Artistic Codemixing

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1 Introduction

1.1 The Path to Artistic Codemixing[1]

Until recently, the artistic use of language in literature, film, and song had remained at the margins of my linguistic interests and research, which have had as their major focus oral corpora in Francophone Louisiana. However, my abiding fascination with language contact phenomena, coupled with my investigation of domains of language use in Louisiana, led me quite naturally to view with curiosity codeswitching phenomena between English and French in Cajun and zydeco songs. Based on initial experiences, it is clear to me that artistic codemixing[2] is a very fertile field of inquiry for exploring language and identity issues. It is a field, moreover, that has considerable potential for productively uniting linguistics with other disciplines such as ethnomusicology, cultural anthropology, poetics, and literary criticism. In the following, a variety of artistic codemixing practices, found in songs, film, and literature, will be analyzed in connection with the construction of ethnic identity as projected by the artistic author (i.e., composer, writer, or director) or as projected by performers during the act of interpretation.

1.2 Lyrics and Linguistics

Because lyrics are examples of scripted communication, issues pertaining to the appropriateness of such texts for linguistic analysis, and to the overall relationship between linguistics and any written literature, come to mind. Indeed, these issues contributed to my previous hesitation with regard to the

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[2] The term "artistic codemixing" was introduced in Picone 2000.

study of artistic use of language. Despite the fact that modern linguistics was born when Saussure (1916) rejected the textual orientation of philology, ensuing linguistic theory and literary criticism have had a fairly longstanding relationship, howbeit bumpy and unidirectional. That is, the history of literary criticism is replete with cycles of alternating infatuation with and rejection of models of linguistic theory (cf. Henkel 1996, Petrey 1990), including structuralism, transformational-generative grammar, and speech-act theory. With the advent of deconstructionism, literary criticism parted ways with linguistic theory fairly decisively (Culler 1982), though some flirtation still lingers in relation to speech-act theory. By and large, there has been little reciprocation on the part of linguists. No doubt this is due to the fact that, since Saussure, most linguists have favored the analysis of ordinary oral data over preestablished text. Linguists ignore oral data, goes the thinking, at the peril of jeopardizing the important gains of the Saussurian revolution. However, Bernstein (1994) and others in the area of "text linguistics" have demonstrated, on one hand, that evolving linguistic models can continue to be productive for literary analysis and, on the other, that texts are appropriate to linguistic analysis. The two phenomena are two sides of the same coin.

1.3 Songs: Written or Oral Expression?

When it comes to song composition and performance, even the basic question of the proper categorization and labeling of the medium is not straightforward. Is it written, oral, both, or something in between? The lyrics of a song can be analyzed as a written text, to be sure, but only at the risk of disincarnating the message and compromising the potential illocutionary force. This problem is not an entirely new one, for text and oral delivery are linked in many literary and semi-literary genre—poetry, drama, epic verse, and storytelling—but it is nowhere more acute nor better illustrated than in contemporary song. There, orality and audibility are essential components because the words are meant to be sung and to interact in myriad ways with melody, rhythm, stress, timing, volume, voice qualities, vocal affectations, accompanying instrumentation, etc., in order to deliver the message (cf. van Leeuwen 1999). A striking example of this can be heard in Céline Dion's performance of "*Des mots qui sonnent*," where the in-your-face lyrics and musical arrangement are part and parcel of the same message. Likewise the smooth singing style of Dean Martin, interpreting "That's *amore*," is an essential component in delivering a romantic message that revolves around the incorporation of an Italianism. With that in mind, I will nonetheless keep to a minimum remarks about musical arrangement in order to focus on the primary themes of artistic codemixing and the construction of ethnic identity.

1.4 Selecting the Genre

Codemixing takes place in a variety of artistic genre. For example, French is injected rather liberally into the speech of some of the characters inhabiting the works of nineteenth-century authors such as Dostoevsky, Tolstoy, Charlotte Brontë, and Louisiana-based writers such as George Washington Cable, Kate Chopin, and Grace King. In film, codemixing can be a highly complex affair due to the use of intricate scripting in order to obtain the desired ethnic coloration while keeping the film accessible to the intended audience (cf. Palacios 2001). Typically, accents and token phrases denote ethnic authenticity in relation to some or all of the main characters portrayed, whereas background speech and occasional excerpts of dialog might be maintained in the language appropriate to the setting. In film, there may also be an unusual type of confusion between the boundaries of the written and the oral code due to the inclusion of subtitled segments. For the purposes of this paper, I draw examples primarily from song, but some of the songs to be mentioned constitute part of a film soundtrack, or else have a literary link, and this will generate a certain amount of cross-genre commentary. I have already alluded to one of my reasons for concentrating on songs: It was codeswitching in Cajun and zydeco songs that piqued my interest in artistic codemixing in the first place and which then led me to consider other developments that involve bilingualism and codemixing in the American music scene. Outside of America, another compelling reason is that, when it comes to the arts and entertainment, contemporary song now occupies center stage in the creation of globalized culture. The presence of codemixing in international popular music and in World Music is a new and audacious dynamic worthy of close examination. For linguists, this phenomenon is of particular interest because it occupies a place in the larger debate concerning the description and explanation of codemixing practices, strategies, and motivations.

