

Interaction and the Media

Brigitta Busch and Petra Pfisterer

29.1 INTRODUCTION

Present media developments are described as rapid and fundamental changes with deep impacts on our daily lives. Topics raised in media discourse and political discourse about the media concern issues related to media production as well as to individual media habits in everyday life. The categorization of media into distinct sectors such as print, film, radio and television becomes increasingly blurred as media companies adopt a multimedia orientation, and a multiplicity of new receiving devices (computers, mobile phones) allow access to a wide range of media products almost everywhere and at any time. The traditional distinction between different genres such as news, entertainment, documentary, fiction, etc., cannot be maintained. New – often interactive and hybrid – formats emerge regularly with constantly changing labels and definitions such as infotainment, reality soaps, private news blogs, etc. These formats make the identification of sources, the differentiation between fact and fiction, and the awareness of transitions between real and virtual worlds increasingly difficult (Busch, 2004: 29ff). Equally, the distinction between (public) mass media communication, characterized as a one-to-many process, and (private) interpersonal mediated communication, characterized as a one-to-one process, is being called into question, for instance by new forms of Internet communication, characterized as network communication. The notion of a dominant national public sphere which was conceived – through multiple exclusions on the basis of gender, race, class and language – as homogeneous and monolingual is being challenged by a fragmentation¹ into a complex configuration of

sometimes overlapping and sometimes mutually exclusive spaces of communication with their particular policies of representation (Wodak and Koller, 2008). The dominance of media industries in a globalized market and the commodification of media communication create new exclusions in terms of access and representations which are subsumed under the notion of the 'digital divide'. Such developments also represent a challenge for research into the interconnections between linguistic practices and the media. This chapter gives, in its first part (Section 29.2), an overview of approaches to media communication, media texts and the connection between language and the media within linguistics. In its second part (Section 29.3) it introduces the reader to a framework for the analysis of media communication that combines elements from sociolinguistics, discourse analysis and media studies.

29.2 APPROACHES TO THE MEDIA IN LINGUISTICS

Within media studies, linguistics, and more particularly sociolinguistics, there has been a variety of scientific approaches to the interconnections between language and the media.

Language policy, language planning and the media

In language policy and language planning research, the media were for a long time neglected

as a factor. Joshua Fishman even warned in his early sociolinguistic work against overemphasis on the media in the context of language policy and language planning, and against media fetishism in language policy (Fishman, 1991: 374). Under the more traditional paradigm in the field, which saw language policy mainly as a top-down strategy, the potential role of the media was by definition limited as they had been, to a large extent, exempted from direct state control ever since the Declaration of Human Rights in the course of the French Revolution. Nevertheless, state authorities have always exercised a certain amount of control and intervention in this domain via media laws, licensing procedures, frequency and paper allocations, subsidies, etc. (Busch, 2006). Also, after World War II, in most Western European countries, public service audio and audio-visual media – for which direct regulating measures are possible – were protected by state monopolies that persisted for almost 50 years. National laws and regulations outline the confines of media production and also intervene on the level of language use in the media. An example of this kind of intervention is the French legislation on the limitation of anglicisms in the public domain, which was copied by a number of Eastern European countries in the 1990s (Busch, 2004: 151). The role of the media in the formation and implementation of standard and national languages has been a concern of substantial research (Anderson, 1983; Innis, 1951, 1997).

Since the beginning of the twenty-first century a new interest in language policy can be noted. In these approaches, language policy is seen rather as a process of negotiation between top-down measures enacted by macro-level institutional agents and bottom-up initiatives and practices by communities and speakers (Ricento, 2006; Shohamy, 2006). The focus on social, economic and political effects of language contact which sees linguistic practices as social practices allows a new take on the media in the field. Under the condition of present media developments, language policy is challenged from a double perspective: from the macro perspective of globalized markets and supranational regulatory bodies as well as from the micro perspective of changing individual *Lebenswelten* (lifeworlds) in which multilingualism has become a salient feature of everyday life. On the macro level the debate about the influence of the media on the spread of languages and especially on the dominance of English has been a concern (Crystal, 2001). It has been observed that language plays an important part in the process of reconfiguration of media spaces, in regrouping larger regional areas beyond nation-state boundaries as well as in linking dispersed diasporas (Robins, 1997). Thussu (2000: 197 ff.) explains

the example of a TV channel that picked up the urban jargon Hinglish² for news programmes to develop markets beyond the Hindi-speaking area on the Indian subcontinent and in the British diaspora.

In the debate on minority media three main approaches can be distinguished (Busch, 1999):

- a minority or human rights approach in which the question of access and participation of linguistic/ethnic minorities (in a national public sphere) dominates;
- an approach that is more oriented towards questions of language loss and language revitalization;
- and finally a more recent paradigm that takes a speaker-centred approach and focuses on questions of constructions of (multiple, hybrid) identities.

Early research in the field was often initiated and commissioned by international and European institutions to inform their language policies (Franchon and Vargaftig, 1995; Husband, 1994; the publications of the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages in the Mercator Media series). The European instruments to implement linguistic rights in the media field also to some extent mirror this change of paradigms: whereas the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (1992) (Article 11) is still mainly concerned with access of (autochthonous) minorities to the media and to information, the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (1995) refrains from a definition of minorities and declares an obligation to foster intercultural dialogue in the media (Articles 6 and 19). The European Union (EU) increasingly includes questions of language and the media in its language policy action plans (European Commission, 2005).

Multilingualism and the media

There is also an extensive literature mapping the multiple intersections of **minority media** and their impact upon ethnic identities. In complementarity to literature on the representation of minorities in majority news media and the misrepresentation of minorities in majority entertainment (for an overview of research in the EU member states see ter Wal, 2002), a body of works exists that combines media studies and linguistics and addresses the significance of minority control and ownership of the media to guarantee self-representation and participation in a heterogeneous and diverse public sphere (see, for example, Busch, 1999, 2004; Cormack, 1998, 2004;

Husband, 2000). Cormack (2004: 4) suggests five types of minority media impact: (1) a symbolic role (signalling the full functionality of the community/language and referring to its connectedness to modernity); (2) an economic role (job creation, career prospects); (3) developing a public sphere within a community that can carry a distinct news agenda; (4) allowing the community to be represented within and towards the outside; and (5) acting as a key conveyor of culture and as a producer of cultural products. Moring and Husband (2007: 78) add two other aspects: the media's role in providing an opportunity for (minority) language use (as a reader or listener), and the role of the media in the reconstruction of language as well as in the development and diffusion of language innovation and of new vocabulary. The issue of ethnolinguistic vitality remains a topic in research on minority and indigenous media (Moring and Husband, 2007), mainly taking an approach based on the concept developed by Giles (1977) which offers a conceptual tool to analyse sociostructural variables that shape the strength of an ethnocultural community for language retention.

