). In contrast to 2007, national-sexual is now in second position (19.0 %), but it is only slightly more frequent than the category national-European-sexual (18.2 %).

The distribution of the sexual scenarios is provided in Table 6.6. While heterosexual and sexually open performances were roughly equal in their frequencies in 2007, it turns out that sexually open scenarios are more common in the period from 2005 to 2010 (93 performances vs. 72 heterosexual performances). Similarly as in 2007, the share of sexually open performances is relatively low in the presence of national

Table 6.7 Language choice and sexual scenario construction: ESC 2005–2010

Sexual scenarios	Languages used
Heterosexual (84)	English: 36 [42.9 %] Other languages: 48 [57.1 %]
Open (124) + subversive (6) = non-heteronormative (130)	English: 87 [66.9 %] Other languages: 43 [33.1 %]

co-construction: 47.8 % in the category national-sexual and 34.1 % in the category national-European-sexual. In the absence of national identity construction, sexually open construction reaches a maximum of 69.1 %. Sexually subversive scenarios are never used with national co-construction exclusively and mainly occur with both national and European co-construction (five performances out of six). This may be interpreted as evidence that European co-construction enables performers to transport sexually subversive scenarios into national performances, where they would not usually be found.

Table 6.7 relates sexual scenarios to language choice. Compared to 2007, the differences are smaller here but still in accordance with the identified pattern: English is used in 42.9 % of the heterosexual scenarios and in 66.9 % of the non-heteronormative scenarios, whereas the percentage of the other languages drops from 57.1 % for the heterosexual constructions to 33.1 % for the non-heteronormative constructions. Five of the six sexually subversive scenarios are constructed in English.

In order to test more specifically how far the linguistic construction of sexual desire in ESC lyrics depends on language structure, heterosexual and non-heteronormative scenario types were cross-tabulated with the following language categories:

- Slavic languages with a grammatical masculine–feminine distinction (Bosnian, Bulgarian, Croatian, Czech, Macedonian, Montenegrin, Polish, Russian, Serbian, “Serbo-Croatian”, Slovak, Slovenian, Ukrainian)
- Romance languages with a grammatical masculine–feminine distinction (Catalan, French, Italian, Portuguese, Romanian, Spanish)

- Other languages with a grammatical masculine–feminine distinction (Albanian, German, Greek, Hebrew, Latvian, Lithuanian, Luxembourgish, Maltese)
- Languages without a grammatical masculine–feminine distinction, except English (Armenian, Danish, Dutch, Estonian, Finnish, Hungarian, Norwegian [Bokmål], Swedish, Turkish)
- Non-national English
- National English
- Language combinations

Only the three periods of free language choice were included in the calculation. The results are presented in Table 6.8.

The percentage frequencies differ considerably across language groups. Languages without a grammatical masculine–feminine contrast show the lowest rates for heterosexual scenarios (around 33 %) and the highest rates for non-heteronormative scenarios (around 67 %). The percentages are fairly similar for the three subgroups, but English shows a somewhat lower heterosexuality rate and, consequently, a slightly higher non-heteronormativity rate. Whether English is used nationally or non-nationally does not seem to have an effect on sexual identity construction. Languages with a grammatical masculine–feminine contrast show higher frequencies with heterosexual construction. However, within this group of languages, one finds great differences. The Romance languages approximate the languages without a masculine–feminine distinction, showing a non-heteronormativity rate of 58.4 %. For the Slavic languages, by contrast, heterosexual scenarios amount to 73.5 %. This may partly be explained by the fact that, in general, more satellite types are affected by grammatical gender agreement and referential gender expression in Slavic languages compared to the Romance languages.

A closer look at the category “combinations of languages” shows that competing sexuality discourses may be constructed along language lines within a performance. We have already seen an example of a performance (excerpt 26 in Sect. 5.2) in which the construction of a heterosexual scenario coincided with the use of the national language, whereas non-national English was used to construct a non-heteronormative, sexually open scenario. This indicates a connection between Europeanness and non-heteronormative construction (cf. also Table 6.6). That such a

Table 6.8 Sexual scenarios in relation to language type (1956–1965, 1973–1976, 1999–2010)

Language(s)	Heterosexual lyrics	Non-heteronormative lyrics	Total
Non-national English	47 [31.8 %]	101 [68.2 %]	148
National English	14 [32.6 %]	29 [67.4 %]	43
Languages without f-m except English	14 [35.9 %]	25 [64.1 %]	39
Romance f-m languages	42 [41.6 %]	59 [58.4 %]	101
Language combinations	32 [53.3 %]	28 [46.7 %]	60
Other f-m languages	15 [53.6 %]	13 [46.4 %]	28
Slavic f-m languages	25 [73.5 %]	9 [26.5 %]	34
Total	189 [41.7 %]	264 [58.3 %]	453

connection is a relatively recent phenomenon in the contest is, for example, illustrated by the following excerpt from the performance FRA 1966 (*Dominique Walter*—“*Chez nous*”¹¹), in which Europe is explicitly associated with heterosexual love, and this association is, in turn, described not just as a European tradition but also as an everlasting phenomenon:

(13) [FRA 1966]

Lyrics	Translation
<i>Car depuis bien longtemps, aux yeux des étrangers</i>	Because for a very long time, in the eyes of foreigners
<i>Notre vieux continent n'a pas beaucoup changé</i>	Our old continent hasn't changed much
<i>C'est avec des façons qui datent de toujours</i>	It's among the manners that last forever
<i>Qu'en Europe les garçons font aux filles leur cour</i>	That in Europe the boys court girls

Today, performances may employ code switching to create a double (sexual) subjectivity. It cannot automatically be assumed that recipients

¹¹ It is interesting to note that this sweepingly heterosexual construction of Europe was not particularly well received. The performance came 16th out of 18, scoring only one point.

understand all linguistic resources used in a polylingual performance. Code switching therefore also represents a way of sending out different messages to different parts of the audience. The most common pattern in this respect is using the national language for the national audience and non-national English for the wider European audience. Performances in which competing sexuality discourses manifest themselves along language lines may in principle show one of the following combinations: heterosexual + sexually open, heterosexual + sexually subversive, sexually open + sexually subversive.¹² However, there is no performance that uses different languages to combine heterosexual and sexually subversive scenarios. In other words, only combinations with the category sexually open occur.¹³ Of these, heterosexual + sexually open combinations are far more frequent than sexually open + subversive scenarios (which is mainly due to the rarity of sexually subversive scenarios).

Performances that show a language-differentiated heterosexual + sexually open pattern mostly employ the national language for the construction of the heterosexual scenario and a non-national European language for the construction of the sexually open scenario.¹⁴ Cases in which a sexually open scenario is constructed in the national language and a heterosexual scenario in a non-national European language are rare.¹⁵ Even rarer are performances which show competing sexuality discourses along language lines and involve non-national languages exclusively.¹⁶

¹²Note that such a distinction caters better for the complexities of individual performances than the quantification of entire performances, which would categorise co-occurrence of heterosexual + sexually open as overall heterosexual and combinations of sexually open + sexually subversive as overall subversive.

¹³This is notably different for competing sexual scenarios that are not constructed along language lines but across different performers on stage. For these, the combination heterosexual + sexually subversive is most common (cf. Chap. 7).

¹⁴Examples include the following performances: GER 1957, ESP 1978, YUG 1984, YUG 1989, MAC 2000, BOS 2001, BOS 2003, ISR 2003, ISR 2005, CRO 2007, FRA 2007, ROM 2007, ESP 2009. In some of these performances, more than two languages are used.

¹⁵The only examples found in the dataset are: GER 1960, MAC 2006, TUR 2007, FRA 2008.

¹⁶Only three such performances can be found: NOR 1973, GER 2004, ROM 2006.

One example of a performance that constructs heterosexual desire in the national language and remains sexually open in the English part is ESP 2009 (*Soraya*—“La noche es para mí”), as illustrated in the following excerpt (gendered forms underlined>¹⁷:

(14) [ESP 2009]

Lyrics	Translation
[Chorus:]	
<i>Come on and take me, come on and shake me</i>	
<i>Quiero saber lo que sientes por mí</i>	I want to know what you feel for me
<i>Come on and take me, come on and shake me</i>	
<i>¿Que no lo ves que estoy loca por ti?</i>	Don't you see that I am crazy for you?
<i>Come set me free, just you and me</i>	
<i>La noche es para mí</i>	The night is for me
<i>No puedo más, juro que mío serás</i>	I can't take it anymore, I swear that you'll be mine
<i>Ven a bailar, ya no podrás escapar</i>	Come and dance, you can no longer escape
<i>No importa si quieres o no, porque hoy mando yo</i>	It doesn't matter if you want or not, because today I command

In the Spanish lyrics of this performance, the desiring subject is constructed as female, through referentially female first-person forms (e.g. *yo*, *mí*, *mío*) and the grammatically feminine adjectival form *loca* “crazy”. Moreover, a male addressee is constructed as the desired object, through second-person references and the grammatically masculine possessive form *mío* “mine”. This heterosexual scenario competes with the sexually open scenario created in the English parts of the lyrics, where the desired object is addressed by means of imperative forms (*Come on and take me, come on and shake me*) and the gender-neutral pronoun *you*. The audiovisual construction in this case favours a heterosexual reading, as the female lead singer mainly interacts with the two male dancers and clearly less with the three female dancers on stage.

¹⁷ The full lyrics of the song can be found here: <http://diggiloo.net/?2009es>

One of the few examples in which heterosexual identities are constructed in non-national English, while the construction of desire in the national language is sexually open, is MAC 2006 (*Elena Risteska*—“Ninanajna”). In this performance, the female singer utters the following lines at the beginning of the song (before she starts to sing): *Come on, boy. Don't be afraid, boy. I'm gonna give it to you. C'mon.* This creates a heterosexual scenario involving a female artist addressing her desired object with a lexically male form (*boy*). However, the last repetition of the chorus at the end of the performance is sung in Macedonian and leaves the gender of the addressee open:

(15) [MAC 2006]

Lyrics	Translation
<i>Pej si ti, nanani nananajna</i>	Sing, nanani nananajna
<i>Zapej mi, nanani nananajna</i>	Sing to me, nanani nananajna
<i>Zaigraj so mene i kje ti dadam se</i>	Dance with me and I will give you everything
<i>Pej si ti, nanani nananajna</i>	Sing, nanani nananajna
<i>Zapej mi, nanani nananajna</i>	Sing to me, nanani nananajna
<i>Zaigraj so mene i jas kje bidam so tebe</i>	Dance with me and I will be with you
<i>Nanani nananajna</i>	Nanani nananajna

The visual part of the performance contains several elements that make an exclusively heterosexual reading questionable. For example, right after the spoken introduction, the female lead singer dances closely with the two female backing singers. Heterosexual construction hinges in this performance on the only male dancer on stage, who enacts a role in which he repeatedly flirts with his two female co-dancers and the lead singer. However, at a closer look, one can see that the staging of sexual desire between the lead singer and the male dancer is unidirectional, as it is always the latter who initiates instances of flirting, whereas the lead artist does not seem to reciprocate this construction. In fact, she is shown to repeatedly push him away, beat him and, towards the end of the performance, kick him away. It may be argued that this stages stereotypically heterosexual

courtship behaviour in which traditionally the man initiates sexual advances and the woman must show resistance (even if she appreciates these advances; see Kulick 2003b). Still, the intensity with which sexual refusal is staged in this performance is clearly less in tune with dominant femininity discourses. Furthermore, the performance does not stage a heterosexual happy ending like many ESC performances. Instead, a message of female empowerment is conveyed, as the lead singer finishes her performance sitting on the three dancers, who have formed a throne for her (the male dancer forming the back of the chair and the armrests, the female dancers forming the seat).

Only three performances in the dataset construct competing sexually open and subversive scenarios along language lines. In the performance MON 1970 (*Dominique Dussault*—“Marlène”), for example, the female singer explicitly expresses her desire and admiration for *Marlene Dietrich* (repeatedly referred to as *Marlène*) in French, whereas the desire constructed in the short English passage (*I want you, I love you, darling. I've got you*) remains sexually open. The performance does not involve any choreography and shows the singer alone, standing behind her microphone. The English lyrics can be interpreted as a direct quotation of *Marlene Dietrich*, addressed to another character in one of her movies.

Similarly, in the performance ISR 2008 (*Boaz Mauda*—“The fire in your eyes (Ke'ilu kan)”), the lead artist expresses his longing for a male addressee in Hebrew (using male second-person pronouns *ata* “you [subject]” and *otcha* “you [direct object]”), while the passages that he sings in English leave the sex of the addressee open: *Come along, come along. See the fire in your eyes and you come with me, with me*. The same-sex reading is further supported by the fact that five male and no female backing singers accompany the lead artist on stage.

To see whether the construction of sexual scenarios varies systematically within Europe, sexual scenario types were also cross-tabulated with a regional and a political categorisation of European countries. The following regional categories were distinguished for this purpose (see Table 6.9):

- northwest: BEL, DAN, FIN, ISL, LUX, NED, NOR, SWE
- southwest: AND, ESP, FRA, ITA, MON, POR, SAN
- central: AUT, CZE, GER, POL, SLK, SLO, SUI
- northeast: BLR, EST, LAT, LIT, MOL, RUS, UKR
- southeast: ALB, BOS, BUL, CRO, GRE, HUN, MAC, ROM, SER, YUG
- far southeast: ARM, AZE, CYP, GEO, ISR, MAL, TUR
- British Isles: IRL, UK

The British Isles were considered separately because they form the two European countries that can be considered native Anglophone cultures and, therefore, differ from all the other countries in which English is mainly used non-natively.

Table 6.9 documents a continuum of decreasing non-heteronormativity (and increasing heteronormativity) ranging from the north to the south and from the west to the east of the Eurovision territory. Accordingly, the highest rates of non-heteronormative scenarios can be found in performances from the northwestern region and the lowest frequencies in the southeastern region. The only region that does not fit this pattern is the far southeastern region, which shows a relatively high non-heteronormativity rate. This may be due to the fact that among the countries in this region there are three of the most recent joiners (ARM, AZE, GEO) and MAL, that is, countries that have almost exclusively used English in the contest (which is also true for many of the countries in the northwestern group).

Table 6.9 Sexual scenarios in relation to European region (1956–1965, 1973–1976, 1999–2010)

Region	Heterosexual lyrics	Non-heteronormative lyrics	Total
Northwest	41 [34.7 %]	77 [65.3 %]	118
British Isles	12 [40.0 %]	18 [60.0 %]	30
Central	28 [43.1 %]	37 [56.9 %]	65
Southwest	37 [45.1 %]	45 [54.9 %]	82
Northeast	18 [46.2 %]	21 [53.8 %]	39
Southeast	36 [48.6 %]	38 [51.4 %]	74
Far Southeast	17 [37.8 %]	28 [62.2 %]	45
Total	189 [41.7 %]	264 [58.3 %]	453

In order to relate the construction of sexuality in ESC performances to political distinctions in Europe, sexual scenario type was cross-tabulated with countries' EU membership status. This is based on a complex classification of the participating countries that takes the historical development into account. Some countries that are today EU members were not EU members in earlier periods. For example, the Danish performances up to 1965 were counted as "non-EU", because DAN joined the EU in 1973. Countries were classified as official EU membership candidates in a period of five years before their accession to the EU. For instance, the performance MAL 1975 was counted as "non-EU", MAL 1999–2003 as "EU candidate" and MAL 2004–2010 as "EU". This procedure results in the following classification:

- EU member states:
 - since period 1 (1956–1965): BEL, FRA, GER, ITA, LUX, NED
 - since period 2 (1973–1976): DAN, IRL, UK
 - period 3 (1999–2010):
 - GRE (since 1981); ESP, POR (since 1986); AUT, FIN, SWE (since 1995)
 - since 2004: CYP, CZE, EST, HUN, LAT, LIT, MAL, POL, SLK, SLO
 - since 2007: BUL, ROM

- EU membership candidates:
 - 1999–2003: CYP, CZE, EST, HUN, LAT, LIT, MAL, POL, SLK, SLO (five years pre-accession)
 - 2002–2006: BUL, ROM (five years pre-accession)
 - 2006–2010: CRO, ISL,¹⁸ MAC, TUR (five last years)
 - Before these periods, the performances of these countries were counted as non-EU.

- Non-EU countries:
 - ALB, AND, ARM, AZE, BLR, BOS, GEO, ISR, MOL, MON, NOR, RUS, SAN, SER, SUI, UKR, YUG
 - + performances of EU countries more than five years before their accession

¹⁸ ISL withdrew its bid to join the EU in 2013.

Table 6.10 Sexual scenarios in relation to EU membership status (1956–1965, 1973–1976, 1999–2010)

EU status	Heterosexual lyrics	Non-heteronormative lyrics	Total
EU members	89 [41.0 %]	128 [59.0 %]	217
Non-EU countries	83 [43.0 %]	110 [57.0 %]	193
EU candidates	17 [39.5 %]	26 [60.5 %]	43
Total	189 [41.7 %]	264 [58.3 %]	453

The results presented in Table 6.10 show that the sexual scenarios created in Eurovision lyrics are only weakly influenced by the status of a given country in relation to the EU. Locating the three groups of countries on a continuum, one would probably expect EU countries and non-EU countries to form opposing ends, while the candidate countries should cluster in between. It is, therefore, interesting to note a slight cross-over effect, as the performances of EU candidate countries show the highest non-heteronormativity rate (60.5 %), thereby surpassing the EU countries (59.0 %). Non-EU countries show the lowest percentage of non-heteronormative performances (57.0 %). Such cross-over effects have been documented in sociolinguistic research for the second highest social class, which aspires to further climb the social ladder and thus linguistically even outperforms, or “hypercorrects”, the values ascribed to the highest social class (see e.g. Meyerhoff 2006: 165). This indicates that negotiating for EU accession may be conceptualised in similar ways and that the construction of non-heteronormative scenarios may be perceived as carrying EU-related prestige.

A final aspect that merits exploration is the historical development of identity construction in Eurovision lyrics. In order to find out whether a development of increasing Europeanisation and concomitant decreasing nationalisation can be verified in ESC performances, the respective identities were quantified for the three periods of free language choice (1956–1965, 1973–1976, 1999–2010). The latest of these periods was split into two halves (1999–2004, 2005–2010) to make recent developments visible. Table 6.11 and Fig. 6.1 present the findings concerning the develop-

ment of national and European identity construction (independently of sexual identity construction) throughout the four periods.¹⁹

The data indeed documents the hypothesised development. Across the four time periods, exclusively national identity construction has gradually become less prominent, starting with 82.1 % in the earliest phase, going down to 62.0 % in the 1970s, and finally dropping to 29.2 % and 26.6 % in the two most recent periods. Exclusively European construction was virtually non-existent in the first phase, but climbed to 21.1 % in the 1970s. In the two latest phases, it seems to be rather stable, ranging around 48 %. The combination of national and European identities has been slowly rising, starting around 17 % in the two early phases and increasing to 22.7 % and 24.9 % in the two latest periods. Whereas exclusively national construction was the dominant strategy up to the 1970s, exclusively European construction has become the most common strategy nowadays, and its increase is clearly to the detriment of exclusively national construction.

For the construction of sexual scenarios, one would expect a development according to which proceeding Europeanisation leads to a higher visibility of non-heteronormative performances. Table 6.12 and Fig. 6.2 present the results of the quantification of sexual identity construction across the four time periods. As can be seen, the first period shows a 50–50 distribution of heterosexual and non-heteronormative scenarios.

Table 6.11 Development of national and European identity construction in ESC performances

Period	National	European	National + European	Total
1956–1965	115 [82.1 %]	1 [0.7 %]	24 [17.1 %]	140
1973–1976	44 [62.0 %]	15 [21.1 %]	12 [16.9 %]	71
1999–2004	45 [29.2 %]	74 [48.1 %]	35 [22.7 %]	154
2005–2010	64 [26.6 %]	117 [48.5 %]	60 [24.9 %]	241
Total	268	207	131	606

¹⁹ BEL 2003 and BEL 2008 were excluded from this calculation because they used invented languages.

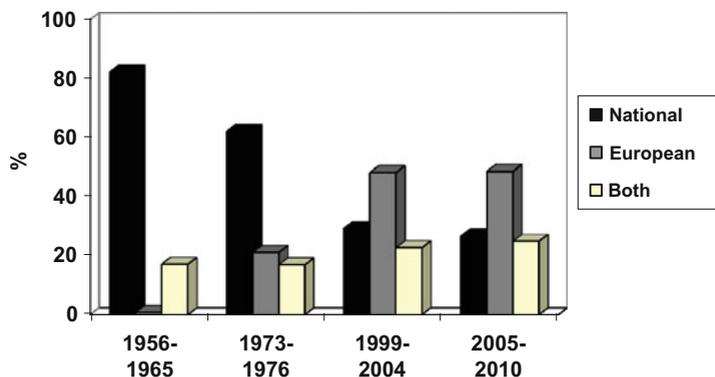
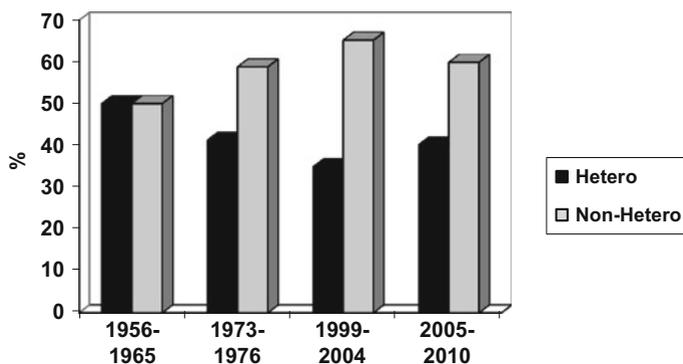


Fig. 6.1 Development of national and European identity construction in ESC performances

Non-heteronormative constructions became more frequent later on, rising to 58.5 % in the 1970s and to 65.2 % in the period 1999–2004. At first glance, it may be surprising to find a decrease of non-heteronormative constructions across the two latest periods (from 65.2 % to 59.9 %). When looking more closely at the data, one finds that the higher frequency of such constructions in the period from 1999 to 2004 is due mainly to the year 1999, which contains only two explicitly heterosexual scenarios. A likely reason for this lies in the fact that in 1998, a transsexual artist, the Israeli singer *Dana International*, had won the contest. Winning performances commonly have an influence on the performances of the following years and are, therefore, important motors of intertextuality in the contest. It is obvious that after *Dana International's* victory, lyricists were less convinced that they could succeed in the contest with explicitly heterosexual scenarios. Another related reason may be that the year 1998 is also widely considered the year of the coming out of the ESC as an LGBT-friendly event. If the year 1999 is eliminated from the frequency count, the percentage frequencies are roughly the same in the two latest periods.

Table 6.12 Development of sexual scenario construction in ESC performances

Period	Heterosexual lyrics	Non-heteronormative lyrics	Total
1956–1965	58 [50.0 %]	58 [50.0 %]	116
1973–1976	21 [41.2 %]	30 [58.8 %]	51
1999–2004	31 [34.8 %]	58 [65.2 %]	89
2005–2010	79 [40.1 %]	118 [59.9 %]	197
Total	189	264	453

**Fig. 6.2** Development of sexual scenario construction in ESC performances

Furthermore, it is interesting to investigate which role English has played in the development of sexual identity construction in the contest. As the frequencies of English performances are low in the two early periods, only the latest two periods can be analysed in this respect. The results are presented in Fig. 6.3. Even though only 12 years are covered here, an interesting development can be detected. In the period from 1999 to 2004, English was the dominant language in the construction of both heteronormative and non-heteronormative scenarios. In contrast to this, the latest phase (2005–2010) shows that English is still dominant for non-heteronormative scenarios, while the other languages predominate for heterosexual scenarios. This in fact verifies a polarising development, according to which national languages play a greater role in the construction of heterosexual scenarios, while (mainly non-national) English is strongly connected to the construction of non-heteronormative scenarios.

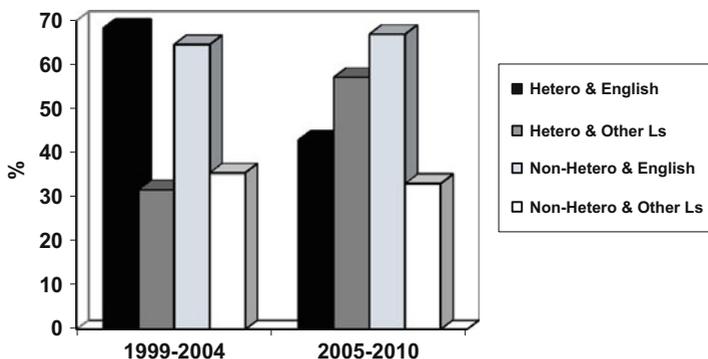


Fig. 6.3 Sexual scenario construction in relation to language choice in ESC performances (1999–2010)

6.5 The Linguistic Construction of Non-Normative Sexualities

The ESC is exceptional in staging non-heteronormative, and sometimes even sexually subversive performances for a pan-European audience (see the examples discussed in Sects. 6.3 and 7.4). What is remarkable about this practice is that these performances officially represent nations, despite the fact that national institutions have traditionally supported or even promoted heterosexuality (e.g. through marriage-related legislation). It may, therefore, be surmised that national representation through the staging of non-heterosexual desire is fostered by the broader European significance of the ESC, which would appear to constitute a context in which non-heteronormative scenarios carry a certain prestige. This ultimately results in a greater competition of sexuality-related discourses in the contest, and it may be the greater openness towards less traditional scenarios, or at least scenarios that do not construct heterosexuality as the normative default, that shapes current conceptualisations of Europeanness.

Competing sexuality discourses do not exclusively surface in the performances in the ESC. As shown in studies by Motschenbacher (2012a, b, 2013b), this competition of discourses is also prevalent at ESC press conferences and has become increasingly visible in the presentation of the contest. This is illustrated by the following interaction that took place during

the voting announcements of the ESC 2006 in Athens. It constitutes an interesting piece of data, as it provides evidence of heteronormativity being questioned in the contest, even beyond the liminality of the pop musical performances. In the specified scene, transcribed in (16),²⁰ *Paul de Leeuw* is announcing the Dutch votes to *Sakis Rouvas*, the host of the ESC 2006, and the Europe-wide audience. In the well-known voting procedure, a delegate from each participating country announces how many points are attributed to which performance. As the number of participating countries had steadily grown throughout the years, the EBU decided to shorten the voting procedure by dictating that each national spokesperson may only explicitly announce the points for the three performances that received the most votes (8, 10 and 12 points), whereas the points for the lower-ranked performances (1–7 points) are only shown in computer animation.

(16)

1	Sakis: hello netherlands (1.2)	[paul]	[hello paul]	kali spera Paul=
2	Paul:	[he:l]lo:: greece	[kali sp]erma (.) everybody	
3	Audience:		((applause))	
4	Paul:	=you look like will (.) you look like will and grace (.) you two (2.5)		
5	Audience:		((laughter))	
6	Paul:	so here are the votes the dutch votes (.) let's come (.) >one ukraine (.) two russia (.)		
7		germany three (.) ireland four (.) greece five (.) lithuania six (.) finland SEVEN		
8		POI:NTS< (1.0) and now (.) the eight points (.) are you		
9	Audience:	((applause))		
10	Paul:	ready tsaki? =katsiki tsi[kaki? (.) are you ready?] (.) eight points (.) i like your blouse (.)		
11	Sakis:	yes=	[huh-huh-huh-huh-huh-huh]	
12	Paul:	uh-hu ((winks)) hh the eight points are for bosnia herzegovina yeah		
13		(0.8)		
14	Audience:	((applause))		
15	Sakis:	bosnie herzegovine (.) huit points		
16	Paul:	yes (.) i say (.) and the ten points (.) tsaki tsika tsuka are from armenia		
17		(0.5)		
18	Audience:	((applause))		

²⁰The scene can be watched here: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dBf7_VGmzD4 (accessed 23 September 2015). The transcription conventions used here are in accordance with Liddicoat (2007).

19	Sakis: armenie (.) dix points
20	(1.0)
<hr/>	
21	Paul: ok and tsaki will you have my mobile number <u>now</u> or after the twelve points? ((winks))
22	(1.0)
<hr/>	
23	Sakis: give it to me <u>now</u> (0.8) i bet [it's] sixty-nine sixty-nine [sixty-nine]
24	Paul: [okay] [o o-](1.0)
<hr/>	
25	Paul: no no no no no i'm not a french guy (.) it's o o three one (.) six (.) two four (.)
26	Audience: ((applause))
<hr/>	
27	Paul: seven four (.) four four (.) three two (.) one zero (.) di:al one (1.2) TWELVE POINTS
28	GOES TO I'M VERY PROUD TO SAY (.) TURKEY TWELVE POINTS
29	Audience: ((applause))
<hr/>	
30	Sakis: turquie (.) douze points

This exchange represents typical ELF communication in the sense that the non-nativeness of the language use is neither oriented to by the interactants nor does it preclude successful meaning negotiation (compare e.g. Paul's mispronunciation of *Bosnia Herzegovina* in l. 12, or his confusion of the prepositions *for* and *from* in l. 16). Despite the fact that voting announcements follow a rather fixed interactional frame (greetings—spokesperson announces points—host translates into French), this exchange is remarkably dense with respect to identity negotiation. Paul transforms the task of announcing the points from a serious business to a humorous undertaking, which can clearly be seen in the passages where he makes fun of Sakis' name (l. 10, 16, 21). Furthermore, he intermingles his turns with various types of same-sex innuendo. For example, after being called upon by Sakis, Paul greets him with the phrase *kali sperma* (l. 2; lit. "good sperm" instead of Greek *kali spera* "good evening"). In his next turn (l. 4), he compares the two hosts of the evening, *Sakis Rouvas* and *Maria Menounos*, to the protagonists of the US sitcom *Will and Grace*—a TV series that is stereotypically associated with a gay fan base. Moreover, this comparison projects a gay identity on Sakis, as the series character *Will*, to which Sakis is likened, is a gay man. When announcing the points from 1 to 7, Paul introduces this procedure not with the expected idiom *let's go*, but with the utterance *let's come* (l. 6), which also allows for a sexual reading. After his quick announcement of the points, Paul compliments

Sakis on his clothing by saying *I like your blouse*. This conversational move does not correspond to normatively heterosexual male behaviour. First of all, Sakis is said to wear a *blouse*, that is, a piece of clothing usually worn by women. Secondly, empirical studies have shown that, in Western cultural contexts, compliments as positively polite speech acts are least frequently exchanged among men and most frequently among women (see Holmes 1995: 123). Moreover, appearance compliments were found to be particularly uncommon among men and highly common among women, while other compliment types (on possessions or abilities) seem to clash less with hegemonic masculinity discourses (Holmes 1995: 132). These associations turn Paul's compliment into a speech act that has an effect similar to that of inverted appellation practices. The compliment simultaneously initiates a passage in which Paul repeatedly tries to flirt with Sakis. This is expressed paralinguistically, with Paul winking twice at Sakis (l. 12, 21), and in a more verbally explicit fashion, as Paul offers Sakis his mobile phone number (l. 21). Sakis replies to this offer by saying *give it to me now* (again an ambiguous utterance that can be read in a sexual way) and further adds *I bet it's sixty-nine sixty-nine sixty-nine* (l. 23), alluding to a sexual position that is stereotypically associated with gay male sexual practices (see Baker 2002b: 193). Finally, Paul reciprocates this sexual reading by replying that he is *not a French guy* (l. 25), a phrase in which the ethnonym *French* is likely to be understood as referring to sexual practices (see Baker 2002b: 123).

It needs to be noted that sexual identity negotiation is in this passage not just performed by the two main participants, Sakis and Paul, but also by the audience in the hall, which repeatedly applauds or bursts into laughter in response to the sexual innuendo (l. 3, 5, 26). It is also noteworthy that Paul presents himself as a rather dominant speaker, initiating jokes and holding the conversational floor. This is evident, for example, when he explicitly announces all points from 1 to 7 (l. 6–8), even though the rules of the contest officially forbid this. In the beginning, Paul creates the sexual innuendo exclusively, and it is only later in the exchange (l. 23) that Sakis starts to co-construct it. This indicates that Sakis, in his official national representational function as the show host, is much less comfortable

with flouting not just the rules of the voting procedure but also those of heteronormativity. Whereas Sakis reacts to Paul's jokes about his name with laughter (l. 10), he shows no reaction at all to the sexual joking initiated by Paul. This is especially obvious after Paul's compliment, where the refusal to react must be considered a dispreferred move if not highly rude behaviour. Only after Paul has offered his mobile phone number, Sakis reacts with acceptance—in general a preferred response to offers—and also joins in joking. Therefore one may see this as a somewhat forced co-construction.

What we have seen in this exchange illustrates that the association of the ESC with gay identities is nowadays no longer a closeted phenomenon. One could argue that not all of the passages that potentially contribute to the sexual innuendo in this exchange are also interpreted as such by all members of the Europe-wide audience. What is at work in many of the utterances is what Morrish and Sauntson (2007: 99–101) describe as “disguisement”. This mechanism concerns linguistic features that create a “double subjectivity” (Leap 1996: 15), that is, they are only perceived to be markers of a non-heteronormative identity by the initiated in-group, whereas the wider public decodes them in another (more literal) way that is compatible with heteronormativity or not related to sexuality at all. This allows speakers to act in non-heteronormative ways within the system of heteronormativity. However, it is interesting to see that the ESC seems to introduce such practices to a wider audience and thereby acts as an important promoter of the public visibility of non-heteronormative identities.

In ESC performances, the construction of sexual identities is no less complex. Even though heterosexual scenarios are widely considered the default, it is also evident that, on closer inspection, many sexual performances allow for alternative readings due to certain linguistic and non-linguistic aspects. In other words, even explicitly heterosexual scenarios can be subjected to non-heteronormative readings—a practice that may be particularly relevant for non-heterosexually identified followers of the contest. One example of such an explicitly heterosexual scenario is the winning performance NOR 2009 (*Alexander Rybak*—“Fairytale”). The initial part of the lyrics reads as follows:

(17)

*Years ago, when I was younger / I kinda liked a girl I knew.
She was mine and we were sweethearts / That was then, but then it's true.*

[Chorus:]

*I'm in love with a fairytale / Even though it hurts.
'Cause I don't care if I lose my mind / I'm already cursed.*

From the start, the lyrics create an explicitly heterosexual scenario involving the persona of the male singer (*I*) and a female object of desire (*a girl, she*). However, when looking at these lyrics more closely, one finds that, even in such a short text passage, competing sexuality discourses surface. An alternative reading may highlight that it is a defining characteristic of fairy tales that they are not true, which makes the singer's narrative a piece of fiction. Strangely, the protagonist even explicates that he is *in love with a fairy tale*, whereas he only *kinda liked the girl* in question, that is, the intensity of his affection for the love story is constructed as higher than that for the desired object. Moreover, locating the love affair at a point in time that the singer describes as *years ago, when I was younger* resounds with the experiences of many gay men who during their adolescence had (superficial) love affairs with female partners. Finally, the protagonist seems to view his enchantment rather negatively, namely as a matter of being *cursed*. All of these aspects make a purely heterosexual reading less plausible. Examples like this illustrate that explicitly heterosexual song lyrics do not necessarily have to be seen as clashing with the experiences of the gay male fan base of the contest, because even such texts can be “queered” in the reception process (see also Sullivan 2003: 191–192).

Non-normative sexual identity discourses that arise on the linguistic level of an ESC performance may not invariably represent the dominant reading. Nevertheless, they provide resources from which parts of the audience may draw an alternative reading of a performance. It is unsurprising that one can detect a trend according to which non-normative constructions are more explicitly and self-confidently staged in more recent years than in times before 1998, when the gay association of the contest was still a closeted phenomenon. In these earlier times, a specific targeting of non-heterosexual parts of the audience required certain disguise techniques whose non-heterosexual indexical potential could only be decoded by insiders. The following descriptions of instances of non-normative linguistic construction in

ESC performances will proceed chronologically, that is, from more closeted to more overt non-normative references.