This paper, then, will be organized around instances of artistic codemixing in popular and World Music, matching the examples cited with different types of illocutionary force in relation to the construction of ethnic identity. My definition of "codemixing" is intentionally broad. It includes borrowings, both longstanding and nonce, codeswitching, both intersentential and intrasentential, code-convergence (e.g., accent), and what some refer to as language-crossing or code-crossing, that is, "the use of a language which is not generally thought to 'belong' to the speaker" for the purpose of "exploring other people's ethnicities, embracing them and/or creating new ones" (Rampton 1998:291, 300). I will differentiate between these, where necessary, on a case-by-case basis.

2 American Music

2.1 Codemixing Crooners

If it weren't for Dean Martin's 1953 hit "That's *amore*," or for Doris Day's 1956 movie "*Qué será será*,"[3] or for Mitzi Gaynor's 1958 rendition of "*Dites-moi pourquoi la vie est belle*"[4], the already slim knowledge of Italian, Spanish, and French of many Americans would be slimmer still. Consider the codemixed attributes of the songs. In "That's *amore*," the inclusion of the Italian word is contextually appropriate to the theme and imagery of the song ("When the moon hits your eye like a big pizza piē / That's *amore*") and also connects with Martin's own persona as a prominent Italian-American (born Dino Crocetti, 1917). The use of "*Qué será será*" is contextually appropriate to the exotic environment in which Hitchcock's movie takes place, and the Spanish phrasing simultaneously adds pedigree to the saying by giving it the imprimatur of inherited wisdom. "*Dites-moi*" is also contextually appropriate to the French Polynesian setting of *South Pacific*, wherein cultures and alternating romantic attractions and prejudices mix and clash. In all of these cases, the use of codemixing is fairly minimal and justifiable as being pragmatically harmonious with the setting. The token inclusion of foreign elements allows for the injection of a degree of exoticism without compromising a sense of conformity to mainstream American identity (notwithstanding the underlying theme of *South Pacific*). Generally speaking, crooner codemixing is not at variance with prevailing American assimilationist sentiment. One could even argue that this kind of codemixing only serves to emphasize, by the token inclusion of foreign elements, how much assimilation has taken place. That is, such playful use of foreign words neutralizes foreignness and subsumes it to the dominion of mainstream American identity, thus rendering other identities less threatening. Even where the inclusion of a non-English element is more than token, as in the case of the incorporation of a considerable amount of Hawaiian vocabulary in "My Little Grass Shack in

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[3] "*Qué será será*," by J. Livingston and R. Evans. Day sang the song as Jo McKenna in Hitchcock's *The Man who Knew Too Much* (1956). The Spanish lyrics are immediately translated into English: "*Qué será será* / Whatever will be, will be". The song was the theme for Day's TV show and appeared in *The Glass Bottom Boat* (1966).

[4] As Nellie Forbush, Mary Martin sang in the Broadway production (1949) and Mitzi Gaynor in the movie (1958). The French text follows: Dites-moi pourqoui la vie est belle / Dites-moi pourquoi la vie est gaie / Dites-moi pourquoi, chère Mademoiselle / Est-ce que parce que vous m'aimez? The subsequent English verse is only a partial translation: Tell me why the sky is filled with music? / Tell me why we fly on clouds above? / Can it be that we can fly to music / Just because, just because we're in love?

Kealakekua Hawaii," (popularized in the 1950s by Arthur Godfrey, originally recorded in 1933), the overall effect remains decidedly mainstream and vaguely paternalistic in tone because the song cannot be disassociated from the persona of the white mainlander who is interpreting it.

It is true that a song's message, as projected or perceived, may be different if the circumstances of its singing differ: a different performer, audience, time, or context. The illocutionary force of the song can never be immutably fixed. Here an important point must be conceded to the deconstructionists who abandoned the notion, à la J.L. Austin (1962), that intentionality is cast at the moment of the creation of an utterance. The songwriter knows that a song, once it is released into the public domain, takes on a life of its own and can be recycled and re-exploited as a mutable vehicle of expression. We shall see an example of this in the case of "Lady *Marmalade*," a song which has had many incarnations and which was recently relaunched (and recommodified) for use in the film *Moulin Rouge*. However, artistic codemixing can lend an additional dynamic contributing to the mutability of the message, because different messages can be created simultaneously for different audiences. Consider again the song "*Dites-moi pourquoi*," where the English counterpoint to the French is not meant to be a complete and faithful translation (see [4]). As a result, two different messages are created: one for the bilingual and one for the English monolingual. Compare to "*Qué será será*," where the audience, having heard the Spanish, is immediately reunified by inclusion of the faithful translation, "Whatever will be, will be."