Beginning with the 1980s and 1990s, research into **media and migration** became a central issue on the research agenda. Studies examining media policies and language policies directed at migrant communities found a striking correlation between media and migration policies. Whereas in the early days of labour migration into Western Europe, when a rapid rotation principle was the norm, media products for migrants (especially programmes in public service radio and TV) were predominantly in the language of migrant communities, when policy orientations shifted towards assimilation or integration, media products directed at migrant communities tended to be in the dominant languages of the respective countries (Busch, 2004; Cottle, 2000; Franchon and Vargaftig, 1995; Kosnick, 2007). The refocusing of national language policies in some Western European countries on state languages opened the way for arguing that diaspora media, broadcast via satellite in the languages of migration, were a hindrance on the way to successful integration in the so-called host countries. Extensive reception studies, as in the work by Hargreaves (2001), showed that media habits among migrants in Western Europe were far more diversified and satellite programmes from the so-called countries of origin were usually only one element among others. Under the current diversity policy paradigm that is being implemented to some extent in North American and European metropolises, differences and diversity are seen as a possible asset, and languages of migration are (at least theoretically) seen as a potential resource. In migration

research, diasporas are no longer primarily seen as homogeneous groups depending on a motherland but as a socially-differentiated nexus of persons living in a variety of complex lifeworlds. Recent approaches to the media and migration are more concerned with questions of construction of identities and with modes of representation (see Style and stylization subsection in this chapter) and tend to focus on media texts rather than on modes of production and reception. In media studies the concept of media reception as a distinct activity is being gradually replaced by an approach that foregrounds everyday practices in which media are present.

Concern with the effects of **globalization** on bilingual or multilingual communities and with the commodification and referential use of language is found in the work of Monica Heller (e.g. 2000). Together with Normand Labrie (2003: 16), Heller describes three types of discourses of affirmative heteroglossia linked to particular imaginations of society that are simultaneously present: the traditionalist, the modernizing and the globalizing. Homogenization in language use is much more difficult to implement today under the condition of globalized communication and media flows. Using regional vernaculars or local dialects is no longer necessarily indexical of a traditionalist orientation, but can also represent a rejection of national categorizations, especially when communication flows develop a translocal dimension that transgresses state borders. This change in connotation is linked to the fact that language has become a tradable commodity, on the local level in the form of commercialization of authenticity (Heller, 2003). Languages are used strategically in order to reference identities and attract audiences. This is valid for mass media and advertising as well as for minority media. Kelly-Holmes (2005) speaks moreover of minimal or token bilingualism in advertising that assumes limited competence of the audience and exploits the symbolic rather than the referential function of communication/language.

In media studies the concept of the reconfiguration of media spaces has been influential throughout the past two decades (Appadurai, 1998; Morley and Robins, 1996). **Spatial approaches** in linguistics and cultural studies also foreground a topological perspective which has mainly been applied in research on multilingualism in urban contexts. Referring to Goffman's (1974) interaction analysis and Halliday's (1978) social semiotic approach to language, Scollon and Scollon (2003) drafted an instrument based on multimodality and discourse analysis to examine the way in which language is located in physical space. Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck (2005) draw on a spatial

analysis for the understanding of multilingual interactions, power relations and hierarchizations between languages. Based on research in a multilingual neighbourhood, they examine how different localities (shops, healthcare institutions, schools, cafés, etc.) develop specific language regimes. Languages in the public space and in the media are part of such language regimes. Scollon and Scollon (2004) conceive those intersections of different interaction practices as a 'nexus of practice', in which a multitude of discursive strands and semiotic reference systems create meaning. Jacquemet (2005: 265) coins the term 'transidiomatic practices' for the overlapping multilingual interaction regimes that crystallize in particular localities when multilingual talk (exercised by de/reterritorialized speakers) and electronic media are co-present. In the past few years a small body of research literature has been published under the label of 'linguistic landscape' (Shohamy and Gorter (eds), 2009), examining manifestations of multilingualism – mainly of signage – in public spaces.

According to the regular Eurobarometer surveys (European Commission, 2006), listening to the radio, watching films or TV, reading books and newspapers or browsing the Internet account for the most important occasions in which European citizens use their foreign languages. The media, other than educational media, seem to play an important role in lifelong learning and the maintenance of competences in foreign languages. Only a few studies have dealt so far with this aspect of **multilingualism, media and language learning** (Meinhof, 1998). Dubbing and subtitling in television are a topic connected with language learning (Koolstra and Beentjes, 1999), especially as a study commissioned by the European Commission (2002) revealed that in countries with subtitling practice citizens estimated that their language competences in foreign languages were better.

A growing body of research inspired by sociolinguistics and discourse analysis aims at exploring the social and contextual diversity of language use in **computer-mediated communication** (CMC). There has been a shift of focus from medium- to user-related patterns of language use, and an increasing emphasis on the varying instantiations of online genres in their particular social contexts (see Androutsopoulos, 2007b: 281; Danet and Herring, 2007; Wright, 2006). Androutsopoulos sees the Web as a social space in which like-minded individuals use the resources of the medium, such as interactivity, multimodality and easy access to media production, to construct identity and community (2007b: 282). He follows Castells in the definition of virtual community: a virtual community 'is generally understood as a

self-defined electronic network of interactive communication organized around a shared interest or purpose, although sometimes communication becomes a goal in itself' (Castells, 2000: 386).

A focus on the media text

In recent approaches to media texts, the 'text' as such has been somewhat 'decentralized' and the focus of interest has shifted to the (social, cultural, political) context and to the 'localization' of meaning. A similar change of paradigm in approaches to texts has been occurring in linguistics. The present trend in approaches to media texts can be characterized by turning away from 'text-internal readings, where readers are theorized as decoders of fixed meanings, to more dynamic models, where meanings are negotiated by actively participating readers' (Meinhof, 1994: 212). Some of the works that have influenced the change of paradigms in media studies have been equally influential in critical linguistic approaches, such as aspects of the work of the Bakhtin Circle by the early twentieth-century Russian semioticians, Halliday's (1978) work on social semiotics and pragmatics, Hall's (2000) model of encoding/decoding, the Foucauldian notion of discourse, argumentation theories and van Dijk's sociocognitive approach (1988, 1991). All these approaches endorse an interactive model of communication which is far more complex than the traditional linear sender-receiver models in mass communication. Media texts are perceived as dialogic (Bakhtin, 1981), and the readings depend on the receivers and on the settings. Researchers presume, therefore, that readers/listeners or viewers interact with media (not only by writing letters to the editor but also by interpreting and understanding media in specific subjective ways). Media texts also depend on intertextual relations with many other genres, diachronically or synchronically. Texts relate to other texts through quotes or indirect references, thus already adding particular meanings or decontextualizing and recontextualizing meanings. Media thus produce and reproduce social meanings.

Also, Barthes (1994/1966) focuses on the aspect of negotiation and, in his essay *Introduction to the structural analysis of narrative*, differentiates between the work and the text. **Work** refers to the artefact, to the fixed pattern of signifiers on pages, whereas **text** refers to the process of meaning-making, of reading. Fiske takes up Barthes's differentiation to distinguish between a programme (on television) and a text:

Programmes are produced, distributed, and defined by the industry: texts are the product of

their readers. So a programme becomes a text at the moment of reading, that is, when its interaction with one of its many audiences activates some of the meanings/pleasures that it is capable of provoking. (1989: 14)

Adopting this stance means to conceive media communication as a process of textual transformations in which the analysis of reception and production requires specific attention because the text as an artefact constitutes only a moment within a chain of recontextualizations (see also Section 29.3 of this chapter).