An early example that uses gender bending in its lyrics is the performance SWE 1966 (*Lill Lindfors & Svante Thuresson*—“Nygammal vals”), in which a female–male couple stages a fairytale with a male swineherd and a princess as protagonists. The lyrics consist of narrative passages in which the protagonists are referred to in the third person, and passages constructed as first-person direct speech, in which the performers adopt the roles of the protagonists. Gender bending comes into play as a comical element at the end of the performance, when the two protagonists decide to swap their identities: the princess becomes a swineherd and the swineherd a princess:

(18) [SWE 1966]

[F:] [...] *Jag blir hipp svinaherde, du kungens gull*

“I’ll be a hip swineherd, you the king’s sweetheart”

[M:] *Jag som prinsessa? Visst man är hipp* “Me as a princess? Sure, I’m hip”

Ta då min trummelumma, ta min kastrull

“Then take my drum, take my saucepan”

[B:] *Han som prinsessa, hipp man i clips*

“He as a princess, a hip man wearing clip-on ties”

Hivades ut från hovet av en patrull

“Was thrown out of the castle by the guards”

Hon svinaherde, sipp brud i slips

“She, as a swineherd, a prudish chick wearing a tie”

Gjorde var männ’ska galen, spelte kastrull

“Drove everybody mad, playing her saucepan”

Döden i grytan byta bort sin kastrull

“Trading your saucepan turned out to be a bad idea”

The scenario created here is primarily non-normative with respect to the construction of gender. In terms of sexuality, it is only mildly non-normative, as in the simultaneous male–female role switch, heterosexuality is maintained. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the protagonists are presented as fulfilling their switched gender roles only insufficiently and that the gender switch is, therefore, evaluated quite negatively, as a “bad idea”, which can be read as a privileging of the original pre-switch state. Another, more recent gender crossing performance (LAT 2002) will be analysed more closely in Sect. 7.4.

A concept that early on played a role in the (disguised) construction of non-normative sexualities in the contest is the “rainbow”, which on the non-linguistic level has a parallel in the creation of the rainbow flag as a symbol for gay pride.²¹ As the following examples show, references to rainbows can be found in all decades of the contest.

(19)

- (a) *Tutti i colori dell'arcobaleno vanno a fermare una pioggia d'argento.*
“All the colours of the rainbow are going to stop a silver rain.” [ITA 1959]
- (b) *And all his life is roses and rainbows and songbirds.* [UK 1966]
- (c) *Pregherò, pregherò per vedere l'arcobaleno.*
“I would pray, I would pray to see the rainbow.” [SUI 1968]
- (d) *There are many rainbows on the way.* [IRL 1969]
- (e) *Erono i giorni dell'arcobaleno* “Those were the days of the rainbow”
[ITA 1972]
- (f) *Sham – sham ra'iti keshet be'anan.* “There – there I saw a rainbow.”
[ISR 1973]
- (g) *Kmo tziv'ey hakeshet, od nikshor anan bekhut.*
“Like the colours of the rainbow, we'll tie a cloud with a string.” [ISR 1975]
- (h) *Le printemps sur son manège déroulait pour nous ses arcs-en-ciel.*
“Spring on its roundabout unrolled its rainbows for us.” [FRA 1979]
- (i) *Und ich jag den Regenbogen.* “And I hunt the rainbow.” [AUT 1983]
- (j) *Für alle hier, die den Regenbogen auch im Dunkeln sehn*
“For all here who can see the rainbow also in the dark” [GER 1985]
- (k) *Wait until the rainbow ends.* [IRL 1985]
- (l) *Ananim hofekhim lemayim, keshet ola bamarom.*
“Clouds turn into water, a rainbow rises in the heavens.”
Olé, olé – nashir beyakhad, gadol vekatan, kmo keshet be'anan.
“Olé, olé – we'll sing together, big and small, like a rainbow.”
Ish le'ish rokmim po keshet, elef tzva'im lashalom.
“To one another weaving a rainbow, peace has a thousand colours.”
[ISR 1985]

²¹ The rainbow flag is said to be inspired by gay icon *Judy Garland's* song “Somewhere over the rainbow”.

- (m) *Sateenkaari kun taivaalla taipuu*
“When the rainbow bends in the sky” [FIN 1989]
- (n) *Could it be you and me have found our rainbow’s end?* [MAL 1991]
- (o) *I’m chasing rainbows across the sun.* [UK 1994]
- (p) *Look for rainbows. There’s nothing wrong.* [MAL 1995]
- (q) *It’s a rainbow in the night, turns darkness into light.* [GER 2002]
- (r) *Close your eyes and dream, and visualise a rainbow.* [CYP 2006]
- (s) *I still can’t see where’s the rainbow.* [EST 2006]
- (t) *I can reach the rainbow.* [MOL 2008]
- (u) *The sun is shining in my heart, rainbows in the sky* [AUT 2011]
- (v) *You never see the rainbow, you just curse the rain, you say* [UK 2013]
- (w) *Pick up all the rainbow buds from the sky* [GEO 2014]

The rainbow flag was designed in 1978 (Baker 2002b: 184). This creation can be seen as an institutionalisation of the association of the rainbow with non-normative sexualities. Some of the earliest instances of the use of the concept in the contest have therefore probably gained their non-heterosexual meaning potential in hindsight. Still they may play an important role in ESC fan communities, where former ESC performances are frequently viewed and re-staged. Rainbow references represent an effective disguise technique because they can, on the one hand, be decoded as indexing LGBT identities by viewers who are familiar with this symbolic association and, on the other hand, be read as a general, stereotypical symbol of peace and harmony—a message that predominates for the uninitiated. The positiveness of these images also shines through in the collocations of “rainbow” in the extracts in (19). For example, rainbows are described as something that people desire or search for (collocates: *hunt, look for, chase, pray to see, dream, reach*), contrasted with unpleasant things as a positive anti-pole (collocates: *rain, dark, night, wrong*), and juxtaposed with other positively associated natural phenomena (collocates: *roses, songbirds, spring, heavens, sun*), while the metaphor of the rainbow’s end (19 k, n) is used to express that a good time has come to an end. It is interesting to note that references to rainbows in the contest have since the 1990s been exclusively in English, whereas before that time such references were common in other languages, too. This again points to a connection between English and the construction of non-heterosexual identities, and to the global spread of gay culture through English transmission (cf. Leap and Boellstorff 2004).

One of the earliest performances that may be thought to exploit the rainbow flag connection in a highly motivated fashion is AUT 1983 (*Westend*—“Hurricane”). The lyrics of the performance are given in (18) below (repeated choruses omitted).²²

(20) [AUT 1983]

<i>Lyrics</i>	<i>Translation</i>
<i>[M1:] Ganz allein mit meinem Kummer Spazier' ich durch die Straßen Die Einsamkeit von morgen</i>	All alone with my sorrow I'm walking through the streets The loneliness of tomorrow
<i>[M1/2:] Macht mir schon heute Sorgen [M2:] Ja, ich warte auf die Eine</i>	Makes me worry today already Yes, I'm waiting for the.FEM one.FEM
<i>[A:] Nur auf mich da wartet keine</i>	But no-one.FEM is waiting for me
<i>Ich dreh' mich in der Mühle Der stürmischen Gefühle</i>	I'm spinning round in the mill Of stormy feelings
[Chorus:]	
<i>[A:] So ein Hurricane, Hurricane, Hurricane Wirbelwind der Liebe Hurricane, (oh) Hurricane, Hurricane</i>	Such a hurricane, hurricane, hurricane Whirlwind of love Hurricane, (oh) hurricane, hurricane
<i>Wirbelwind der Liebe trägt uns fort</i>	Whirlwind of love is carrying us away
<i>[M3:] Dann hab' ich sie gefunden [A:] Nach leeren dunklen Stunden Doch das Schicksal war dagegen Nun steh' ich da im Regen</i>	Then I found her After empty, dark hours But destiny was against it Now I'm standing here in the rain
<i>[M1:] Ich leb' in meinen [M1/3:] Phantasien [M2:] Und ich jag' den [M2/3:] Regenbogen [A:] Haben wir uns selbst betrogen? Selbst betrogen</i>	I live in my fantasies And I hunt the rainbow Did we cheat on ourselves? Cheat on ourselves

²² The lyrics of this song are reproduced in full by courtesy of the lyricists Heli Deinboek and Heinz Nessizius.

On the surface, the lyrics create an explicitly heterosexual scenario between the male singers (M1, M2, M3) and a female desired object. The latter is constructed through gendered third-person references, that is, grammatically feminine proforms (*die eine* “the.FEM one.FEM”; *keine* “no-one.FEM”; *sie* “her”). Other performance aspects, however, allow for a non-heteronormative reading. As the performance falls into a time before the public affirmation of the ESC as a gay-friendly event, the mechanisms used to construct non-heteronormative messages are less direct than those that are used for the construction of the heterosexual scenario in the lyrics. The rainbow reference (*Und ich jag den Regenbogen*. “And I hunt the rainbow.”) is just one of these aspects. A non-heterosexual reading is also supported by the preceding line *Ich leb in meinen Phantasien* “I live in my fantasies”. The noun *fantasies* suggests an erotic form of desire and is generally used to talk about desires that one has not lived out before, which would be typical for same-sex desire as a traditionally stigmatised form of sexuality. Note that the keywords *Phantasien* and *Regenbogen* are sung together by exactly two male performers, which allows for a gay couple reading, while individuals or all performers sing the surrounding passages

Other potentially non-heteronormative aspects result from the interplay of the verbal text with non-verbal performance components. The group *Westend* consists of five male band members and one female dancer. Three of the male band members sing solo parts in the performance, the other two mainly fulfil the roles of dancer and keyboarder and only join in singing in the choruses. The group is dressed in a highly colourful way that may be said to visually represent the rainbow, with the colours yellow, red and blue dominating. The costumes and the dancing routine (which involves repeated hip-shaking) appear to be incompatible with hegemonic versions of masculinity. At the beginning of the performance, two male performers lay their arms around the two other male performers, while the female dancer is standing isolated in between the two male–male pairs. The female dancer interacts at some points with one of the male band members (the dancer), but otherwise dances separately in front of the male performers. The remaining four male band members are not involved in any heterosexual construction

in the choreography. By contrast, the three male lead singers twice get together to form an all-male group on stage and also look at each other while singing. One of these instances is the passage in which they sing about living in their fantasies, hunting the rainbow and cheating on themselves (see the last stanza in 20). That this passage is performed in a staged all-male setting heightens the potential of a gay male reading. The lyrics can be understood as a description of the stereotypical trials and tribulations gay men have to face before their coming out. The image of the *hurricane* and the “whirlwind of love” represents a metaphor through which this situation is graphically constructed in the lyrics.

Among the personal nouns that may be used in ESC performances for the activation of non-heteronormative readings are the kinship terms *brother* and *sister*. The concepts of brotherly and sisterly love represent indirect, disguised ways of indexing gay male and lesbian identities. One such example can be found in the performance IRL 1988 (*Jump the Gun*—“Take him home”), from which the following excerpt is taken:

(21) [IRL 1988]

*You can look him in the eye and hold out your hand
Tell him you're a brother and he'll understand*

[Chorus:]

*So if you meet somebody, it might be someone I know
Brother, if he needs you...
Brother, if he needs you, take him home*

The group *Jump the Gun* consists of two male lead singers. In the lyrics, a scenario is created that involves three social actors: the singing subject, constructed through referentially male first-person references (*I*), the addressee (*you*), who is repeatedly referred to with the lexically male noun *brother*, and another third-person referent, who is identified by means of male pronouns (*he*, *him*). Women are not linguistically represented in this all-male context. The male pronouns used for third-person reference possess a meaning potential that oscillates between

male-specific and (pseudo-)generic meanings (note that they are partly used in anaphoric reference to the indefinite pronoun *somebody*). In the lyrics, the relationship between the addressee and the third-person referent is foregrounded, so this is not a classical *I love you* scenario. Aspects that point to a sexual relationship between these two protagonists are references that could be read as indicating physical attraction (*look him in the eye; hold out your hand*) or desire (*he needs you; take him home*). Moreover, the use of the term *brother* as a gay male insider code is hinted at (*Tell him you're a brother and he'll understand*). Finally, the fact that the third-person referent is said to be potentially known by the singing subject (*it might be someone I know*) creates the impression that there is an entire community of *brothers*, which can easily be read as the gay male community.

Linguistic gender crossing in the shape of inverted self-appellation has proven to be a powerful means of indexing non-normative sexualities in more recent years. Some drag performances in which male artists refer to themselves with lexically female forms have already been mentioned in Sect. 6.3 (DAN 2007, UKR 2007). Such practices can first be found in the contest in the 1990s, for example, in the performance FRA 1994 (*Nina Morato*—“Je suis un vrai garçon”). In this performance, linguistic gender crossing involves a female performer who in the chorus repeatedly sings the line *Je suis un vrai garçon* (“I am a real boy”). As is typical of gender bending performances, the crossing to the male gender role is also partly supported by non-verbal performance elements. For example, certain components of the artist’s costume (a black hat and tailcoat) represent stereotypically male attire. Moreover, the artist stages a relatively eccentric behaviour (wild screaming, use of swearwords such as French *putain* “whore”) that clashes with normative discourses of femininity. Some more gender crossing performances will be discussed in Sect. 7.4 in relation to non-verbal identity construction.

The following excerpts from Eurovision lyrics of the 2000s illustrate how especially English lexical items, such as *gay* (22a), *straight* (22b), *in* and *out* (in terms of the closet; 22c), are used in performances to (co-) index messages pertaining to sexual identities. These forms are semantically ambiguous and allow for a non-heterosexual reading, one that might

even be obvious if one takes into account the widely known association of the ESC with non-normative sexual identities.

(22)

- (a) *Let's get happy and let's be gay / All our troubles, they will fade away* [GER 2003]
- (b) *I can't think straight, I just wanna be / Wherever you are when you're not here with me* [ISL 2004]
- (c) *Are you in? Are you out? Do you know your way out?* [TUR 2004]

It is, of course, no coincidence that it is English lexical items that are used for purposes of indexing non-normative sexualities. The global spread of LGBT-related concepts in the shape of English lexical material has been repeatedly verified (see e.g. Minning 2004; Moriel 2004). It can therefore be assumed that the LGBT-friendly segments of the European audience are familiar with the sexual meaning potential of these forms. What is new about such linguistic practices in the ESC is that they are transported from their originally subcultural usage into a Europe-wide public sphere, where they compete with more normative identity constructions and are even used to represent nations. However, in times in which non-heterosexual identities are met with more tolerance in large parts of Europe, it can be safely assumed that also many heterosexual people have access to such sexualised meanings.

Another performance that exploits this strategy quite blatantly and in an exaggerated way is IRL 2008 (*Dustin the Turkey*—“Irelande douze pointe” [sic]), a humorous entry that involves a turkey puppet as the lead performer. The performance makes fun of all too serious attempts to win the ESC, staging an overly nationalist, tongue-in-cheek approach to Irishness, as indicated by the explicit exhortation to vote for IRL in the song title, which is repeated throughout the chorus. This explicit call for votes is further enhanced by directly addressing a whole list of (mainly Eastern) European countries in the lyrics. Irishness is additionally constructed through the protagonist's heavy working-class Irish accent and the colours of the Irish national flag, which dominate the performance (costumes, lighting and video screen). In addition, it seems that gay

male audience segments are specifically targeted by means of references to concepts connected to the gay scene. The lyrics contain phrases that play a stereotypical role in gay male camp, for example, the greeting *hello sailor*,²³ reference to *drag acts* (which is also an allusion to previous ESC performances), or the formulaic *God save the Queen*.²⁴ Moreover, the use of French within an overall English text is generally perceived to possess camp potential (Harvey 2000: 251–252). Apart from the French title quoting the announcement of 12 points going to IRL, the performance also contains the French forms *c'est la vie* and *bonjour*.

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that the linguistic construction of Europeanness, nationalism and sexuality in ESC performances provides evidence for shifting identity-related normativities. National identity construction is becoming less pronounced in the contest, as participants apparently feel a need to avoid overtly nationalised messages and code choices. Besides this quantitative change, one can also detect a qualitative change in the way national identities are handled. Where they are still presented in the ESC today, they tend to be staged in an informal or light-hearted manner that serves as a deconstructionist mechanism for the idea of the “nation”. European linguistic identity construction in ESC performances, by contrast, is gaining ground. A central mechanism for transnational European constructions is the use of linguistic elements (“languages”, cultural references) that are not connected to the nation officially represented by a particular performance and therefore constitute a type of crossing that carries transnational European prestige and further represents a way of downplaying the issues of national representation and international competition.

²³The phrase *hello sailor* is originally associated with the sexual proposition of a female prostitute to a male sailor who has just come back from a long period at sea. It has become a catchphrase of gay male camp, implicating that, when sailors come back from sea, they are so sex-starved that they can no longer distinguish a female prostitute from a man in drag (see also Baker and Stanley 2003).

²⁴The word *queen* is in gay slang also widely used to refer to a gay man (Baker 2002b: 48–49, 182).

With respect to sexual identity construction, it is evident that the traditional default of heterosexual love increasingly has to face the competition of non-heteronormative scenarios in the contest. On the qualitative level, it was found that, while these alternative constructions were in general of a more indirect and disguised kind before the recognition of the contest as an LGBT-friendly event (pre-1998), they have been voiced more explicitly and self-confidently in recent years. Moreover, it was found that there is a general interrelation between the three identity facets discussed that sees constructions of heterosexual desire more strongly connected to national identity construction in the contest, while non-heteronormative constructions are more strongly associated with European identity construction. This distribution, in turn, indicates that participants in the contest tend to view the construction of alternative sexuality discourses, traditionally perceived as non-normative, as a way of presenting themselves as European.

English has been found to play a central role in these overall developments: as today's major lingua franca on European soil that ensures maximal transnational communicative reach, as a popular non-national medium of communication, as a language without a grammatical masculine–feminine contrast that facilitates the construction of non-heteronormative love scenarios, and as a language involved in the global discursive spread of LGBT-related concepts. It is the interplay of these four aspects that makes the use of English an adept representational strategy in the contest.

The findings presented in this chapter suggest that the ESC is an excellent context for studying the discursive interface of national, European and sexual identity construction. Chap. 7 will continue to explore this interface and complement the largely linguistic descriptions of identity construction in ESC performances of the present chapter with a stronger analytical integration of non-linguistic modes of meaning making.

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7

Multimodal Identity Construction in ESC Performances

7.1 Interaction of Linguistic and Audiovisual Construction

After dealing extensively with the verbal component of identity construction in ESC performances, this chapter explores how the linguistic construction relates to other performance components on the audiovisual level. For this purpose, language is viewed as multimodally embedded in discursive meaning-making practices. When focusing on the audiovisual component of ESC performances, it should be noted that non-linguistic identity construction opens up a larger interpretive space than linguistic identity construction (see Stoeva-Holm 2005: 34). In other words, recipients are more likely to differ in their perception of non-verbal performance characteristics as relevant indexes of Europeanness, nationalism and sexuality. The following analysis therefore concentrates on aspects that make a national, European or sexual reading likely for large parts of the audience.

The linguistically and non-linguistically staged identities in the ESC fulfil the function of national representation in front of a pan-European audience and may in some cases differ drastically from the artists' private identifications or from the social realities in a given country. For example,

artists that have publically come out as gay may construct heterosexual scenarios in their performances (see e.g. ISL 1997: *Paul Oscar*—“Minn hinsti dans”). On the other hand, artists constructing sexually subversive identities on the ESC stage need not necessarily draw on similar identifications in their private lives (see e.g. the drag queen act *Verka Serdutchka* [UKR 2007] or the lesbian performances by *t.A. T.u* [RUS 2003] or *Krista Siegfriids* [FIN 2013]). Similarly, artists representing a certain country on stage do not necessarily have to come from or live in that country. Notorious in this respect are small countries like LUX and MON, which were frequently represented by non-national artists in the ESC. GER also had a period around 1970, in which it was several times represented by artists of Scandinavian descent (*Wencke Myhre* in 1968, *Siw Malmkvist* in 1969, *Gitte Haenning* in 1973). Cases in which performers were not even Europeans are rarer, maybe because the employment of non-European artists (at least of those that are recognisably non-European) cannot be related to Europeanness with the same ease. Examples include the representation of SUI and FRA by Franco-Canadian singers (*Celine Dion*: SUI 1988, *Annie Cotton*: SUI 1993, *Natsasha St. Pier*: FRA 2001), French national representatives originally coming from Gouadeloupe (*Joelle Ursull* in 1990), Tunisia (*Amina* in 1991), Martinique (*Kali* in 1992) or Congo (*Jessy Matador* in 2009), or Australian artists performing for IRL (*Johnny Logan*: IRL 1980, IRL 1987) and the UK (*Olivia Newton-John*: UK 1974, *Gina G*: UK 1996).

For the systematic investigation of the interrelation between linguistic and audiovisual construction in Sects. 7.2–7.4, the analyses concentrate on the most recent phase included in ESC-LY: the years 1999–2010. Compared to earlier time periods, this period appears to be more interesting, as performances before that time tended to be less complex in terms of choreography and staging. Moreover, this latest phase historically coincides with the greatest EU enlargement to date and therefore with a heightened public awareness of Europeanisation in the making.

The following performance aspects on the audiovisual level were considered to possess national meaning potential¹: use of acoustic musical instruments (or other traditional props), folkloristic costumes, ethnic

¹ Only aspects of the performance itself are counted as instances of national identity construction. The captions that are routinely faded in at the beginning of each performance to provide basic information (country name, national flag, name of artist(s), song title, sometimes names of songwriters) are excluded.

dance and music styles, presence of national flags or imitation of the colours of national flags in artists' clothes or stage lighting. In actual performances, these aspects tend to co-occur. For example, in the winning performance of 2003 (TUR 2003: *Sertab Erener*—"Everyway that I can"), the lead singer and four backing singer-dancers staged a harem-like setting, which was constructed by means of an ethnically inspired music style, choreography and costumes. Taken together, these performance aspects are highly likely to be read as an expression of national Turkish identity (even though they may be so stereotypical that they may be viewed critically by the national home audience). In the performance GRE 1997 (*Marianna Zorba*—"Horepse"), a national Greek performance is evoked by an ethnic music style and a number of traditional instruments played on stage. Four male musicians in the background play several kinds of drums and two different types of bouzouki. One musician uses a bunch of dried grapes as a percussion instrument, and the female lead singer is playing the finger cymbals throughout the performance. The use of national flags can be found, for example, in the performances FIN 2006 (*Lordi*—"Hard Rock Hallelujah"), where the lead singer wears a hat on which the Finnish flag is displayed, or UKR 2009 (*Svetlana Loboda*—"Be my valentine! (Anti-crisis girl)"), in which the lead singer in the end plays the drums surrounded by two Ukrainian flags.

For sexual identity construction, the physical interaction of protagonists on stage is particularly relevant. Sexual desire may be expressed on the visual level by performers kissing, caressing, embracing or flirting with each other on stage. Other physical activities that were counted as sexual are lifting another person up in the air, kneeling in front of somebody or dancing with (rather than just next to) another person. Some performances also support a sexual construction by means of displaying hearts as love symbols (e.g. SER 2007 and CRO 2010, both discussed in Sect. 7.4). For sexually subversive acts, cross-dressing is also a relevant means of expression.

A direct European construction does not occur on the audiovisual level in ESC performances, as to date no performance has displayed visual symbols associated with Europe or the EU (such as the EU flag or the Euro currency; cf. Fornäs 2012). EU-related symbols are probably

not seen as an adequate means of European identity construction in the contest, as their associated concept of Europe excludes a large number of participating countries. Sometimes visual elements are used that index intra-European national crossing. For example, the use of non-national flags of European countries in an ESC performance is likely to be perceived as a means of transnational European identity construction. One such example is the performance EST 2008 (*Kreisiraadio*—“Leto svet”), which constructs a European identity through the use of three non-national European languages in place of Estonian (in order of appearance: Serbian, German, Finnish). This message is supported on the visual level by the waving of Serbian, German and Finnish flags (besides Estonian flags).

Other audiovisual aspects cannot be used to index a European orientation directly. The use of certain musical instruments or costumes, for example, is not directly connected to Europeanness. As far as music style is concerned, one may be tempted to choose the term “Europop” as a description for musical genres stereotypically associated with the ESC. The problem with this term is that it is unclear which musical features count as typical of this style. Moreover, it is a term that carries clearly negative connotations (see also OED 2009), expressing a native English perspective from which non-Anglo-American pop music is viewed as less authentic (Hesmondhalgh 2007: 237; Ousmanova 2009: 60). Consequently, it is questionable whether this genre can serve as a positive European identity marker. It follows that, on the audiovisual level, European construction has to rely even more on indirect mechanisms than on the linguistic level (e.g. the downtoning or subverting of nationalism or the staging of less traditional gender identities and sexual scenarios).

In the following, the focus is on performances in which the audiovisual construction complements the linguistic construction by providing the potential for additional national, sexual or European readings (to the exclusion of performances in which the audiovisual construction shows the same identity configuration or indexes less identity information than the linguistic construction). This focus conceptualises verbal identity construction in Eurovision songs as the basis on which modifying audiovisual elements may be added in actual performances. This

conceptualisation is highly relevant for ESC performances, which—as a result of recipient design—are likely to undergo significant changes in staging from the national preselection show to the international ESC final, while the lyrics are more likely to stay constant. Moreover, song lyrics are normally created before the visual performance aspects are developed. The verbal code therefore commonly serves as an anchor for choreographic or other visual performance elements.

7.2 European Construction

A closer look at the data shows that cases in which the audiovisual construction adds Europeaness to the lyrics hardly ever occur, that is, when transnational European construction takes place, the linguistic level is generally involved (mostly by choice of non-national European languages). The two performances that can be identified use linguistic signs on the visual level (not as part of the lyrics sung), that is, they display written words from non-national European languages. The performance BOS 2008 (*Laka*—“Pokušaj”) is sung completely in Bosnian, but the artists incorporate a washing line with laundry in their staging that is turned around at the conclusion of the performance so that the pieces of clothing on the line display the word *LOVE*. Similarly, in the performance FRA 2009 (*Patricia Kaas*—“Et s’il fallait le faire”), the singer uses French throughout the song, but the digital screens above the stage show both the French title of the song and (more or less literal) translations in several European languages: English *IF I HAD TO*, Swedish *OM DET VAR NÖDWÄNDIGT*, Spanish *SI FUERA PRECISO*, German *WENN ICH ES MACHEN MÜßTE*, plus Russian and Greek translations in non-Roman characters.

An example of a performance that opts for the construction of a European identity on various levels, and in interplay with national and sexual identity construction, is UK 2007 (*Scooch*—“Flying the flag (for you)”). This performance was already briefly discussed in Sect. 6.3 for its (homo-)sexual innuendo. It also represents an excellent example of lexical Europeanisation because the lyrics contain references to several European capital cities (*London, Berlin, Paris, Tallinn, Helsinki, Prague* and

Amsterdam). This linguistic construction of Europeanness is also paralleled on the visual level. The group is dressed up as a cabin crew, and the entire performance humorously stages the process of serving passengers during a flight. There are two male and two female lead artists on stage. One of the male performers introduces himself as the *captain* at the beginning of the performance. The other three band members act as flight attendants who offer products and explain the safety procedures to passengers. The two female backing singers mainly take on the role of passengers. The trolleys that are used by the artists on stage are decorated with numerous flags of European countries on the backside. These are displayed at the end of the performance, when the trolleys are turned around by the artists. Additional European meaning potential resides in the fact that air traffic is per se a domain that transcends national boundaries.

Another relevant aspect of this performance with respect to targeting the fan audiences of the contest is that male flight attendants are stereotypically portrayed to be gay. The performance clearly plays with this stereotype, because it is the male flight attendant (and, more specifically, his utterances *Some salted nuts, sir?* and *Would you like something to suck on for landing, sir?*), who is centrally involved in creating the same-sex innuendo of the performance. Other passages of the lyrics support this reading, for example, the reference to *cruising in the sky*, in which the word *cruising* is ambiguous and may also be read as indexing gay male practices (see Baker 2002b: 103–104). However, the performance seems to target a male heterosexual audience as well, since the female flight attendants also draw on sexual innuendo, for example, by wishing passengers a *very pleasurable journey* or by asking them, with a highly sexualised intonation, to *blow into the mouthpiece* of their life vests.

The performance clearly aims at locating the UK within Europe—a strategy that may be seen as an attempt to tone down the public image of the UK as a Euro-sceptic country (compare e.g. the ESC TV commentary of *Terry Wogan*; Fricker 2013). The UK flag is repeatedly shown on the video screen in the background. *London* is the first capital city named in the lyrics, thereby sketching out the UK as the starting point for a cross-European journey. The performance also draws on the construction of Eurovision continuity. In the beginning, the captain welcomes the passengers *on board this Eurovision flight*, and throughout the performance there are references to well-known aspects known from the history of the contest. For example, the duration of the flight is said to be *three minutes*

exactly, that is, as long as a Eurovision song may maximally be. Moreover, the male flight attendant offers a bottle of champagne to the passengers that is imprinted with the label *Bucks Fizz*, that is, the name of the pop group that won the ESC for the UK in 1981.

Intra-European national crossing in terms of code choice (Chaps. 4 and 5) and lexical Europeanisation (Sect. 6.1) have already been documented to be powerful linguistic indexes of Europeaness in the ESC. Indeed, such crossing practices are in most cases strictly tied to the level of linguistic representation, while the visual performance component does not necessarily have to incorporate similar crossing mechanisms. For example, the following performances up to the early 1990s contain instances of lexical intra-European crossing in their titles, but do not show any such crossing on other performance levels:

(1)

- (a) *Fud Leclerc*—“Messieurs les noyés de la Seine” (“The drowned men of the river Seine”; French river) [BEL 1956a]
- (b) *Nora Brockstedt*—“Sommer i Palma” (“Summer in Palma”; Spanish town) [NOR 1962]
- (c) *Conny Froboess*—“Zweikleine Italiener” (“Two little Italians”) [GER 1962]
- (d) *ABBA*—“Waterloo” (Belgian town and site of a historical battle) [SWE 1974]
- (e) *Michèle Torr*—“Une petite Française” (“A little French girl”) [MON 1977]
- (f) *Forbes*—“Beatles” (British band) [SWE 1977]
- (g) *Christina Simon*—“Heute in Jerusalem” (“Today in Jerusalem”; Israeli capital) [AUT 1979]
- (h) *Philippe Lafontaine*—“Macédomienne” (“My Macedonian woman”) [BEL 1990]
- (i) *Ketil Stokkan*—“Brandenburger Tor” (landmark of the German capital) [NOR 1990]
- (j) *Thomas Forstner*—“Venedig im Regen” (“Venice in the rain”; Italian town) [AUT 1991]

Later performances containing intra-European national crossing on the linguistic level show a higher tendency to support this message on the audiovisual level. In the performance FIN 1989 (*Anneli Saaristo*—

“La dolce vita”), for example, crossing is performed in two directions. On the verbal level, the Italian phrase *la dolce vita* is repeated throughout the chorus of the otherwise Finnish lyrics. On the audiovisual level, the musical style and instrumentation as well as the guitars played on stage are reminiscent of Spanish musical tradition.² Other performances combine code switching, involving the use of non-national Spanish with Latino-inspired musical styles and choreographies. Two such examples with English–Spanish lyrics are POL 2004 (Blue Café—“Love song”) and NOR 2007 (*Guri Schanke*—“Ven a bailar conmigo”).

Another performance in which intra-European crossing occurs both linguistically and audiovisually is GER 1999 (*Sürpriz*—“Journey to Jerusalem – Kudüs’e seyahat”). As already seen in Sect. 5.2, the lyrics of the performance are mainly in German, English and Turkish, with the last two lines sung in Hebrew. It is obvious from the title of the song that the songwriters created it specifically for the ESC 1999 in ISR. The German part of the song plays with the double meaning of the phrase *Reise nach Jerusalem*, which can be read literally as “journey to Jerusalem” but at the same time is the name of a game. The game-related meaning only works for the German part of the lyrics, as in other European languages the same game does not contain the word *Jerusalem* in its name: in English it is called *musical chairs*, in Turkish *sandalye kapmaca* (“catching chairs”) and in Hebrew *kisot muziklayim* (“musical chairs”). In accordance with this, the rules of the game are only described in German (in the first stanza of the song):

(2) [GER 1999]

Lyrics	Translation
[F1:] <i>Schon als ich ein Kind war, spielten wir dieses Spiel</i>	Already when I was a child, we played this game
[F2:] <i>Reise nach Jerusalem, einer nur kommt ans Ziel</i>	Musical chairs, only one reaches the destination
[M1:] <i>Denn wenn der Rhythmus plötzlich schweigt</i>	Because when the rhythm suddenly stops
[F2:] <i>Heißt das, es ist vorbei, [M2:] kein Platz mehr frei</i>	This means it is over, no more free seat

² It may be suspected that the internationally well-known phrase *la dolce vita* was mistakenly considered as Spanish by the songwriters.

As the game is not performed on stage, it can be assumed that the largest part of the European audience can only retrieve the literal meaning of the song and reads it as such. The overall message of the song is that people of different cultural backgrounds should live together in peace. It is staged in the song as a matter of settling two fundamental issues from German history.

The first issue is a domestic German one, namely the large number of Germans of Turkish descent as a result of GER's guest worker policy of the 1960s and 1970s. Traditionally, sizable immigrant waves are considered a threat to the coherence of a nation. On the ESC stage, however, displaying the Turkish element of contemporary German society carries European prestige in the sense that it deconstructs discourses of national homogeneity and opens up opportunities for transnational exchange. An inclusive, Europe-oriented rather than an exclusive, national message is sent out. The members of the group *Sürpriz* are in fact Germans of Turkish descent. All four languages (German, English, Turkish, Hebrew) are used in the passages that are sung by the five band members together. In their solo parts, however, singers F1 and M1 use exclusively German, while F2 and M2 use both German and Turkish. This may be seen as a reflection of GER's normative view of integration, that is, people of Turkish descent should either speak German or be Turkish-German bilinguals, while Turkish monolinguals are less seen as a legitimate part of German society. The third female singer (F3) exclusively sings in English. This makes the message of the song retrievable also for many Europeans who have no command of German, Turkish or Hebrew.

The performance juxtaposes traditional, ethnic elements, which are likely to be read as Turkish, with modern, transnationally oriented elements, such as the use of English. This mixture of traditional and modern components is paralleled on the audiovisual level. The musical genre can be described as ethnopop with oriental, folkloristic influences in both instrumentation and singing technique. One band member plays the *baglama*, a Turkish guitar, on stage (traditional), while another one plays the keyboard (modern). The other four singers (F1, F2, F3 and M1) stand in between these two musicians. In the chorus, they physically underline the Turkish greeting *selâm, selâm* (replaced in the last two lines by the Hebrew greeting *shalom, shalom*) in their choreography by raising their arms and waving their hands. The contrast between English and

Turkish construction is again visible in a segment where F3 and F2 sing English and Turkish verses in alternation (the passage already discussed as excerpt 15 in Sect. 5.2). F2, who sings in Turkish, is somewhat older than F3 and wears an elegant silver dress (traditional), whereas F3, who sings in English, wears her hair in braids and is dressed in white trousers, an open shirt and a bare midriff top underneath (modern). The melodies of the English and the Turkish parts also exhibit a contrast. While the melody sung in English by F3 consists of long plain notes and stands out from the preceding passages through the absence of any elements that could be read as ethnically distinct, F2's Turkish lines exhibit a melismatic style that is readily decodable as Turkish. In the same passage, the English sentence *we walk hand in hand to a peaceful land* receives a visual parallel when F2 and F3 start holding hands, which can be interpreted as a symbol for uniting old and young, traditional and modern, Turkish and English speakers. National German construction is marginal in this scene, which may be taken as an indication that such unity is less connected to the national and more to the transnational European level.