2.2 Bilingual Latinos

In the 1960s and '70s, American popular music consumers became aware of the growing presence of the Latino element, due to the rise of stars like Florencia Bisenta de Casillas Martínez Cardona, a.k.a. Vikki Carr. She was the first American-born Latina to hit the top of the music charts in both Anglo- and Hispanophone countries, but she kept languages and styles well compartmentalized. Perhaps José Feliciano can be credited with the first top-40 hit involving English and Spanish codemixing: "*Feliz Navidad*" (1970). He also mixed musical styles, as in his Latinized version of The Doors' "Light My Fire". During the same period, Mexican-born Carlos Santana began mixing musical styles to an unprecedented degree, uniting rock and blues with Afro-Latin rhythms long before the advent of "*World Music*". Santana did not incorporate codemixing at the outset, however.[5]

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[5] Santana's first album incorporating Spanish, including "*Oye como va*," was *Abraxas* (Columbia, 1970), but languages were not mixed.

The 1980s and '90s brought more Latino crossover stars to the forefront of popular music. The "Queen of Latin Pop," Cuban refugee Gloria Estefan (born Glorita María Fajardo), began recording in Spanish with Miami Sound Machine in 1981, then crossed over successfully to English in 1985, sometimes bringing with her Latin rhythms, such as the dance hit "*Conga*," (1985), but she, too, has shied away from linguistic codemixing. Puerto Rican crossover star Ricky Martin took tentative steps in the direction of codemixing, along with style mixing, with his hit "Livin' *la vida loca*." However, the Spanish element does not go much further than that one line, except to tell us that "her skin's the color of *moca*" in order to effect a rhyme using a well-integrated borrowing. Unquestionably, the biggest recent success involving codemixing is the hit song "*Macarena*," which topped out the charts after being converted from a monolingual Spanish song into a rearranged, codemixed song by the Bayside Boys (1996). The song is notable because it involves not only a Spanish-language refrain that is incomprehensible to monolingual listeners, but also has a female vocalist, Carla Ramírez, who uses intersentential codeswitching (and intrasentential, if proper names are taken into account). She pronounces all Hispanic proper names using Spanish phonology and operates two mid-sentence code switches (1a-c).

(1)a. When I dance they call me *Macarena* [maka'rena]
        And the boys, they say *que estoy buena*
    b. Now don't you worry about my boyfriend
        The boy whose name is *Vitorino* [vito'rino]
    c. Come and find me, my name is *Macarena*
        Always at the party *con las chicas que son buenas*[6]

Codemixing of this type goes far beyond the quaint English-Spanish counterpoint of Feliciano's "*Feliz Navidad*" and draws the Anglophone listener into an Hispanified ambiance that sounds and feels authentic. It is precisely because of the intersentential codeswitching, along with native pronunciation of names, in lyrics that are vocalized in a casual, semi-conversational style, that the female persona seems real and connects to the same world as the male voices of the Spanish refrain. Ultimately, the Spanish in the song is perceived as much more than token, and the listener is obliged to entertain a notion of bicultural identity, going far beyond what can be produced by the lighthearted borrowing of quaint words or idioms. This is surely a part of the attraction and fascination of the song "*Macarena*" for the

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[6] The final -*s* on *buenas* is not realized. Spanish here veils a potentially sexually suggestive comment: *estoy buena*. Compare to French in "Lady *Marmalade*".

mainstream American listener. It also demonstrates the power of creative codemixing to obtain a powerful artistic effect in the construction of identity.

To give credit where it is due, I should mention that this kind of Spanish-English artistic codemixing has been more consistently developed (outside the mainstream) in Texas, with the advent of *tejano*, the music of Texas Mexican youth (Koster 1998: 218-226). Tejano not only mixes pop, country, and rock with traditional Texas *conjunto*, but its composers and singers are usually bilingual, and some of their compositions and performances are famous for the use of codemixing, as in the example of the humorous classic "Hey Baby, *¿Qué Pasó?*" by the Texas Tornados.