Media linguistics

At the intersection of communication studies and linguistics, media linguistics (Burger, 2005; Perrin, 2006; Schmitz, 2004) deals with language in the media mainly from the angles of text linguistics, discourse analysis or conversation analysis. In a synchronic, often comparative perspective as well as in a diachronic perspective it focuses on language use in specific media; among others, the language of news media (Bell, 1991), the language of advertising, the language of computer-mediated communication or particular forms of communication such as Internet chats, talk shows, news interviews (Clayman and Heritage, 2002) are studied. Burger (2005: 64) summarizes under the term '*Medienlinguistik*' the analysis of all texts proposed by mass media. From the diachronic perspective, language variation (standard, vernacular, dialect) is a main field of interest. Burger for instance refers to a whole range of studies on language change in German language media in Austria, Germany and Switzerland. For the whole German-speaking area he summarizes that tolerance for 'regional coloring' is increasingly replacing the former ideal of '*Bühnendeutsch*' (received pronunciation) (2005: 365). Whereas text categories and genres in media practices used to be relatively stable and coherent, the current rapid media developments render classification increasingly difficult; new genre classifications, like infotainment, edutainment, reality soap, introduced by the media industries, illustrate the dilemma (Burger, 2000: 614). At present the main corpus of works in media linguistics concentrates on language in new media whereby the relationship between written and oral language is a focus.

Critical linguistics

Particularly productive in the analysis of media texts was work that can be subsumed under the label of critical linguistics, as developed in the

1970s and 1980s. Drawing mainly on functional linguistics (Halliday, 1978) and social semiotics (Hodge and Kress, 1988), critical linguistics focused on media texts with the aim of isolating the production of ideology and of showing the intimate link between detailed linguistic choices and the production of ideologies. Thereby a dialectical relationship is assumed: words function as a kind of mental grid through which we perceive reality and they in turn influence/construct social realities. The linguistic and discursive choices are not made at will but are dependent on power dimensions. Analytical tools from critical linguistics aim to identify and interpret lexical choices such as transitivity, nominalization, passivization, lexical structure, syntactic forms of clauses, modality and speech acts to make ideological positions visible. There was a clear focus on news (as in Fowler, 1991). The Glasgow University Media Group (1976, 1980) and the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies elaborated an alternative picture of news, viewing it as socially constructed; news is conceived of as a social practice, a discourse.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA)

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) represents a methodological advance towards an interdisciplinary study of the media (among others, Fairclough, 1995; van Dijk, 1988, 1991; Wodak and Meyer, 2009). The roots of CDA lie in classical rhetoric, text linguistics and sociolinguistics as well as in applied linguistics and pragmatics. The notions of ideology, power, hierarchy and gender, together with sociological variables, are all seen as relevant for an interpretation or explanation of text. The term 'CDA' is used nowadays to refer more specifically to the critical linguistic approach of scholars who find the larger discursive unit of text to be the basic unit of communication. CDA is concerned with 'language as social practice' and considers the context of language use to be crucial (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258):

CDA sees discourse – language use in speech and writing – as a form of social practice. Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s), which frame it: the discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them.

In CDA, **discourse** is seen as a form of knowledge and memory, whereas **text** illustrates concrete oral utterances or written documents (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001). The aim is to illuminate the way texts represent social reality and discursive constructions of identities. A key concept in CDA

is **intertextuality** – the ways in which a particular text draws on different texts and is situated with respect to the 'order of discourse' (Fairclough, 1998: 45). Fairclough, referring to Foucault, understands orders of discourse as 'a structured configuration of genres and discourses ... associated with a given social domain'. Dealing with media texts, discourse scholars underline the importance of analysing not only the text but also practices of production, distribution and reception (Fairclough, 1995; Scollon, 1998). However, Fairclough acknowledges that he has virtually excluded reception and to some extent also production from his own analyses, but focused on the artefact text (1995: 62). The analysis of media texts has been a central focus within CDA; research agendas focus on such diverse issues as racism and xenophobia, social exclusion, hate speech and war, and the constructedness of gender roles and of ethnic or national identities (van Dijk, 2009; Wodak, 2009; Wodak and Busch, 2004).

Conversation analysis

Conversation analysis (CA) emerged in the 1960s (Drew and Heritage, 2006). It is based on ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, 1967; Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974) as an interpretative approach to sociology, which focuses mainly on the organization of everyday life and represents a generic approach to the study of social interaction. CA describes the formal structure of conversations (openings, turn-takings, closings, topic control, interruptions, etc.) and analyses how they operate under the institutional constraints of the media. The strength of CA is based in detailed linguistic description, focusing on the organization of interaction, without considering the context. Context is defined within the text, dependent on the explicit mentioning of relevant factors by the speakers.

Much of the media text research in this field focuses on relevant aspects of broadcast news interviews (Clayman and Heritage, 2002; Greatbach, 1986), talk radio (Hutchby, 1991) and talk shows (Drew and Heritage (eds), 2006; Kotthoff, 2004). Thornborrow (2006) gives an overview of current foci in media research within CA. At the core were, among others, issues of agenda setting, agenda shifting and neutrality in news interviews; as interview styles have been changing, also other kinds of interviews are being analysed, such as adversarial interviewing and debate interviews. Another focus are phone-in programmes (Hutchby, 2006) in which listeners have to be maintained as ratified participants in the talk event, for instance by moving from the particular to the general. The design of talk for the overhearing audience has been one of the central concepts in CA. Scholars who see themselves as

conversation analysts work on media discourse from a situational perspective (Greatbach, 1998; Scannel, 1991). Media talk is considered as institutional talk. CA shows that there are specific constraints and options that determine, for example, the situation of the production of interviews in public service broadcasting. Heritage (1985) shows that the usual pattern of question–answer–receipt feedback is replaced by a question–answer–question pattern as the broadcasts are produced for an overhearing audience and as the journalist seeks to demonstrate neutrality by avoiding the evaluation of the answer with a receipt. Attention is focused on the dynamics of interviews, comparing turn-taking practices in the media to turn-taking in 'ordinary' conversations.

Style and stylization

In sociolinguistics the question of how linguistic practices in the media relate to everyday linguistic practices is a matter of concern. At present there seems to be a large consensus among different approaches in linguistics that media texts cannot be assumed to reflect the language regimes of linguistic reality. The question is not only how the distribution and configuration of variation in broadcasting reflects the parameters of linguistic everyday reality but also whether it impacts on this linguistic reality (Burger, 2005: 369).

Citing the work of Labov, who claimed that language change is not systematically affected by mass media but primarily by face-to-face interaction with peers, Coupland (2007b: 184) observes that variationist sociolinguistics has been consistently hostile to the idea that mass media are a regular or important factor in triggering linguistic change. He challenges this stance, concluding his study on style in which he draws on numerous examples from media texts that 'mass media do generate some new sociolinguistic resources and these are sometimes used and developed in everyday practice, however short-lived the phenomena might be'. Recent research into interaction among adolescents (Rampton, 2006) has shown how media-derived expressions, such as radio jingles or lines from popular music, enter into everyday sociolinguistic practices. Similarly, Deppermann in his analysis of interactional practices in a group of young males identified how stylized *Kanak Sprak*, as produced on comedy programmes on German TV, impacts on their interactions. His study shows how linguistic resources distributed by the media are integrated into everyday experience:

Media sources provide speakers with linguistic blueprints they can use for interactional work on social categorization, stereotyping and coping

with real-world experiences as well as a resource for interactional self-positioning, display of fandom and self-entertainment as the business of conversation. (2007: 351)

The relationship between linguistic practices in the media and everyday linguistic practices can also be approached by referring to Bourdieu's concept of field. In this sense, by using language as one of the semiotic modes in media communication, the media contribute to shape language practices as they provide linguistic resources. Or, as Bourdieu develops, speaking more generally about the literary field, they 'produce means of production', 'word and thought associations' and, moreover, all of the forms of discourse that are seen as 'authoritative', and that can be cited as examples of 'correct language use' (1982: 35). Also the media are engaged in metalinguistic discourses and in contributing to shape language ideologies (often even in specific language programmes and columns). Language criticism in the media can, for instance, contribute to the creation of an environment for policing language use and for the spread of language purism, through coining what 'correct' language is and stigmatizing 'wrong' language use as deviant.