The second issue negotiated in this performance through the use of Hebrew is a matter of foreign German policies, namely GER's relationship with ISR. Since World War II, the relationship between the two countries has been highly problematic due to the crimes committed against Jews by Nazi Germany. One sign of mutual approximation between the two countries has been the fact that GER and ISR have co-participated in the ESC since 1973. However, the voting figures still speak a different language. Throughout the period in which the televoting system has been used (i.e. 1998–2015), GER gave 51 points in total to ISR. ISR, on the other hand, only awarded 17 points in total to two German ESC performances throughout the years, 12 of these in 1999, that is, for *Sürpriz's* performance in Jerusalem.³ The fact that both TUR and ISR gave GER the maximum of twelve points in 1999 indicates that the performance was indeed interpreted positively as a sign of transnational peacemaking (GER came third in 1999).

³The other performance that received five points from ISR is GER 2013 (Cascada—"Glorious"). Note that ISR did not even award points to GER in 2010, when the latter won the contest and received points from all across Europe.

Extra-European crossing is far less frequently staged in the ESC and will therefore only be briefly discussed here. Such performances have fared poorly in the contest. Non-European crossing has been common in the ESC since the second half of the 1970s (see e.g. FIN 1975: *Pihasoittajat*—“Old man fiddle”, inspired by American country music, or GER 1979: *Dschinghis Khan*—“Dschinghis Khan”, telling the story of a famous Mongolian emperor) and is still occasionally found in performances today (e.g. in EST 2011: *Getter Jaani*—“Rockefeller Street”, staged in a setting reminiscent of New York, or in NOR 2011, *Stella Mwangi*—“Haba haba”, an African-inspired performance with the chorus sung in Swahili). Extra-European crossing is not necessarily incompatible with the notion of Europeanisation. It sketches out Europe (and the nation being represented) as an inclusive rather than exclusive society that is welcoming to people and influences from other parts of the world. It can be expected that, as Europe is currently renegotiating its migration policy and more and more refugees from outside Europe enter the EU, such extra-European crossing strategies will in the future play a greater role on the ESC stage.

One performance in which extra-European crossing intersects with sexual identity construction is ISR 2000 (*Ping Pong*—“Sameyach”). The band *Ping Pong* consists of two female and two male singers. In their performance, sexuality is, on the one hand, staged in a subversive way on the visual level, as it is the first ESC performance ever in which two male protagonists kissed on stage. The camera does not zoom in on this kiss, which takes place in the background of the performance and, as a consequence, can only be realised by careful observers. The (mainly Hebrew) lyrics, by contrast, construct an explicitly heterosexual scenario, as one of the female artists sings in the last stanza of the song that she wants to make love to her new boyfriend from Damascus. Even though the sexual meaning of this reference is not retrievable for those audience members who have no command of Hebrew, the national crossing strategy that the scenario incorporates is also supported on the visual level. Towards the end of the performance, the artists wave both Israeli and Syrian flags to support the transnational message of their song. The central point of the Israeli–Syrian love scenario is that love is said to transcend national boundaries and hostilities. The heterosexuality of this scenario is only

apparent to the national Hebrew-speaking audience, while the wider European audience is likely to read the performance as not sexualised or, when the gay male kiss is noticed, as sexually subversive.

7.3 National Construction

Direct non-linguistic indexes of national identity construction (such as national flags) occur rarely in ESC performances. At the same time, many of the more indirect non-linguistic indexes of national identity used in the contest can easily be questioned with respect to their national specificity. Ethnic music styles, folkloristic costumes and traditional musical instruments are often not tied to a specific nation but to regional, transnational areas. Their national associative potential is, therefore, mainly evoked in connection with a declaration of national representation. For example, the Finnish entry in 2010 (*Kuunkuskaajat*—“Työlki ellää”) was staged with one of the two lead singers playing the accordion. The use of such a traditional instrument generally creates the impression of a folkloristic performance. The fact that this performance represents FIN in the contest is, therefore, likely to result in a perception of it as stereotypically, traditionally and authentically Finnish, even though one is safe to assume that accordions and accordion music are popular throughout Europe and not restricted to FIN as a culture.

Since the abolishment of the national language rule, linguistic and audiovisual construction of national identities tend to co-occur in ESC performances. A frequent pattern found in the data is that performances that use folkloristic elements such as traditional costumes, instruments and music styles are also performed in a national language. The Finnish group *Kuunkuskaajat*, for example, performed its folk song “Työlki ellää” in a Finnish dialect and played the accordion and the violin on stage. All group members were dressed in white linen, some of them barefoot, thereby giving their performance a rustic atmosphere. This impression is further supported by the artists’ hand clapping and shouting during the instrumental part in the middle of the performance.

Another example of a performance in which linguistic and audiovisual national construction go hand in hand is TUR 2006 (*Sibel Tüzün*—“Süper star”). The song is mainly performed in Turkish, with one chorus

sung in English. Apart from language choice, Turkishness is co-signified by various audiovisual elements. Although the enacted musical genre is overall not ethnically inspired but rather reminiscent of Western disco music, there is an intermezzo in the middle of the song in which the instrumentation turns to traditional percussion elements and the lead singer performs a belly dance. These two aspects are likely to be read as Turkish by the pan-European audience. Moreover, the performance plays on the polysemy of the word *star*. On the one hand, a love scenario is constructed on the linguistic level in which the singer refers to herself as the addressee's "superstar". On the other hand, golden star symbols are displayed throughout the performance on the surrounding digital screens and on the belts of the four male dancers, who are otherwise dressed in black. The lead singer is wearing a large silver star in her hair. Moreover, the dancers are at one point filmed from above while their bodies are forming a star together with the lead singer. The link to national identity is here the Turkish flag (*Ay Yıldız*), which contains a white crescent moon and a star. As far as sexual identity construction is concerned, the lyrics of the song are sexually open, as the gender of the addressee is not explicated, but the choreography stages heterosexual desire between the four male dancers and the female lead singer. Apart from the scene in which they form the star, the male dancers never touch each other, but they individually dance with, touch and lift the lead singer throughout the performance.

In some cases, audiovisual elements are used to give a nationalistic sense to performances that do not show traces of national identity on the linguistic level. For example, the Finnish entry for 2002 (*Laura*—"Addicted to you") combines, on the linguistic level, European (i.e. non-national English) and sexually open elements. However, the singer is dressed in white trousers and a blue blouse, that is, she is wearing an outfit in the colours of the Finnish national flag.⁴ In a similar fashion, the Romanian entry 2003 (*Nicola*—"Don't break my heart") does not present a nationalistic construction at the linguistic level, but the choreography involves three performers who in the beginning dance around a large turntable, each of them handing over an over-sized record in one of the colours

⁴ See also the performance FIN 2005 (*Geir Rönning*—"Why"), in which the lead singer is dressed in white and blue.

of the Romanian flag (blue, yellow, red) to the DJ. The colours are also displayed in the same order as on the Romanian flag. In addition to this, the three dancers remove their black and white costumes towards the end of the performance to reveal glittering outfits in the three Romanian flag colours underneath.

An example in which an ethnically inspired music style is responsible for adding a national meaning is the performance MAC 2004 (*Toše Proeski*—“Life”). The song is sung completely in English, with the lyrics lacking any traces of national identity or sexual desire. However, the song contains folkloristic elements reminiscent of Macedonian folk music. It exhibits complex rhythmic patterns (compound metre: 3 + 2 + 2 quavers) that depart from those of Western pop music and are typical of traditional Macedonian music. Moreover, the lead singer is wearing a folkloristically inspired long white cloak. At the beginning of the performance, the lead singer and two dancers standing in line behind him raise their arms at different angles, thereby displaying a shape reminiscent of a sun symbol, that is, the symbol which is also depicted on the Macedonian flag. Later in the performance, two dancers pull two red ropes out of the lead singer’s costume, an element that figures prominently in traditional ribbon dances.

Audiovisual nationalistic co-construction may be thought to be necessary in cases where the use of the national language is not felt to be a clear index of national identity, as, for example, in the use of English by IRL or the use of German by AUT. English and German would primarily be recognised as means of national construction for the UK and GER, respectively, where these languages are thought to have originated. Therefore, the construction of an Irish national identity via English may be enhanced in ESC performances by non-linguistic stylisation aspects, such as Irish folkloristic music, dancing, clothing and musical instruments. A performance that is influenced by this trend is the winning entry of 1996, *Eimear Quinn’s* “The Voice”, which incorporates Irish folk song elements and is staged with musicians playing traditional instruments (drums, fiddle, flute, mandolin). This combination is meant to index IRL’s (supposedly more authentic) Celtic heritage rather than its Anglophone tradition. This strategy was later intertextually echoed in the performance

IRL 2007 (*Dervish*—“They can’t stop the spring”), in which a folk group also used a range of traditional instruments on stage (mandolin, flute, fiddle, accordion, bouzouki and *bodhrán*, an Irish frame drum).

The group *Global Kryner*, which represented AUT in 2005, performed their song “Y así” singing in English and Spanish. Even though national identity is in this performance not constructed through the choice of a national language, the lyrics draw on lexical nationalisation (references to *Austrians*, *musica Alpina* “Alpine music”, *los Alpes* “the Alps” and *yodel*). On the audiovisual level, Austrianness is also signified by the musical style, which exhibits a strong admixture of traditional Austrian folk music. Austrian connotations are further supported by artists playing instruments on stage that are typically associated with this kind of music (trumpets, trombone, accordion, guitar), and the lead singer wearing a *dirndl* dress. Overall, the performance stages a hybrid Austrian-Latino scenario, as the song tells the story of a Cuban woman who falls in love with an Austrian man.

7.4 Sexual Construction

The analyses of sexual scenario construction in Sects. 6.3 and 6.4 already took referential gender into account, which may be seen as an extralinguistic phenomenon. Referential gender proves to be relevant in performances that are sexually open on the linguistic level, but may become disambiguated as heterosexual (or same-sex) when considering the gender of the artists on stage and how they interact. Similarly, referential gender may also play a role in subversive constructions. This is not as uncommon as one may think at first. Apart from drag performances that draw on a clash between lexical gender and referential gender to construct sexually subversive meanings (see examples in Sects. 6.3–6.5), same-sex disambiguation may also occur. The latter is, for example, the case when male backing singers echo or simultaneously sing passages in which the female lead singer addresses a desired object as male (or vice versa). One such example is FIN 1976 (*Fredi & Ystävät*—“Pump-pump”), which is performed by three male and three female singers. Throughout the

performance, the male artists are several times shown to sing the line *You are the man of my life*, which they sing together with the female performers. Similarly, female and male performers sing lines such as *You gave me more than a man can ever dream*. Apart from this, the other modes of identity construction point more towards a heterosexual reading. Female and male artists are wearing gender-typical clothes (women in pink, men mainly in black and grey). The choreographic interaction mainly takes place between male and female performers. The male lead singer stands in between the two female lead singers, who repeatedly bump his hips. They are accompanied by a male–female couple of backing singers. The third male singer on stage plays the piano.

Another example is the performance MNT 2007 (*Stevan Faddy*—“Ajde kroči”), in which the male lead singer addresses a female desired object (disambiguated as *lijepa devojko* “beautiful girl”) with the line *Ti si meni zapala za oči*. (“You got caught.FEM in my eyes.”), which contains a feminine participle form that constructs the addressee as female. The line is also echoed by the two female backing singers, which results in simultaneous same-sex disambiguation. Again this latter reading is not supported by the audiovisual construction and may be seen as unlikely, because the song is a rock tune and therefore belongs to a musical genre that is traditionally less compatible with non-heteronormative identities. Another performance in which the audiovisual component contributes same-sex meaning potential is CRO 2001 (*Vanna*—“Strings of my heart”). The lyrics of the song are sexually open and construct a love scenario between the female singer and a desired object whose sex is (linguistically) ambiguous. The lead artist repeatedly sings the line *let the fiddler play on the strings of my heart*, which contains a personal noun (*fiddler*) that may be perceived as slightly socially male. In the performance on the ESC stage, however, the person who plays the fiddle is female, which results in same-sex disambiguation.

Generally, hegemonic masculinity can be said to be under attack in ESC performances. Singing and dancing men or men in colourful costumes are in large parts of Europe not perceived as compatible with normative versions of masculinity (see also Desmond 2001: 18; Schulze 1999). This is particularly evident in performances such as CYP 1990 (*Haris Anastasiou*—“Milas poli”), BOS 2004 (*Deen*—“In the disco”) or

HUN 2009 (*Zoli Adok*—“Dance with me”), which all stage male lead singers involved in dance choreographies with female dancers. Despite the heterosexuality of these scenarios (female and male participants interacting), it is difficult to interpret the personas staged by the male artists in these performances as hegemonic men. Hegemonic masculinity is further threatened when a pair of singing (and dancing) men is shown on stage, as is the case in the performance YUG 1968 (*Dubrovački Trubaduri*—“Jedan dan”), in which two male singers in medieval costumes share a microphone.

It needs to be stressed that the gendered associations of dancing are a matter of social construction and therefore may vary cross-culturally and historically. As Schulze (1999: 152–153) points out, dancing was seen as a male domain in Europe up to the eighteenth century. The stereotypical association of dancing and gay masculinity is something that only evolved at the beginning of the twentieth century (Schulze 1999: 156). Moreover, the perceptions of singing and/or dancing men vary across musical genres. For example, heavy metal, hard rock, rap and hip-hop are genres in which singing (or rapping) men do indeed largely construct hegemonic masculinities. Similarly, break dancing and other more acrobatic types of dance are considered a stereotypically male domain. However, such musical genres that are more in tune with hegemonic notions of masculinity are only infrequently staged in the ESC. Furthermore, when such genres are staged, the performances usually receive less support from the fan audiences of the contest. The winning entry of 2006, the Finnish group *Lordi* with their song “Hard rock hallelujah”, was certainly not a fans’ favourite and its victory can therefore safely be attributed to the wider European audience beyond fan communities. Yet it also has to be noted that this performance did not conform to hegemonic masculinity as such, but rather oriented towards dehumanisation, as the band members (including a female artist) were dressed up as monsters.

A reading of singing and dancing men as non-normative is less likely when they are involved in folkloristic musical performances from the Eastern European cultural realm. Still, this does not necessarily prevent the audience in other (often Western European) countries to decode such masculinities as non-normative. This allows artists to exploit the dual

indexicality of male dancing, as they can stage a folkloristic performance that is acceptable for the national audience and a performance that can potentially be decoded as indexing non-hegemonic masculinity by the wider European audience. Two such examples are the performances SEM 2004, the boygroup *No Name* (“Zauvijek moja”), and the male dancers of the performance MOL 2009 (*Nelly Ciobanu*—“Hora din Moldova”).

Hegemonic femininities, by contrast, are much less likely to be threatened in ESC performances. Singing and dancing are activities that are traditionally perceived to be compatible with normative femininity discourses. Even women dancing with each other are not necessarily viewed as an expression of lesbian desire. This perception is due to a combination of well entrenched stereotypes, which stipulate that dancing is a feminine activity, that lesbian women do not dance, and that women generally dance to please heterosexual men (Desmond 2001: 22). As a consequence, it is much harder to stage femininity in non-normative ways on the ESC stage. Examples include drag king performances such as GRE 1978 (*Tania Tsalikidou*—“Charlie Chaplin”), which involves a female singer dressed up as *Charlie Chaplin*, SER 2007 (*Marija Šerifović*—“Molitva”) and LAT 2002 (*Marie N*—“I wanna”; both discussed in more detail below). Examples of male-to-female cross-dressing can be found in the performances DAN 2007 (*DQ*—“Drama queen”; a drag queen performance), SLO 2002 (*Sestre*—“Samo ljubezen”; three male artists dressed up as female flight attendants; backing vocalists dressed up as captains, one of them female) or UKR 2007 (*Verka Serdutchka*—“Dancing lasha tumbai”; a male artist satirising a drag queen performance).⁵

Another form of gender crossing sometimes practiced on the ESC stage is men singing in a high voice and women singing in a low voice. Male counter-tenor performers in the ESC approximating the vocal levels of sopranos and altos (which are normally associated with female singers) include, for example, *David D’Or* (“Leha’amin”, ISR 2004), *Krassimir Avramov* (“Illusion”, BUL 2009) and *Cezar* (“It’s my life”, ROM 2013). Similarly, the

⁵This is not an exhaustive list. Cross-dressing and transgender elements can also be found in the following performances: NOR 1986 (male-to-female cross-dresser dancer), GRE 1988 (includes a female clown), EST 2000 (female artist wearing a cowboy hat), ISL 2000 (man wearing a skirt), BLR 2007 (female backing dancers wearing suits), SWE 2007 (male lead singer wearing female attire), LAT 2008 (includes female pirates), FRA 2008 (female backing singers wearing suits and beards), and AUT 2014 (drag queen wearing a beard).

Swedish singer *Malena Ernman* (“La voix”, SWE 2009) sang the choruses of her song in a high, operatic voice but the stanzas in a deep, masculine voice.

Linguistic and audiovisual construction tend to be jointly involved in the construction of sexual identities in ESC performances, that is, where sexual desire is linguistically constructed, it is also likely to be staged visually. Only in some cases does the visual component of the performance create a sexual scenario where the lyrics do not talk about sexuality at all (see e.g. RUS 2003: *t.A.T.u.*—“Ne ver’ ne boisia”).⁶

The entry UK 1980 (*Primadonna*—“Love enough for two”) is performed by a group consisting of three female and three male artists. Some parts of the song (including the chorus) are sung by the entire group, but most stanzas are sung solo by the male lead vocalist. A heterosexual scenario is created especially in the passages that are performed as a dialogue between the male lead singer and a female singer of the group. In these passages, the two singers address each other, which leads to a disambiguation of the lexically gender-neutral first- and second-person pronouns through referential gender (e.g. [M1:] *You’ve got me under your complete control* [F1:] *I’m in your sweet control*). This heterosexual construction is also echoed on the visual level in the performance. The group forms three female–male couples on stage, in which the female and male artists do not just stand beside each other but also interact almost exclusively with each other. Within these couples, female and male performers repeatedly look at each other while singing, make flirting gestures, hold hands, hug and kiss. In other words, the heterosexual scenario which is on the linguistic level constructed between the male lead singer and one of the female singers is extended to the other group members in the performance. This kind of construction is certainly not surprising, as sexually subversive pop acts were virtually non-existent in the early 1980s, a time in which the connection of the ESC with non-heterosexual identities was still a closeted matter.

What may be considered somewhat less traditional in terms of gender representation are the clothes worn by the artists in this performance. They are neither stereotypically feminine (the women do not wear skirts or

⁶ It is noteworthy that *t.A.T.u.’s* holding hands on stage represents a rather subtle indication of female same-sex desire, considering that the group was widely constructed as a scandalous lesbian couple by the media. Years later, when one of the singers gave birth to a child, it turned out that their lesbian identities were faked.

dresses but trousers and t-shirts like the men) nor stereotypically masculine (the men wear clothes in the same colours as the women). Each of the three colour combinations turquoise–white, pink–blue and white–pink is worn by a man and a woman, which indicates that the message conveyed seems to be one of gender equality rather than difference. With respect to the hairstyles of the artists, equality is less pronounced. In all three couples, the women wear their hair at least a bit longer than the men. However, two of the men wear relatively long hair, which may be seen as violating the norms of traditional masculinity. Only one male group member wears a short haircut and a moustache. This is also the one of the three male artists who is not taller than the woman by his side, which suggests that short hair and moustache may be deemed necessary to compensate for a lack in height to meet heteronormative ideals. In terms of the staged interaction, the male artists are more active than the female artists. They generally initiate constructions of sexual desire (such as hugging) and spend a significant share of the performance standing behind the female performers, which suggests a protective role. The choreography is simplistic and thus only represents a moderate threat to hegemonic masculinity. Overall, one can see in this example that competing traditional and less traditional identity-related discourses may surface in a performance.

The co-occurrence of the linguistic and the visual construction of sexuality does not automatically mean that the two modes construct sexual desire in the same way. In fact, cases in which the two modes of representation do not show a neat correspondence are relatively frequent. This is mainly due to the fact that on the linguistic level, sexual identity construction is potentially open (e.g. linguistic gender neutrality of the desired object), whereas this is never the case for the visual construction of sexual desire. This means that many performances that are sexually open on the linguistic level are disambiguated as constructions of heterosexual or (more rarely) same-sex desire on the visual plane.

Table 7.1 quantifies the relation between visual and linguistic sexual construction in ESC performances for the years of free language choice up to 2010. The results show that heterosexual construction in the visual performance is more likely to go with heterosexual lyrics on the linguistic level (56.0 %). Non-heteronormative lyrics, by contrast, are more common in performances that are sexually subversive (57.7 %) or not sexual (65.2 %)

on the visual level. As sexually subversive performances occur rather infrequently, this means that a large share of the non-heteronormative lyrics (189 out of 255; 74.1 %) is used in visually de-sexualised performances, that is, in a configuration in which the non-heteronormativity of the lyrics is not compromised. Compared to this, only 51 out of 255 performances with non-heteronormative lyrics (20.0 %) are combined with heterosexual disambiguation on the visual level. A purely heterosexual construction involving both the linguistic and the visual level is only verifiable for 65 performances out of 432 (i.e. only 15.0 % of the performances that show sexual construction), which in turn bears witness to the fact that the majority of sexuality-related ESC performances do not stage heterosexuality in an unquestionable or normative way.

The following analyses focus on cases of same-sex disambiguation in ESC performances, as these can be considered less traditional. One illustrative example of heterosexual disambiguation may suffice at this point, also because the patterns exhibited by this example occur in similar ways in many other performances that show heterosexual disambiguation on the visual level. The entry BEL 2006 (*Kate Ryan*—“Je t’adore”) is mainly performed in English, with the French title of the song forming a part of the chorus. Both French and English parts leave the gender of the addressed desired object open. On stage, the female lead artist engages in choreography that shows her flirting with three male dancers, who dance with her or kneel in front of her, pretending to hold her microphone. It is typical of such performances that the male dancers orient towards the

Table 7.1 Linguistic and visual construction of sexual scenarios in ESC performances (1956–1965, 1973–1976, 1999–2010)

Visual construction	Heterosexual lyrics	Non-heteronormative lyrics	Total
Heterosexual	65 [56.0 %]	51 [44.0 %]	116
Sexually subversive	11 [42.3 %]	15 [57.7 %]	26
No sexual construction	101 [34.8 %]	189 [65.2 %]	290
Total	177 [41.0 %]	255 [59.0 %]	432

female lead singer and never towards each other. Other visual elements that tend to be stereotypically heteronormative in performances of this kind include the staging of gender differences, for example, women with long hair versus men with short hair, or women dressed in colourful and bright clothes versus men dressed in dark (often black) clothes and so on.

Even though heterosexual visual disambiguation can still be considered the default case in the ESC, it is noteworthy that in recent years alternative scenarios have been enacted on the ESC stage. An example of a performance that is sexually open in its lyrics but stages same-sex desire in the visual presentation is the Serbian winning performance of 2007 (*Marija Šerifović*—“Molitva”), whose chorus is presented in (3):

(3) [SER 2007]

Lyrics	Translation
<i>Molitva, kao žar na mojim usnama</i> <i>je</i>	Prayer, it is like an ember on my lips
<i>Molitva, mesto reči samo ime tvoje</i>	Prayer, instead of words only your name
<i>Nebo zna, kao ja</i>	Heaven knows, like me
<i>Koliko puta sam ponovila</i>	How many times I have repeated it
<i>To nebo zna, baš kao ja</i>	Heaven knows this, like me
<i>Da je ime tvoje moja jedina</i> <i>molitva</i>	That your name is my only prayer

As demonstrated by the chorus of the song, the lyrics create a romantic scenario between the singing first person (*mojim/moja* “my”, *ja* “I”) and a desired object constructed in the second person (*tvoje* “your”). Whereas the desiring subject is not just referentially gendered but also linguistically, through the feminine participle form *ponovila* (“repeated”), the desired object remains ungendered throughout the lyrics. This is made possible by not referring to the person of the desired object as such, which would be likely to result in gender disambiguation through the grammatical gender agreement of satellite forms, but rather to its name by repeated use of the grammatically neuter phrase *ime tvoje* “your name”. In fact, forms that would have required gender disambiguation of the desired object (e.g. adjectives or participles as part of perfect tense forms) are avoided throughout the lyrics.

The absence of any explicit linguistic genderisation of the desired object, and more specifically the non-heterosexualisation of the lyrics, is highly significant in this performance, which on the visual level constructs lesbian desire. The female lead singer is surrounded by five female backing vocalists on stage, so that the absence of a male performer rules out any associations of heterosexuality from the start. The red stage lighting suggests an erotic atmosphere. The singers are dressed in tuxedos and ties and stage the stereotypically lesbian identities of butch (the boyish lead singer swaggering onto the stage at the beginning, wearing short hair, bulky black glasses and white trainers) and femme (the backing singers all have long hair and employ a more feminine body language). Throughout the performance, the singers touch each other—a practice that culminates in the end, when the performers, who have halves of red hearts drawn on their hands, hold hands to display joined full hearts. Unsurprisingly, the performance has widely been perceived as a prototypical example of lesbian camp (see Fricker 2008; Vänskä 2007).

Some performances contain passages in which the female lead artists engage in dancing routines with female dancers. This visual construction of female same-sex desire may be the only kind of sexual scenario in a performance, or it may be juxtaposed with heterosexual construction. An example of the former is the performance CRO 2010 (*Feminem*—“Lako je sve”), which shows two of the three female lead artists interacting with and embracing female dancers. The latter is illustrated by ESP 2006 (*Las Ketchup*—“Bloody Mary”), which involves four female lead singers and a female and a male dancer on stage. The dancers both interact with the female lead artists, lifting and embracing them several times during the performance, thereby combining heterosexual and same-sex construction. Whereas the female lead vocalists embody versions of hegemonic femininity (long hair, dressed in red, wearing jewellery), the female dancer’s close-cropped hair, black minidress, knee-high sport socks and trainers are more reminiscent of stereotypical butch femininities. Still the heterosexual staging may be said to be dominant, because female and male dancer most of the time dance with each other.⁷

⁷ Other ESC performances in which the staging of same-sex desire is juxtaposed with heterosexual construction include, for example, ISR 2001 (*Tal Sondak*—“Ein davar”), SLO 2001 (*Nuša Derenda*—“Energy”), BEL 2004 (*Xandee*—“One life”) or POL 2010 (*Marcin Mrozinski*—“Legenda”).

In the following, the interplay between linguistic and audiovisual construction will be analysed in more detail for one of the subversive ESC performances: *Marie N*—“I wanna”, the winning performance of LAT 2002. The lyrics of the song are entirely in (non-national) English. The non-nativeness of the English used is evident with regards to pronunciation, idiomaticity (cf. *you make me sweat in my emotions under your fly-away, fly-away wing*) and grammar (cf. *it's me who find you when you was stray*). The performance involves six artists: the female lead singer (in varying states of dress), two male dancers (wearing white trousers, black shirts and white hats) and three female dancers (wearing black dresses with a flower on the cleavage). Apart from the male dancers throwing off their hats at one point, the dancers remain in the same state of dress throughout the performance. This in turn projects the main focus on the lead singer, who undergoes a number of costume changes throughout the performance. The musical genre can be described as Latino pop and therefore conjures up the rigidity of traditional gender norms stereotypically associated with Latino culture (see Schneider 2013a, b). This cultural evocation clashes with the actual staging of gender and sexuality in the performance, which turns out to be fluid rather than rigid. Crossing is a salient characteristic of the performance and is found on several levels. On the macro-level, a clash emerges between the (official) function of the entry, namely representation of the Latvian nation, and the complete absence of signification practices that could index a Latvian national identity. Furthermore, the official Latvianness of the performance clashes with its Latino makeup. In short, the performance makes use of a language (English) and a musical genre (Latino pop) which are traditionally not associated with LAT as a culture.

In (4) below, visual and verbal performance components are noted along a timeline in order to show which linguistic forms are used in which phase of the performance and which of the competing identity facets are temporarily in the foreground. Only individual lines from the lyrics are quoted that illustrate the relevant personal reference patterns in a certain phase of the performance.⁸

⁸The full lyrics can be found here: <http://www.diggiloo.net/?2002lv>

(4) [LAT 2002]

Part/ time	Visual performance	Lyrics
Part 1: 0.00–1.15	Lead singer wears white trousers, white jacket with rose in the button hole, black shirt, white hat	[...] <i>I'm ready to support this artful game you always play</i> [...]
	Interaction between lead singer and two male dancers, dancing beside each other; hand slapping	<i>Today you think <u>you are the winner</u>, today you think you are the king</i> <i>You make me sweat in my emotions under your fly-away, fly-away wing</i> [...]
	Female dancers dance individually in the background	<i><u>I wanna be the queen</u> in your sweet lies</i> [...]
	[Visual construction: hegemonic masculinity]	[Linguistic construction: I-female & you-male]
Part 2: 1.16–1.58	Female dancers come to the front and dance with lead singer and male dancers (three female–male couples). Main camera focuses on lead singer and co-dancer	[...] <i>Just remember it's me who find you when when you was stray</i> <i>Today you think you are the winner, today you think you are the king</i> <i>You make me sweat in my emotions under your fly-away, fly-away wing</i>
		[Linguistic construction: I & you-male]
		[Visual construction: heterosexual desire]
Part 3: 1.59–2.27	Female dancers take off their co-dancers' hats (1.59)	[...] <i><u>I wanna be the queen</u> in your sweet lies</i>
	Male dancers take off lead singer's jacket (2.13)	[...] <i>I wanna be the sunshine in your arms</i>
	Male dancers rip off lead singer's shirt, revealing a pink sleeveless top (2.20)	[...] <i><u>I wanna be the queen</u> in your sweet lies</i> [...]
	Male dancers rip off lead singer's trousers, revealing a short pink dress (2.27)	[...]
		[Linguistic construction: I-female & you]
	[Visual construction: transformation from masculinity to femininity]	
Part 4: 2.28–3.00	Lead singer dances with two male dancers	[...] <i><u>I wanna be the queen</u> in your sweet lies</i>
	Male dancers turn lead singer's short dress into a long dress (2.55)	[...]
	[Visual construction: heterosexual desire]	[Linguistic construction: I-female & you]

The performance can be divided into four thematic parts. Part 1 (0.00–1.15 mins) is characterised by a staging of hegemonic masculinity. In this part, the interaction mainly takes place between the lead singer and the two male dancers, whereas the female dancers remain in the background and do not participate in the interaction—one way of expressing that it is a “man’s world” that is being staged. The lead singer is largely dressed in the same masculine attire as the two male dancers: white trousers, black shirt, white hat and, in addition, a white jacket with a flower in its buttonhole. The constructed scenario allows for two readings. If one prioritises biological gender, one would have to describe the enactment of the lead singer as a display of masculine femaleness. However, if one prioritises social gender construction, the costume worn by the female lead singer functions as an index of hegemonic masculinity. This latter role is further strengthened, and co-constructed, by the two male dancers and the way they interact with the lead singer. The choreography in this passage does not involve traditional dance routines. The artists do not dance with each other but rather act side by side, their gestures stylising a traditional masculine habitus, for example, through hand slapping.

Besides the biological femaleness of the lead artist, two more aspects interfere with this staging of hegemonic masculinity. One of them is that the two male dancers appear to stage a dance that may be interpreted as same-sex choreography (passage 0.31–0.41 mins). Still the performers are in this kind of dancing clearly more distanced than in the staging of heterosexual desire via dancing in the following parts. The other subversive aspect is the lyrics performed in the first part of the performance. As the underlined passages in (4) show, the lead singer identifies herself by means of a lexically female personal noun (*queen*) in this part of the performance, which leads to an incongruity between the female linguistic construction and the visual display of masculinity by the lead singer. The desired object is on the linguistic level disambiguated by the lexically male form *king*, which results in a semantically parallel, heterosexual construction (“king and queen”). The respective passage is fairly complex with respect to its meaning potential:

(5)

*Today you think you are the winner, today you think you are the king
You make me sweat in my emotions under your fly-away, fly-away wing*

The use of the second-person pronoun *you* in the first line of (5) oscillates semantically between a specific reference to the addressee (who is disambiguated as male by the form *king*) and a generic reference which would referentially include the singer. This in turn results in a female (*queen*) and male (*king*) disambiguation of the lead artist in one and the same part of the performance. The generic interpretation may be thought to be the dominant reading when considering this line in isolation, but in the following line, the specific meaning is prioritised. Here a generic reading of *you* would appear implausible, especially because it is juxtaposed with the first-person pronouns *me* and *my*, thereby sketching out a scenario that takes place between two specific people.

In the second part (1.16–1.58 mins), the focus shifts from hegemonic masculinity to the staging of heterosexual desire. The three female dancers come to the front, forming three female–male couples together with the lead singer and the two male dancers. Initially, they dance a traditional cha-cha, which shows the male dancers leading the female dancers. The main focus of the camera is on the couple involving the lead singer, which dances in the middle of the stage between the two other couples. The divergence between social and biological gender enables the lead artist to construct heterosexual desire (between man and woman) as well as lesbian desire (between butch and femme) at the same time. These constructions are again subverted on the linguistic level. Whereas the lead singer does not use any gendered forms to refer to herself throughout Part 2, the oscillation between a specific male *you* and a generic, singer-inclusive male *you* is sustained here as the two lines analysed above (extract 5) are repeated. The generic reading contrasts with the biological gender of the singer, while the specific reading clashes with the referential gender of the addressee, as the singer is dancing with a woman.

Part 3 (1.59–2.27 mins) marks a decisive turning point. It is the passage in which the social gender construction of the lead singer is transformed

step by step from masculinity to femininity. These changes are not initiated by the singer herself but by the dancers, which can be read as the force of societal pressures to become intelligible and conform to traditional gender norms. First, the female dancers take off their co-dancers' hats (1.59 mins), which reveals the lead singer's feminine hairstyle. Then the two male dancers take off the lead singer's jacket (2.13 mins) and rip off her shirt (2.20 mins), under which she is wearing a pink sleeveless top. The transformation to femininity is completed when the male dancers finally rip off the singer's trousers and expose a short pink dress underneath (2.27 mins). The linguistic construction does in this part not clash with the visual construction, maybe because the gender transformation already is a subversive element in itself and the linguistic level is, therefore, in this phase not needed to create a subversive effect. The singer associates herself again with female self-references (*queen*). She does this after her hat has been removed and right before the other major transformations to femininity are performed. It could therefore be argued that the linguistic construction foreshadows the following developments in the choreography. The desired object is in this part not gendered, which ties in neatly with the fact that during the transformation process the staging of sexual desire is backgrounded.

Sexual desire is again the focus of attention in Part 4 (2.28–3.00 mins). After her transformation to a feminine woman, the singer now dances with the two male dancers in a markedly different way from how the three artists interacted in Part 1. The two male dancers alternate in forming a dancing couple with the singer and by doing so express their rivalry for her attention. At the very end of the performance, the male dancers turn the singer's short dress into a long one (2.55 mins), which can be seen as the culmination of the transformation process initiated in the previous part. In contrast to Part 2, where the social gender construction of the singer created a heterosexual effect, the heterosexual scenario is now coherently based on both biological and social gender. Again the linguistic level does not subvert the visual message in this part. In Parts 3 and 4, the lyrics consist of mere repetitions of the chorus. In accordance with her newly gained femininity, the singer (just as in the preceding part) disambiguates herself as female (*queen*). The desired object (*you*) is

not linguistically gendered in these parts but visually disambiguated as male through the dancers. On the one hand, this may be viewed to be in accordance with heteronormative discourses. On the other hand, the fact that the form *you* in Part 4 does not refer to a single addressee but alternates between two specific male addressees is certainly less in tune with (monogamous) heteronormative discourses.

Even though the performance as a whole can be said to be subversive through its exploitation of the fluidity of gender and sexual identities, one can critically note that same-sex desire is pushed to the background throughout the performance. The dancing of the two male dancers in Part 1 and the lesbian construction in Part 2 seem to be dominated by heterosexual construction in the performance. It is also not surprising that coherent gender and sexual identities are constructed at the end of the performance as the solution to the whole spectacle. This degrades the gender fluidity in the earlier episodes merely to temporary play, whereas the “real” identities (female, heterosexual) are placed at the end of the development and thus do not just receive more weight, but are suggested to be more authentic and permanent.