In communication studies, Goffman's work on 'forms of talk' (1981) and on 'frame analysis' (1974) has been very influential in developing a differentiated approach to analysing media communication, challenging the speaker-hearer model of communication, and in understanding media talk as institutional talk. Goffman coined the term of 'mutually ratified participants' in a communicative interaction and also analysed the role of the speaker, which can be decomposed to reveal a range of participating frameworks: the role of the author (the agent who puts together, composes and scripts the lines uttered), the role of the animator (the sounding box from which the announcement comes) and the role of the principal (the party to whose position, stand and belief the utterance attests). These three possibilities constitute the participation framework. Fresh talk normally presents congruence between the three; this is less the case in institutional talk and, consequently, also in media talk. The analysis of participant roles and turn-taking position allows identifying, for example, the influence of an institutional context on a communicative event in the media (such as talk shows, interviews, etc.). Goffman's notion of 'footing' describes the notion of the speaker to his utterance. In this sense radio and TV talk are not addressed to 'a massed but visible grouping off the stage, but to imagined recipients; in fact broadcasters are under pressure to style their talk as though it were addressed to a single listener' (Goffman, 1981: 138).

Dealing with the question of authenticity in broadcasting talk, Montgomery (2001) – following Goffman (1981: 401) – argues that a conversational tone, sometimes adopted in broadcasting, may be more scripted than it seems, and may be simulated, although it is currently designed to approximate as much as possible to 'naturally occurring' talk. Although broadcasting means communication to many, broadcasters have evolved or borrowed techniques associated with small-scale interaction. Montgomery distinguishes between three different (overlapping) types of authenticity: '(1) talk that projects itself as nothing more or less than talk itself; (2) talk that is true to the event/experience; (3) talk that is true to the self/person' (2001: 404). In post-variationist approaches there is a shift from authenticity to processes of authentication and from linguistic features representing social stratifications to the impact of style and stylized features on the negotiation of social positions (Coupland, 2001).

In connection with media communication, research that engages with the concept of style and stylization is presently very influential. Variationist linguistics treated style as an interesting but relatively marginal dimension of language variation. Coupland (2007b) distinguishes between three waves of style research. The idea of stylistic variation was first used in sociolinguistics by Labov (1972) to refer to intra-individual speech variation, variation within the speech of a single person (Coupland, 2007b: 7). Other parts of sociolinguistics, in particular the ethnography of speaking (Gumperz and Hymes, 1972; Hymes, 1962) were already, from the very beginning, interested in contextualization processes and social styles. Coupland (2007a: 219) identifies a second wave in style research which was concerned with the search for patterns of style shift (for example the shift of pronunciation towards prestige variants in more formal situations such as interviews). Influential with regards to media communication are Giles' accommodation theory (1973) and Bell's audience design (1999) – the idea of converging to non-present audiences in initiative style shift. Both approaches posit a more social basis of style shift (accommodating a listener, designing one's speech for an audience). A move away from Labov's linear concept of contextual style, from styles as objects, represents also the conceptualization of social styles and stylization as processes (Hinnenkamp and Selting, 1989).

Whereas, according to Coupland (2007b), in the first and second wave of sociolinguistic research into style the emphasis was on style shift, studying linguistic deviation from a presumed norm, the focus is now on how style creates meaning in discursive operations. Stylistic operations

are possible because of the socially-structured indexicalities that link ways of speaking to social groups or specific situations, and to ideological conditions that define these at particular times and places. Style becomes similar to lifestyle, described by Bourdieu (1979) as the surface correlate of habitus. Style is more than saying the same things in other ways; what can be said and what cannot be said is an integral part of communicative style (Auer, 2007: 12). 'The basic unit of analysis for a sociolinguistics of style is a single semiotic unit, and the analytical demand is to explain how its activation contributes to speakers' negotiation of social meaning in a discourse' (Coupland, 2007a: 220). According to Coupland, style is also social practice as its meaning potential is realized in the construction of social identities and relations:

Styling is part of the construction and deployment of a speaker's and others' social identities, which might be to invoke and to consolidate the values and attributes associated with a 'speech community'. ... On the other hand it might involve establishing a particular stance vis-à-vis those community norms, where ownership becomes more or less clear – e.g. a class position one wants to subvert. (2007a: 221)

The concept of style was applied in a productive way in connection with media, among others by Bell's relationally-oriented audience design framework and, recently, Ben Rampton's work on sociolinguistic crossing and stylistic creativity in relation to ethnicity and social class, followed by other works usually linked theoretically to the work of Mikhail Bakhtin and Erving Goffman. Recent media-related research that draws on concepts of style and stylization focuses on a variety of topics such as youth culture and the media (e.g. Deppermann, 2007), media and migration (e.g. Böse and Busch, 2007; Morley, 2000), advertising (e.g. Kelly-Holmes, 2005), computer mediated communication (e.g. Androutsopoulos, 2007a, 2007b; Sebba, 2007), presentation of self in diaspora media (e.g. Coupland, 2007a), and gender (Cameron, 2006).

29.3 A FRAMEWORK FOR THE ANALYSIS OF MEDIA COMMUNICATION

When analysing language in media interaction it is necessary to take into consideration the specific conditions under which media communication takes place. As in any other type of communicative interaction, media communication has a dialogic nature and cannot be conceived simply

within a sender-receiver model. Furthermore, again as in any other type of communication, media communication is multimodal and multifunctional, i.e. every act of media communication encompasses a propositional, a social and a personal dimension: drawing on several semiotic modes it provides content and is involved in processes of meaning-making, it structures social relationships and it results in the production and reproduction of subject positions. Media communication mediates between the public and the private sphere: it can be seen as a form of organizational communication framed by institutional contexts. Media products are publicly available and media are, in their self-understanding, constitutive elements of the public sphere(s). Whereas their distribution is public, their reception takes mostly place in private surroundings. As discussed earlier in this chapter, present developments in media make traditional categorizations according to sectors, genres, etc., increasingly difficult. The following subsections of this contribution presents elements for an open and flexible framework for the analysis of language and the media. The framework shown in Figure 29.1 was first developed for and applied to the analysis of language policies in the context of media in multilingual environments (Busch, 2004).