7.5 Conclusion

The analyses in the preceding chapters have yielded further evidence of the shifting identity-related normativities manifest in ESC performances. More specifically, they attest to the increasing complexity of identity negotiation, which commonly involves incongruent representational practices on the linguistic and audiovisual performance levels and, therefore, pays witness to a process of de-essentialisation that is apparently deemed to be compatible with contemporary notions of Europeanisation.

Even though national and European orientations form two competing discourses that commonly co-occur in ESC performances, one can identify a trend according to which nationalisation has lost some of its prestige in the light of Europeanisation and, as a consequence, is becoming less central in the representational practices on the ESC stage. This development goes hand in hand with a decrease in the use of homogenising,

normative discourses, which are typically tied to national identity construction, and their replacement with hybrid and traditionally non-normative identity constructions, which seem to play a greater role for the indexing of Europeanness. These changes can be considered as evidence for shifts in social normativities, for example, from national homogeneity to the multiculturalism of a civic society or from heteronormativity to non-heteronormativity. Another outcome of these developments is that Europeanness as staged in the ESC is increasingly associated with social inclusiveness and the weakening of norms that lead to social exclusion.

While the analyses of ESC performances in Chaps.4–7 have concentrated on the discursive construction of European, national and sexual identities, the investigation in the following chapter extends this perspective by exploring the question of which concepts and discourses more generally play a prominent role in ESC lyrics. The analysis of this aspect will shed further light on which themes are perceived to be compatible with the salience of Europeanness in the ESC.

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8

Prevalent Discourses in ESC Lyrics

8.1 Eurovision Intertextuality

Europeanisation centrally surfaces in the ritualisation of the use of certain discourses in ESC performances throughout the years. The present chapter therefore concentrates on the intertextual dimension of meaning negotiation and materialisation in the contest. The theoretical discussion of intertextuality has to a large extent been advanced outside linguistics (especially in literary studies, drawing on the work of Kristeva and Bakhtin; see e.g. Allen 2000 for a detailed overview), but the insights of these debates have been fruitfully incorporated into poststructuralist-minded linguistic research and critical discourse studies as well (see e.g. Fairclough 2003; Solin 2004). One central tenet of this work is that every text is made up of traces of earlier texts—a phenomenon that often is not consciously realised by language users (Busch and Pfisterer 2011: 435). Viewing texts as parts of intertextual networks moves them away from the text-producing individual, seeing them rather as embedded in and discursively shaped by society at large. According to Solin (2004: 271), two basic types of intertextuality can be distinguished: (a) generic intertextuality (i.e. the citing of abstract genre conventions) and (b) referential intertextuality

(i.e. the citing of concrete elements from earlier texts). Intertextual links may be observable on the surface of texts (through duplication or similarity of form, as in direct quotations, reported speech or repetition) or operate on deeper semantic levels (through duplication or similarity of the concepts expressed, exploiting semantic relations and isotopy).

Studying intertextual relations in ESC lyrics uncovers which discourses show a longer history of being viewed as compatible with Europeaness. As the ESC lyrics data contains material from 1956 to the present day, this analysis provides diachronic evidence for Europeanisation processes after World War II. Intertextuality is here based on the assumption that ESC entries incorporate elements of earlier ESC performances and, in their turn, potentially shape future ESC performances.

One example of a discourse that has increased in its visibility on the ESC stage throughout the years is feminism, or rather, popular culture adaptations of feminist ideas (see also Aston 2013). It is obvious that pop lyrics do not reach the level of sophisticated feminist debates and that many feminists express their concern about the female roles generally propagated by the pop music business. This, however, does not prevent popular culture from (selectively) appropriating feminist ideas. One common feminist-inspired theme that occurs in Eurovision songs is a female singer revolting against male power in her performance. An early instance of such a performance is FIN 1966 (*Ann Christine*—“Playboy”). In the Finnish lyrics of the song, the singer repeatedly asserts that she will not fall for the addressee, who is described as a playboy á la *James Bond* (cf. *Aito playboy, elää ilman sua voin* “True playboy, I can live without you”). The use of an English song title that is repeated throughout the chorus of the otherwise Finnish lyrics makes this message also retrievable for viewers without any command of Finnish. Eleven years later, *Mia Martini* performed the song “Libera” (“Free.FEM”; ITA 1977) on the ESC stage, in which she describes herself as a woman who knows what she wants, is free to speak and can act independently of a man. Since the 1990s, performances showing such strong female singers have been quite common on the ESC stage. The clearest examples include FRA 1991 (*Amina*—“C’est le dernier qui a parlé qui a raison”), a performance raising awareness for the powerless role of women in many Arab societies, ESP 1993 (*Eva Santamaria*—“Hombres”), a song that draws a negative picture of men as

selfish machos, AUT 1997 (*Bettina Soriat*—“One step”), a performance in which the singer threatens her boyfriend to leave him because he is a bad lover, and some other performances containing put-downs hostile to men such as ESP 2006 (*Las Ketchup*—“Bloody Mary”), RUS 2007 (*Serebro*—“Song #1”) or CYP 2008 (*Evdokia Kadi*—“Femme fatale”).

It is already evident from this list of performances that Anglophone cultures (UK, IRL, MAL) do not necessarily participate in the formation of discursive patterns in the ESC. This is important to note, as scholars militating against the growing use of English across Europe, which they see as a form of linguistic imperialism, often claim that this growth is concomitant with a spread of an Anglo-American mindset (see e.g. Phillipson 2003, 2008). This claim will be more closely scrutinised in the light of discursive evidence in Sect. 8.2.

The major focus of the present chapter is on the question of how far linguistic construction is involved in the intertextual formation of discourses in ESC performances. This implies that intertextual relationships may also involve other signification practices beyond the verbal level (such as costumes, musical genre, choreography and so on). These will not be incorporated in the following analysis, but it should be borne in mind that the linguistic intertextual relations identified here represent only one, though a central, component of ESC intertextuality.

For example, a performance gimmick that has been repeatedly used in ESC performances, though in modified ways, is kissing. Of course, kissing is also a standard topic in ESC performances on the linguistic level, with many songs containing references to kisses. The first visual enactment of a kiss on the ESC stage occurred in the performance DAN 1957 (*Birthe Wilke & Gustav Winckler*—“Skibet skal sejle i nat”), in which the female and male singer engaged in a long kiss at the end of their performance. While kissing on the ESC stage still caused a great sensation in the 1950s, it became a common feature of staging heterosexual love scenarios in the following decades (see e.g. DAN 2001: *Rollo & King*—“Never ever let you go”, SLO 2004: *Platin*—“Stay forever”, and many more). Recently, this pattern of intertextuality has shifted to include same-sex kissing, with the lesbian marriage performance FIN 2013 (*Krista Siegfriids*—“Marry me”) as the most prominent example. The Lithuanian entry 2015 (*Monika Linkytė & Vaidas Baumila*—“This

time”) even featured three types of kisses: a heterosexual kiss between the two lead artists and, simultaneously, a lesbian and a gay male kiss among the background singers.

Preliminary evidence that Eurovision songs may contain intertextual links to former ESC performances can be found in the national preselections. It may suffice at this point to mention two graphic examples from past Lithuanian preselections. The Lithuanian national final in 2008 included the song “Lady” by *MyMagic* among its contestants, whose lyrics entirely consist of text fragments from earlier Eurovision songs. In 2010, another song in the competition created an intertextual link to *Alexander Rybak’s* winning ESC entry “Fairytale” (NOR 2009), whose chorus starts with the line *I m in love with a fairytale*. In the Lithuanian preselection, *Ruslanas Kirilkinas* performed a song of the title *I m in love with a boy who’s in love with a fairytale*, that is, a gay male sequel to the original performance (see Motschenbacher 2012b).

8.2 Intertextual Patterns in Eurovision Song Titles

The analysis of intertextuality patterns in ESC performances will in this section concentrate on song titles. This seems legitimate for two reasons. Firstly, song titles represent a salient linguistic component of ESC performances and usually condense the central message of the song. Secondly, the title line is in most cases repeated throughout the song in the chorus and is, therefore, more likely to be remembered and to influence future performances than other parts of the lyrics that are less prominent. One is probably safe to assume that songs that were successful in the ESC will also have a higher impact on Eurovision songs in the following years. This entails an element of negotiation: song texts offer certain messages, these messages are evaluated (by juries and/or the pan-European audience), and if they are successful, they stand a higher chance of influencing other performances.

The analysis will look at patterns of referential intertextuality and focuses on conceptual similarity or sameness rather than sameness of linguistic form. This is necessary due to the highly multilingual nature of the lyrics data, which allows the analyst to study Europe-related discursive formation

across language boundaries. However, conceptual similarity in many cases goes with formal similarity, even across languages. This is true, for example, for the lexical material of genetically related languages or lexical borrowings (e.g. anglicisms in European languages). As English provides the highest amount of data in ESC-LY, it is only logical to assume that it plays a central role in the transmission of concepts throughout the years, especially since the abolishment of the national language rule in 1999.

To come up with a pool of relevant conceptual lemmas, all song titles were screened for the concepts they contained, drawing on the basic distinction between content words and function words. Only those concepts associated with a lexical meaning were included. The grammatical types of meaning associated with function words (articles, pronouns, prepositions, auxiliaries, particles) were excluded from the analysis, even though they may show a high degree of re-occurrence across song titles. However, due to their high commonness across text genres, the concepts that function words express can less plausibly be linked to European identity formation or the discourses that are typical of pop song lyrics. The 76 most frequent concepts (i.e. those occurring seven times or more often in Eurovision song titles from 1956 to 2015) were analysed more systematically with respect to their historical development in the contest.

It can be assumed that concepts are not completely homogeneous in their meanings across cultures and languages, especially as far as their connotations are concerned. The categories that were set up for the analysis are, therefore, based on denotative rather than connotative features and on semantic similarity rather than semantic sameness. The concepts identified are not always mutually exclusive and may overlap to some extent (e.g. <female> overlaps with <female name> or <child> overlaps with <human being>). It is often the case that one and the same word in a song title expresses several concepts (e.g. the noun *mister* unites both <address> and <male>, or the noun *sister* unites both <kinship> and <female>).¹ Table 8.1 provides a ranking list of the concepts that have to

¹ The two concepts <geographical entity> and <celestial body> are special cases because they include relatively large subgroups. Due to this, the concepts <star> and <sun> were excluded from the category <celestial body> and listed separately. The same is true for <Europe> and <nation>, which are excluded from <geographical entity>.

Table 8.1 Most frequently used concepts in ESC song titles (1956–2015)

Rank	Concept	Frequency	Latest instance
1.	<love>	143	2015
2.	<life>	63	2015
3.	<female>	57	2014
4.	<sing>	44	2014
5.	<female name>	33	2009
6.	<male>	31	2015
7.	<day>	29	2011
8.	<dance>	27	2014
9.	<geographical entity> (except <Europe>, <nation>)	25	2010
10.	<world>	25	2014
11.	<dream>	24	2011
12.	<greeting>	23	2015
13.	<heart>	23	2014
14.	<night>	21	2014
15.	<male name>	20	2004
16.	<speak>	20	2005
17.	<music>	20	2015
18.	<time>	20	2015
19.	<small>	19	2010
20.	<colour>	19	2015
21.	<good>	19	2014
22.	<leave>	17	2009
23.	<nation>	17	2011
24.	<animal>	16	2015
25.	<musical genre>	16	2012
26.	<eternal>	15	2009
27.	<never>	15	2015
28.	<religion>	15	2013
29.	<sun>	14	1994
30.	<light>	14	2014
31.	<happy>	14	2012
32.	<return>	13	2011
33.	<give>	13	2006
34.	<endearment>	13	2013
35.	<believe>	13	2013
36.	<come>	12	2014
37.	<see>	12	2011
38.	<child>	11	2014
39.	<desire>	11	2012
40.	<star>	11	2014
41.	<summer>	11	2008

(continued)

Table 8.1 (continued)

Rank	Concept	Frequency	Latest instance
42.	<way>	11	2011
43.	<beauty>	10	2015
44.	<lonely>	10	2014
45.	<party>	10	2013
46.	<stay>	10	2012
47.	<wind>	10	2014

date occurred ten times or more often in Eurovision song titles. Besides the absolute frequencies of the concepts, it also provides information on when a particular concept last occurred in a Eurovision song title, thereby yielding evidence of the current productivity of certain concepts in the contest. The data shows that most of the frequent concepts are still productive, with only few exceptions (<sun>: not used since 1994, <speak>: not used since 2005, <give>: not used since 2006, <summer>: not used since 2008).

The list of the most frequent concepts indicates which topics are generally viewed by songwriters as adequate for Eurovision songs. By far the most frequent concept is <love>. With 143 instances, it occurs more than twice as often as the concept <life>, which ranks second (63 instances). The predominance of the theme of love is not unexpected, as it is typical of the genre conventions of pop music more generally. Another reason for its high frequency may be that <love> is deemed to be a powerful affective concept that can potentially engage people across Europe. Moreover, the centrality of love as a topic once more demonstrates the importance of the construction of sexual desire in the ESC. To see in how far the use of the concept <love> varies throughout the history of the ESC, its use is quantified for seven time periods in Table 8.2.

One hundred and forty-three songs out of 1396 have used <love> in their title, that is, 10.2 %. Throughout the years, one can identify a certain degree of fluctuation in the prominence of the concept. It is interesting to note that, after a culmination in the 1970s (12.0 %), it became less frequent in the 1980s and 1990s, reaching an all-time low in the

Table 8.2 Frequency of the concept <love> in ESC song titles across decades

Period	Total no. of songs	No. of song titles with <love>	Percentage
1956–1970	220	22	10.0
1971–1980	183	22	12.0
1981–1990	203	20	9.8
1991–2000	238	20	8.4
2001–2010	351	33	9.4
2011–2015	201	26	12.9
	1396	143	10.2

latter period (8.4%), even though it was still the most frequently occurring concept overall. In the following decades, the percentages of <love> increased again, reaching an all-time height in the most recent phase from 2011 to 2015 (12.9 %). When viewing these findings in connection with the development of the discursive construction of sexuality in ESC lyrics (see Table 6.12), it becomes evident that the resurgence of the concept <love> in the later phases of the contest coincides with a time in which non-heteronormative love scenarios reached a higher prominence. Taken together, this suggests that from the 1970s to the 1990s, the contest saw a decrease in heterosexual love scenarios, which apparently were felt to be less compatible with the Europeanness of the context, while the rise of <love> since the 2000s is associated with an increase in non-heteronormative love scenarios as a matter of recent Europeanisation.

Among the most frequent concepts in ESC song titles, there are also some others (beside <love>) that attest to the centrality of sexuality on the ESC stage. To this group belong references to female and male persons (further discussed below) as well as concepts that index romantic relationships and sexuality, such as <heart> (23), <endearment> (13) or <desire> (11). The second most frequent concept <life> represents a general human experience (just as much as <love>). Other commonly used concepts that address universal phenomena that are relevant to all (European) cultures include cosmologically or meteorologically based concepts such as <day> (29), <night> (21), <world> (25), <sun> (14), <light> (14), <summer> (11), <star> (11), and <wind> (10), and other concepts that can safely be assumed to possess a high degree of intercultural validity (<animal> (16), <colour> (19), <time> (20)).

From a representational point of view, the use of universal concepts has the advantage of foregrounding aspects that everybody in the audience can potentially relate to, which ensures maximally inclusive communication. The tendency of making statements of (supposedly) universal currency in ESC song titles is further expressed by the concepts <eternal> or <never> (compare e.g. song titles like *Il y aura toujours des violons* “There will always be violins”, FRA 1978, or “Beauty never lies”, SER 2015).

Gendered concepts also figure prominently in the ranking. There is a slight asymmetry in this respect, because the concepts <female> (rank 3) and <female name> (rank 5) occur more frequently than <male> (rank 6) and <male name> (rank 13) (cf. also Weigold 2015: 33–34). For the pair <female> and <male>, this asymmetry can partly be explained by the way gendered meanings have traditionally sedimented into grammatical systems. In languages with a grammatical masculine–feminine contrast, feminine personal nouns as well as feminine inflected forms of adjectives and pronouns used for personal reference almost invariably carry the meaning <female>. Such gender specificity is not automatically the case for grammatically masculine personal reference forms. For example, the feminine forms in song titles like *Européennes* (“Female Europeans”; FRA 1986) or *Une petite Française* (“A.FEM little.FEM French girl”; MON 1977) have a female meaning, but song titles containing similar masculine forms such as in *Les amants de minuit* (“The lovers.MASC of midnight”; LUX 1956) or *Nous les amoureux* (“We the lovers.MASC”; LUX 1961) are not automatically perceived as male-specific.² However, such systematic asymmetry cannot be claimed for personal names, which are mostly gender-specific. It appears, therefore, that the higher frequencies of female concepts in Eurovision song titles to some extent reflect genre conventions according to which pop music is more likely to be about women (often as desired objects) than about men. In order to see whether

² Such forms were excluded from the category <male>, even if they were strongly socially male. Examples include *Bandido* (“bandit.MASC”; ESP 1990) or *Conquistador* (“conqueror.MASC”; POR 1989). To capture the language use in ESC performances, feminine French personal reference forms were only counted as female if they were distinctive in the spoken language. For example, even though the famous song title *Merci Chérie* (AUT 1966) is orthographically represented in the feminine form, the spoken (and sung) form is gender ambiguous.

there are usage trends, the categories <(fe)male> and <(fe)male name> are added up in Table 8.3, which quantifies occurrences across decades.

From the percentage frequencies across the six time periods, one can observe a trend of gendered song titles becoming less frequent over time. Up to the 1970s, both female and male concepts were common in Eurovision song titles. Male concepts in these early periods occur with a frequency of around 8 %, before their frequencies show a steady decline. In the most recent phase of the contest (2011–2015), the frequency of male references was only 1.0 %. A similar development can be identified for female concepts. They have decreased in frequency from 10.5 % in the earliest phase (1956–1970) to a level of about 6 % from the 1980s to the 2000s and plunged to 1.5 % in the most recent phase (2011–2015). Furthermore, the data in Table 8.1 shows that especially the use of female and male names in song titles (last instances in 2009 and 2004, respectively) has become unproductive in the latest phase of the contest, which indicates that love songs addressed to or referring to named (and therefore gendered) individuals are no longer seen as fashionable or adequate for the context.

If one assumes that gendered song titles are often connected to romantic scenarios and that same-sex scenarios are uncommon in pop songs, the decrease in gendered concepts may also be read as indirect evidence that heterosexual constructions are becoming less frequent, despite the fact that the concept <love> has remained fairly constant in its importance throughout the history of the ESC.

Table 8.3 Frequency of female and male concepts in ESC song titles across decades

Period	Total no. of songs	<female (name)>	%	<male (name)>	%
1956–1970	220	13 + 10 = 23	10.5	9 + 7 = 16	7.3
1971–1980	183	8 + 7 = 15	8.2	9 + 6 = 15	8.2
1981–1990	203	5 + 6 = 11	5.4	3 + 5 = 8	3.9
1991–2000	238	9 + 5 = 14	5.9	5 + 1 = 6	2.5
2001–2010	351	19 + 5 = 24	6.8	3 + 1 = 4	1.1
2011–2015	201	3 + 0 = 3	1.5	2 + 0 = 2	1.0
	1396	57 + 33 = 90		31 + 20 = 51	

Two discursive mechanisms contribute to this effect: lyricists may either avoid references to desired objects altogether in the song titles or resort to alternative, gender-neutral ways of personal specification. One common gender-neutral alternative is the specification of the desired object not only with gender-neutral second-person pronouns, but also with endearment terms such as *baby*. Another alternative that has recently gained importance is the concept <angel>. Although this concept has its origins in the realm of religion, most of its uses in Eurovision song titles (and lyrics) are not (purely) religious, but refer to a person as a desired object. The concept <angel> is unique in its distribution throughout the years compared to other frequently occurring concepts. Most of the frequent concepts have been used for the first time in the 1950s or 1960s. <angel>, by contrast, is the concept with by far the latest first occurrence, in 2000. As the following overview shows, it has occurred eight times in Eurovision song titles since then:

(1)

<angel> [8]

CRO 2000: *Goran Karan* – “Kad zaspu anđeli” [“When the angels sleep”]

ISL 2001: *Two Tricky* – “Angel”

MAL 2005: *Chiara* – “Angel”

CYP 2006: *Annet Artani* – “Why angels cry”

BUL 2010: *Miro* – “Angel si ti (You are an angel)”

CYP 2011: *Christos Mylordos* – “San angelos s’agapisa” [“I loved you like an angel”]

LAT 2011: *Musiqq* – “Angel in disguise”

UKR 2011: *Mika Newton* – “Angel”

The two song titles that use the concept in the plural most likely talk about angels in the religious sense (CRO 2000 and CYP 2006). Some passages from the other songs on the list, however, clearly demonstrate the use of *angel* in the singular as a reference to a desired object:

(2)

*You're an angel born to be free
 But I've got you and you've got me
 When the lights go down, you bring me salvation
 When the tears run dry, you appear
 To save and love and comfort me
 Till the end of time you will always be my angel*
 (BUL 2010: *Miro* – “Angel si ti (You are an angel)”)

(3)

*Kill me with killer kiss, kill me with tempting lips
 Stare me with candy eyes, love me with luscious thighs
 Angel in disguise*
 (LAT 2011: *Musiqq* – “Angel in disguise”)

Another set of frequently used concepts is related to the ESC as a musical spectacle: <dance> (27), <instrument> (8), <music> (20), <musical genre> (16), <party> (10) and <sing> (44). The phatic character of ESC song titles is underlined by concepts related to communication. Apart from <endearment> (13), which pertains to romantic communication, these include <greeting> (23), <speaking> (20) and <address> (7). The concept <greeting> includes both greetings in the narrow sense and leave-taking formulas. It is apparent that intra-European crossing plays a significant role in this category, that is, the greeting formulas used often originate from languages other than the national language(s) of the respective country. This may be the case when the rest of the lyrics are sung in a national language, for example, in LUX 1974 (*Ireen Sheer*—“Bye bye I love you”), NOR 1982 (*Jahn Teigen & Anita Skorgan*—“Adieu”), YUG 1984 (*Izolda & Vlado*—“Ciao amore”), FIN 1994 (*CatCat*—“Bye bye baby”), BOS 1997 (*Alma Čardžić*—“Goodbye”), or in non-national English, for example, in UKR 2003 (*Olexandr Ponomariou*—“Hasta la vista”) and BLR 2008 (*Ruslan Alehno*—“Hasta la vista”).

Where concepts form antonyms, it is generally the positive rather than the negative concept that occurs more frequently in ESC song titles: for example, <beauty> (10) (vs. <ugliness>), <give> (13) (vs. <take>), <good> (19) (vs. <bad>), <friend> (8) (vs. <enemy>), <happy> (14)

(vs. <sad>), <light> (14) (vs. <darkness>), <spring> (8) and <summer> (11) (vs. <autumn> and <winter>). For many of these pairs, the negative concept does not occur at all in Eurovision song titles. The positivity of the concepts used creates an effect that could be described as a fading out of negative aspects, which clearly distinguishes the ESC from other (economic and/or political) contexts of pan-European significance.

Another discourse that can be identified among the frequently used concepts in the song titles is future orientation. This is expressed, for example, by concepts such as <child> (11), <dream> (24), <miracle> (7), <new> (8), <tomorrow> (8), which suggest an orientation to visions of Europe as a society—a notion that is also expressed by the name *Eurovision*, which plays on the double meaning of *vision* (in the sense of “utopia” vs. “an act of seeing”, as in *television*).

The concepts that denote geographical entities delineate Europe as a spatial formation. Among these, <Europe> occurs six times and <nation> 17 times. This may look like evidence for the dominance of nationalist discourses in the ESC. Still it must be noted that references to geographical entities other than nations are more frequent (31 instances with <Europe> included). A closer look at the instances of <nation> in the song titles shows that not all of them are used along national lines. There are four instances of intra-European crossing which all involve singing about people from countries other than the one that the song is representing: GER 1962: *Conny Froboess*—“Zwei kleine Italiener” (“Two little Italians”), MON 1977: *Michèle Torr*—“Une petite française” (“A little French girl”), BEL 1990: *Philippe Lafontaine*—“Macédomienne” (“My Macedonian woman”) and MAC 2011: *Vlatko Ilievski*—“Rusinka” (“Russian woman”). The latter three performances construct cross-national intra-European romances and thereby suggest that love is a phenomenon that transcends national boundaries. Some recent songs in which artists sing about their own nation represent humorous performances and therefore suggest a playful, self-ironic stance towards national identity. This is the case, for example, with FRA 2007 (*Les Fatales Picard*—“L’amour à la française”) and IRL 2008 (*Dustin the Turkey*—“Irelande douze pointe” [sic]; both already discussed in Sects. 5.2 and 6.5). All of this evidence taken together bears witness to a less traditional, less essentialist and more playful handling of national identity construction.

Historical developments may decisively shape the popularity of certain concepts in ESC song titles. We have already seen this in Sect. 2.2, where it was shown that the German reunification and the concomitant end of the Cold War significantly affected the messages conveyed in the performances at the ESC 1990. More recent developments have similarly had their repercussions in ESC song titles, as became evident at the ESC 2015. As Europe is currently being shaken by the conflict between UKR and RUS whose consequences are reminiscent of Cold War times, it is not surprising that a range of performances addressed this issue. This becomes evident, for example, when looking at the discursive formation of the concept <war> in ESC song titles:

(4)

<war> [6]

FIN 1982: *Kojo* – “Nuku pommiin” [“Sleep until the bomb”]

LAT 2005: *Walters & Kazha* – “The war is not over”

MOL 2007: *Natalia Barbu* – “Fight”

HUN 2015: *Boggie* – “Wars for nothing”

GEO 2015: *Nina Sublatti* – “Warrior”

MAL 2015: *Amber* – “Warrior”

References to war are virtually non-existent in ESC song titles up to 2004, with FIN 1982 being the only exception. This can be explained in terms of the negative associations of war as a topic, which may be thought to be too nationally loaded for an international competition and to clash with the celebration of Europeaness in the ESC. However, the ESC 2015 demonstrates that even negative aspects such as <war> can be turned into Eurovision song themes, especially when they are treated critically. The performances GEO 2015, HUN 2015 and MAL 2015 all possess titles that directly refer to war. In addition, the performance FRA 2015 (*Lisa Angell*—“N’oubliez pas”; “Don’t forget”) foregrounded the cruelties of World War I.

An aspect that is of interest with respect to the role of English for Europeanisation is the question whether the spread of English (on the ESC stage especially as a non-national language) leads to a dissemination of an Anglo-American mindset. When looking at the song titles

data, there is only limited (if any) evidence for such a development. Even though it is clear that English has played an important role in the intertextuality of Eurovision songs since 1999, the central question is where the use of certain concepts in the ESC has originated, that is, which countries have introduced them as song title themes. As already stated, most concepts have been used for the first time in the 1950s or 1960s and possess a history that spans across several decades. This means that most concepts were introduced at a time in which national languages were used, either by default (1956–1965) or due to the national language rule (1966–1972). Table 8.4 shows how often certain countries used one of the 76 most frequent concepts for the first time in a Eurovision song title.³

As can be seen, concepts were not usually introduced by performances from IRL or the UK, and English is not responsible for the introduction of most concepts. It is logical that those seven countries that already participated in 1956 have a better chance of standing at the beginning of a chain of usage. Among these are the three countries that have

Table 8.4 The contribution of countries and languages to the introduction of concepts in ESC song titles

Country (frequency)	Language (frequency)
BEL (12)	French (29)
ITA (10)	Italian (13)
SUI (7)	German (7)
NOR (5)	Dutch (7)
LUX (5)	Norwegian (5)
AUT (5)	English (4)
FRA (5)	Swedish (4)
MON (4)	Danish (3)
DAN (4)	Slovenian (3)
SWE (4)	2 each: Portuguese, "Serbo-Croatian"
NED (4)	1 each: Finnish, Greek
GER (3)	
YUG (3)	
2 each: FIN, POR, UK	
1 each: CRO, GRE, IRL, SLO	

³ In cases where two entries introduced a concept in the same year, both instances were counted.

introduced concepts most frequently: BEL, ITA and SUI. However, the UK also stands a fairly good chance of introducing concepts since its joining of the contest in 1957, but this has only happened twice. A number of countries that entered the contest at the same time as or after the UK, namely NOR, MON, AUT, DAN and SWE, have introduced more concepts. IRL has participated since 1965 and introduced only one concept.

On the language side, most concepts (29 out of 76; 38.2 %) have been introduced through French. This once more mirrors the dominance of French in the early years of the contest. French is followed by Italian (13), German (7) and Dutch (7). English ranks only in sixth position with four concepts introduced (4.9 %). There is no concept that has been expressed exclusively in English throughout the years. Furthermore, there are a number of concepts that have been passed on either without any English participation (<flower>, <sun>) or that have only recently been expressed in English, while up to 2010 they were expressed in other languages (<beauty>, <earth>, <free>, <sky>). This is remarkable in the light of the increased use of English in the contest since 1999.

In the transmission of other concepts, English plays only a minor role. One such example is <child> (see (5) below), which was expressed exclusively in French up to 1985 (six song titles). The performance LUX 1985 explicitly refers to the cross-linguistic dimension of the concept with the song title “Children, Kinder, enfants” (using English, German and French). There is one more German <child> song title in 1985 (AUT 1985: “Die Kinder dieser Welt”, “The children of this world”) and one more English song title in 1992 (MAL 1992: “Little child”). In the 1990s, one finds two more instances of the concept in Breton (FRA 1996: “Diwanit bugale”, “May you blossom, children”) and Estonian (EST 1998: “Mere lapsed”, “Children of the sea”). In the 2000s, the concept <child> apparently became unfashionable in the contest and fell out of use. It was not until 2014 that the UK revived it with the entry “Children of the universe”.

(5)

<child> [11]

SUI 1957: *Lys Assia* – “L’enfant que j’étais” [“The child that I was”]MON 1961: *Colette Deréal* – “Allons, allons les enfants” [“Let’s go, let’s go children”]FRA 1969: *Frida Boccara* – “Un jour, un enfant” [“A day, a child”]FRA 1977: *Marie Myriam* – “L’oiseau et l’enfant” [“The bird and the child”]FRA 1979: *Anne-Marie David* – “Je suis l’enfant-soleil” [“I’m the sun child”]LUX 1985: *Margo et al.* – “Children, Kinder, enfants” [“Children, children, children”]AUT 1985: *Gary Lux* – “Kinder dieser Welt” [“Children of this world”]MAL 1992: *Mary Spiteri* – “Little child”FRA 1996: *Dan Ar Braz & L’Héritage des Celtes* – “Diwanit bugale” [“May you blossom, children”]EST 1998: *Koiti Toome* – “Mere lapsed” [“Children of the sea”]UK 2014: *Molly* – “Children of the universe”

Other concepts for which English participation is marginal are <human being> (used for the first and only time in English as late as 2010: UKR 2010—“Sweet people”), <new> (used for the first and only time in English as late as 2011: DAN 2011—“New tomorrow”), and <sea> (used only once in English in 2008: LAT 2008—“Wolves of the sea”).

A very common pattern in the data is introduction and maintenance of a concept in languages other than English up to 1998, followed by increased transmission through English afterwards (e.g. <celestial body>, <day>, <dream>, <heart>, <leave>, <life>, <speaking>). But even in these cases, English is usually not the only language used after 1998.

Taken together, the evidence does not leave the impression that the Anglophone cultures initiate ideas that are then adopted by other European countries, although such an influence would have been quite plausible if one considers that English is generally viewed as the language of popular culture. Most of the frequent concepts used in ESC song titles have been introduced by non-Anglophone cultures in languages other than English. At the same time, a great deal of contemporary intertextuality in the ESC is created through the medium of non-national, non-native (as opposed to British/Irish, native) English.

Table 8.5 Ranking list of countries contributing to the intertextuality in ESC song titles

Rank	Index score: no. of concepts/no. of entries	EU/non-EU	European region
1.	LUX: 46/37 = 1.243	EU	NW
2.	MON: 27/24 = 1.167	non-EU	SW
3.	BLR: 14/12 = 1.167	non-EU	NE
4.	FRA: 63/58 = 1.086	EU	SW
5.	ISR: 41/38 = 1.079	non-EU	Far SE
6.	ITA: 44/41 = 1.073	EU	SW
7.	BEL: 60/57 = 1.053	EU	NW
8.	GER: 62/59 = 1.051	EU	Central
9.	UK: 59/58 = 1.017	EU	NW
10.	DAN: 44/44 = 1.000	EU	NW
11.	YUG: 27/27 = 1.000	EU	SE
12.	MNT incl. SEM: 9/9 = 1.000	non-EU	SE
13.	SLK: 7/7 = 1.000	EU	Central
14.	CZE: 4/4 = 1.000	EU	Central
15.	POR: 46/48 = 0.958	EU	SW
16.	SLO: 20/21 = 0.952	EU	Central
17.	RUS: 18/19 = 0.947	non-EU	NE
18.	SWE: 52/55 = 0.945	EU	NW
19.	NOR: 51/54 = 0.944	non-EU	NW
20.	IRL: 46/49 = 0.939	EU	NW
21.	AUT: 44/48 = 0.917	EU	Central
22.	MOL: 10/11 = 0.909	non-EU	NE
23.	ESP: 49/55 = 0.891	EU	SW
24.	CYP: 28/32 = 0.875	EU	Far SE
25.	LAT: 14/16 = 0.875	EU	NE
26.	LIT: 14/16 = 0.875	EU	NE
27.	SUI: 48/56 = 0.857	non-EU	Central
28.	HUN: 12/14 = 0.857	EU	SE
29.	FIN: 41/49 = 0.837	EU	NW
30.	SAN: 5/6 = 0.833	non-EU	SW
31.	AND: 5/6 = 0.833	non-EU	SW
32.	ROM: 14/17 = 0.824	EU	SE
33.	MAL: 23/28 = 0.821	EU	Far SE
34.	CRO: 17/21 = 0.810	EU	SE
35.	EST: 17/21 = 0.810	EU	NE
36.	SER incl. SEM: 8/10 = 0.800	non-EU	SE
37.	GRE: 27/36 = 0.750	EU	SE

(continued)

Table 8.5 (continued)

Rank	Index score: no. of concepts/no. of entries	EU/non-EU	European region
38.	ALB: 9/12 = 0.750	non-EU	SE
39.	UKR: 9/12 = 0.750	non-EU	NE
40.	AZE: 6/8 = 0.750	non-EU	Far SE
41.	POL: 13/18 = 0.722	EU	Central
42.	NED: 40/56 = 0.714	EU	NW
43.	ISL: 19/28 = 0.679	non-EU	NW
44.	TUR: 22/34 = 0.647	non-EU	Far SE
45.	MAC: 10/15 = 0.667	non-EU	SE
46.	ARM: 5/9 = 0.556	non-EU	Far SE
47.	BOS: 9/18 = 0.500	non-EU	SE
48.	GEO: 4/8 = 0.500	non-EU	Far SE
49.	BUL: 4/9 = 0.444	EU	SE

The country ranking list in Table 8.5 shows how often the participating countries have contributed to the formation of the 76 most common concepts in the past and relates this to EU membership status and European region.⁴ For purposes of comparison, an index score was calculated, which specifies how many of the frequently used concepts occur on average in the song titles of a particular country (number of concepts used divided by number of ESC participations). The thus calculated index values range from 1.243 (LUX) down to 0.444 concepts per entry (BUL). The high-ranking countries are the most prolific contributors to the intertextual patterns identified in ESC song titles.

The evidence presented in Table 8.5 suggests two political and regional asymmetries, if one compares the top 35 to the bottom 14. In the top 35, 25 countries (71.4 %) are EU members, while 10 of the bottom 14 countries (also 71.4 %) are non-EU countries. In terms of results by European region, it is apparent that 10 of the bottom 14 countries are located in the southeast or far southeast of Europe, while northwestern, northeastern, southwestern and central European countries mainly rank in the top 35. If the fact that countries do not equally contribute to ESC intertextuality is related to integration, it follows that, overall, non-EU countries and the (Far) southeast of Europe are lagging behind.

⁴Countries that have participated only once (AUS, MOR) are excluded. Regions are categorised in the same way as in Sect. 6.4.

8.3 A Corpus-Based Comparison of ESC Lyrics and General Pop Lyrics

Obviously, the intertextual formation of discourses in the ESC is not restricted to song titles. The analyses in the following sections (Sects. 8.3–8.6)⁵, therefore, complement the picture of intertextuality produced so far by employing corpus linguistic techniques to arrive at a more comprehensive description. More specifically, it will be investigated how the situatedness of pop music is reflected in the language used in song lyrics, with a special focus on the question of how the broader European significance of performing on the ESC stage shapes language use in pop lyrics. It can be assumed that the songs participating in the ESC cater for a pan-European audience in the sense that they represent material that songwriters, with earlier contests in mind, find compatible with entering the race for “Europe’s song of the year”. Similarly, the outcomes of the various selection procedures for Eurovision songs at the national level (internal nominations, jury selections, nationwide televoting or combinations of these) are the result of what (certain groups of) people deem to be adequate for a pan-European song contest.

The present study stands in a tradition of research that has employed corpus linguistic methods in critical discourse studies (e.g. Baker 2005, 2006; Baker et al. 2008; Mautner 2009). Two pop lyrics corpora will be compared that have been specifically created for the purposes of this study. As ESC-LY represents a highly multilingual database that complicates the application of corpus linguistic retrieval methods, it was decided to concentrate on English Eurovision lyrics, which form the largest segment of the data. The respective corpus (Corpus of English Eurovision Lyrics [ESC-ENG]) consists mainly of English-only song texts. For Eurovision songs partly performed in English, the non-English passages were removed to achieve greater comparability with the (all-English) comparative corpus. Moreover, only performance lyrics from 1999 to

⁵The data discussed in this chapter is taken from the following previously published study: Motschenbacher, Heiko (2016): “A corpus linguistic study of the situatedness of English pop song lyrics.” *Corpora* 11(2): 1–28.

2013 were incorporated, as this phase of the contest coincides with the period in which many non-Anglophone countries entered the competition with English songs as a result of the national language rule being no longer in effect. The resulting corpus contains 388 text files, in total 93,881 word tokens and 3,447 word types (hence a type–token ratio of 0.037).

The major interest of the present study lies in the linguistic idiosyncrasies of this first corpus in relation to a general pop lyrics corpus, which serves as a reference corpus for keyness analyses. For the compilation of the second corpus (Corpus of German Chart Lyrics [G-Charts]), the lyrics of songs from the German charts were used. More specifically, the 20 commercially most successful English-language songs of each of the annual charts from 1999 to 2012 were selected, that is, 280 texts in total. Five of these texts had to be excluded, because they also occur in ESC-ENG. The remaining 275 texts amount to 111,446 word tokens and 5,043 word types (hence a type–token ratio of 0.045). The lyrics of the texts in the reference corpus were taken from various online lyrics databases and then adjusted to reflect the wording of the recorded versions of the songs (since lyrics databases are often compiled by lay people for non-academic purposes, such adjustments were regularly necessary). As with ESC-ENG, non-English passages were removed from the few multilingual songs in the dataset. In both pop lyrics corpora, repeated passages (typically choruses) were invariably transcribed in full. It was decided not to remove such passages in order to reflect their importance quantitatively, because the repeated text of the choruses is perceptually salient within a song compared to the text of the stanzas, which is normally sung once. The choice of the target corpus is motivated by an interest in the discursive construction of Europeanness via language. To this end, it was deemed necessary to compare two corpora that differ mainly in their significance to European contexts but are otherwise fairly similar, because “the closer the relationship between the target corpus and the reference corpus, the more likely the resultant keywords will reflect something specific to the target corpus” (Culpeper 2009: 35).

The choice of English songs from the German charts as a reference corpus is motivated by the fact that Germany lies in the heart of Europe, directly bordering nine other European countries. Musical tastes and

fashions are highly likely to extend beyond national boundaries. That the most successful English songs have been selected, therefore, ensures a high degree of overlap between these German chart songs and successful pop songs in other European countries. Comparing the two corpora is a means of contrasting the lyrics of songs from the national European charts with those of songs competing in the ESC, which are often less commercially successful or do not chart at all. This indicates that commercial success and targeting a pan-European audience are not necessarily compatible aims. In other words, while commercially successful English chart songs are often produced for an *international* market, Eurovision songs are meant to represent a nation in front of a pan-European audience, that is, their function is *transnational*.

In Sects. 8.4–8.6, various kinds of quantitative analysis will be performed with the two specified corpora, among them a word frequency list analysis and a keyword analysis (both using the corpus tool *AntConc*, version 3.3.5; Anthony 2013; Sect. 8.4), and semantic key tag analyses carried out using the corpus tool *Wmatrix* (version 3; Rayson 2008, 2009; Sect. 8.5).⁶ Such quantitative analyses represent a pertinent means of uncovering the aboutness of texts or, in other words, the discourses prevalent in the two corpora, and serve as the basis for further qualitative analyses (cf. Archer 2009: 4). Working with *Wmatrix* to perform semantic keyness analyses, for example, is not a purely quantitative matter, as a closer inspection of the lexical items in each of the key semantic categories is necessary to make more sophisticated statements about usage patterns in a corpus. As the quantitative analysis is used to select aspects for a more detailed qualitative analysis, the procedure adopted here is (partly) data-driven. The corpus analyses carried out cover lexical and semantic features, that is, the two linguistic levels that are most directly involved in the formation of discourses.

⁶In principle, *Wmatrix* could also have been used for the keyword analysis. However, as the text corpus has to be incorporated as a single text file in this tool, it does not allow the researcher to see across how many texts a certain form occurs, which is a necessary detail for the uncovering of key keywords (i.e. those that do not just occur in one or only few texts). In *AntConc*, by contrast, one can incorporate corpora consisting of a collection of text files, which allows the researcher to see in how many different texts within the corpus a certain form occurs.

Keyness analyses (for more detailed discussions, see Baker 2004; Culpeper 2009 and Rayson 2008) are an adequate method for the present study because they can reveal features of texts that are less conspicuous on a surface level, but may nevertheless play a role in the formation of discourses (see e.g. Archer et al. 2009; Charteris-Black and Seale 2009; Culpeper 2009; Potts and Baker 2012). They represent a form of analysis that highlights differences between two corpora, even though the similarities between them may be dominant (see Baker 2004). This is also the case with the two lyrics corpora, which contain texts of the same genre type. The differences detected can therefore be attributed to the central difference in cultural situatedness between the two corpora: chart music aiming at (inter)national commercial success versus music performed for transnational intra-European communication on the ESC stage.

The research questions that the corpus analyses seek to address are the following: Is the linguistic make-up of the lyrics used in Eurovision performances shaped by the social situatedness of the ESC (in comparison to a general charts corpus)? If so, how is this reflected by the lyrics and which discourses are more prevalent in Eurovision lyrics? How can the findings be related to questions of the discursive formation of Europe as an imagined community?

8.4 Word Frequency Lists and Keywords

In order to provide information on the basic characteristics of the two lyrics corpora, a comparison of their word frequency lists with those of the spoken and written components of the British National Corpus (BNC; data taken from Leech et al. 2001) was carried out. The analysis shows that the two pop lyrics corpora are highly similar in terms of the words that are used most frequently. Nearly all forms in the top 30 of ESC-ENG are also in the top 30 of G-Charts, with some differences in individual ranks. The top four rankings are identical in the two corpora (1. *I*, 2. *you*, 3. *the*, 4. *me*) and represent evidence for the preponderance of first- and second-person pronouns in pop lyrics corpora more generally (for similar findings on three other lyrics corpora, see Werner 2012: 28). The possessive pronouns *my* and *your* also occur within the top 18 of the

two lyrics corpora but are not in the top 35 of the two BNC subcorpora. The fact that *the* ranks third whereas it ranks first in both the spoken and written BNC suggests that pop lyrics show a less nominal style overall, as is typical of spoken language use (see also Biber et al. 1999: 267–268). Other features that render the lyrics corpora more similar to the spoken rather than the written BNC data include higher rankings of personal pronouns, lower rankings of prepositions and the common occurrence of forms that are rarely found in formal written usage (e.g. the interjection *oh* or contracted negation *n't*).

On the other hand, forms that are prototypical of conversational usage occur among the most frequent forms in the spoken BNC but not in the lyrics corpora (e.g. fillers such as *er* and *erm*, or forms commonly used as (parts of) pragmatic particles such as [*you*] *know* and *well*). It could therefore be argued that pop lyrics constitute a genre or register that in its linguistic make-up is closer to spoken usage but, at the same time, shows only certain aspects of spoken language use, while other distinctively spoken features are notably absent or less well represented (see also Werner 2012: 34). Certainly, this is partly a consequence of the production process of song lyrics, which, though they may be considered “spoken” in a conceptual sense (using everyday, often informal language), are nevertheless planned, written and therefore likely to exclude overtly conversational features.

In a similar vein, an earlier study by Kreyer and Mukherjee (2007: 44–49) compared the Giessen–Bonn Corpus of Popular Music (GBoP) with the spoken and written British components of the International Corpus of English (ICE-GB-sp and ICE-GB-wr) and found that the lyrics corpus even surpassed the spoken British corpus for some features typically associated with spoken usage, for example, in terms of shorter word length (ICE-GB-wr: 4.67—ICE-GB-sp: 4.16—GBoP: 4.02) or higher frequencies of pronouns such as *I*, *you*, *my* and *your* (e.g. *you*: ICE-GB-sp: 1.92 %—GBoP: 3.87 %; *I*: ICE-GB-sp: 2.59 %—GBoP: 3.78 %). Still other features pointed more to the written end of the scale, for example, a higher type–token ratio and fewer discourse markers like *you know* in GBoP compared to ICE-GB-sp.

A typical aspect of word frequency lists is that the top ranks are normally occupied by function words (pronouns, conjunctions, prepositions,

determiners, etc.), that is, items that are less likely to be directly involved in the formation of discourses. This is also true for the lyrics corpora. However, there is one content word that ranks remarkably high in both corpora, namely the item *love* (ranking 12th in ESC-ENG and 33rd in G-Charts). This coincides neatly with the preponderance of the concept <love> in Eurovision song titles (see Sect. 8.2) and bears witness to love as the central theme in pop music in general, which has also been documented in other studies (cf. Dukes et al. 2003; Kreyer 2012; Kuhn 1999; Werner 2012). Kreyer (2012: 111–112), for example, found that the word *love* occurs 2747 times per one million words in the GBoP, while its frequency in the poetry section of the BNC amounts to only 796 instances per one million words. In the two corpora studied here, the frequencies of the form *love* are even higher. It occurs 1170 times in ESC-ENG and 642 times in G-Charts, that is, 12,463 and 5761 times per million words, respectively. The higher ranking in the word frequency list and the considerably higher relative frequency in ESC-ENG indicate that if love is a central topic in pop music, this centrality is even more pronounced in Eurovision lyrics (see Fig. 8.1).

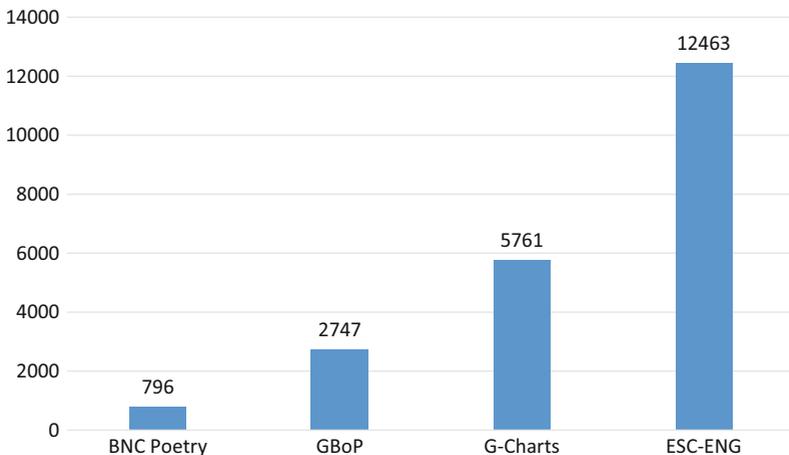


Fig. 8.1 Relative frequencies of *love* in four corpora (tokens per million words)

When turning to the keyword analysis based on a comparison of ESC-ENG and G-Charts, one finds that some of the keywords are also reflected in the semantic keyness analysis. These keywords will not be specifically discussed here but as part of the analysis in Sect. 8.5. Still it should be noted that a substantial⁷ number of central keywords are not covered by the semantic field analysis (perhaps due to relatively high log-likelihood restrictions that had to be applied in order to reduce the amount of data to be analysed). For the purposes of the present study, keywords are defined as those forms that occur with unusual frequency in ESC-ENG in comparison to G-Charts (with a log-likelihood value of higher than 10.83) and across at least 5 % of the texts in the corpus. The latter restriction is necessary because pop lyrics are often highly repetitive texts. Certain words occurring in a chorus of a song may therefore reach keyword status for the corpus as a whole. Obviously, these strongly localised patterns are not keywords that are of interest to the present study and therefore had to be ruled out. In other words, the focus is here on forms that occur unusually frequently in ESC-ENG and at the same time show a higher dispersion across a number of song texts (for the same argument in relation to keyword analysis in general, see also Rayson 2008).

Among these (positive) keywords are several first- and second-person forms (*your, my, our, we, mine*)⁸, which indicates that the Eurovision lyrics are more interpersonal and centred on a dialogue between the singing subject and the audience than the general charts lyrics. Other keywords are related to the linguistic construction of romantic desire (*heart, eyes, together, hold, hearts, feel*) or metaphysical experiences (*believe, die, soul*). The emotionalised interjections *oh* and *hey* are also keywords in ESC-ENG. Finally, an inclination for incorporating universal messages in Eurovision lyrics is expressed by keywords such as *everybody* and *everything*.

Among the negative keywords, that is, forms that occur clearly less frequently in ESC-ENG, two major patterns can be detected that are worth pointing out here. Firstly, a large subgroup is formed by items that are

⁷Of the 50 forms with the highest keyness values, 23 do not show up in Table 8.6, which documents the most prominent key semantic categories.

⁸Most first-person plural pronouns in ESC-ENG are addressee-inclusive.

slang or non-standard (*ya, y', ain* as part of *ain't, damn, gonna, gon, hot*) or stereotypically play a role in rap and hip-hop music (*uh, yeah, yo, huh; sexy, club*). These are less likely to occur in Eurovision lyrics, perhaps due to their strong association with US pop music (cf. Werner 2012: 41)—an aspect that may be thought to carry less prestige in a pan-European song contest.

Secondly, the female third-person pronouns *she* and *her* are high-ranking negative keywords, that is, pronominal references to female persons are unusually infrequent in the Eurovision corpus. Contrary to the picture drawn by the positive keywords, which showed first- and second-person pronominal references to be unusually frequent in ESC-ENG, third-person pronominal references are clearly more common in G-Charts. Compared to the Eurovision lyrics, the chart song lyrics do not revolve so much around talking *to* somebody but rather focus on talking *about* somebody, and that somebody is often a female person. The relative infrequency of female third-person pronouns in ESC lyrics corresponds to the previous findings that heterosexual love scenarios have become less frequent over time in ESC performances (compare Sects. 6.4 and 7.4), and that female concepts have become less common in ESC song titles (compare Sect. 8.2).

8.5 Positive and Negative Semantic Keyness

Semantic keyness analyses provide information on which concepts occur particularly frequently or infrequently in a corpus when compared to a reference corpus. As the identification of semantic features is not tied to specific forms (as keyword analysis is), it can produce a richer picture of the discourses surfacing across the texts in a corpus. While a keyword analysis reveals which forms occur unusually (in)frequently in a corpus, a semantic keyness analysis is also able to deal with the cumulative weight of various, semantically related forms that occur too infrequently to be keywords on their own. For the semantic keyness analysis, *Wmatrix* uses automated taggers developed by researchers at Lancaster University, namely the *CLAWS tagger* (Garside and Smith 1997) for part-of-speech annotation, a lemmatiser and the *USAS tagger* (Rayson 2008, 2009) for

the assignment of semantic tags.⁹ The semantic tags serve as the basis for the keyness analysis. The tag set consists of 21 basic semantic fields, which in turn are subdivided into numerous more specific subfields. In contrast to a keyword analysis, the semantic annotation distinguishes homographs (words that possess the same form but different meanings), groups together variants within a lemma (i.e. the various inflected forms are sorted into the same semantic category), and treats multiword expressions as single items—aspects that are neglected at the keyword level. Moreover, semantic keyness analysis helps to check on the wider relevance of patterns uncovered by a keyword analysis. For example, as Baker (2004: 349) points out, the fact that a form like *large* is a keyword does not necessarily mean that other forms from the same semantic field (*big*, *enormous*, *huge* etc.) are equally important in a corpus. However, such a generalisation becomes more plausible once it has been documented that an entire semantic category occurs significantly more frequently.

The 32 semantic categories that produced the most significant effects for positive keyness in ESC-ENG when compared to G-Charts are listed in Table 8.6. The table only includes semantic categories that occur at least 70 times in ESC-ENG and show a log-likelihood value of more than 10.83 (i.e. the error likelihood p is smaller than 0.001). In the last column, it specifies the most frequent items within each semantic category in order of decreasing frequency (maximally five items; small frequency values below seven are not listed). Items that are at the same time keywords in ESC-ENG when compared to G-Charts are marked with the degree symbol (°). Items that have incorrectly been assigned to a certain semantic category by the automatic tagger are marked with an asterisk (*). In cases in which the majority of the items within a semantic category seemed to be incorrectly assigned, the respective category was excluded from the analysis if the absolute frequency of the category was lower than 70 after the number of incorrectly assigned forms had been subtracted. For example, the category “I4 Industry” originally was identified as key as a result of the possessive *mine* being wrongly assigned to it (as the only item). In the course of the qualitative analysis, careful checking of the field members was necessary for each of the semantic categories, because

⁹Accuracy rates are 96–97% for *CLAWS* and 91% for *USAS* (Rayson 2008: 529).

Table 8.6 Positive key semantic tags of ESC-ENG in comparison to G-Charts

Rank	Semtag	Abs. freq. ESC-ENG	Rel. freq. ESC-ENG	Abs. freq. G-Charts	Rel. freq. G-Charts	LL	Semantic category	Items in ESC-ENG
1	W1	487	0.55	270	0.26	103.29	The universe	world* (211) sky (93) stars° (62) star (38) moon (24)
2	W2	342	0.39	158	0.15	102.49	Light	light° (128) shine (92) shining (34) sunshine (19) lights (19)
3	L1+	453	0.51	247	0.24	99.57	Alive	life° (330) alive° (92) lives (14) live (12)
4	M5	153	0.17	38	0.04	94.11	Flying and aircraft	fly° (105) flying (36)
5	E4.1+	376	0.42	216	0.21	73.65	Happy	happy (78) celebrate (59) smile (54) celebration (31) fun (30)

(continued)

Table 8.6 (continued)

Rank	Semtag	Abs. freq. ESC-ENG	Rel. freq. ESC-ENG	Abs. freq. G-Charts	Rel. freq. G-Charts	LL	Semantic category	Items in ESC-ENG
6	T1.1.3	1421	1.60	1218	1.17	65.94	Time: future	'll° (570) will° (445) gon (173) wo (94) tomorrow (52)
7	S3.2	983	1.11	797	0.76	61.37	Relationship: intimacy and sex	love° (786) kiss (81) in love (60) kisses (9) lover (8)
8	N6+++	182	0.21	81	0.08	57.93	Frequent	always° (182)
9	T1	684	0.77	521	0.50	56.50	Time	never° (386) time (231) times (34) never ever (32)
10	K2	490	0.55	348	0.33	52.74	Music and related activities	song° (132) sing (72) music (69) rhythm (33) singing (23)
11	E5-	165	0.19	77	0.07	48.62	Fear/shock	fear (31) afraid° (30) scared (26) fears (24) shy (13)

12	X4.1	279	0.31	170	0.16	47.37	Mental object: conceptual object	dream° (128) dreams° (105) matter (20)
13	M8	170	0.19	89	0.09	40.61	Stationary	stay° (116) still (20) staying (8)
14	T1.3	720	0.81	598	0.57	39.78	Time: period	night° (203) day° (148) wait (69) waiting (50) morning (37)
15	A3+	3830	4.32	3936	3.77	35.34	Existing	's (780) be° (765) Is° (760) 'm (396) are° (380)
16	A10-	163	0.18	95	0.09	30.87	Closed; hiding/ hidden	hide (51) secret (29) disappear (21) disguise (10)
17	N3.7+	195	0.22	128	0.12	27.00	Long, tall and wide	high (101) deep (48) long (25) wide (11)
18	A5.2+	191	0.22	131	0.13	23.10	Evaluation: true	true° (125) truth (21) fact (17) truly (9)

(continued)

Table 8.6 (continued)

Rank	Semtag	Abs. freq. ESC-ENG	Rel. freq. ESC-ENG	Abs. freq. G-Charts	Rel. freq. G-Charts	LL	Semantic category	Items in ESC-ENG
19	A10+	332	0.37	264	0.25	22.73	Open; finding; showing	find (117) show° (92) open (45) found (41) open up (11)
20	N1	370	0.42	301	0.29	22.72	Numbers	one° (198) two (52) * mi (20) thousand (16) million (13)
21	E1	94	0.11	49	0.05	22.65	Emotional actions, states and processes	feel (28) vibes (20) emotions (14)
22	A9-	417	0.47	348	0.33	22.47	Giving	give° (276) let go (65) gave (14) gives (11)
23	A5.2-	157	0.18	103	0.10	21.77	Evaluation: false	lie (52) lies (36) fantasy (19) lied (12)
24	T1.2	126	0.14	81	0.08	18.53	Time: momentary	moment (43) dawn (17) sunrise (12) stage (12) birthday (12)

25	N6+	276	0.31	221	0.21	18.30	Frequent	again (149) every day (30) many times (20) every time (13) every night (12)
26	E4.1-	285	0.32	240	0.23	14.62	Sad	cry° (127) break heart (25) sad (22) crying (20) cried (9)
27	T2+++	172	0.19	132	0.13	13.77	Time: beginning	forever° (137) eternity (9) endlessly (8) endless (7)
28	X9.2+	192	0.22	152	0.15	13.42	Success	make it (71) winners (24) win (21) *beat (19) *beating (13)
29	X2.5+	92	0.10	60	0.06	12.98	Understanding	understand (38) see (14) *got it (14) realise (13)
30	T1.1	101	0.11	68	0.07	12.95	Time: general	ever (96)
31	O4.6-	97	0.11	65	0.06	12.62	Temperature: cold	cold (52) cool (27)
32	X3.3	119	0.13	87	0.08	11.54	Sensory: touch	touch (93) caress (9)

the *USAS tagger* only achieves a reliability level of 91 % (Culpeper 2009: 52). In the following analysis, the top 15 semantic categories are discussed. Categories that rank lower than this and are still key are only included when they can be related to patterns detected within the top 15 categories.

The highest positive keyness value in ESC-ENG is shown by the category “W1 – The universe”, which contains the items *world*, *sky*, *stars*, *star* and *moon* as its most prominent field members. 211 of the 487 instances of this category (43.3 %) are constituted by the form *world*, which is used in various senses in ESC-ENG. The literal, geographical meaning of *world* (“our planet”; (6)) and the meaning “the society we live in” (7) predominate when the form is premodified by the definite article *the* or the demonstrative *this*:

(6)

Celebrate, oh celebrate, 'cause the world is a beautiful place

(SUI 2004: *Piero Esteriore and the MusicStars* – “Celebrate”)

So boys and girls around the world, let's meet next year in Iceland.

(ISL 2006: *Silvia Night* – “Congratulations”)

(7)

I can't change the world alone. I need you all, everybody.

(ROM 2011: *Hotel FM* – “Change”)

When the world is deaf to all your cries, just keep going, you'll be there someday

(BLR 2012: *Litesound* – “We are the heroes”)

It is evident from the examples in (7) that the societal sense of *world* often occurs in contexts in which a plea for change (“a better world”) is voiced.

Besides this macro-social sense of *world*, one can also find uses of the term in connection with possessive pronouns, which instead point to a micro-social meaning, that is, a person's subjective life experience (usually that of the singing or addressed person). These uses generally play a role in love scenarios, in which one of the two lovers is said to have a certain influence on the other's world:

(8)

If I had your love, you would light my world.(ISL 2005: *Selma* – “If I had your love”)*To find the words I've never said, the words I need to touch your world*(MOL 2008: *Geta Burlacu* – “A century of love”)

Finally, the form *world* can be used to construct hypothetical or desired worlds. In this sense, *world* is often premodified by an indefinite article:

(9)

Somewhere on our journey lies a world beyond compare(IRL 2000: *Eamonn Toal* – “Millennium of love”)*But even a world of love and hope can't guarantee that price*(BEL 2010: *Tom Dice* – “Me and my guitar”)

We have seen in these four major senses of *world* in ESC-ENG that there is a tendency for terms to be used in metaphorical senses that revolve around the topic of love and the longing for a better future.

The topic of love is central in the field “S3.2 – Relationship: Intimacy and sex” (Rank 7), which has *love*, *kiss*, *in love*, *kisses* and *lover* as its most common field members. The dominant term within this field is *love*, which accounts for 786 out of 983 hits (80.0 %). In G-Charts, by contrast, where *love* is also the dominant term within this semantic category, one finds that it accounts for only 370 out of 797 hits (46.4 %). When comparing the two sets of field members in the two corpora, one finds that G-Charts contains many more sexualised terms, which are hardly ever used in Eurovision lyrics, bearing witness to a more romantic approach to love (e.g. there are 74 instances of the form *sexy* in G-Charts but only 5 in ESC-ENG; forms like *promiscuous*, *foreplay*, *seductive*, *sleep with*, *seduce*, *erotic* occur exclusively in G-Charts). In order to study the collocational behaviour of *love* in ESC-ENG, *AntConc* was used to generate a list of the most frequent collocates in the window span one left to one right.

As can be seen in Table 8.7, nominal and verbal uses of the form *love* are equally common in the corpus. The pronominal collocations *love you*

Table 8.7 The most frequent collocates of *love* in ESC-ENG (window span 1 left to 1 right)

Rank	Collocate	Collocations total	One left	One right	Preponderance
1	<i>you</i>	199	44	155	<i>love you</i>
2	<i>I</i>	158	110	48	<i>I love</i>
3	<i>your</i>	140	136	4	<i>your love</i>
4	<i>is</i>	103	8	95	<i>love is</i>
5	<i>with</i>	91	47	44	<i>with love, love with</i>
6	<i>my</i>	85	75	10	<i>my love</i>
7	<i>me</i>	78	28	50	<i>love me</i>
8	<i>in</i>	76	63	13	<i>in love</i>
9	<i>the</i>	66	46	20	<i>the love</i>
10	<i>of</i>	65	60	5	<i>of love</i>
11	<i>can</i>	52	7	45	<i>love can</i>
12	<i>and</i>	45	7	38	<i>love and</i>
13	<i>for</i>	40	31	9	<i>for love</i>
14	<i>only</i>	38	25	13	<i>only love</i>
15	<i>that</i>	34	11	23	<i>love that</i>
16	<i>song</i>	26	10	16	<i>love song</i>
17	<i>baby</i>	26	5	21	<i>love baby</i>
18	<i>our</i>	24	23	1	<i>our love</i>

(155 tokens) and *I love* (110 tokens) form the most frequent patterns, which often occur in combination as *I love you*. The reverse patterns of *you love* (44 tokens) and *love me* (50 tokens) occur less frequently but still regularly. As the frequencies of third-person pronouns and personal nouns as subject or object collocates of the verb *love* in ESC-ENG are low, one is safe to claim that love is overwhelmingly constructed as a relationship between the singing person and an addressee in the Eurovision lyrics. This is also documented by the possessive collocations in Table 8.7: *my love* (75 tokens), *your love* (136 tokens) and *our love* (23 tokens).¹⁰ Lexically gendered possessive and object third-person singular pronouns, which in principle could also occur with the word form *love*, rank low among the collocates: *him* (rank 77), *his* (rank 82), and *her* (rank 111).

¹⁰ The phrase *our love* can in principle be used to talk about love relationships between *I* and *you* and between *I* and *hershe*. However, love scenarios between the first and second person predominate in ESC-ENG.

In addition to *love*, references to other emotions also turn out key in ESC-ENG. The relevant categories seem to span the full repertoire of emotional experiences and include neutral fields such as “E1 – Emotional Actions, States and Processes” (rank 21; e.g. *feel, vibes, emotions*), positive emotions such as in “E4.1+ – Happy” (rank 5; e.g. *happy, celebrate, smile*), and also negative emotions, as in “E5 – Fear/Shock” (rank 11; e.g. *fear, afraid, scared*) and “E4.1 – Sad” (rank 26; e.g. *cry, break heart, sad*).

Another topic that occurs several times as a key semantic category in ESC-ENG is time. The highest log-likelihood value is associated with the category “T1.1.3 – Time: Future” (rank 6), which mainly contains modal auxiliaries that are used to express future reference in English: ‘*ll, will, gon in gonna, wo in won’t*. These four grammatical items are clearly predominant, as they amount to 1282 occurrences in total and therefore make up 90.2 % of this semantic category (the most frequent lexical item being *tomorrow* with 52 occurrences). The more general time-related categories “T1 – Time” (rank 9; e.g. *never, time(s)*), “T1.1 – Time: General” (rank 30; e.g. *ever*) and “T1.3 – Time: Period” (rank 14; e.g. *night, day, wait*) are also key in ESC-ENG. Two other time-related key semantic areas are “T1.2 – Time: Momentary” (rank 24; e.g. *moment, dawn, sunrise*) and “T2+++ – Time: Beginning” (rank 27), which mainly contains items that denote an infinite time period (e.g. *forever, eternity, endlessly*). Taken together, these temporal reference types suggest that the lyrics in ESC-ENG show a tendency to refer to the future, to universal or eternal aspects or to momentary events, while references to the past do not seem to play a key role. The preponderance of future references can be related to the formation of Europe as an imagined community, whereas the absence of past references can be explained in terms of Europe’s nationalised history, which needs to be backgrounded or silenced for purposes of Europeanisation.

Another semantic field that is associated with the longing for a better future is “X4.1 – Mental Object: Conceptual Object” (rank 12), in which the forms *dream* and *dreams* predominate. The semantic field “M5 – Flying and aircraft” (rank 4) also belongs to this area. Most of the references to flying in ESC-ENG are not related to aircraft or flying in a physical sense but represent a metaphorical way of expressing

the experiencing of a delightful time, as can be seen in the following examples from the corpus:

(10)

Fly on the wings of love, fly, baby, fly. Reaching the stars above, touching the sky.

(DAN 2000: *Olson Brothers* – “Fly on the wings of love”)

C'mon let's fly away, girl. Up on cloud number nine I wish to fly.

(SLO 2004: *Platin* – “Stay forever”)

When I close my eyes I fall into a dream. Can't you see this world, all people live in peace. The sun is shining in my heart, rainbows in the sky. Spread your wings and fly, fly, fly high.

(AUT 2011: *Nadine Beiler* – “The secret is love”)

The tendency to make statements of universal or eternal relevance is further supported by other key semantic categories in ESC-ENG: “N6+++ – Frequent” (which consists exclusively of the form *always*; rank 8), “N6+ – Frequent” (rank 23; e.g. *again, every day, many times*), “M8 – Stationary” (rank 13; e.g. *stay, still*), “A3+ – Existing” (rank 15; containing various present tense forms of the copula verb *be* such as ‘*s, be, is, 'm* and *are*) and “A5.2 – Evaluation: True” (rank 18; e.g. *true, truth, fact*). Related to this aspect are various key categories that represent universal phenomena, which can be expected to be experienced to a similar extent by people across (European) cultures. This is true, for example, of the two categories that show the second and third largest log-likelihood values, namely “W2 – Light” (rank 2; e.g. *light, shine, shining, sunshine*) and “L1+ – Alive” (rank 3; e.g. *life, alive, lives, live*). The high frequency of references to such universal aspects in the Eurovision lyrics can be explained by the necessity to present topics in songs that many people across Europe can potentially relate to. Finally, the situatedness of the Eurovision lyrics in actual musical performances is reflected in higher frequencies of items from the semantic field “K2 – Music and Related Activities” (rank 10; e.g. *song, sing, music, rhythm*).

Table 8.8 provides a similar list of semantic key tags that prove to be unusually infrequent in ESC-ENG when compared to G-Charts (negative semantic key tags). The table only lists semantic categories that occur at least 50 times in G-Charts and show a log-likelihood value of higher

Table 8.8 Negative key semantic tags of ESC-ENG in comparison to G-Charts

Rank	Semtag	Abs. freq. ESC-ENG	Rel. freq. ESC-ENG	Abs. freq. G-Charts	Rel. freq. G-Charts	LL	Semantic category	Items in G-Charts
1	O2	240	0.27	602	0.58	-107.60	Objects generally	things* (164) thing (77) *rock (60) bottle (26) edge (23)
2	S2.2	108	0.12	362	0.35	-106.74	People: male	man* (115) boy* (88) mr. (64) men (35) guy (25)
3	M3	64	0.07	242	0.23	-83.48	Vehicles and transport	street (28) car (20) streets (19) tracks (17) roads (14)
4	A9+	1015	1.14	1678	1.61	-75.02	Getting and possession	got* (466) get* (294) take (200) have (129) keep (128)
5	S2.1	175	0.20	413	0.40	-64.39	People: female	girl* (280) lady (42) girls (34) ladies (20) woman (11)

(continued)

Table 8.8 (continued)

Rank	Semtag	Abs. freq. ESC-ENG	Rel. freq. ESC-ENG	Abs. freq. G-Charts	Rel. freq. G-Charts	LL	Semantic category	Items in G-Charts
6	B5	73	0.08	224	0.21	-57.92	Clothes and personal belongings	clothes (34) wear (15) umbrella (15) buttons (10) bag (9)
7	N3.7-	11	0.01	82	0.08	-50.40	Short and narrow	low° (77)
8	Z1	302	0.34	557	0.53	-41.11	Personal names	*di da (36) *di (36) *say (24) *lo (18) *city life (17)
9	Z6	1602	1.81	2316	2.22	-40.73	Negative	n't° (1547) no (343) not (269) nothing (130) no way (17)
10	A5.1-	45	0.05	144	0.14	-39.71	Evaluation: bad	bad° (102) bitch (29) bitches (7)
11	O1.3	21	0.02	93	0.09	-38.18	Substances and materials: gas	air° (86)
12	H2	86	0.10	210	0.20	-35.40	Parts of buildings	floor° (74) door (35) window (17) room (16) dome (14)

13	K5.1	54	0.06	147	0.14	-30.94	Sports	ride (56) game (30) games (15) *bout (13)
14	A5.1+	182	0.21	341	0.33	-26.74	Evaluation: good	good (112) well° (68) alright (59) ok (23) fine (19)
15	S3.1	89	0.10	196	0.19	-25.68	Personal relationship: general	met (47) friends (45) friend (35) meet (34) mate (25)
16	E3-	91	0.10	190	0.18	-21.42	Violent/angry	hit (51) punch (15) slap (15) wild (14) revenge (7)
17	N5-	36	0.04	99	0.09	-21.23	Quantities: little	a little bit (60) only one (17) few (7)
18	N4	169	0.19	300	0.29	-18.90	Linear order	then (150) first (23) last (23) before (18) in front of (12)

(continued)

Table 8.8 (continued)

Rank	Semtag	Abs. freq. ESC-ENG	Rel. freq. ESC-ENG	Abs. freq. G-Charts	Rel. freq. G-Charts	LL	Semantic category	items in G-Charts
19	N5	90	0.10	181	0.17	-18.17	Quantities	some (84) so many (22) number (16) both (11) half (11)
20	11.2	27	0.03	75	0.07	-16.39	Money: debts	spend (34) pay (10) spent (8)
21	H1	33	0.04	83	0.08	-14.92	Architecture, houses and buildings	*dam (22) house (19) castle (10) windmill (8)
22	Q4.3	38	0.04	91	0.09	-14.68	The media: TV, radio and cinema	dj (57) on air (7)
23	G3	71	0.08	137	0.13	-11.96	Warfare, defence and the army; weapons	bomb (33) shot (17) war (12) gun (9)
24	L2	110	0.12	192	0.18	-11.22	Living creatures: animals, birds, etc.	*chick (22) *mina (17) hawk (13) wings (12) butterfly (11)

than -10.83 (i.e. $p < 0.0001$). This prerequisite is met by 24 semantic categories, which can be said to be associated with noteworthy thematic absences in the Eurovision lyrics.