Recontextualization and intertextuality

Media communication can be understood and analysed as a chain of recontextualizations. These transformations occur at any stage of the communication process, linking the sphere of production to the situations of everyday practices in which media are present. From the perspective of media studies, linear models of communication that dissociate meaning from its contextualization during production and reception were replaced by models that see communication as a circular process, comprising the totality of the means employed to collect, exploit, store, transmit and impart information (Mattenlart, 2003: 51 referring to Wiener's cybernetics approach). From the perspective of linguistics the process of media communication can best be captured by the notion of intertextuality, as developed by Julia Kristeva (1980), drawing on Mikhail Bakhtin's concepts. In this concept every text is part of a tissue of texts and intertextual relationships; it is (not necessarily consciously) linked to previous texts to which it refers and becomes, in turn, a resource for future texts. Intertextuality becomes apparent on the level of the meaning potential as well as on the level of the linguistic practices visible in the text.

Media production encompasses the collection and selection of 'raw material'. At each stage in

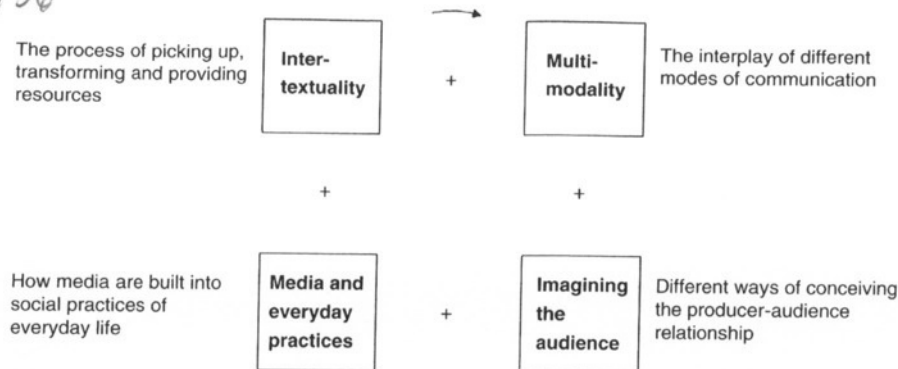


Figure 29.1 Analytical layers for the study of media communication with respect to language.

media production, earlier versions of the text are transformed and recontextualized in ways that correspond to the priorities and goals of the current stage. Recontextualization can involve suppression and filtering of meaning potentials, but it can also result in expanding meaning potentials by adding or elaborating upon an earlier version of the text (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999). Media production is regulated by institutional routines, media reception by everyday practices and arrangements, both depending on available resources. Journalists can revert to different kinds of source material: such as speeches, interviews, press releases, photos and graphs provided by news agencies, archive material, other media texts, personal communications, amateur videos, rumours and assumptions. Current transformations in media production can be characterized on the one hand by an increasing specialization of journalists on narrower fields of reporting, and on the other hand by a decreasing division of labour between technical and journalistic parts of production. In print for instance, the journalist is not only responsible for the text but also for the layout and the selection of images, and thereby becomes the designer of a multimodal text. At the same time, due to the economic imperative of reducing the fixed costs in media enterprises, the amount of genuine journalistic investigation decreases in favour of 'ready made products' such as news agency material, pre-produced elements and formats. This process is encouraged by an oligopolistic owner structure and practices of cross-referencing between different media.

On the level of discourse and linguistic practices, van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999: 96) suggest that transformations due to recontextualization can include deletion, rearrangement (e.g. changing the order of propositions, altering of emphasis),

substitution (through linguistic means such as nominalization, metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, personalization) and addition (adding new elements to the representation of social practices). Kress and van Leeuwen mention, in the context of transformations, the 'import' of signs from other contexts (another era, another social group or cultural environment) 'to signify ideas and values which are associated with that other context from which we import the sign' (2001: 10). Bell (1997: 248) subsumes a similar idea under the notion of 'referee design'. Referees are, for Bell, third persons or groups 'who are so salient for a speaker that they influence style even in their absence'.

Media are linked to processes of mediation and to mediators that control the process of transmission, obeying to institutional hierarchies and power relations, depending on and creating rules of belonging and ways of doing (Debray, 2004). In this sense, social power relations, institutional hierarchies and economic constraints impact on how transformation within the intertextual chain takes place – on the discursive level as well as on the level of the linguistic (and other semiotic) means employed. On a macro-sociolinguistic level, media contributed under the nation-state paradigm to linguistic homogenization and to the rise of standard languages; under the present conditions of globalization they can equally contribute to the de-centring of unified standards and to reconfiguring linguistic spaces and language regimes (Busch, 2004).

Modalities and meanings

Media communication is inherently multimodal communication: this means that language in written and spoken form is only one of several modes

available for expressing a potential of meanings. For instance, in print media, layout and image are available in addition to the written word; in radio, language is present in its spoken form, alongside music and various sounds; in television, all the aforementioned modes can be drawn upon in a context in which the moving image holds a central position. Similarly, in CMC a wide range of modes is available. Kress states:

A multimodal approach assumes that the message is 'spread across' all the modes of communication. If this is so, then each mode is a partial bearer of the overall meaning of the message. All modes, speech and writing included, are then seen as always partial bearers of meaning only. This is a fundamental challenge to hitherto current notions of 'language' as a full means of making meaning (2002: 6)

Walter Benjamin's writings, especially on 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction' (Benjamin, 1938), were extremely influential in media studies. Taking the example of a painting being transformed into a photograph, he shows that the media content of the original work is still present, but is structured in a new way that reflects interdependency between the medium and new meanings. Harold Innis underlined in the 1950s (1997) the importance of technical developments in communication, of ways of transmission of information and of means of transport for cultural developments. Marshall McLuhan (1964) developed this idea further by coining the aphorism 'the medium is the message'. Cultural studies caution against a technical determinism that postulates a simple causal relationship between the technical and the social (Matelart, 2003). How different modes interact in the communication process is, from this point of view, not only a question of technical availability but also a question of social appropriation and convention, as Kress and van Leeuwen (2001) point out in their multimodal social semiotic theory.

The interplay between the different modes has undergone substantial changes in media history. Writing was considered in many cultural environments as the central mode for the transfer of canonical knowledge and authoritative discourse. This practice, of the predominance of the written text, influenced radio production so that practically all radio texts in the early days of the medium were produced first in written form and then read in the radio broadcast. Even in television for some time news broadcasts were read without a transmission of the image of the speaker as it was considered that the moving image could distract attention. Gradually the image has moved into a central position. The 'conversationalization'

of (political) discourse in the media gained in momentum with the image and with television (Fairclough, 1995: 9ff.). The so-called new media can contribute through their interactive practices to a further de-centring of standard languages and favour practices that draw on multiple stylistic and linguistic resources. Such practices in turn are taken up by traditional mass media and incorporated into their journalistic routines.

Imagining the audience

Present approaches exploring the relationship between language and the media generally draw on Mikhail Bakhtin's dialogic principle (1981) which assumes that in any utterance an interlocutor is present. Unlike in direct communication, in media communication, due to its specific spatially and temporally shifted conditions of reception, the interlocutor becomes an imagined, ideal counterpart. Bakhtin's work inspired Bell to develop his model of audience design. Observing a radio speaker who read the news bulletin on different radio stations, he noticed a style shift on the micro level of pronunciation and concluded: 'style shift occurs primarily in response to the speaker's audience' (Bell, 1997: 242). The audience design model differentiates between the 'addressees' who are directly addressed, the 'auditors' who are assumed to be the target audience of a particular media, the 'overhearsers' who might be present but do not form part of the target audience, and the 'eavesdroppers' who the speaker does not think of (1997: 241ff.). Bell's model, initially conceived for radio broadcasting, can be applied to other forms of media communication.

The notion of the target audience, which encompasses a spatial (local, regional, national, global) and/or a social (social status, income, age, gender) dimension is based on rigid and reified audience categories. Research on media coverage and definitions of target audiences are instruments of marketing research and correspond to criteria established by the advertising industry. Ang (1991) demonstrates that this approach is based on a discursive construct of audience that is unable to grasp the actual relationship between media and audiences or to conceive communication processes. She distinguishes between two main orientations: audience-as-public and audience-as-market. The first configuration of audience is generally associated with the public service media sector in which the addressee is seen as a citizen (of a state), and the relationship with the audience is paternal and aims at transmitting values, habits and tastes. It is linked to the so-called transmission model of communication, in which the transmission of a message and the ordered transfer

of meaning is the intended consequence of the communication process.

The second configuration of audience is associated with the private commercial media sector. Audiences are addressed as consumers in a double sense: as consumers of the media product and as potential consumers of the products advertised in the programmes. In the attention model of communication (McQuail, 1987), communication is considered successful as soon as attention is actually raised in audiences. The transfer of meaning plays a secondary role. The scoop, the extraordinary and the scandal gain in importance as means of awakening attention.

In the alternative media sector the conception of the audience is determined by the idea of an active public that participates in social action and media production. The aim is to overcome the division between producers and audiences, and to move closer to a situation in which 'the Other' is able to represent itself, and in which the heterogeneity of 'authentic informants' is not reduced. Alternative or third-sector media are consequently closer to the ideal of representing the multi-voicedness of society in all three dimensions which Bakhtin described: heterology (*raznorečie*), i.e. the diversity of discourses; heteroglossia (*raznojazyčie*), i.e. the diversity of language(s); and heterophony (*raznoglossie*), i.e. the diversity of individual voices (Todorov, 1984: 56).

These different basic orientations in conceiving the producer-audience relationship result in preferences for particular media formats (e.g. authoritative information-centred programmes, infotainment programmes, dialogic forms as phone-in programmes), and in a choice of particular linguistic practices. They also determine the way in which discourses are being shaped, reproduced and transformed.

Media and everyday practices

The question of how language and discourse in media communication relate to everyday linguistic and discursive practices is a matter of concern in the exploration of sociolinguistic interactions. As discussed above, recent work in style and stylization shows that the traditional scepticism concerning the impact of media on individual linguistic practices and on language shift is being challenged by empirical work investigating communication in style communities.

Reception studies within the traditional quantitative media studies approaches, often setting out from a sender-receiver model of communication without taking into account the actual environment and conditions of media reception, are not suitable for a processual analysis of media and

their role in everyday life. Whereas within the traditional paradigm it was somehow possible to differentiate between different media sectors (as print, TV, radio) and to measure their impact in individual reception habits in terms of time and intensity of contact, with present media developments and the diversification of receiving devices this seems virtually impossible. Under the conditions of a changing media landscape, the categories of producers and audiences blur as well as the demarcations between private mediated communication and public media communication. There is a claim for a new approach to the notion of audiences and everyday media practices which rejects models of passive media consumption (Gauntlett, 2007).

The multiplication of the possibilities of media contact and of media-recipient interfaces has increased with recent technical developments. Print media such as daily newspapers can for instance not only be read in their paper version but also in a modified form as (interactive) online versions or adapted for mobile phones. This means that the ways in which media are being appropriated in daily life are subjected to permanent change. New time-space articulations become salient. Whereas some two decades ago relatively stable reception habits could be assumed as bringing together audiences into national, ethnic or other social communities (Morley and Robins, 1996), present media reception is more characterized by individual practices, which become more ephemeral and deterritorialized. As in linguistics, in media studies and in media anthropology, everyday media practices, style and style communities have become an important focus (Kosnick, 2007). Such practices can also be understood as technologies of the self in a Foucauldian sense, as spaces for the production and reproduction of situated subject positions (Reckwitz, 2006).

In everyday life people participate in a range of different media spaces: besides the traditional national sphere, globalized spaces as well as localized media gain in importance, regional spaces beyond state borders emerge as broadcasting spaces, and transnational and translocal media link geographically-dispersed groups. Within these spaces, particular language regimes and linguistic practices develop. The development of such regimes and practices as well as the way in which they are related to other everyday language practices opens up a vast field of research.

NOTES

- 1 For the question of public sphere and its fragmentations see the discussions of Habermas' model

which was developed in the 1960s and which was based on the assumption of a single unified (national) public sphere (Habermas, 1990). Critiques of Habermas' model were formulated by feminist studies (e.g. Benhabib, 1992; Fraser, 1992) and also later by scholars accentuating questions of ethnicity, race and language as factors of exclusion (e.g. Husband, 2000; Morley, 2000). Habermas concedes, in a revision of his model, that he neglected the existence of counter publics and counter discourses (Habermas, 1990).

2 Hinglish (a combination of the words Hindi and English) designates a blend of Hindi and English vernaculars in the urban areas of the states of India where Hindi is spoken.