Three major patterns emerge from the data presented in Table 8.8. The first concerns the overrepresentation of various categories in G-Charts that have to do with material objects and/or possessions: “O2 – Objects generally” (rank 1; e.g. *thing(s), bottle*), “M3 – Vehicles and transport” (rank 3; e.g. *street(s), car*), “B5 – Clothes and personal belongings” (rank 6; e.g. *clothes, wear, umbrella*), “H2 – Parts of buildings” (rank 12; e.g. *floor, door, window*), and “H1 – Architecture, houses and buildings” (rank 21; e.g. *house, castle*). These have the effect of locating song plots in a more concrete physical environment compared to Eurovision lyrics, which tend to stay more abstract in this respect, maybe in an attempt to transcend physical space. Related to this is a preponderance of references to quantities and money in G-Charts, as in “NS – Quantities: little” (rank 17; e.g. *a little bit, only one, few*), “NS – Quantities” (rank 19; e.g. *some, so many, number*) and “I1.2 – Money: Debts” (rank 20; e.g. *spend, pay, spent*). These or similar fields are notably absent from the key semantic areas in ESC-ENG, which points to the construction of a discursive world in which abstract aspects (such as emotions, dreams or peace) carry a higher value than material objects. It should also be noted that “A9+ – Getting and possession” ranks high as a key semantic domain in G-Charts (rank 4; e.g. *got, get, take, have, keep*), while in ESC-ENG the domain “A9– – Giving” is among the key semantic fields (rank 22 in Table 8.6; predominantly containing various forms of the verb *give*), which indicates an altruistic rather than a possession-focused attitude.

Another pattern is that concepts related to negativity or violence are more common in G-Charts than in ESC-ENG. This can be deduced from the keyness of the following categories in G-Charts: “Z6 – Negative” (rank 9; e.g. *n’t, no, not, nothing*), “A5.1 – Evaluation: Bad” (rank 10; e.g. *bad, bitch(es)*), “E3 – Violent/Angry” (rank 16; e.g. *hit, punch, slap*) and “G3 – Warfare, defence and the army; weapons” (rank 23; e.g. *bomb, shot, war, gun*). It can be concluded from this distribution that references to such negatively associated concepts are generally felt to be less appropriate for performances in a transnational European pop

music competition, where positive aspects and peace are more likely to be highlighted.

Finally, it is apparent from the data in Table 8.8 that G-Charts clearly contains more lexically gendered references to persons than ESC-ENG. Accordingly, the categories “S2.2 – People: Male” (rank 2; e.g. *man*, *boy*, *Mr.*) and “S2.1 – People: Female” (rank 5; e.g. *girl(s)*, *lady*, *woman*) occur as key semantic fields in G-Charts, which in turn means that they are comparatively rarely used in ESC-ENG (see also Sect. 8.6). Another piece of evidence is provided by the category “Z1 – Personal names” (rank 8). Even though the most frequent members in this category are misclassifications, the largest part of this field is made up by (actual) personal names, which generally occur in lower absolute frequencies but have a cumulative keyness effect. As the wide majority of (English) personal names are gender-specific, these also represent forms that are used to refer to female and male people within lyrics.

It is interesting to note that in ESC-ENG, love is a topic of even greater prominence than in other pop lyrics corpora and that, at the same time, lexically gendered forms occur unusually infrequently in this corpus. This points to a less heteronormative construction of love scenarios in the Eurovision song lyrics, which is in fact compatible with the non-heteronormativity of ESC fan communities as a key part of the audience (cf. Motschenbacher 2013b; Singleton et al. 2007) and of some highly successful ESC entries in recent years (e.g. *Dana International* in 1999, *Marija Šerifović* in 2007, *Conchita Wurst* in 2014; see also Motschenbacher 2012a). It is also noteworthy that while love is a strong key theme in ESC-ENG, G-Charts shows a higher presence of references to non-romantic social relationships, as is evident from the semantic category “S3.1 – Personal relationship: General” (rank 15), which includes field members such as *met*, *friend(s)*, *meet* and *mate*. This, in turn, means that in Eurovision lyrics, human relationships are less conceptualised in terms of friendship (which would in principle also be a plausible conceptualisation of European transnationalism) but more in terms of romantic or sexual relationships.

8.6 Lexically Gendered Nouns and Pronouns

A more comprehensive overview of the use of lexically gendered nouns in the two lyrics corpora is presented in Table 8.9, which gives the absolute and relative frequencies (per 10,000 words) of individual female and male nouns.

Table 8.9 Frequencies of lexically gendered nouns in ESC-ENG and G-Charts

Noun	Abs. freq. ESC-ENG	Rel. freq. ESC-ENG (per 10,000 w.)	Abs. freq. G-Charts	Rel. freq. G-Charts (per 10,000 w.)
<i>girl</i>	108	0.12	280	0.27
<i>girls</i>	39	0.04	34	0.03
<i>lady</i>	16	0.02	42	0.04
<i>ladies</i>	5	0.01	20	0.02
<i>woman</i>	3	0.00	11	0.01
<i>girlies</i>	1	0.00	2	0.00
<i>madam, girly, miss, chicks</i>	1 each	0.00 each	–	–
<i>chick</i>	–	–	22	0.02
<i>women</i>	–	–	10	0.01
<i>gal</i>	–	–	6	0.01
<i>maiden</i>	–	–	3	0.00
<i>Ms., gals, female, ladys [sic], ms [sic]</i>	–	–	1 each	0.00 each
Σ female nouns	176	0.19	435	0.39
<i>boy</i>	31	0.03	88	0.08
<i>man</i>	25	0.03	115	0.11
<i>guy</i>	17	0.02	25	0.02
<i>boys</i>	10	0.01	18	0.02
<i>guys</i>	8	0.01	5	0.00
<i>men</i>	5	0.01	35	0.03
<i>Mister</i>	4	0.00	1	0.00
<i>gentlemen</i>	3	0.00	3	0.00
<i>superman</i>	2	0.00	–	–
<i>Mr</i>	2	0.00	2	0.00
<i>fellows</i>	1	0.00	–	–
<i>Mr.</i>	–	–	64	0.06
<i>fellas</i>	–	–	2	0.00
<i>gents, fella, lad</i>	–	–	1 each	0.00 each
Σ male nouns	108	0.12	651	0.58

Various trends can be identified in the data in Table 8.9. In both lyrics corpora, the singular forms of lexically gendered nouns tend to occur more frequently than the respective plural forms (cf. the lemmas GIRL, LADY, WOMAN, CHICK, GAL, BOY, MAN and GUY). For the construction of love scenarios in pop lyrics, this means that love is more rarely expressed as a desire for men or women in general but rather as a desire that targets a specific male or female person.¹¹ Among the female nouns, the lemma GIRL is the dominant form in both lyrics corpora, contributing 147 of the 176 female noun tokens (83.5 %) in ESC-ENG and 314 of the 435 female noun tokens (72.2 %) in G-Charts. The second most frequent lemma is also identical in the two corpora, namely LADY (21 tokens in ESC-ENG; 62 tokens in G-Charts). The lemma WOMAN is less common in both corpora (3 tokens in ESC-ENG; 21 tokens in G-Charts). Informal, partly derogatory nouns are largely restricted to G-Charts (e.g. CHICK: 22 tokens in G-Charts, 1 token in ESC-ENG; GAL: 6 tokens in G-Charts, no token in ESC-ENG).

Among the male personal nouns, the most common lemma in ESC-ENG is BOY (41 tokens) followed by MAN (30 tokens). In G-Charts, MAN is more frequent (140 tokens) than BOY (106 tokens). This latter pattern has also been documented for other pop lyrics corpora (cf. Kreyer 2015: 182–183), which indicates that the pattern found in the Eurovision lyrics (i.e. higher frequency of BOY than MAN) is more marked. Another commonly used lemma in both corpora is GUY (25 tokens in ESC-ENG and 30 tokens in G-Charts). The lemma MISTER (which occurs in the shape of the forms *Mister*, *Mr.* and *Mr*) is clearly more frequently used in G-Charts, where it is the third most frequent lemma (67 tokens vs. only 6 tokens in ESC-ENG). Informal nouns such as *gents*, *fella(s)* and *lad* are restricted to G-Charts. The frequencies of these nouns are low.

¹¹Table 8.9 does not list all lexically gendered forms in the two corpora but only those that are members of the semantic fields “S2.1/2 – People: Female/Male”. However, other groups of personal nouns that are particularly likely to contain female and male field members, such as kinship terms (e.g. *mother*, *father*, *brother*, *sister*), occur only infrequently in the lyrics corpora and are unlikely to be used to refer to participants in love scenarios.

When comparing the usage of female and male nouns in the two corpora, it appears that the usage patterns are more gender-equal in ESC-ENG than in G-Charts. This is the case in a number of dimensions. The most frequent lexically gendered nouns in ESC-ENG are BOY and GIRL, which suggests a parallel linguistic treatment of the sexes, while in G-Charts GIRL and MAN are the most frequent lemmas, that is, male persons are more likely to be referred to as adults while women are more likely to be referred to with the lemma GIRL, which covers lower age ranges than WOMAN. While MAN is quite common in both corpora, the lemma WOMAN is relatively uncommon and occurs in lower frequencies than GIRL, LADY and, in G-Charts, CHICK. The common use of the more respectful term LADY in both corpora is not paralleled by a similarly high usage of GENTLEMAN, which occurs only three times in each corpus. It may be that MISTER functions as a rough equivalent to LADY in pop lyrics, but judging from the frequencies of the former, it can only be said to be similarly common in G-Charts, not in ESC-ENG.

In terms of the overall frequencies, G-Charts shows a stronger imbalance in the sense that male nouns are more frequent than female nouns (relative frequencies: 0.58 vs. 0.39), while in ESC-ENG the relative frequencies are similar, with the rate of female nouns (0.19) being slightly higher than that of male nouns (0.12). In this respect, G-Charts resembles the distributions of major mainstream English corpora, where male forms tend to outnumber corresponding female forms, more closely (see e.g. Baker 2010: 133, 143).

The frequencies of the lexically gendered third-person singular pronouns in the two lyrics corpora are provided in Table 8.10. The picture that evolves in G-Charts is markedly different from that for lexically gendered nouns. While male nouns are clearly more common than female nouns in this corpus, with pronouns it is the female forms that occur overall more frequently (relative frequency: 0.67 vs. 0.36 for male pronouns). This difference affects both subject (*she*: 0.48 vs. *he*: 0.18) and non-subject pronominal forms (*her*: 0.24 vs. *him/his*: 0.10), which means that women are more frequently referred to as agents, possessors and patients in G-Charts. In ESC-ENG, by contrast, one again finds a largely

Table 8.10 Frequencies of lexically gendered pronouns in ESC-ENG and G-Charts

Pronoun	Abs. freq. ESC-ENG	Rel. freq. ESC-ENG (per 10,000 w.)	Abs. freq. G-Charts	Rel. freq. G-Charts (per 10,000 w.)
<i>she</i>	122	0.14	499	0.48
<i>he</i>	112	0.13	189	0.18
<i>her</i>	76	0.09	251	0.24
<i>him</i>	32	0.04	48	0.05
<i>his</i>	32	0.04	52	0.05
<i>hissself [sic], hers, himself</i>	–	–	1 each	0.00 each
Σ female pronouns	198	0.21	751	0.67
Σ male pronouns	176	0.19	291	0.26

gender-symmetrical picture. Female and male pronouns show roughly similar frequencies overall (0.21 vs. 0.19), which is true for subject (0.14 vs. 0.13) and non-subject pronominal uses (0.09 vs. 0.08). This indicates that both women and men occur similarly often as agents, possessors and patients in the Eurovision lyrics. These more gender-equal patterns are an aspect that is specific to Eurovision lyrics, as both G-Charts and the US American and British charts corpora studied in Werner (2012) show clearly higher frequencies of female pronouns. Lyrics corpora therefore tend to depart from the pattern shown by major English corpora, which generally contain more male than female pronouns (see e.g. Baker 2010: 131–132 for British English data). However, while general charts lyrics show a female preponderance, the Eurovision lyrics exhibit a gender-equal distribution.

8.7 Conclusion

The analyses carried out in this chapter provide a rich picture of the discourses that prevail in Eurovision lyrics and can, due to the European significance of the context in which they are used, be understood as representational practices that are widely perceived to be compatible with Europeanness. The quantitative aspects of these analyses can be taken as evidence for descriptive normativities in relation to Europeanisation.

To the extent that the discursive constructions presented on the ESC stage do not describe the current state of affairs but rather a vision of what Europe may look like in the future, frequently drawing on a particular discourse can be seen as a normalising practice that aims to shift normativities into a certain direction.

In comparison to pop music in general, the situatedness of Eurovision lyrics is reflected in their linguistic make-up. This is an outcome of lyricists orienting to the transnational European situatedness of the contest when they write songs for the national preselections, just as much as the national juries and audiences do when they choose a song for the contest. If one accepts that artists participate in the ESC with the aim of winning the contest, one can read the discourses identified in Eurovision lyrics as a pool of (supposed) winning strategies, that is, they tell us something about which discourses lyricists and the national audiences who choose a certain song view as particularly adequate for appealing to a wider pan-European audience. It is clear that a highlighting of national(ist) issues in the performances has relatively little prestige in this context and that the goal would rather be to address transnational European values.

The discursive world constructed in Eurovision songs represents an idealised, maybe even utopian vision that may be thought to be far off European social realities. It is a world in which interpersonal relationships, and especially romantic love, dominate the picture, and that even more than in general pop music. Heteronormativity and gender inequality have here lost some of their traditional dominance. At the same time, it is a world in which, for unification purposes, the focus lies more on universal rather than individual human experiences, in which future orientation and universality/eternity largely silence references to the (nation-driven events of the) past and negative aspects like conflicts or materialism are largely faded out. This may be seen as a way to facilitate a pan-European celebration among people from various cultures that may “in real life” be in conflict or even at war. The development of these prevalent discourses works across language and national boundaries, even though for the last 15 years non-national and mostly non-native English has been centrally involved in the transmission of these discourses and, therefore, becomes normalised as a transnational (rather than nationally associated) means of cross-European communication.

The imaginative character of these discursive constructions can be read as an awareness of and reaction to current social problems whose solution is deemed central for the future formation of Europe as an “imagined community” (Anderson 1991). Such a utopian European world may at first glance be incompatible with the dominant crisis discourses that have shaped the concept of Europe since the turn of the millennium, mainly outside pop music (cf. Wodak and Angouri 2014). However, the two phenomena are probably not independent of each other, as “Eurovision” can be thought of as consequences of European crises.

Indirect evidence for this is provided by an earlier study on song lyrics, in which Pettijohn and Sacco (2009) analysed the lyrics of number one songs from the US American Billboard charts (1955–2003) in relation to historical periods of social and financial crisis. Interestingly, the linguistic make-up of the lyrics in times of threatening crisis was found to show various aspects that are also prominent in Eurovision lyrics. In times of crisis, the content of the song lyrics, as judged by listener ratings, tended to be more romantic, and a Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count Analysis (LIWC) revealed that there were more references to the future and interpersonal aspects. As a consequence, the prominence of these characteristics in ESC-ENG in comparison to G-Charts suggests that the transnational European situatedness of Eurovision lyrics, and the popularised crisis-oriented discourses associated with contemporary constructions of Europe, may at least partly be responsible for the surfacing of these features in Eurovision lyrics.

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9

Overview

9.1 The Shifting Normativities of Europeanisation in the ESC

As the preceding analyses have shown, the ESC represents a popular culture media event that engages in the re-negotiation of identity-related normativities in the light of (what is perceived as being compatible with) Europeaness. In this final chapter, central language-based discursive mechanisms of identity construction that have been documented in the preceding empirical chapters are reviewed and discussed with respect to their contribution to contemporary European identity formation. The five interrelated mechanisms that are discussed are de-essentialisation (Sect. 9.2), inclusion (Sect. 9.3), camp (Sect. 9.4), crossing (Sect. 9.5), and languaging (Sect. 9.6). These discursive mechanisms yield evidence for central normativity shifts that are associated with Europeanisation. As Europeanisation strategies, they are first and foremost relevant to the ESC, because they help participants to “pass” as European on the ESC stage. However, the discussion will at various points contrast them with

the top-down Europeanisation strategies of the EU as the central political institution in Europe.

One central insight of the present study is that there is no such thing as a monolithic European identity but rather a set of competing discourses about what Europeanness means (see also Wodak 2010: 21). In tune with a poststructuralist theorisation, Europeanness regularly manifests as hybrid, potentially contradictory, multiple, negotiable, imaginary and, most importantly, in progress. It is therefore insufficient to merely extend the description of homogenising national identification discourses to a broader European realm. In many cases, it is the distancing from nationalist ideologies that serves as a powerful vehicle of Europeanisation.

The shifting normativities of Europeanisation are evident in aspects in which the local linguistic (and musical) performances on the ESC stage, which enact the nation for a pan-European audience and hence possess an impressive transnational reach, clash with traditional, largely nation-based normativities at the macro-social level. This gap between the representational practices in the contest and macro-level normativities is a central motor for norm-related change, that is, the individual identity-related constructions on the ESC stage may over time and across performances materialise into local, ESC-related norms, which may in turn feed back into the discursive materialisation of European (and potentially national) social macro-norms. Viewed from this perspective, the ESC is a powerful agent in driving social change on the European level into certain directions. In other words, artists can strategically use their artistic freedom and the liminality of the context to normalise certain practices and ideologies through their performances, and the televoting constitutes a bottom-up aspect that influences which of these constructions are successful and, as a consequence, stand a better chance of contributing to the materialisation of macro-social European norms.

A number of (interrelated) normativity types are involved in this negotiation process. The following general trends in shifting normativities could be identified in the ESC performance data:

- a discursive shift from the application of national construction by default (e.g. national language choice) to a higher visibility of non-national, transnationally oriented construction (e.g. crossing practices)

- a discursive shift from homogeneity as a traditional national norm to heterogeneity as a transnational European value
- a discursive shift from heterosexuality by default to non-heteronormativity
- a development of normative intersectionality patterns, with heterosexual construction being more strongly associated with nationalism and non-heteronormative construction with Europeanness
- a shift from native, national language use as a normative standard to more non-native and non-national language use, mainly of English as a (denationalised) lingua franca

These developments bear witness to the increasing competition that traditional discourses have to face at the transnational European level: the macro-social normativities of intranational homogeneity, cross-national difference, nation-based exclusion, national monolingualism and linguistic purism, heteronormativity, native authenticity and linguistic standard conformity are regularly confronted with alternative identity-related signification practices in ESC performances, which may involve the representation of intranational diversity, national crossing, inclusion, transidiomatic practices, non-heteronormativity or non-native and non-standard language use. In fact, European prestige may be gained from the deviation from traditional norms, for example, through the deconstruction of the nation or greater tolerance of non-heteronormative identities. Performers, therefore, face a range of ideological dilemmas that require negotiation: the general validity of heteronormativity in public contexts versus the local non-heteronormativity of the contest, dominant discourses of femininity and masculinity versus the local prestige of their subversion in the contest, the task of national representation versus the transnational task of appealing to a Europe-wide audience and to attract votes.

While the interrelation between European and national identity construction has been extensively studied in research on the discursive formation of Europeanness (after all, a *transnational* orientation is still connected to the concept of the nation), the discursive interface between Europeanness and the construction of sexual desire, which proves to be a central mechanism operative in the ESC, has received much less scholarly attention. Despite this, the ways in which the construction of sexual

desire has developed within Europeanisation processes in the ESC are anything but surprising if one takes the findings of earlier work on the relationship between nationalism and sexuality into account. It has been shown repeatedly, and across numerous cultural contexts, that heteronormative discourses are strongly intertwined with the concept of the nation (Berlant and Warner 1998; Downing and Gillett 2011; Mosse 1985; Peterson 1999; Puri 2006) and that, traditionally, the construction of the nation was not just associated with homogeneity discourses in terms of ethnicity (Anderson 1991) but also in terms of sexuality. Moreover, nationalist contexts have been documented to foster conservative gender discourses, often stereotypically tying nationalist thinking to the construction of hegemonic masculinity (Inoue 2007; Mosse 1985; Walters 2011; Wertheim 2012). It follows that non-heteronormative identities and desires are unlikely to be equally protected or supported on the national level as heterosexual identities and desires. This is exemplified by the debates on same-sex marriages, which in many European countries do not share the same privileges as heterosexual marriages and are frequently called “civil partnerships” to differentiate them terminologically from “proper” (heterosexual) marriages (cf. Bachmann 2011; Jäkel 2006; Santaemilia 2009). Europeanisation questions such nation-based sexual normativities, and it is the increased competition of sexuality-related discourses and the concomitant shifts in sexual normativities that today may be said to indirectly index Europeaness (see also Motschenbacher 2012a, 2013b on ESC press conferences).

The linguistic practices documented in the empirical chapters of this book attest to the fact that Europeaness is in the ESC frequently not a matter of “identity” construction in the strict sense of the word. Performing Europeaness is only rarely a matter of conveying the message that “we are Europeans”, and it is doubtful whether Europeaness can be associated with the (relative) stability and internal homogeneity that is normatively connected to identity discourses. What we see in the contest is that “Europe” is invariably in the making and driven by an orientation to a better future. This orientation has been a central aspect of the contest since its inception in the 1950s, when its main official goal was to help Europe overcome the nation-based terrors of the two world wars. It is, therefore, pertinent to conceptualise Europeaness, in

the ESC and beyond, as a process of Europeanisation (Borneman and Fowler 1997) rather than as a state of being European. Accordingly, the representational practices in the ESC that carry a European meaning potential are better characterised as expressions of a desire to belong to Europe, that is, nations seek to pass as European (see also Stychin 2014: 188). The need to pass affects all nations in the ESC, be they traditional EU members, recent joiners of the EU or non-EU participating countries (see also Jones and Subotic 2011). However, while the latter two groups produce such European constructions to assert themselves as belonging to the European cultural realm, the former need to maintain their status as “established” Europeans by means of their respective representational practices (and judging from the voting results, some of them regularly fail in this respect). This means that successful European passing is quite similar in its mechanisms to gender passing, as Europeanness is an achievement that needs to be worked on continuously to be and stay convincing.

9.2 De-Essentialisation

The shifting normativities outlined above are connected to the discursive mechanism of de-essentialisation, which involves a weakening of homogenising normative discourses that have traditionally shaped many modernist concepts, including identities, nations and languages. The context of popular music may bring with it a certain licence to explore these aspects in less traditional ways that may not be feasible with the same ease in other communication contexts. Still, what is remarkable about ESC performances, including those whose staging involves less traditional or non-normative aspects, is the fact that they are used in the contest for purposes of national representation, that is, they possess an official function that is in general less compatible with the breaking of traditional norms. However, in a context in which Europeanness predominates over national issues, the nation may be staged in ways that clash with traditional (national) discourses in order to appeal to European transnationalism. In other words, it is the breaking and de-essentialising of such discourses that carries European prestige, because it forms a way of indexing the backgrounding of the nation.

This indicates that, among the numerous types of de-essentialisation manifest in ESC performances, it is in particular the de-essentialisation of the nation that plays a central role for the construction of a European orientation. More specifically, this involves a gradual renouncing of the notions of intranational homogeneity and national authenticity, and their replacement with civic notions of intranational diversity and transnational crossing. On the linguistic level, this is powerfully expressed by non-national language choice practices, which can be interpreted in various ways that are in tune with purposes of Europeanisation, namely in terms of denationalisation, as a means of transnational communication and as an expression of the hybridity and openness of a particular national culture.

Another de-essentialising element is the fact that an increasing number of performances tone down the issue of national representation by dispensing with performance aspects that offer national meaning potential. At the same time, other identity facets and the politics of their representation may equally well use ESC performances as a platform, despite the fact that the official purpose of the performances is one of national representation. Less traditional gender and sexual identities as well as ethnic and transnational identities are among the most common ones that are drawn on in the service of national representation in the ESC. At the ESC 2015, for example, the Lithuanian performance (*Monika Linkytė & Vaidas Baumila*—“This time”) staged a heterosexual, a gay male and a lesbian kiss simultaneously, while LAT was represented by an artist (*Aminata*) whose parents are of Latvian–Russian and Burkinabe descent. Such representations are meant to show the respective nations in a particular light for the pan-European audience.

In its greater focus on diversity and hybridity in national representation, the ESC markedly contrasts with the essentialist treatment of national identities on the national and EU levels. The slogan “unity in diversity” may highlight intra-European heterogeneity, but the way diversity is conceptualised by the EU is not necessarily related to (intranational) hybridity. Diversity in the EU first and foremost refers to the acknowledgement of national differences. This highlighting of ethnically based rather than civic nationalism does not foster a conceptualisation of the member states or their citizens as hybrid or diverse. If Greeks are merely seen as different from the Irish or the Polish, this neither questions national homogeneity

nor does it provide a fruitful basis for cross-European communication or cooperation. The hybridity and diversity of national representation in the ESC has clear advantages for Europeanisation, because it enables Europeans to see themselves not exclusively in terms of national differences but also in terms of cross-national overlaps and similarities.

This reasoning was also made explicit, for example, during the presentation of the ESC 2000 in Stockholm. The video postcards that were shown between the individual entries made the point that one can find aspects of all other European nations in Swedish society. For instance, SWE was connected to MAC through the fact that a cinema in Stockholm played Macedonian films, AUT was related to SWE through tourists coming back with a suntan from their ski holidays in the Austrian Alps, the oranges people buy in SWE were shown to come from CYP, and so on. With the recent increase in intra-European migration, such cross-national reasoning has clearly gained additional plausibility.

De-essentialisation is in the ESC further achieved by the discursive negotiation that the construction of identities and affiliations typically involves. Such negotiation mechanisms have, for example, been described in the tactics of intersubjectivity framework (Bucholtz and Hall 2004), which distinguishes three dimensions: (1) adequation and distinction, that is, the contextual construction of (sufficient) similarity (by downplaying differences) versus social differentiation (by downplaying similarity); (2) authentication and denaturalisation, that is, the question whether users of certain linguistic features/codes are perceived as legitimate users or whether they subvert such normative ascriptions; (3) authorisation and illegitimation, that is, support, ignorance or hostility of institutionalised power structures in relation to identity-related practices.

These three dimensions are also negotiated on the ESC stage. Adequation, for example, is enacted when artists use English as a non-national lingua franca and thereby tone down differences between individual national cultures in the service of Europeanisation. On the other hand, using national languages and other indexes of national identity clearly serves purposes of social differentiation (distinction). Authentication plays a role where artists draw on representational practices that are traditionally perceived to be in accordance with their (official) identity, for example, representatives of a certain country using the country's national language

or female and male artists staging hegemonic femininities and masculinities, respectively. However, crossing practices (be they transnational or transgender) have also been shown to be common in the ESC and represent an important means of the denaturalisation of normative identity discourses in the service of Europeanisation. Finally, authorisation and illegitimation describe the impact of macro-social normativities on identity construction. For example, using English in a standard or native-like fashion orients to traditional linguistic yardsticks whose authority commonly leads to a dismissal of non-native and non-standard language use. Similarly, the relatively high frequency of heterosexual performances and the low frequency of sexually subversive performances are an outcome of heteronormativity as an authorising, dominant discourse that illegitimises alternative constructions of sexual desire. The predominance of sexually open scenarios in the latest phase of the contest can be interpreted as a compromise that results from negotiation between the influence of macro-social heteronormativity and the LGBT-friendliness of the ESC.

The shifting normativities of Europeanisation in the ESC generally follow a certain direction in all three dimensions, developing from more distinction to more adequation, from more authentication to more denaturalisation, and from authorised representational practices to representational practices that are traditionally considered illegitimate. Contemporary Europeanisation as it surfaces in the ESC, therefore, renders essentialist identity-related discourses less dominant and uses the renouncing of such normativities as a mechanism that can be exploited for the expression of European belonging. The four discursive mechanisms discussed in Sects. 9.3–9.6 (inclusion, camp, crossing and languaging) represent more specific forms of de-essentialisation in the service of Europeanisation.

9.3 Inclusion

Inclusion is a central discursive mechanism for the purposes of Europeanisation in the ESC. This is, for example, expressed by some of the official ESC mottos in recent years, which suggest an inviting, all-inclusive approach:

Share the moment (Oslo 2010)
We are one (Malmö 2013)
Join us (Copenhagen 2014)
Building bridges (Vienna 2015)
Come together (Stockholm 2016)

The fact that these mottos were all chosen by Western European host countries (NOR, SWE, DAN, AUT) suggests that inclusion in the contest is performed by members of the “old” Europe, while the “new” members of the Eurovision family are rather the objects of such inclusion. The mottos chosen by some of the Eastern European host countries (EST, LAT, UKR, SER, AZE) in the past, by contrast, exhibit a remarkable absence of explicitly inclusive messages:

A modern fairytale (Tallinn 2002)
Magical rendez-vous (Riga 2003)
Awakening (Kiev 2005)
Confluence of sound (Belgrade 2008)
Light your fire! (Baku 2012)

A similar point can be made about the motto *True fantasy* (Helsinki 2007). FIN was for a long time dually affiliated with Eastern and Western Europe (e.g. participating in the ESC and in the Intervision Song Contest) and is the country that had the longest wait for its ESC victory in 2006. Hence, there is a certain perception of the country being in need of inclusion (see also Pajala 2007a, c).

As can be seen in the mottos, the latter group of countries do not construct themselves as agents of inclusion. Rather, they draw on mythical imagery, describing the ESC as a *fairy tale*, as *magical*, as an act of *awakening* (supposedly from a long sleep), a *fantasy* coming true, or sparking a *fire*. The Serbian motto is the only one that stresses a sense of togetherness. However, this togetherness does not directly affect people but music (*sound*) and is described in rather passive terms, as a *confluence*, which contrasts markedly with the action-related verb phrases in the mottos of the Western European host countries (*share*, *join*, *build bridges*, *come*). Moreover, the Eastern European mottos partly contain messages

that highlight national aspects, while this is notably absent from the Western European mottos. For example, AZE is also popularly known as the “land of fire”, giving the slogan *Light your fire!* a double meaning. The *confluence* image was chosen by SER to point to the confluence of the rivers Sava and Danube in the host city Belgrade. UKR’s *awakening* clearly alludes to the political developments of the Orange Revolution in the country, and EST’s *modern fairytale* slogan was even part of an entire campaign of nation branding (see Jordan 2014).

It is obvious that the inclusiveness of the ESC goes far beyond that of the EU, granting participation to countries whose adherence to democratic values and human rights is questionable (e.g. AZE, BLR, RUS or SER). This discursive strategy contrasts with the national and EU levels, where identity construction is likely to draw on exclusionary and othering strategies in order to protect the nation or the EU from supposedly harmful “foreign” influences. On the other hand, the EU monopolising on the meaning of “Europe” and acting “like an exclusive club dictating the terms of accession to new members” (Risse 2004: 173) may also be seen as an ethically questionable practice, and this is probably why the EU has recently come up with more inclusive visions of Europe (see Krzyżanowski 2010: 91–92). Exclusion is invariably associated with threatening the positive face of those cultures that are not “part of the European club”, even though they are associated with the European cultural realm or orient to it. Such mechanisms are alien to the ESC, which can easily include countries that are not traditionally considered to be European (such as AZE, ISR or TUR), simply on the basis of their aiming to express their ties with Europe. Strategies of “othering”, which have been found to influence the discursive construction of such countries vis-à-vis Europe in other contexts (cf. Tekin 2010), are reduced to a minimum in the ESC. Where they occur, they tend to surface in the media coverage of the event (see e.g. Wiedlack and Neufeld 2015) rather than in the event itself. In fact the EBU works hard to curb othering practices in the contest. As a reaction to the booing that the Russian artists received from the hall audience at the ESC 2014 in Copenhagen, anti-booing sound technology was for the first time used for the broadcast of the ESC 2015 in Vienna in order to ensure a fair treatment of all national artists.

But apart from the inclusion of certain groups of nations, there are various other ways in which the ESC frames Europeanness in terms of inclusion. European pop music at large is dominated by young, slim, able-bodied, white and heterosexual artists. The pop music performances on the ESC stage, by contrast, have documented impressive variation in this respect for the last three decades. While representation was largely based on national homogeneity until the 1980s, racial and ethnic diversity has been regularly represented in the contest since the 1990s and enjoys growing popularity, thereby highlighting Europe, and specific European nations, as adhering to the principles of a civic, internally diverse society whose make-up is today substantially shaped by the effects of migration and cross-national mixing. Since *Dana International's* victory in 1998, the visibility of non-heterosexual and transgender performances (as well as non-heterosexual audience segments) has significantly increased and even become a hallmark of the contest (see also Motschenbacher 2012b, 2013b). Examples of these types of inclusion in ESC performances have been discussed at various points throughout this book. However, Eurovision inclusion may even go further than this, as can be illustrated with the 2015 contest in Vienna. Since the ESC was held, the regular pedestrian traffic lights of the city, which showed individual figures, have been replaced with alternative ones representing female–female or male–male couples, which are shown to hold hands or to be in love (by means of a heart symbol).

Linguistically, inclusion is achieved, for example, through the increasing construction of sexually open scenarios, which form an efficient means of avoiding heteronormative exclusion, or through the abolition of the national language rule, which opens up possibilities of subnational and transnational ethnic inclusion. Another inclusion-related aspect is the common use of non-national English, which ensures the widest possible cross-European reach and a simultaneous downtoning of the issue of national representation. The fact that many ESC performances are sung in non-native English also fosters an increasing sense of European second-language speakers as legitimate users of English whose creative language use is not automatically stigmatised or degraded. Belonging to Europe is in the ESC neither a matter of native-likeness nor of standard

conformity and therefore works independently of the exclusive mechanisms still prevalent, for example, in English language teaching.

Some other representational strongholds of pop music have also been challenged on the ESC stage, which results in a higher level of inclusivity. One such aspect is the recent visibility of older artists in the contest (e.g. *Bonnie Tyler*, 61, UK 2013; *75 Cent*, 75, CRO 2008; *Engelbert Humperdinck*, 76, UK 2012; *Emil Ramsauer*, 95, member of the group *Takasa*, SUI 2013; *Buranovskiye Babushki*, oldest member 76, RUS 2012). Recent contexts have also seen the inclusion of obese artists (*Chiara*, MAL 1998, 2005, 2009; *Axel Hirsoux*, BEL 2014; *Bojana Stamenov*, SER 2015) and of artists with disabilities (blind artists *Serafin Zubiri*, ESP 1992, ESP 2000, *George Nussbaumer*, AUT 1996, *Corinna May*, GER 2002; *Pertti Kurikan Nimipäivät*, a group of mentally handicapped artists, FIN 2015; *Monika Kuszyńska*, performing in a wheel chair, POL 2015). Some performances have made use of sign language in addition to sung language (*Walters & Kazha*—“The war is not over”, LAT 2005; *Evelina Sašenko*—“C'est ma vie”, LIT 2011; *Bojana Stamenov*—“Beauty never lies”, SER 2015), and the ESC 2015 was the first to be entirely translated into International Sign Language to reach the deaf viewership across Europe.