REFERENCES

- Anderson, B. (1983) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Androutsopoulos, J. (2007a) 'Bilingualism in the mass media and on the Internet', in M. Heller (ed.), *Bilingualism: a Social Approach*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 207–30.
- Androutsopoulos, J. (2007b) 'Style online: doing hip-hop on the German speaking web', in P. Auer (ed.), *Style and Social Identities. Alternative Approaches to Linguistic Heterogeneity*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. pp. 279–321.
- Ang, I. (1991) *Desperately Seeking the Audience*. London: Routledge.
- Appadurai, A. (1998) 'Globale ethnische Räume. Bemerkungen und Fragen zur Entwicklung einer transnationalen Anthropologie', in U. Beck (ed.), *Perspektiven der Weltgesellschaft*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp. pp. 11–41.
- Auer, P. (2007) 'Introduction', in P. Auer (ed.), *Style and Social Identities. Alternative Approaches to Linguistic Heterogeneity*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. pp. 1–21.
- Bakhtin, M. (1981) *The Dialogic Imagination*. Ed. M. Holquist. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Barthes, R. (1994/1966) 'Introduction à l'analyse structurale des récits' ['Introduction to the structural analysis of narrative'], in E. Marty (ed.), *Roland Barthes. Oeuvres complètes. Tome II. 1966–1973. Édition établie et présentée par Éric Marty*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.
- Bell, A. (1991) *The Language of News Media*. London: Blackwell.
- Bell, A. (1997) 'Language style as audience design', in N. Coupland and A. Jaworski (eds), *Sociolinguistics. A Reader and Coursebook*. New York: St. Martin's Press. pp. 240–50.
- Bell, A. (1999) 'Styling the other to define the self: a study in New Zealand identity making', *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 3(4): 523–41.
- Benhabib, S. (1992) 'Models of public space: Hannah Arendt, the Liberal tradition, and Jürgen Habermas' in C. Calhoun (ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. pp. 73–99.
- Benjamin, W. (1938) 'Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit' ['The Work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction'], in R. Tiedemann and H. Schweppenhäuser (eds) (1980), *Walter Benjamin: Gesammelte Schriften I, 2. (Werkausgabe Band 2)*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp. pp. 471–508.
- Blommaert, J., Collins, J. and Slembrouck, S. (2005) 'Spaces of multilingualism', *Language and Communication*, 25(3): 197–216.
- Böse, M. and Busch, B. (2007) 'The political potential of multi-acculturality in the exhibition title "gastarbajteri"', *Journal of Language and Politics*, 6(3): 437–57.
- Bourdieu, P. (1979) *La distinction: critique sociale du jugement*. Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit.
- Bourdieu, P. (1982) *Ce que parler veut dire. L'économie des échanges linguistiques*. Paris: Fayard.
- Burger, H. (2000) 'Textsorten in Massenmedien', in K. Brinker, G. Antos, W. Heinemann and S. Sager (eds), *Text- und Gesprächslinguistik. Ein internationales Handbuch zeitgenössischer Forschung. 1. Halbband*. Berlin: de Gruyter. pp. 614–28.
- Burger, H. (2005) *Mediensprache*. 3rd edn. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Busch, B. (1999) *Der virtuelle Dorfplatz. Minderheitenmedien, Globalisierung und kulturelle Identität*. Klagenfurt, Celovec: Drava.
- Busch, B. (2004) *Sprachen im Disput. Medien und Öffentlichkeit in multilingualen Gesellschaften*. Klagenfurt: Drava.
- Busch, B. (2006) 'Media, politics and discourse: interactions' in K. Brown (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*. 2nd edn. Oxford: Elsevier. pp. 609–16.
- Cameron, D. (2006) 'Theorizing the female voice in public contexts', in J. Baxter (ed.), *Speaking Out: The Female Voice in Public Contexts*. Houndmills: Palgrave. pp. 3–20.
- Castells, M. (2000) *The Rise of the Network Society*. 2nd edn. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Chouliarakis, L. and Fairclough, N. (1999) *Discourse in Late Modernity: Rethinking Critical Discourse Analysis*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Clayman, S. and Heritage, J. (2002) *The News Interview: Journalists and Public Figures on the Air*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cormack, M. (1998) 'Minority language media in Western Europe. Preliminary considerations', *European Journal of Communication*, 13(1): 33–52.
- Cormack, M. (2004) 'Developing minority media studies', *Mercator Media Forum*, 7(1): 3–12.
- Cottle, S. (ed.) (2000) *Ethnic Minorities and the Media*. Buckingham, Open University Press.
- Coupland, N. (2001) 'Dialect stylization in radio talk', *Language in Society*, 30: 345–75.
- Coupland, N. (2007a) 'Aneurin Bevan, class wars and the styling of political antagonism', in P. Auer (ed.), *Style and Social Identities. Alternative Approaches to Linguistic Heterogeneity*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. pp. 213–47.
- Coupland, N. (2007b) *Style*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Crystal, D. (2001) *Language and the Internet*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Internet. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Debray, R. (2004) *Transmitting Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Deppermann, A. (2007) 'Playing with the voice of the other: stylized Kanakspak in conversations', in P. Auer (ed.), *Style and Social Identities. Alternative Approaches to Linguistic Heterogeneity*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. pp. 325–61.
- Drew, P. and Heritage, J. (eds) (2006) *Conversation Analysis*. 4 vols. London: Sage.
- European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (1992). *European Treaty Series*, 148. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing.
- European Commission (2002) 'Dubbed or subtitles? Le cinéma européen vu comme une opportunité de pratiquer les langues étrangères dans le cadre de l'AEI 2001', *Note de la Commission*. Bruxelles: Directorate General for Education and Culture.
- European Commission (2005) A New Framework Strategy for Multilingualism. http://ec.europa.eu/education/languages/archive/doc/com596_en.pdf (COM (2005) 596 final).
- European Commission (2006) *Special Eurobarometer. Europeans and their Languages*. Bruxelles: European Commission.
- Fairclough, N. (1995) *Media Discourse*. London: Arnold.
- Fairclough, N. (1998) 'Political discourse in the media: an analytical framework', in A. Bell and P. Garrett (eds), *Approaches to Media Discourse*. Oxford: Blackwell. pp. 142–62.
- Fairclough, N. and Wodak, R. (1997) 'Critical discourse analysis', in T. van Dijk (ed.), *Introduction to Discourse Analysis*. London: Sage. pp. 258–84.
- Fishman, J. (1991) *Reversing Language Shift*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Fiske, J. (1987, 1989) *Television Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Fowler, R. (1991) *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press*. London: Routledge.
- Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (1995). *European Treaty Series*, 157. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.
- Franchon, C. and Vargaftig, M. (eds) (1995) *European Television: Immigration and Ethnic Minorities*. London: Libbey.
- Fraser, N. (1992) 'Rethinking the public sphere: a contribution to the critique of actually existing democracy' in C. Calhoun (ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. pp. 109–142.
- Garfinkel, H. (1967) *Studies in Ethnomethodology*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Gauntlett, D. (2007) *Creative Explorations: New Approaches to Identities and Audiences*. London: Routledge.
- Giles, H. (1973) 'Accent mobility: a model and some data', *Anthropological Linguistics*, 15: 87–105.
- Giles, H. (ed.) (1977) *Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations*. London: Academic Press.
- Glasgow University Media Group (1976) *Bad News*. London: Routledge.
- Glasgow University Media Group (1980) *More Bad News*. London: Routledge.
- Goffman, E. (1974) *Frame Analysis*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Goffman, E. (1981) *Forms of Talk*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Greatbach, D. (1986) 'Aspects of topical organisation in news interviews: the use of agenda-shifting procedures by news interviewees', *Media, Culture and Society*, 8(4): 441–55.
- Greatbach, D. (1998) 'Conversation analysis', in A. Bell and P. Garrett (eds), *Approaches to Media Discourse*. Oxford: Blackwell. pp. 163–85.
- Gumperz, J. and Hymes, D. (eds) (1972) *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Habermas, J. (1990) *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp. (1st edn, 1962.) (English translation (1989): *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. Cambridge: Polity Press.)