One may interpret these representational changes as a positive shift, as they challenge traditional homogenising discourses connected to the nation and national representation. However, what needs to be viewed critically is the fact that it seems the Europeanness of the context that makes such a national representation possible. One could argue that various social minorities or disadvantaged groups are today frequently placed on the ESC stage in order to represent nations in a certain way in front of the pan-European audience. Critical voices have highlighted the recent phenomenon of “homonationalism” or “pinkwashing” in the contest (Puar 2006; see also Gluhovic 2013: 196–197), that is, the use of sexual minorities to represent the nation as a particularly tolerant society and, in some cases, to divert public attention from (other) discriminatory practices on the national level. Such allegations have in the past been voiced, for example, with respect to the winning entries ISR 1998, SER 2007 and AUT 2014, which could all be said to have highlighted a certain contrast between the staging of tolerance towards LGBT identities and societal realities in the respective countries. For example, during the preparatory phase for

the ESC 2008 in Belgrade, a leaflet was distributed to the accredited fans and journalists, stating that any public expressions of same-sex desire are considered problematic in SER and should therefore be avoided. For ISR, more specifically, critics have pointed out that tolerance of sexual minorities is showcased to present the country as a socially progressive society in contrast to Islamic countries and to cover up Israeli discrimination against Palestinians (see Gluhovic 2013: 203). Similarly, AUT's and FRA's staging of ethnic minorities and/or minority languages was a discursive strategy to counter the international public perception caused by overtly right-wing or purist nationalist discourses in the respective countries (in AUT the Haider government, in FRA the so-called *Loi Toubon*), which enjoy little prestige on the European level (see Gura 2015, Sanders 2015).

Still, one is probably safe to assume that the representation of social minorities at the ESC has more beneficial than detrimental effects, especially in terms of public awareness raising, the deconstruction of normative discourses of national homogeneity and the increased positive public visibility of the social groups concerned. Such representational practices construct Europe as a highly inclusive space to which everybody has access, also those Europeans who are likely to face discrimination on the national level.

9.4 Camp

The next discursive mechanism that proved to be of relevance for contemporary Europeanisation in the ESC is camp. It is useful to dive into the theorisation of the term “camp” (see e.g. Cleto 1999, 2006; Meyer 1994; Robertson 1996; Sontag 1999 [1964]) in order to facilitate an understanding of its value for Europeanisation. Linguistic discussions of camp are so far restricted to an association of camp with gay male and (less frequently) lesbian identities (Baker 2005; Harvey 1998, 2000, 2002; Koller 2009; Morrish and Sauntson 2007: ch.6), although the possibility of heterosexual camp has also been recognised (Baker 2005: 245–246; Cameron & Kulick 2003: 102–103).¹ Other identity facets have so far not been addressed in linguistic work on camp.

¹These scholars name *James Bond*, *Mae West* and *Queen Elizabeth II* as examples of heterosexual camp.

Camp has been a central concept in queer studies and is described by Sullivan in the following way:

So how does one recognise camp when one sees it? Camp is most often associated with parody, exaggeration, theatricality, humour, and insofar as it foregrounds the performative character of gender, sexuality, race, class, and so on, it functions – at least potentially – to denaturalise, or queer, heteronormative notions of identity. (Sullivan 2003: 193)

This description highlights camp as a mechanism of denaturalisation that exposes identities as a matter of performance rather than of stable, pre-discursively fixed characteristics. The academic discussion of the concept was initiated by Sontag (1999 [1964]), who takes camp to be an alternative way of aesthetic judgement that does not aim at a characterisation in terms of beauty or artistic quality. The underlying yardstick is rather the artificiality degree of a certain performance, with highly artificial performances being positively evaluated (Sontag 1999 [1964]: 54). Concomitant with this is an emphasis on style (*how* something is said or done) to the detriment of content (*what* is said or done). The subversive edge of camp surfaces in the inversion of the hierarchy of copy and original, that is, favouring what is obviously copied or unoriginal, thereby exposing that human behaviour in general is a process of endless copying. In other words, camp highlights the performative character of social practices.

Camp is both a way in which people behave (active camp) and a way in which people perceive, or choose to decode, a performance (passive camp), and, as a consequence, manifests itself relationally between a performing and a receiving party, who are united as a camp-appreciating in-group (Koller 2009: 268). This differentiates “camp” from “kitsch”, a concept that possesses distinctly negative connotations and expresses a distanced, outsider perspective.

Sontag (1999 [1964]) introduces a distinction between naïve and deliberate camp and ascribes a higher status to the unintentionality of the former as opposed to the latter (intentional camping), that is, real camp does not mean to be humorous and an outright desire to be “campy” supposedly results in a corrupt form of camp. This distinction

is not unproblematic, as it necessitates knowledge of the performer's intentions. For naïve camp, the decoding party has the subversive power of reading the performance against the performer's intention (and often against hegemonic discourses). Deliberate camp, on the other hand, as a subversive strategy rather empowers the performer, who can thereby claim a position of emancipation from hegemonic discourses.

The ESC is notorious for its overtly camp performances, especially those that subvert sexual identity norms (with *Dana International*, *Marija Šerifović*, *Verka Serdutchka* and *Conchita Wurst* remaining the most popular examples that the contest has given rise to). These are also the entries that are highly celebrated by the media as well as by the gay male fan audiences of the contest and that tend to draw the attention of researchers (e.g. Lemish 2004; Raykoff 2007; Rehberg and Tuhkanen 2007; Vänskä 2007). However, quantitatively speaking, these illustrations of deliberate camp form the exception rather than the rule.

There is another dimension of camp that is ubiquitous in the ESC and has a stronger leaning towards the notion of naïve camp (if one assumes that the performing artists take their task of representing the nation seriously). This latter form of Eurovision camp is not restricted to reading strategies practiced in gay male fan communities or queer-minded academic circles and does not exclusively focus on the subversion of gender and sexual identities. It rather exposes national representation on the ESC stage as a constructive undertaking that is ultimately bound to fail.²

What is at stake are questions revolving around the national authenticity of ESC performances and the signification practices used in them. Authenticity is a highly problematised concept that has recently attracted the attention of numerous sociolinguists (see e.g. Bucholtz 2003; Coupland 2003, 2014; Gill 2011, 2012; Lacoste, Leimgruber and Breyer 2014; Schneider 2014; Wilce and Fenigsen 2015). In light of the insight that languages, language structures and linguistic practices evolve discursively

²This may be said about national representation via music in general. National anthems, for example, which epitomise national representation via music, exhibit a genre-internal homogeneity that contradicts national specificity (Bohlman 2004a: 63).

sively, through processes of performative re-citation, and that citationality and intertextuality are fundamental mechanisms for this formation process, the search for linguistic originals appears to be a futile undertaking and doubts as to whether there can be such a thing as authentic language use are well founded.

As noted by Bucholtz (2003: 400–401), authenticity claims are normative in the sense that they are associated with the exclusion of those who are considered to act in inauthentic ways and therefore fail to pass as representatives of a certain social category (e.g. non-native language users may fail to pass as “authentic” nationals; Gill 2012). At the same time, they foster the essentialisation of those who are included in the respective social category as authentic members (see also Bucholtz 2003; Leppänen et al. 2015). It is evident that these modernist characteristics of authenticity, together with its nostalgia for the traditional (cf. Bucholtz 2003), which in the context of the ESC would probably translate into a romanticised reverence for the primordial nation, make it a discursively mediated form of normativity that may be of little service to Europeanisation, which seeks to overcome such issues. For example, native language use has traditionally been perceived as authentic, while non-native usage has been viewed as inauthentic. However, authenticity judgements are in general made in relation to a particular aspect. Nativeness is indeed a powerful index of authenticity in relation to the nation and its national language, and passing as a native (cf. Piller 2002) may contribute to “national passing”. In relation to transnational European contexts, however, it could be argued that non-native language use is equally, if not even more authentic, since it is not motivated by national passing but by passing as transnational.

The explicitness of identities as a matter of stylised performance in the contest invites the audience to engage in critical reflection on the representational authenticity of the signification practices employed (see e.g. Ivković 2013 on the expression of folk linguistic attitudes on ESC performances on YouTube). For example, ESC performances provoke the following authenticity-related questions: Can a nation be authentically represented by pop music, one of the most globalised musical genres? Is it possible to represent the complexity of a nation in its entirety in a three-minute musical performance? Does a certain performance involve any

aspects that clearly count as authentically national and unique for a certain nation? Can performances in non-national and non-native English be taken as an authentic representation for non-Anglophone nations? And finally, can a national staging whose success depends on its positive evaluation by the non-national pan-European audience really be authentically national, or is it per se an inauthentic performance, subject to modifications that cater in the first place for European compatibility and maybe only secondarily for authentic national representation (if at all)?

These and similar questions may cause reservations concerning the normatively required authenticity of national identities or, put differently, they cause the performances in the ESC to be perceived as not authentic enough for the purpose of serious national representation. This gives the contest a parodistic, tongue-in-cheek flavour, which potentially denaturalises and disempowers the nation. Allatson (2007) describes this aspect as the “kitsch-drive to Euro-unity”, as it is the very inauthenticity of national representation in the ESC that fosters Europeanisation.

An aspect that strengthens the perception of failure in national representation is the institutionalisation of national shame and disappointment that is an unavoidable consequence of the contest (cf. Jordan 2014: 129–130; Pajala 2007c, 2013). Of the approximately 40 countries that participate, only one can win the trophy and a few more can be credited for achieving good results. This means that the majority of the national audiences are confronted with witnessing how their nation fails in the pan-European eye, which may have an effect of national disavowal that can, in turn, contribute to the strengthening of a transnational European orientation. Almost needless to say, the camp approach to national representation and the concomitant celebration of national inauthenticity clash markedly with the more serious, unquestioned treatment of the nation on the national and EU political levels.

9.5 Crossing

In sociolinguistics (see e.g. Auer 2006; Rampton 1998, 1999; Rampton and Charalambous 2012), crossing has been conceptualised as “the use of a language or variety that, in one way or another, feels anomalously

‘other’”, involving a “sense of movement across quite sharply felt social or ethnic boundaries” (Rampton 1999: 54). The key point in such code choices is that the audience does not take the crosser’s linguistic practices as a matter of serious projection of self-identity. This results in a destabilisation of traditional, essentialist identity ascriptions, through a local breaking of language-related macro-norms. Auer (2006: 490) distinguishes two types of linguistic crossing in terms of its social function: antagonistic crossing is used to reinforce social boundaries, while accommodating crossing makes social boundaries irrelevant or even establishes new ideological alliances. Context plays a decisive role for the function that crossing fulfils. In the ESC, it can safely be assumed that linguistic crossing is employed as an accommodating rather than antagonistic discursive strategy: it is used to convey a transnational message in the service of Europeanisation and to represent a nation in terms of its openness to a cross-national European exchange.

However, crossing is in the ESC a broader discursive mechanism that is not restricted to creative code choice practices. On the linguistic level, transnational lexical Europeanisation was also shown to play a role for the discursive construction of Europeanness in Eurovision lyrics. Similarly, artists representing a particular nation may officially be nationals of other (often European) countries, which may also be interpreted as a kind of national crossing. This circumstance may remain opaque to the audience but is sometimes decodable when artists perform in national languages with non-native accents or when such transnational representation is highlighted in the promotion of the entry (e.g. at ESC press conferences) and hence becomes publicly known through the media or TV commentators.

But crossing is not restricted to national crossing in the ESC. As discussed in the previous chapter, the crossing of boundaries between female and male, heterosexual and homosexual, national and non-national, original and copy is an essential ingredient of the contest’s camp aesthetics. Viewed from this perspective, the motto of the ESC 2015 in Vienna, *Building bridges*, captures a central pattern of ESC-related Europeanisation, as bridges are built to be “crossed”. The performative quoting of identities that obviously do not conform to the performer’s own identifications creates a reflexive awareness of these identities that helps question modernist or essentialist identity concepts in the service of Europeanisation.

There is certainly a playful element in the crossing practices found in ESC performances, and it may be said that the Europeanness as well as the popular culture dimension of the context facilitates an artistic play with identity-indexing (linguistic) resources that contributes to the denaturalisation of the categories indexed. In gender crossing performances, for example, drag acts exploit (partly linguistic) resources that are stereotypically associated with the construction of normative femininity or masculinity. Similarly, the crossing potential of non-national code choices in the ESC firmly builds on the notion of a “language” and its connection to another (European) nation. The crossing practices in ESC performances are in general not motivated by a desire to pass as a representative of the identity category that is normatively connected to the resources used (see Cameron 2001: 175). They instead allow artists to negotiate social relationships, to build symbolic (linguistic) bridges to other people and to index European belonging. Authenticity is irrelevant to such crossing practices, since how well somebody crosses is less important than the fact that crossing takes place.

The effect of crossing, namely the symbolic transgression of social boundaries, depends decisively on the entrenchedness of the categories that it challenges. For example, the use of non-national Italian in an ESC performance (illustrated by LAT 2007: *Bonaparti.lv*—“Questa notte”) is only perceived as an instance of national crossing because the Italian language is firmly connected to Italian national identity construction. This indicates that one major non-national code choice pattern in the ESC, namely the use of non-national English, cannot really be employed for crossing purposes, as its association with transnational communication is clearly stronger in this context than its traditional association with national (British, Irish, Maltese) identity construction. This has the effect that non-national users of English are today increasingly considered as legitimate users of the language, and their use of ELF can therefore be seen as a “serious” form of self-identity projection (in contrast to crossing, which involves code choices that are, from a traditional point of view, illegitimate and not seriously intended).

Nation-related crossing practices can be read as direct indexes of transnationalism and, therefore, can fruitfully be employed in the service of Europeanisation in the ESC. As they background the issue of national representation, they clash with the general prioritising of national issues

on the national and EU political levels. Still, crossing represents a precarious strategy, as it firmly rests on the notion of nations being distinct from each other, that is, on traditional national difference normativities that may be thought to support rather than challenge nationalism. At the same time, crossing is, to some extent, also an exclusionary practice, as it can only single out a certain number of “other” nations for transnational purposes, while the majority of European nations cannot be covered. Therefore, it is perhaps not surprising that national crossing practices appear to have become less frequent and have been notably absent in the most recent phase of the contest.³

9.6 Linguaging

The use of non-national and non-native English is an important strategy of denationalisation in the ESC (see also Motschenbacher 2013a on the role of ELF at ESC press conferences). Both non-national English and national linguistic crossing commonly form components of Eurovision artists’ (staged) linguistic repertoires and can be used for indexing a transnational European orientation—an effect that cannot be achieved by the exclusive use of national languages. In other words, it is the representation of the nation via polylingual or non-national linguistic resources that carries European prestige.

The notion of linguistic repertoire (see e.g. Androutsopoulos 2014; Blommaert and Backus 2012; Busch 2012) helps to conceptualise European multilingualism not in terms of a plurality of “languages”, as separate, countable, clearly delineable and nation-based entities. Rather, it draws on an alternative conceptualisation of linguistic diversity, treating the linguistic resources that a language user can draw on as a hybrid collective formation that contains material from different “languages”. As seen in the ESC, these linguistic resources can be mobilised for con-

³The only case of linguistic crossing in the four latest contests (2012–2015) is the performance MNT 2015 (*Knez*—“Adio”), which is sung in Montenegrin but uses a non-Montenegrin farewell formula as a title. It is unclear which specific type of national crossing is involved here. *Adio* could be an adapted spelling of the Italian word *addio* (Montenegrin does not usually allow for double consonantal spellings) or a Latinate spelling of the Greek form *αὔτιο* (both meaning “goodbye”).

veying messages that move beyond traditional identity-related normativities. Such practices have recently been described as “metrolingualism” (Otsuji and Pennycook 2011), or with the term “linguaging” (Jørgensen 2004, 2008; Møller and Jørgensen 2009; Thibault 2011), whose procedural, verbal character contrasts with the stative meaning of the term “language”. “Languages” are macro-normative abstractions from concrete linguistic performances, which may substantially flout such normativities on the local level. Linguaging practices such as linguistic crossing or the non-native use of English as a denationalised medium in transnational encounters clash with the normative discursive regimes that have traditionally shaped the relationship between language and nation and, consequently, discussions of European multilingualism, language policies and language education (see also Makoni and Pennycook 2007; Otsuji and Pennycook 2011).

The abolition of the national language rule in the ESC in 1999 constitutes a shift from such prescriptive types of linguistic normativity to a more descriptive normativity: the pressures of the official language regulations of the EBU have been replaced by (merely) quantitative pressures, that is, the use of particular languages and code choice strategies has become particularly common in the contest and hence exerts a normative influence. Furthermore, the rule change has caused less traditional and less normative forms of linguistic diversity to surface in the contest. While the national language rule ensured multilingualism in the sense of pluralising national monolingualism, granting artists the freedom of choice has led to more manifestations of linguistic diversity within rather than across performances. For example, the hybridity of the use of English in the contest results from a combination of communicative practices of which some are in accordance with traditional native standards, some are non-standard and potentially shaped by artists’ L1 backgrounds, and some are non-English (code switching). Such hybrid linguistic practices are a matter of language contact and challenge discourses of national linguistic purity and authenticity. At the same time, these practices index not just languages in contact, but by extension also cross-national communicative contact between speakers of different languages, which in turn carries transnational European meaning potential. These resources are not automatically available to native and national users of English,

whose language use is normally less hybrid, less accommodating and, as a consequence, less inclusive (for empirical evidence, see Peckham et al. 2012: 194).

There is also evidence that these forms of linguistic hybridity are valued and perceived as compatible with the Europeanness of the context. Non-national and non-native uses of English dominate on the ESC stage today. This dominance is quantitative as well as qualitative, with non-native/non-national English accounting for the highest number of performances and native/national English performances being less successful in the contest than in earlier times. It is interesting to see that the decrease in success of the native/national English performances largely coincides with the abolishment of the national language rule in the contest. This shows that it is the weakening of national structures that provides a platform for a more self-confident treatment of ELF as a medium of European identity construction. In any case, the “Englishing” practices surfacing in the ESC yield no evidence of English acting as a “lingua bellica of wars between states”, as Phillipson (2008: 250), an opponent to the spread of English in Europe, claims. They rather form an important strategy of linguistically diminishing (rather than reinforcing) the issue of national representation. ELF thus represents the epitome of hybrid language use in postmodern Europe (see Graddol 2006; James 2005, Motschenbacher 2016). The languaging processes of ELF (Ferguson 2009: 129; Seidlhofer 2009: 242) have become a central component in the imagining of Europe and in processes of Europeanisation.

9.7 Looking Ahead

Europeanisation as documented in the discursive practices at the ESC contrasts markedly with identity construction in other, more explicitly political European contexts. It may be said to present only a partial, idealised and naively harmonious view of Europe, staying largely (though not completely) silent on more controversial issues or intra-European conflicts. However, it is exactly this orientation to a utopian vision of what Europe could look like that continues to be a driving force for Europeanisation and a motivator for Europe as a discursive formation that is invariably in flux and requires continued identity work.

At the moment of writing, the clash between the Europe constructed at the ESC and social realities appears to be more noticeable than ever before. The conflict between RUS and UKR has, to some extent, resurrected former Cold War attitudes, even though the boundaries between the conflicting parties have significantly shifted to the east. Former Soviet republics and Warsaw Pact member states such as EST, GEO, LAT, LIT, MOL or POL express their anxieties concerning Russian territorial claims after the annexation of the Crimean Peninsula, turning to NATO for support. EU accession negotiations with BLR and TUR have slowed or even halted. The conflict between ARM and TUR revolving around the acknowledgement of the genocide of Armenians at the time of World War I has recently flamed up; tensions between ARM and AZE stay largely unresolved. Still all of these countries continue to co-participate in the ESC,⁴ their populations often even exchanging points.

Europe (in particular CYP, ESP, GRE, IRL and POR) has suffered immensely from the Euro crisis, and the Grexit debates have stretched cross-European solidarity to the breaking point (see Wodak et al. 2013). This development has been further exacerbated by the challenges that Europe faces in the light of recent large-scale migration from the Balkans (ALB, Kosovo, MNT, SER) into the EU and from Africa and the Middle East to Europe. The (initial) refusal of several EU countries to accept refugees (a measurement that, long term, could actually facilitate Europeanisation; Habermas 2008: 93) has resulted in a picture of the EU as a union in which national interests predominate and cross-national European solidarity appears to be a sham. This is epitomised by the Euro-sceptic role of the UK, as Prime Minister David Cameron recently toured EU countries in an effort to negotiate special privileges for his country within the EU. Nationalist movements on European soil have also been gaining ground, as becomes evident in recent national independence efforts (Kosovo vs. SER, Flemish and Walloon populations in BEL, Scottish nationalism in the UK, Catalan nationalism in ESP) as well as the strengthening of fascist, right-wing populism (see Wodak and Angouri 2014).

⁴BOS, BUL, CRO and UKR have announced their return to the contest in 2016 after short periods of absence.

Even though a pop music competition cannot be compared to political contexts or taken as a role model for European politics, there is some legitimacy in the question as to why European co-existence and solidarity in the ESC have been remarkably undisturbed in the face of the trials and tribulations that have recently ridden the continent. A central reason for this may be the fact that the ESC epitomises a bottom-up approach to Europeanisation, which is made possible through the appeal that popular music has for the masses due to its “rejection of bourgeoisie intellectual culture” (Machin 2010: 27) and through the voting procedure that gives the pan-European audience a way to contribute to the formation of Europe. This impression is supported by the high level of inclusivity of the contest, in terms of the participating nations, the staged identities and, not the least, the audience segments watching the show. In this respect, the ESC differs markedly from the EU, which is often described as an elitist project that dictates from above what Europeanness means and, therefore, lacks support in large parts of the European population (see Habermas 2008).

Another aspect in which EU and ESC differ quite drastically is in their handling of national identities. Both institutions take nationality as a prerequisite for participation, be it on the level of representatives or on the level of public voting. However, as the EU enforces national structures like no other international organisation (e.g. in terms of its official language policy), it is, paradoxically, also likely to foster international conflicts. While national issues regularly compromise European concerns in EU politics and, as a consequence, render political agency highly complex or impossible, the representational practices in the ESC exemplify a more casual, less serious and at times even outright dismissive treatment of national identity (as camp, inauthentic, de-essentialised) in the interest of Europeanisation. This backgrounding of the importance of national issues is possible in the ESC because, as Pajala (2013: 78) notes, it is *de facto* not a competition between national governments but between broadcasting corporations, which may operate in a certain country but in most cases are relatively independent of the national governments.

Eurovision Europe is clearly not a “post-national” society (Habermas 2001; Heller 2011). Even though the nation can be described as a weakened concept in the contest, participation is still framed in national terms, and the host countries regularly use the contest for nation branding (see

Jordan 2014). What we witness in contemporary Europe is not an independent process of Europeanisation but rather multiple developments that can be described as Europeanisation processes of individual nations (and of other identity affiliations with which Europeanness may intersect):

It is true that we do not observe the emergence of a uniform and shared European identity above and beyond the various national identities. Rather, the available data show the Europeanization of collective local, national, gender, and other identities. Europe and the EU are integrated in people's sense of belonging. Empirical analyses document that more than 50 percent of European citizens hold such Europeanized national identities, if only as a secondary identity. (Risse 2010: 5)

Moreover, the discursive mechanisms of de-essentialisation, inclusion, camp, crossing and languaging may not only challenge nation-based normativities, but are at the same time based on the concept of the nation. It is, therefore, simply wrong to claim that nations do not play any role in contemporary Europe—they clearly do. However, what is equally evident is the fact that national structures are becoming weaker in the ESC, which opens up a conceptual space for transnational Europeanisation.

A similar point can be made about sexual identity construction in the ESC. The contest so far does not constitute a post-heteronormative context, as heteronormative and non-heteronormative constructions co-occur, often even within a single performance. Still it is important to note that the ESC represents a context that is considerably advanced in the development towards such a configuration compared to other public contexts.

While the use of non-national English and the construction of sexually open scenarios in the contest are today perceived as unmarked, this was different in the early decades, when national language use and explicitly heterosexual scenarios normatively dominated the (European) scene. As the ESC presents alternative “Euro-visions” to a wide pan-European audience, its role as a motor for social change in contemporary Europe should therefore not be underestimated.

The sexuality-related development is especially remarkable, as it stretches from the traditional construction of same-sex desires as “the nation's other – an alien within” (Stychin 2014: 175) to recent practices

of indexing European values through a non-heteronormative representation of the nation. This latter aspect is today commonly associated with the stigmatisation of certain nations in the eastern part of the Eurovision territory, which are generally constructed as not (yet) European enough due to their hostile politics towards non-heterosexual desires and identities (cf. Baker 2015b: 84). For example, the reception of *Conchita Wurst's* victory surfaced in a re-polarising media coverage of the contest, which equalled sexual tolerance with the “old”, western part of Europe, while the non-acceptance of non-heterosexual identities was constructed to be a matter of the eastern part of the continent and especially of RUS (see Gluhovic 2013). Such claims become doubtful, however, if one compares the voting behaviour of Eastern and Western European televoters (as opposed to national juries), which shows no significant differences, for example, in the cases of the non-heteronormative winning entries by *Marija Šerifović* (SER 2008) and *Conchita Wurst* (AUT 2014) (see Ulbricht et al. 2015).

The public image of the ESC spreading democratic values to certain European countries that are deemed to show democratic deficits is probably overstated. Such images commonly surfaced in Western European media when they reported on the ESC being organised by SER (2008), RUS (2009) or AZE (2011) (cf. Gluhovic 2013: 200). Still, it is interesting to note that such developments are not without precedence, even though they were certainly not caused by the ESC alone. For example, countries like ESP, GRE, POR, UKR and, formerly, YUG participated in the ESC before they became more democratic societies. It is, therefore, at least plausible that such developments may also take place in other countries and that the ESC may contribute to the acceleration of such processes. This was most explicitly expressed when, during her voting announcement at the ESC 2012 in Baku, German spokesperson *Anke Engelke* said: “Tonight nobody could vote for their own country. But it is good to be able to vote. And it is good to have a choice. Good luck on your journey Azerbaijan. Europe is watching you.” This suggests that the ESC indeed has the capacity to act as a normative institution, even though the normative force of its inclusive approach is clearly lower than that of the EU’s excluding approach. Still, it should be noted that such an

inclusive approach may be a pertinent means of more directly confronting non- or less democratic European societies with democratic values.

In any case, normativity, and especially the negotiation between macro-level normative discourses and the various normativities (and non-normativities) enacted in concrete performances, constitutes a central element shaping Europeanisation in the ESC. Representational practices are used to signal a desire to belong to Europe, or to pass as European, often through a challenging of dominant, essentialist identity discourses that tend to be firmly installed on the national level. Over time, this leads to normative shifts in the service of Europeanisation that depart from traditional, nation-related normativities. A simplified formula that captures the essence of the recent discursive formation of Europeanness in the ESC would therefore be “Represent your nation, but do not represent it *as* a nation”.

9.8 Epilogue: The ESC 2016 and Recent Developments

The production of this book coincided with the staging of the ESC 2016 in Stockholm. This epilogue is meant to briefly discuss the event in relation to the analyses carried out in this book. Many of the discursive trends elaborated on in the previous chapters can also be verified in the 2016 contest, which is evidence for their continued significance for Europeanisation. Still, as every year, new developments were also part of the show. The following aspects were particularly noteworthy.

Probably the most salient feature of the ESC 2016 was its political dimension, which surfaced in the polarisation of RUS and UKR in the media coverage of the event. Whereas UKR did not participate in the ESC in 2015 due to the armed conflicts taking place on its territory, it returned to the contest in 2016 with a song that can be read as anti-Russian. *Jamala's* entry “1944” took a critical view on the deportation of the Crimean Tartars under Stalin during World War II and was performed in English and Crimean Tartar. As RUS was the bookmakers' clear favourite in the weeks before the contest, voting for UKR was perceived by many viewers as voting against RUS. In the end, RUS's *Sergey Lazarev* finished

third (winning the public televoting but ranking only fifth in the jury voting), while UKR won the contest coming second in both jury and televoting.

Apart from the conflict between RUS and UKR, a central issue that has recently challenged Europe's unity was the refugee crisis, which caused some European countries, especially those along the Balkan route, to restrict the influx of refugees or even close their borders. In terms of the voting outcome, it is evident that none of the countries that were centrally involved in this procedure scored well, with AUT ranking 13th (maybe because it had accepted a high number of refugees before switching to a more restrictive policy), SER 18th, HUN 19th, CRO 23rd and BOS, GRE, MAC and SLO not qualified for the final. At least for GRE and BOS, this is highly remarkable, as both countries entered the contest with performances that contained aspects that could easily be read as refugee-related (the Greek song described the search for a "Utopian land" and was partly sung in Pontic Greek, while the Bosnian performance showed the lead artists divided by barbed wire on stage) and had previously never failed to qualify. That (apart from *Jamala's* entry) such performances with more serious political messages were eliminated in the semi-finals and that no sexually subversive performance was seen at the contest this year could be viewed critically and may indicate that such representational practices may have reached a saturation point. Instead, artists experimented with more trivial ways of drawing attention such as faking a twisted ankle and falling on stage (ESP) or interrupting the performance with ten seconds of silence (NED).

In terms of language choice, the 2016 contest confirmed the patterns and developments identified in this book. Non-native and non-national English continues to be on the rise, with the majority of the countries (30) using it exclusively and some (BUL, FRA, GRE, ITA) in combination with a national language. That this trend is gaining momentum is demonstrated by the fact that some countries that traditionally showed a preference for national language use performed (partly) in English this year (i.e. ALB, CRO, ESP, FRA, ITA, MNT, SER). The victory of UKR is remarkable in the sense that it is the first time that an entry partly sung in a regional minority language (Crimean Tartar) won the competition. Language crossing became evident in AUT's French-language entry.

Apart from the Anglophone countries, only BOS and MAC performed entirely in their national languages – and failed to qualify for the final.

Among the native English nations, IRL did not qualify for the final and the UK came in 24th in the final. MAL, whose use of English can be described as national and non-native, ranked 12th. In the light of the low success of performances in native and national English, the immense success of AUS (5th in 2015 and 2nd in 2016) calls for an explanation. The evidence suggests that, for AUS, the use of national English is interpreted less as an index of nationalism. A potential reason for this may be that AUS is de facto not a European nation, which means that its participation in the contest can in itself be understood in terms of (continental) crossing. Also, while *Guy Sebastian's* and *Dami Im's* performances at the ESC 2015 and 2016 were in national English, they may not be perceived as native English performances by European viewers, as the artists originally come from Malaysia and Korea respectively. In fact, AUS so far has refrained from being represented in the contest by white Caucasian artists (Australian spokesperson Lee Lin Chin, who announced AUS's points in both years, was born in Indonesia to Chinese parents and grew up in Singapore). The other direction of continental crossing, by contrast, was much less well received: *Jamie-Lee's* Manga-inspired performance on behalf of GER ranked last with only 11 points in total, which suggests that crossing to Europe is perceived as more compatible with Europeaness than crossing from Europe to other cultures (in this case Japan). However, the reaching out to non-European cultures constituted a salient aspect of the ESC 2016 also beyond performances, as the presenters of the show repeatedly pointed out that the contest was also broadcast in China and, for the first time, in the US, and US super star *Justin Timberlake* performed the interval act during the final.

Another new aspect at the ESC 2016 was the change of the voting announcement procedure, as for the first time the points attributed by televoters and juries were presented separately. The national jury votes were announced individually by national spokespersons, while the national televoting results were added up and announced collectively in the end. This had several effects that may be thought to be beneficial for Europeanisation purposes. Firstly, potential voting blocs among the televoters were concealed so that individual countries could not be accused

of bloc voting as in the past. Secondly, that the televoting results were handled collectively resulted in a unifying perspective on the televoting as the voice of the European people (rather than the voices of several national audiences). Thirdly, the separate publication of the voting results of the individual national juries highlighted not just a plurality of views across nations but also within nations (between jury and televoters), which can be said to increase the visibility of heterogeneity.

Besides these innovative aspects, the show offered quite conspicuous instances of Eurovision continuity and intertextuality. Apart from the common patterns of conceptual intertextuality in the song titles, the most obvious such aspects are the fact that seven former ESC performers returned to the contest in 2016 (*Greta Salóme*, *Deen*, *Ira Losco*, *Kaliopi*, *Donny Montell*, *Poli Genova* and *Bojan Jovović*, member of the group *Highway* and formerly of the boy band *No Name*), the prevalence of song titles under which other ESC songs had competed in the past (“Soldiers of love”: BEL 1987; “You are the only one”: CRO 2004; “Goodbye”: BOS 1997; “Fairytale”: NOR 2009), and an interval act that satirised many prominent former ESC performances (including those by *Verka Serdutchka*, *Charlotte Nilsson*, *Lordi* and *Buranovskiye Babushki*).

It was a short time after the contest in Stockholm that Europe was shaken by various incidents whose consequences for Europeanisation can at the moment not be fully grasped: (1) the Brexit vote, which revealed an unprecedented degree of Euro-scepticism in certain parts of the British population and initiated the UK’s secession from the EU, (2) continued terrorist attacks on European soil (after Paris and Brussels in 2015, the summer 2016 saw further attacks in places like Nice, Würzburg, Ansbach and Saint Etienne du Rouvray), and (3) the failed military coup in TUR, which President Erdoğan used to justify substantial personal “cleansing” actions, thus endangering the chances of the country to move further towards Europe and to finally join the EU. Two of these aspects were partly foreshadowed in the ESC, as the contest in recent years documented an increasing marginalisation of the UK (and native Anglophone cultures in general) within Europe and TUR had not participated in the contest since 2012.

It remains to be seen how the representational practices in the ESC change in response to all of these developments. As trivial as the contest may appear to be in large parts of the public eye, it epitomises bottom-up Europeanisation processes as hardly any other context and thus may

direct our attention to issues that may be needed to complement the EU's top-down Europeanisation efforts, whose success seems questionable in the light of the recent historical developments. But failures may in the end also turn out to offer new opportunities, for example for EU language policy. When the UK leaves the EU and the EU decides to keep English as a working language, English will be the only language that has not been nominated by any of the member states (IRL has nominated Irish and MAL Maltese) and thus stands greater chances to develop into a non-national medium of communication that can be exploited in transnational European communication.

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Index¹

A

- accent, 144, 159, 241, 350
- accommodation, 39, 44–6,
119, 142, 173,
350, 354
- address, 33, 41, 42, 99, 121, 157,
162, 170, 173, 175, 177,
178, 183–5, 191, 194,
204–8, 218–20, 238–9,
240, 259, 261, 262,
265, 267, 273–5, 280,
283, 286, 288, 290,
292, 301, 304n8, 312,
314, 327, 346
- adjective, 9, 67, 159, 166, 168, 173,
268, 287
- Africa, 8, 30, 68, 70, 75, 248, 257,
338
- agency, 63, 68, 95, 325, 326, 341,
356
- Albania, 1, 5n3, 23n12, 45, 55, 210,
221, 222, 355, 360
- Albanian, 83, 88, 121, 215
- Andorra, 16n7, 36, 37, 119, 134,
135, 210, 220, 222
- Arabic, 26n14, 139, 162
- Arab Muslim societies, 26, 28,
28n15, 46, 248, 257, 280,
342, 349, 357
- Armenia, 1, 16, 20, 23n12, 25, 37,
41, 72, 168, 177, 211, 221,
222, 355
- Armenian, 83, 121, 134, 135, 212,
215
- Asia, 8, 16, 75, 80, 361
- Australia, 16, 134, 248, 361

¹Note: Page numbers with “n” denote notes.