- Hall, S. (2000) 'Encoding/decoding', in P. Morris and S. Thornham (eds), *Media Studies*. New York: New York University Press. pp. 51–61.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1978) *Language as Social Semiotics. The Social Interpretation of Language and Meaning*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Hargreaves, A. (2001) 'Kein monokulturelles Menü: Medienrezeption in Frankreich und Deutschland', in B. Busch, B. Hipfl and K. Robins (eds), *Bewegte Identitäten. Medien in transkulturellen Kontexten*. Klagenfurt: Drava. pp. 128–45.
- Heller, M. (2000) 'Bilingualism and identity in the post-modern world', *Estudios de Sociolingüística*, 1(2): 9–24.
- Heller, M. (2003) 'Globalization, the new economy, and the commodification of language and identity', *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 7(4): 473–92.
- Heller, M. and Labrie, N. (2003) 'Langage, pouvoir et identité: une étude de cas, une approche théorique, une méthodologie', in M. Heller and N. Labrie (eds), *Discours et identité. La francité canadienne entre modernité et mondialisation*. Cortil-Wodon: Editions Modulaires Européennes (E. M. E.). pp. 9–41.
- Heritage, J. (1985) 'Analysing news interviews: aspects of the production of talk for an «overhearing» audience', in T. van Dijk (ed.), *Handbook of Discourse Analysis. Discourse and Dialogue*. Vol. 3. London: Academic Press. pp. 95–117.
- Hinnenkamp, V. and Selting, M. (eds) (1989) *Stil und Stilisierung. Arbeiten zur interpretativen Soziolinguistik*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Hodge, R. and Kress, G. (1988) *Social Semiotics*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Husband, C. (1994) *A Richer Vision: The Development of Ethnic Minority Media in Western Europe*. London: Libbey.
- Husband, C. (2000) 'Media and the public sphere in multiethnic societies', in S. Cottle (ed.), *Ethnic Minorities and the Media*. Buckingham: Open University Press. pp. 199–214.
- Hutchby, I. (1991) The organisation of Talk on radio, in P. Scannell (ed.), *Broadcast Talk*. London, Sage. pp. 119–37.
- Hutchby, I. (2006) *Media Talk: Conversation Analysis and the Study of Broadcasting*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Hymes, D. (1962) 'The ethnography of speaking', in T. Gladwin and W. Sturtevant (eds), *Anthropology and Human Behavior*. Washington, DC: Anthropological Society of Washington. pp. 13–53.
- Innis, H. A. (1951) *The bias of communication*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Innis, H. A. (1997) *Kreuzwege der Kommunikation. Ausgewählte Texte*. Ed. K. Back. New York: Springer.
- Jacquemet, M. (2005) 'Transidiomatic practices: language and power in the age of globalization', *Language and Communication*, 25: 257–77.
- Kelly-Holmes, H. (2005) *Advertising as Multilingual Communication*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Koolstra, C. M. and Beentjes, J. W. J. (1999) 'Children's vocabulary acquisition in a foreign language through watching subtitled TV programmes at home', *Educational Technology Research and Development*, 47: 51–60.
- Kosnick, K. (2007) *Migrant Media: Turkish Broadcasting and Multicultural Politics in Berlin*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Kotthoff, H. (2004) 'Overdoing culture? Sketch-Komik, Typenstilisierung und Identitätskonstruktionen bei Kaya Yanar', in J. Reuter (ed.), *Doing Culture*. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag. pp. 184–201.
- Kress, G. (2002) 'The multimodal landscape of communication', in *Medien Journal*, 4(2002): 4–19.
- Kress, G. and van Leeuwen, T. (2001) *Multimodal Discourse. The Modes and Media of Contemporary Communication*. London: Arnold.
- Kristeva, J. (1980) *Desire in Language. A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Labov, W. (1972) *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- McLuhan, M. (1964) *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- McQuail, D. (1987) *Mass Communication Theory: An Introduction*. London: Sage.
- Mattellart, A. (2003) *The Information Society: An Introduction*. Tr. S. G. Taponier. London: Sage.
- Meinhof, U. (1994) 'Double talk in news broadcasts', in D. Graddol and O. Boyd-Barrett (eds), *Media Texts: Authors and Readers*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters. pp. 212–23.
- Meinhof, U. (1998) *Language Learning in the Age of Satellite Television*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mercator Media (ed.) (2000) *Proceedings of the Mercator Conference on Audiovisual Translation and Minority Languages*. Aberystwyth, University of Wales. (3–4 April 2000). Aberystwyth: Mercator Media.
- Montgomery, M. (2001) 'Defining "authenticity talk"', *Discourse Studies*, 3(4): 397–405.
- Moring, T. and Husband, C. (2007) 'The contribution of Swedish language media in Finland to linguistic vitality', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 187/188: 75–101.
- Morley, D. (2000) *Home Territories: Media, Mobility and Identity*. London: Routledge.
- Morley, D. and Robins, K. (1996) *Spaces of Identity. Global Media, Electronic Landscapes and Cultural boundaries*. London: Routledge.
- Perrin, D. (2006) *Medienlinguistik*. Konstanz: utb.
- Rampton, B. (2006) *Language in Late Modernity: Interaction in an Urban School*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Reckwitz, A. (2006) *Das hybride Subjekt. Eine Theorie der Subjektkulturen von der bürgerlichen Moderne zur Postmoderne*. Weilerswist: Velbrück Wissenschaft.
- Reisigl, M. and Wodak, R. (2001) *Discourse and Discrimination*. London: Routledge.
- Ricento, T. (2006) 'Theoretical perspectives in language policy: an overview', in T. Ricento (ed.), *Language Policy: Theory and Practice – an Introduction*. London: Blackwell. pp. 10–24.
- Robins, K. (1997) *Programming for People. From Cultural Rights to Cultural Responsibilities*. New York: United Nations World Television Forum.
- Sacks, H., Schegloff, E. and Jefferson, G. (1974) 'A simplest systematics for the organisation of turn-taking in conversation', *Language*, 50: 696–735.
- Scannell, P. (ed.) (1991) *Broadcast Talk*. London: Sage.
- Schmitz, U. (2004) *Sprache in modernen Medien. Einführung in Tatsachen und Theorien, Themen und Thesen*. Berlin: Schmidt Erich Verlag.
- Scollon, R. (1998) *Mediated Discourse as Social Interaction: An Ethnographic Study of News Discourse*. London: Longman.
- Scollon, R. and Scollon, S. W. (2003) *Discourses in Place. Language in the Material World*. London: Routledge.
- Scollon, R. and Scollon, W. S. (2004) *Nexus Analysis. Discourse and the Emerging Internet*. London: Routledge.
- Sebban, M. (2007) 'Identity and language construction in an on-line community: the case of "Ali G."', in P. Auer (ed.), *Style and Social Identities. Alternative Approaches to Linguistic Heterogeneity*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. pp. 361–93.
- Shohamy, E. (2006) *Language Policy. Hidden Agendas and New Approaches*. London: Routledge.
- Shohamy, E. and Gorter, D. (eds) (2009) *Linguistic Landscape. Expanding the Scenery*. New York: Routledge.
- ter Wal, J. (ed.) (2002) *Racism and Cultural Diversity in the Mass Media. An Overview of Research and Examples of Good Practice in the EU Member States, 1995–2002*. Vienna: ERCOMER.
- Thornborrow, J. (2006) 'Media: analysis and methods', in K. Brown, (ed.), *Elsevier Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*. 2nd edn. Oxford: Elsevier.
- Thussu, D. K. (2000) *International Communication. Continuity and Change*. London: Arnold.
- Todorov, T. (1984) *Mikhail Bakhtin. The Dialogic Principle*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- van Dijk, T. (1988) *News as Discourse*. London: Routledge.
- van Dijk, T. (1991) *Racism and the Press*. London: Routledge.
- van Dijk, T. (2009) *Society and Discourse: How Social Contexts Influence Text and Talk*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- van Leeuwen, T. and Wodak, R. (1999) 'Legitimizing immigration control: a discourse-historical analysis', *Discourse Studies*, 1(1): 83–118.
- Wodak, R. (2009) *The Discourse of Politics in Action: Politics as Usual*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

- Wodak, R. and Busch, B. (2004) 'Approaches to media texts', in J. Downing, D. McQuail, P. Schlesinger and E. Wartella (eds), *The Handbook of Media Studies*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. pp. 105–22.
- Wodak, R. and Koller, V. (eds) (2008) *Handbook of Communication in the Public Sphere. Handbooks of Applied Linguistics 4*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Wodak, R. and Meyer, M. (eds) (2009) *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis. Introducing Qualitative Methods*. 2nd edn. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Wright, S. (ed.) (2006) 'Languages of the internet', *Special Issue of the Journal of Language and Politics*, 5: 2. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

PART

Multilingualism and Contact