- Austria, 8, 15, 19, 21, 23,
25, 32–4, 73, 76–8, 140,
161, 163, 166, 168, 169,
178, 181, 184, 193, 198,
199, 208, 210, 221, 222,
234–6, 253, 260, 261, 281,
287n2, 294, 295, 297n4,
316, 339, 341,
344, 345, 358, 360
- authenticity, 95, 99, 156, 185, 250,
260, 275, 335, 338–40,
347–9, 356
- Azerbaijan, 1, 16, 20, 23n12, 26,
37, 41, 72, 121, 128, 134,
135, 221, 222, 341,
342, 355, 358
- Azerbaijani, 139, 162
- B**
- Basque, 72, 83, 88
- Belarus, 1, 15, 16n7, 23n12, 72,
121, 134, 135, 177, 200,
210, 221, 222, 290, 312,
342, 355
- Belarusian, 76, 133
- Belgium, 15, 19, 21, 23, 28n15, 34,
72, 75n8, 76, 85, 118, 122,
124, 125, 127, 134, 135,
137, 162, 177, 184, 196,
198, 210, 220, 222,
224n19, 253, 267, 291,
294, 313, 344, 355, 362
- belonging, 4, 56, 337, 340, 343,
351, 357, 359
- bilingualism, 157, 159, 255
- binarism, 55, 59, 65, 66, 68, 69
- bisexuality, 56, 70
- Bosnia-Herzegovina, 20, 22, 23n12,
26, 35, 41, 72, 134, 170,
176, 182, 210, 217n14, 220,
222, 251, 262, 290, 360–2
- Bosnian, 76, 88, 121, 170, 176, 182,
212, 214, 251
- Breton, 87, 124, 140, 294
- British National Corpus (BNC),
301–3
- Bulgaria, 23, 139, 148, 161, 162,
195, 205, 210, 221, 222,
264, 289, 290, 297, 360
- Bulgarian, 76n9, 83, 88, 162, 204,
214
- C**
- camp, 33, 207, 241, 241n23, 269, 333,
340, 345–50, 356, 357
- Catalan, 72, 84, 88, 121, 214, 355
- choreography, 14, 20, 41, 95, 139,
158, 159, 162, 179, 194,
218–20, 238, 248, 249,
251, 254, 255, 259–64,
266, 267–70, 272, 274,
275, 281, 290
- Christianity, 3, 8, 9, 16, 192
- code switching, 10, 96, 122, 124–7,
128, 136–9, 141, 143, 149,
154, 156–85, 189, 201,
210, 216, 217, 254, 353
- cognition, 58, 93
- collocation, 235, 313, 314
- community of practice, 65, 69
- compliment, 230, 231
- conflict, 20, 25, 26, 29, 46, 52, 72,
78, 84, 119, 154–6, 292,
327, 354–6, 359

- corpus linguistics, 10, 70, 97, 98, 99,
 161, 169, 174, 175, 190,
 192n1, 193, 204, 208, 248,
 283, 298–326, 328
- Corsican, 125, 140
- costumes, 30–3, 44, 95, 159,
 229–30, 237, 239, 241,
 248–52, 256, 258–63, 265,
 266, 268–70, 272,
 274, 281
- Crimean Tartar, 359, 360
- crisis, 2, 8, 28, 92, 194, 249, 328,
 355, 356, 360
- critical discourse studies, 10,
 51–100, 279, 298
- Croatia, 21–3, 35, 72, 122, 133,
 134, 148, 211, 217n14,
 221, 222, 249, 262, 269,
 289, 344, 360, 362
- Croatian, 36n20, 88, 203, 212, 214
- crossing, 143, 156, 185, 241, 250,
 253, 254, 257, 270, 290,
 291, 333–5, 338, 340,
 349–53, 357, 360, 361
- Cyprus, 20, 21, 29, 34, 75n8, 122,
 137, 164, 177, 210, 221,
 222, 235, 262, 281, 289,
 339, 355
- Czech, 75, 76, 88, 140, 214
- Czech Republic, 23, 31, 36, 37, 60, 61,
 86, 140, 193, 211, 221, 222
- D**
- Danish, 75, 87, 88, 133, 182, 203, 215
- deconstruction, 203, 241, 255, 335, 345
- de-essentialisation, 10, 78, 149, 153,
 154, 185, 275, 333, 337–9,
 356, 357
- democracy, 1, 3, 18, 72, 81, 86, 342,
 358, 359
- denaturalisation, 339, 340, 346, 349
- Denmark, 60, 85, 133–5, 182, 207,
 210, 220, 222, 239, 281,
 294, 295, 316, 341
- desire, 32, 56, 61, 64, 65, 67, 70, 71,
 161, 170, 173, 175, 183–5,
 193, 203–6, 208, 214,
 218–20, 227, 232, 235,
 237, 239, 242, 249,
 259–62, 264–9, 272–4,
 285–7, 289, 304, 313, 324,
 336, 337, 340, 345, 346,
 351, 357–9
- dialect, 73, 75, 76, 78, 88n18, 140,
 198, 258
- diaspora, 25, 38
- disambiguation, 68, 206, 207, 209,
 210, 212, 261, 262, 265–8,
 272–5
- discourse analysis, 2–6, 8–10, 25,
 32, 33, 39, 40, 42, 51–7,
 60–77, 79, 89–93, 96–100,
 118, 143, 148, 150, 154,
 157, 171, 172, 174, 184,
 190, 197, 201, 208, 210,
 215, 217, 220, 227, 230,
 232, 239, 242, 247, 255,
 264, 266, 274, 275,
 279–81, 283, 286, 289,
 291, 292, 298–303, 305,
 321, 326–8, 333–7, 339,
 340, 342, 344, 345, 348,
 350, 353, 354, 357, 359
- discrimination, 26, 68, 71, 195,
 344, 345
- disguise, 231, 234, 235,
 238, 242

- diversity, 4, 7, 14, 31, 33, 46, 51, 52, 55, 56, 74, 75, 77, 84, 85, 89, 141, 153, 154, 335, 338, 343, 352, 353
- drag acts, 9, 22, 32, 207, 239, 241, 248, 249, 261, 264, 351
- Dutch, 76, 83, 88, 125, 164, 168, 176, 178, 184, 203, 215, 294
- E**
- Eastern Europe, 1, 16, 21, 35, 39, 41, 86, 119, 177, 194, 195, 201, 240, 263, 341, 358
- English, 5, 7, 10, 25, 26n14, 29–32, 38, 45, 74, 76, 81, 83, 85–9, 98, 99, 117–20, 124, 125, 127, 128, 134–49, 156, 158, 161–90, 195, 197, 203, 212, 214, 215, 217–21, 226, 229, 236, 239–42, 250, 251, 254, 255, 259–61, 267, 270, 280, 281, 283, 290, 292–5, 298, 299, 302, 315, 322, 325–7, 335, 339, 343, 349, 351–3, 357, 359–61, 363
- English as a lingua franca, 83, 85, 88, 89, 118, 142–4, 156, 229, 242, 335, 339, 351, 352, 354
- essentialism, 5, 8, 31, 52, 67, 79, 96, 127, 143, 154, 291, 338, 340, 350, 359
- Estonia, 6, 16, 21, 31, 72, 139, 140, 161, 210, 221, 222, 235, 250, 257, 294, 295, 341, 342, 355
- Estonian, 88, 140, 215, 294
- ethnicity, 31, 44, 46, 51, 71, 72, 74, 77, 79, 80, 84, 87, 90, 141–2, 158, 199, 248, 249, 255, 256, 258–61, 263, 264, 336, 338, 343, 345, 350
- ethnography, 65, 97
- Eurobarometer surveys, 80, 84–7
- Eurolinguistics, 82
- European Broadcasting Union (EBU), 13–15, 17, 19, 21, 22, 25–7, 29n16, 40, 118, 127, 228, 248, 342, 353
- Europeanisation, 2–4, 8–10, 14, 39, 42, 44, 64, 78, 79, 91–3, 96, 97, 100, 137–39, 148, 149, 156, 174, 185, 210, 224, 248, 257, 275, 279, 280, 286, 292, 315, 327, 333, 334, 336–40, 345, 348–51, 354–7, 359, 361–3
- Europeanness, 1–5, 8–10, 14, 26, 31, 34–46, 52, 56, 64, 71, 76n9, 79–93, 96, 97, 100, 117, 119, 122, 133, 134, 136, 143, 144, 149, 150, 156, 160, 163, 174, 180, 185, 189–242, 247, 250–8, 263, 274, 275, 280, 283, 286, 292, 298n5, 299, 326, 333–8, 343, 344, 349, 351, 352, 354, 356–9
- European Union (EU), 1–3, 5, 7, 10, 14, 23, 24, 26, 36–8, 52, 77, 79–82, 84–8, 90–3,

- 118, 121, 135, 193–5,
200, 222, 223, 249, 250,
257, 296, 297, 334, 337,
338, 342, 349, 352, 355,
356, 362, 363
- Euro-references, 40–6, 190–3,
195, 196
- Euro-scepticism, 2, 41, 252,
355, 362
- exclamation, 175, 177, 178, 184
- exclusion, 3, 21, 42, 46, 53, 58, 70,
90, 121, 137, 174, 250, 257,
274, 335, 342–4, 348, 352
- F**
- facework theory, 58, 141–3,
342
- fan communities, 31, 33, 46,
97, 149, 203, 209, 229,
232, 235, 252, 263, 322,
345, 347
- feminism, 32, 280
- Finland, 16, 21, 33–35, 37, 41,
44, 75n8, 92, 122, 127,
139, 140, 148, 166, 168,
183, 193, 210, 220, 222,
235, 248–50, 253, 257–9,
261, 263, 280, 281, 290,
292, 341, 344
- Finnish, 88, 139, 140, 164, 166,
168, 176, 183, 203, 215,
250, 254, 258, 280
- France, 15, 17, 19, 23, 29, 30, 40,
61, 73, 75, 85, 87, 91, 92,
118, 119, 124, 125, 127,
133, 134, 135, 139, 140,
149, 171, 193, 196, 200,
211, 216, 217, 220, 222,
234, 239, 248, 251, 253,
280, 287, 291, 292, 294,
295, 345, 360
- French, 25, 45, 83, 85–8, 118–21,
125, 127, 137–41, 149,
158, 161–6, 168, 171–3,
176–82, 184, 185, 196,
197, 203, 208, 212, 214,
220, 229, 239, 241, 251,
267, 287n2, 294, 360
- G**
- Galician, 88
- gay male identities, 33, 53, 56, 65–7,
70, 71, 171, 207, 229–34,
236, 238–41, 248, 252, 258,
263, 282, 338, 345, 347
- gender, 3, 9, 24, 29–33, 46, 51, 53,
55–7, 60, 65, 67–71, 98,
99, 140, 164, 170–3, 179,
182, 185, 194, 199,
202–10, 218–20, 231–4,
237–41, 249, 250, 252,
253, 255, 257–9, 261–6,
268–70, 272–5, 280–3,
286–9, 291, 305, 314,
322–7, 335–8, 340, 343,
345–7, 350, 351, 357
- gender crossing, 32, 207, 234,
239, 264, 351
- gender neutrality, 58, 84, 85, 173,
203, 205, 206, 208, 209,
218, 265, 266, 289, 315
- generic reference, 208, 239, 270, 273

- genre, 29, 30, 67, 94, 99, 158, 164, 165, 170, 178, 199, 250, 255, 259, 262, 263, 270, 279, 281, 283, 285, 287, 290, 301, 302, 343, 348
- geography, 3, 16, 37, 42, 73, 79, 80, 135, 192, 193, 221, 283n1, 291, 297, 312
- Georgia, 1, 16, 20, 22, 23n12, 37, 41, 72, 134, 135, 210, 221, 222, 235, 292, 355
- Georgian, 83
- German, 5, 9, 13n3, 21, 25, 30, 34, 44, 76–8, 83, 85, 85–8, 91, 92, 97, 125, 127, 138–41, 158, 163–70, 176, 177, 178, 180–4, 193, 198, 199, 202, 215, 250, 251, 254–6, 260, 291, 294, 299, 358
- Germanic languages, 75, 135, 172
- Germany, 5, 13n3, 15, 17, 21, 23, 30, 31, 33, 34, 77, 85, 87, 88, 91, 92, 97, 124, 127, 134, 135, 138–41, 158, 161, 163–5, 166–9, 177, 178, 180, 182–4, 193, 198, 211, 217, 221, 222, 234, 240, 248, 253–7, 260, 291, 299, 300, 344, 361
- Giessen-Bonn Corpus of Popular Music (GBoP), 302, 303
- globalisation, 7, 39, 66, 78, 80, 89, 190, 236, 240, 242, 348
- grammar, 53–5, 59, 62, 63, 75, 82, 83, 144, 145, 154, 156, 157, 160, 161, 168, 172–4, 175, 184, 203, 207, 208, 212, 214–15, 218, 237, 242, 268, 270, 283, 287, 302, 315, 347
- grammatical gender, 170, 173, 183, 203, 207–9, 212, 214, 215, 218, 237, 242, 262, 268, 280, 287
- Greece, 2, 16, 20, 29, 68, 73, 75, 92, 127, 146, 148, 183, 193, 200, 211, 221, 222, 249, 355, 358, 360
- Greek, 8, 29, 83, 88, 139, 161, 162, 164, 177, 178, 182, 184, 203, 215, 229, 251
- greeting, 42, 155, 175–8, 183, 184, 229, 241, 255, 290
- ## H
- Hebrew, 26n14, 31, 121, 138, 161, 164, 177, 182, 215, 220, 254–7
- heterogeneity, 4, 7, 72, 89, 122, 128, 184, 274, 283, 338, 362
- heteronormativity, 33, 63, 65, 68, 71, 173, 206, 208, 230, 266, 268, 275, 322, 335, 336, 343, 346, 357
- heterosexuality, 59, 61, 65–71, 171, 173, 183, 185, 204–6, 209, 210, 212–20, 225–7, 230–3, 237, 238, 240, 242, 248, 252, 257, 259, 261–5, 267, 269, 272–4, 281, 282, 286, 288, 305, 335, 336, 338, 340, 343, 345, 350
- history, 3, 5, 8–10, 13–19, 21, 25, 30, 32, 34, 39–42, 65, 66,

- 71–3, 77, 79, 81, 82,
84, 85, 90, 93, 97,
117, 122, 135, 139,
140, 144–6, 148, 161,
177, 190, 193, 194,
199, 222, 223, 248,
252, 255–7, 263, 280,
283, 285, 288, 292, 293,
315, 328, 355, 359
- homogeneity, 4, 7, 51, 53, 56, 57,
66, 72, 73, 75, 77, 255,
275–6, 334–9, 343–5
- homonationalism, 344
- homonormativity, 33, 66, 68–70,
207, 211, 226, 231
- Hungarian, 88, 215
- Hungary, 16, 34, 73, 86, 206, 210,
221, 222, 263, 292, 360
- hybridity, 7, 9, 89, 142, 144, 174,
261, 274, 334, 338, 352–4
- I
- Iceland, 14, 15, 21, 23n12, 35, 44,
45, 61, 80, 134, 135, 137,
158, 179, 191, 205, 210,
220, 222, 240, 248, 289,
312, 313
- Icelandic, 88, 121, 158, 179
- identity theorisation, 56
- ideology, 8, 46, 52–4, 73, 85, 96,
141, 334, 335, 350
- idiomaticity, 175, 229, 270
- imaginary languages, 137–9, 210n10
- inclusion, 1, 2, 23, 37, 41, 42,
72, 90, 92, 121, 174, 177,
255, 257, 270, 274, 287,
304n8, 333, 335, 340–5,
354, 356–9
- indexicality, 9, 19, 38–40, 42, 45,
52, 53, 59–62, 69, 71, 95,
100, 133, 141, 143, 144,
149, 156, 158, 160, 174,
175, 185, 189, 190, 192,
193, 196, 197, 207, 232,
235, 238–40, 247, 250, 253,
258, 260, 264, 270, 272,
274, 286, 292, 336, 337,
339, 351, 352, 358
- Indo-European languages, 73, 83
- integration, 9, 13, 33, 34–9, 41, 42,
46, 52, 82, 92, 255, 297
- interdisciplinarity, 6, 54
- International Corpus of English
(ICE), 302
- intersectionality, 8, 96, 189, 190,
210–27, 242, 257, 335
- intertextuality, 10, 54, 96, 180, 260,
279–98, 348, 362
- inverted appellation, 69, 207,
230, 239
- Ireland, 20, 21, 33, 38, 81, 85, 86,
122, 125, 127, 133, 134,
139, 143, 145–8, 168,
180–1, 191–3, 197, 200,
210, 221, 222, 234, 238,
240, 241, 248, 260, 261,
281, 291, 293–5, 313, 351,
355, 361, 363
- Irish, 84, 88, 133, 139, 143, 164,
363
- Islam, 3, 26, 46, 345
- Israel, 15, 16, 23n12, 26, 28, 31, 32,
33, 37, 41, 45, 60, 121, 122,
127, 133, 148, 161, 177,
201, 210, 217n14, 220–2,
234, 235, 253, 254, 256,
257, 264, 342, 344, 345

- Italian, 18, 40, 76, 83, 85, 86, 88, 125, 137–41, 162–4, 165, 167, 176, 177, 181, 183, 185, 212, 214, 254, 294, 351
- Italy, 15, 17, 18, 22, 23, 76, 85, 125, 127, 133–5, 138, 140, 163, 164, 193, 220, 222, 234, 253, 280, 294, 360
- J**
- Judaism, 16, 26, 256
- K**
- keyness, 299–301, 304–22
- keywords, 237, 299–306
- L**
- labelling, 51, 66, 67, 69, 71, 76
- language choice, 6, 10, 14, 74, 84, 89, 96, 117–84, 189, 190, 196–8, 202, 210–12, 214, 215, 223, 227, 241, 251, 253, 259, 260, 266, 334, 338, 350, 351, 353, 359, 360
- language contact, 82, 89, 160, 161, 166, 167, 172, 184, 353
- language policy, 74–6, 84, 89, 117–25, 153, 353, 356, 363
- language typology, 82, 83, 203
- language varieties, 7, 51, 62, 75, 76–8, 88n18, 89, 99, 138–41, 171, 212, 241, 295, 326, 349
- linguaging, 7, 62, 154–6, 174, 335, 340, 352–4, 357
- Latino culture, 69, 254, 261, 270
- Latvia, 16, 32, 41, 72, 134, 135, 137–9, 146, 157, 211, 221, 222, 234, 270, 289, 290, 292, 295, 338, 341, 344, 351, 355
- Latvian, 88, 157, 215
- lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT), 25, 33, 46, 70, 225, 235, 240, 242, 340, 344
- lesbian identities, 32, 33, 56, 65–7, 70, 238, 248, 264, 269, 270, 275, 281, 282, 338, 345
- lexical borrowing, 127, 160, 283
- lexical Europeanisation, 192, 194, 195, 197, 251, 253, 350
- lexical gender, 69, 173, 183, 204–7, 219, 238, 239, 261, 265, 272, 314, 322–6
- lexical nationalisation, 42, 44, 45, 199, 200, 210, 261
- Liechtenstein, 16n7
- linguistic purism, 75, 85, 89, 125, 174, 185, 335, 345, 352
- linguistic repertoire, 154–6, 175, 185, 192, 352
- linguistics, 6, 51–8, 64, 82, 93–6, 98, 153, 174, 279
- Lithuania, 16, 35, 41, 60, 72, 92, 134, 135, 139, 140, 191, 194, 195, 201, 211, 221, 222, 281, 282, 338, 344, 355
- Lithuanian, 88, 140, 215
- love, 15, 61, 67, 98, 139, 161, 162, 164, 172, 175–7, 179, 182–4, 203, 205–7, 216, 220, 232, 238, 242, 249, 254, 257, 259, 261, 262, 265, 281, 282, 285, 286,

- 288, 290, 291, 303, 305,
312–5, 322, 324, 327, 343
- Luxembourg, 15, 16n7, 19, 23,
30, 34, 75n8, 76n9,
81n12, 85, 118, 122,
127, 161, 196, 208,
220, 222, 248, 287,
290, 294, 295, 297
- Luxembourgish, 139, 215
- M**
- Macedonia, 1, 5, 22, 23n12, 31, 41,
72, 140, 148, 161, 210,
217, 219, 221, 222, 253,
260, 291, 339, 360, 361
- Macedonian, 31, 35, 36n20, 76n9,
83, 121, 134, 214, 219
- Malta, 21, 35, 38, 61, 122, 127,
133, 134, 138, 143, 145–8,
181, 199, 210, 221, 222,
235, 281, 289, 292, 294,
295, 344, 351, 361, 363
- Maltese, 38, 83, 84, 88, 143, 181,
215, 363
- Martiniquan Creole, 125, 139
- media, 3, 6, 13, 15, 18, 21, 25, 26,
30, 32, 38, 40, 41, 70, 71,
77, 91–3, 95, 144, 156,
206, 228n20, 229, 252,
333, 342, 347, 348, 350,
358, 359
- metalinguistic comments, 6, 94, 99,
118, 120, 153, 348
- metaphor, 5, 92, 174, 235, 238,
313, 315
- migration, 2, 3, 8, 25, 39, 72, 78,
87, 195, 255, 257, 339,
343, 355, 359, 360
- minorities, 31, 39, 60, 70, 72, 74,
77, 87, 344, 345, 359, 360
- minority languages, 7, 74–6, 78,
84n15, 87, 88, 121, 124,
125, 139–40, 345, 359, 360
- modality, 59, 315
- Moldova, 1, 23n12, 134, 135,
166, 168, 169, 200, 210,
221, 222, 235, 264, 292,
313, 355
- Moldovan, 75
- Monaco, 16n7, 34, 36, 37, 118,
119, 127, 134, 135, 139,
165, 196, 200, 208, 220,
222, 248, 253, 287, 291,
294, 295
- monolingualism, 74, 75, 84, 125,
143, 153, 156, 166, 174,
255, 353
- Montenegrin, 45, 76, 88, 121, 133,
134, 212, 214
- Montenegro, 22, 35, 45, 72, 134,
161, 194, 210, 262,
355, 360
- Morocco, 26, 35, 297n4
- morphology, 83, 159, 167–72,
287, 306
- multilingualism, 7, 74, 75, 82, 84,
86–8, 98, 125, 136, 141,
156, 157, 164, 175, 203,
216, 282, 298, 299, 335,
352, 353
- multimodality, 10, 40, 90n20,
95, 96, 99, 158, 190,
206, 218, 219, 231,
234, 238, 240–2, 247–74,
281
- mythology, 8, 9, 40, 73,
192, 341

N

- names, 5n1, 9, 14, 19, 22, 28, 40,
42, 44, 45, 77, 86, 118,
128, 158, 159, 170–2, 191,
192, 197, 199, 207, 229,
231, 253, 254, 268, 283,
287, 288, 291, 322
- nationalism, 2–5, 8–10, 39, 42, 44–6,
55, 64, 71–81, 81n11, 84,
90, 92, 93, 96, 117, 128,
134–7, 140, 141, 143, 149,
156, 158, 160, 174, 181,
184, 189–242, 247, 250,
258–61, 270, 274, 275, 291,
292, 315, 328, 334–9, 342,
344, 345, 347, 349, 351,
352, 355–8, 361
- national language, 45, 73–7, 84,
85, 87, 88, 118, 121–5,
127, 128, 134–44, 148,
149, 153–6, 160, 161,
173, 174, 184, 185, 190,
196–9, 202, 210, 215,
217–19, 226, 261, 283, 290,
292, 293, 299, 334, 335,
338–40, 343, 350, 352–4,
357, 361
- national language rule, 122–4, 127,
136, 138, 149, 160, 197,
283, 293, 299, 343, 353, 354
- native language use, 5n3, 7, 31, 38,
54, 72, 81, 85, 86, 88, 89,
93, 141, 143–8, 155, 172,
180, 185, 221, 250, 295,
335, 340, 348, 353, 354,
360, 361
- Netherlands, 5, 15, 23, 31, 76, 85,
125, 127, 134, 135, 138,
139, 148, 161, 168, 178,
193, 199, 200, 211, 220,
222, 228, 360
- non-heteronormativity, 33, 63, 64,
173, 203, 204, 209, 212,
214, 215, 221, 223–7, 231,
237, 238, 241, 242, 262,
265–7, 269, 274, 286, 322,
335, 336, 343, 357, 358
- non-heterosexuality, 68, 69, 71, 227,
231, 232, 235–7, 240, 343,
357, 358
- non-national language use, 122, 124–7,
128, 134–44, 149, 154, 156,
160, 161, 173, 174, 178, 184,
185, 217, 219, 226, 242, 248,
250, 251, 254, 259, 270, 292,
295, 327, 334, 335, 338, 339,
343, 349–52, 354, 357, 360,
363
- non-native language use, 5, 89, 119,
141–8, 150, 190, 191, 193,
195, 202, 210, 215, 221,
229, 270, 295, 327, 335,
340, 343, 348, 350, 352,
353, 360, 361
- non-standard language use, 150,
207, 241n24, 305, 335,
340, 353, 360, 363
- normativity, 3–5, 10, 33, 51–100,
121, 125, 141, 148–50,
154–6, 166, 172, 174, 185,
227–41, 255, 263, 264,
267, 274, 275, 327, 328,
333–7, 339, 340, 343, 345,
348, 349, 351–3, 357–9
- Norway, 20, 21, 23n12, 31, 32, 34,
35, 80, 127, 134, 135, 139,
146, 161, 163, 164, 176,
180, 211, 217n16, 220,

- 222, 231, 253, 254, 257,
282, 290, 294, 341, 362
- Norwegian, 75, 88, 121, 146,
164, 215
- P**
- passing, 337, 348, 351, 359
- peace, 20, 25, 81, 202, 235, 255,
256, 321, 322
- performativity, 53, 95, 96, 346, 348,
350
- personal noun, 67, 69, 164, 183,
204, 205, 207, 208, 238,
239, 262, 270, 272, 283,
287, 289, 314, 323–6
- phonology, 144, 158, 159, 173, 191
- Poland, 16, 21, 91, 148, 161, 201,
202, 211, 221, 222, 254,
344, 355
- Polish, 25, 75, 88, 202, 214
- politics, 1, 3, 4, 9, 14, 15, 19–34,
42, 44, 56, 71–3, 75, 77,
79, 80, 84, 90, 93, 98, 220,
222, 291, 297, 334, 342,
345, 349, 352, 354, 356,
359, 360
- pop music, 4, 10, 13, 16, 19, 20, 23,
29, 33, 39, 42, 71, 93,
98–100, 117, 141, 183, 190,
204, 228, 250, 253, 260,
265, 270, 280, 283, 285,
287, 288, 298–305, 321,
322, 324, 325, 327, 328,
337, 343, 344, 348, 356
- popular culture, 14, 32, 280, 295,
333, 351
- Portugal, 21, 24, 31, 34, 35, 37,
125, 127, 133–5, 167, 181,
200, 211, 220, 222, 287n2,
355, 358
- Portuguese, 83, 88, 164, 167, 181,
212, 214
- poststructuralism, 4, 5, 52–7, 96, 97,
279, 334
- power, 2, 8, 52–4, 56–9, 61–3,
66–9, 71, 73, 74, 76,
78, 79, 83, 88, 91, 96,
127, 135, 138, 153,
190, 193, 220, 224,
226, 231, 233, 269,
270, 280, 301, 313,
315, 324, 328, 335,
339, 340, 347,
349, 359
- press conference, 20, 89, 97, 119,
227, 336, 350, 352
- pronoun, 30, 69, 90, 92, 169, 172,
173, 191, 194, 199, 203–6,
208, 218, 220, 232, 233,
237, 239, 265, 268, 273,
275, 283, 287, 289, 301,
302, 304, 305, 312–14,
325, 326
- pronunciation, 144, 173, 209, 229,
270
- protest, 23, 28, 29, 88
- Q**
- queering, 232, 346, 347
- quotation, 53, 55, 97, 154, 165,
175, 179, 180, 220, 241,
279, 280, 348, 350

R

- race, 30–1, 46, 343, 346
 rainbow, 234–7
 referential gender, 192, 203, 205–7,
 215, 218, 238, 239, 261,
 265, 268, 270, 273, 279, 282
 religion, 3, 4, 66, 75, 80, 90, 94, 289
 Romance languages, 30, 76, 86, 135,
 214, 215
 Romani, 88, 139, 140, 162
 Romania, 16, 31, 34, 35, 44, 134,
 135, 139, 161, 162, 195,
 201, 211, 217, 221, 222,
 259, 260, 264, 312
 Romanian, 75, 83, 88, 135, 168,
 169, 170, 214
 Romansh, 76, 133, 139
 Russia, 16, 19–23, 25, 26, 33, 37,
 80, 134, 135, 140, 177,
 191, 193, 211, 221, 222,
 248, 265, 281, 291, 292,
 338, 342, 344, 355, 358–60
 Russian, 25, 76, 86, 87, 121, 138,
 139, 157, 176, 177, 202,
 214, 251
- S
 Saami, 31
 same-sex sexualities, 25, 61, 66, 70,
 71, 204, 207, 208n8, 210,
 220, 229, 237, 252, 261,
 262, 266–9, 272, 275, 281,
 288, 336, 345, 350, 357
 San Marino, 14, 23n12, 36, 37, 220,
 222
 Sardinian, 83
 semantics, 9, 39, 42, 44–5, 54–6,
 58, 96, 117, 138, 155, 157,
 174, 182, 189, 192, 204,
 208, 229, 235, 239–41,
 242, 247, 248, 250, 252,
 254, 255, 257, 259–62,
 272–3, 279, 280, 283, 287,
 290, 291, 300, 304–22,
 324n11, 337, 338, 342,
 346, 353
 Serbia, 1, 16, 18n8, 22, 23n12, 32,
 33, 35, 37, 45, 72, 133,
 134, 148, 201, 210, 211,
 222, 249, 250, 268, 287,
 341, 342, 344, 345, 355,
 358, 360
 Serbia and Montenegro, 18, 22, 37,
 45, 133, 134, 264
 Serbian, 76, 88, 121, 139, 212, 214,
 250
 “Serbo-Croatian”, 76, 134, 139,
 162–4, 176, 179, 183, 214
 sexuality, 6–10, 26, 31–3, 39, 46,
 57, 60, 61, 63–71, 96, 98,
 161, 164, 171–3, 185,
 189–242, 247, 249–51,
 257–75, 285, 286, 313,
 322, 335, 336, 338, 340,
 343–7, 357, 358, 360
 sign language, 139, 344
 Slavic languages, 75, 76, 171, 214,
 215
 Slovak, 75, 76, 88, 121, 214
 Slovakia, 16, 21, 23, 35, 80, 148,
 221, 222
 Slovenia, 21, 22, 32, 33, 35, 36n20,
 41, 72, 76, 134, 148, 195,
 210, 221, 222, 264, 281,
 316, 360
 Slovenian, 76, 88, 214
 social constructionism, 52

- social gender, 207n7, 262, 272–4,
287n2
- social psychology, 52, 55, 58
- sociolinguistics, 6, 7, 39, 51, 52, 57,
82, 84, 94, 117, 154, 223,
347, 349
- song titles, 5n1, 10, 14, 22, 45, 59,
60, 124, 144, 179, 197,
200, 240, 280, 282–98,
303, 305, 362
- Soviet Union, 21, 22, 72, 91, 135,
355
- Spain, 17, 19, 24, 72, 81n12, 125,
127, 133–5, 138, 144, 158,
164, 167, 168, 193, 200,
211, 217n14, 218, 220,
222, 253, 254, 269, 280,
281, 287n2, 344, 355, 358,
360
- Spanish, 9, 25, 75, 83, 85, 86, 88,
138, 139, 158, 161–4,
166–7, 176, 177, 181–5,
212, 214, 218, 251, 261
- staged performance, 7, 9, 10, 14, 22,
28, 32, 33, 40, 44–6, 93–6,
98, 125, 140, 156, 158, 185,
193, 200, 201, 206, 207,
220, 227, 229, 232, 235,
238–41, 247–52, 255,
257–60, 263–70, 272, 274,
281, 337, 338, 340, 344,
345, 349, 352, 356, 362
- Standard Average European, 83
- standard language, 62, 63, 74,
75, 77, 89, 140, 149,
154, 172, 335, 340,
344, 353
- subversion, 25, 32, 46, 54, 206, 207,
208n8, 210–14, 217, 220,
227, 248–50, 257, 258,
261, 265–7, 270, 272, 274,
275, 339, 340, 346, 347,
360
- success, 2, 3, 17, 30, 34–8, 40, 57,
98, 117, 133, 135, 136,
141–3, 145–9, 180, 195,
199, 200, 209, 229, 282,
283, 287, 295, 297–301,
303, 305, 322, 334, 337,
349, 354
- Swahili, 139, 257
- Sweden, 14, 15, 18, 21, 32n19, 68,
127, 135, 138, 161, 179,
180, 181, 191, 193, 199,
210, 220, 222, 233, 253,
265, 294, 339, 341
- Swedish, 75, 88, 133, 139, 179, 203,
215, 251
- Switzerland, 15, 18, 23, 32n19, 33,
75n8, 76, 80, 118, 122, 125,
127, 135, 138–41, 148, 161,
166, 168, 176, 178, 182,
191, 196, 198, 200, 211,
221, 222, 234, 248, 293–5,
312, 344
- syntax, 22, 54, 59–61, 124, 139,
157, 159–72, 175, 182,
185, 256, 341
- T**
- tactics of intersubjectivity,
57n1, 339
- Tahitian, 139
- transgender, 56, 340, 343
- translation, 85, 98, 119, 121, 139,
168, 171, 174–6, 181, 182,
184, 229, 251, 344

transnationalism, 7, 8, 44, 45, 69,
79, 80, 82, 85, 87, 89–92,
117, 122, 127, 134, 138,
141, 143, 144, 149, 150,
154, 174, 184, 185, 189,
190, 192, 201, 241, 242,
248, 250, 251, 255–8,
298n5, 300, 301, 321,
322, 327, 328, 334, 335,
338, 340, 343, 348–53,
357, 363

transsexuality, 32, 70, 225

Turkey, 1, 3, 16, 20, 21, 23n12, 25,
26, 28, 29, 31, 35, 37, 41,
60, 72, 80, 127, 133, 138,
139, 158, 183, 211, 221,
222, 240, 249, 255, 256,
258, 259, 342, 355, 362

Turkish, 83, 87, 88, 121, 138–40, 158,
162, 164, 165, 182, 183,
203, 212, 215, 254–6, 258

U

Udmurt, 140

Ukraine, 1, 16, 20–2, 23n12, 24, 34,
41, 72, 201, 207, 211, 221,
222, 239, 248, 249, 264,
289, 290, 292, 295, 341,
342, 355, 358–60

Ukrainian, 25, 76, 121, 134, 135, 214

United Kingdom (UK), 15n5, 17, 19,
30–3, 38, 41, 44, 45, 68, 71,
80, 81, 85, 86, 88, 91, 127,
133–5, 138, 143, 145–8,
191, 193, 207, 211, 221,
222, 234, 235, 248, 251–3,
260, 265, 281, 293–5, 344,
351, 355, 361–3

United States of America (USA), 29,
30, 39, 46, 68, 85, 88, 90,
99, 127, 158, 159, 178,
229, 250, 257, 281, 292,
305, 326, 328, 361

V

verb, 22, 59, 67, 159, 162, 169, 170,
172, 194, 204, 283,
314–16, 321, 341

voice, 264, 265

voting, 9, 14–16, 18, 28, 29, 34–9,
41, 46, 93, 95, 99, 118, 119,
140, 143–5, 148, 150, 155,
174, 180, 195–7, 200, 209,
228–30, 240, 256, 298, 334,
335, 337, 356, 358–62

voting announcements, 18, 29, 41,
42, 118, 119, 180, 197,
228–30, 240, 358, 361, 362

W

war, 8, 13, 20–2, 25, 26, 30, 34, 38,
72, 78, 79, 127, 139, 177,
178, 194, 195, 197, 202,
256, 280, 292, 321, 336,
344, 354, 355, 359, 362

Western Europe, 15, 21, 25, 26, 177,
194, 195, 263, 341, 342, 358

World Englishes, 76, 145, 146

Y

Yugoslavia, 15, 21, 22, 35, 36n20, 39,
72, 125, 127, 134, 162, 176,
177, 179, 180, 183, 217n14,
221, 222, 263, 290, 358