The precedent has been sufficiently set and it has been proven that Spanish-English codemixed songs can sell. As a consequence, a new phase of commodification has added to the momentum, such that every Latino performer is now free to take liberties in this direction. Some cuts become hits, such as Enrique Iglesias' *"Bailamos"* (1999). Indeed, even Latino performers who are English dominant may feel that they need to engage in some degree of codemixed musical art in order to maintain their bicultural credentials. Jennifer Lopez' *"Cariño"* (2001) is a case in point. Perhaps in other cases Latino composers and performers want to demonstrate in their art that they are in touch with the cutting edge of an evolving, collective bicultural identity, whether or not they embrace all aspects of it. Whatever the reasons, Santana no longer feels obliged to keep his English and Spanish songs compartmentalized, judging by "Maria, Maria" from *Supernatural* (Artista Records, 1999). The cut contains quite a bit of codemixing, which helps create a new ethnic dimension as the song recalls and recasts the clashing identities of the world of the original Maria of *West Side Story*.

2.3 Louisiana Connections: Factual and Fictional

2.3.1 Verse-Switching Cajuns and Countrified Jambalaya

Recalling the context for the creation of Tejano music, a comparison can be made with a parallel situation existing among today's Cajun and zydeco artists. Like Texas Hispanics, Louisiana Cajuns and Afro-Creole musicians draw from two linguistic traditions and a variety of musical traditions. Some contemporary songwriters and performers, such as Michael Doucet and Wayne Toups, will, in recorded music and even more often on stage, sometimes alternate between English and French verses. They have adopted this strategy to make their music understandable and accessible to an English-dominant audience while simultaneously maintaining authenticity. Interestingly, though these same bilingual Cajun musicians, like their Tejano coun-

terparts, would exhibit rampant codeswitching in normal conversation (both inter- and intrasentential), their concern about preserving endangered Cajun French in the form of their art rarely allows them the liberty to engage in similar codemixing in composing, in contrast to their Tejano counterparts. Verses can alternate, but the French verses must remain pure. Once again, a particular configuration of code-mixing, which has become an artistic convention in this case, is the vehicle for making a corresponding statement about identity. The Cajun who engages in "verse-switching" signals his/her biculturality, but also that s/he is a defender of the Cajun culture and sympathetic to the movement to preserve French in Louisiana.

Using an approach comparable to that of the codemixing crooners, Hank Williams composed and sang the codemixed "*Jambalaya*." Williams was an Alabama native (b. 1923), but had musical connections to the *Louisiana Hayride*, a radio program broadcast out of Shreveport, LA, (KWKH) from 1948–60, which was a venue of cross-fertilization for country and Cajun musicians. For his hit single "*Jambalaya*" (1952), he revised the tune of a Cajun song, "Le Grand Texas,"[7] and wrote new lyrics, making playful use of Cajunisms for their exotic appeal (*pirogue, bayou, jambalaya, filé gumbo, ma chère amie-o,*[8] *Yvonne, Thibodaux, Fontenot*) within the framework of a country music arrangement. As with the codemixing crooners, Williams' codemixing is intentionally crafted to be endearing and nonchallenging to the mainstream listener, who, with the help of the upbeat melody, appreciates the imaginary trip to the bayou for the lighthearted pretense that it is.

2.3.2 Lady *Marmalade* and Blanche DuBois

Also in relation to Louisiana, specifically New Orleans, one can point to Patti LaBelle's hit single "Lady *Marmalade*" (1975) as an example of "codecrossing" (Rampton 1995, 1998) used as an artistic device to create the fiction—much more elaborate and engaging than in "*Jambalaya*"—of a complex bi- or trilingual persona. The song was composed by Kenny Nolan and Bob Crewe, neither of whom is from Louisiana (nor is LaBelle). "Lady *Marmalade*" has since been recorded by various other artists, most recently, the reworked hit version for the soundtrack of *Moulin Rouge* (directed by Baz Luhrmann, 2001), performed by Christina Aguilera, Mya, Pink, and Lil'

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[7] I owe this observation to Hadley Castille, a long-time and very knowledgable Cajun composer and performer based in Opelousas, Louisiana.

[8] The -*o* suffix on *ma chère amie-o*, also found attached to various English words to effect a rhyme, is a liberty introduced by Hank Williams. Curiously, the -*o* suffix, along with the opening phrasing "Goodbye, Joe, me gotta go" strangely recall apparent Jamaican Creole influence on the lyrics of the "Banana Boat Song," recorded by Harry Belafonte (1955, *Calypso*), which contains lines such as "Day, me say day-o."

Kim. In its most recent incarnation, in which liberties have been taken with
the lyrics, the song has once again made proof of its tremendous power to
charm. As it turns out, and though it lent itself to crass recommodification in
this context (MTV promotional version), the inclusion of the song in *Moulin
Rouge* was much better motivated, artistically speaking, than what would
superficially appear to be the case. The song contains the only French utter-
ance appearing anywhere in the movie, but its inclusion provides a fascinat-
ing point of connection. First, the lyrics of the original version:

(2)   Hey, sister, go sister

       He met Marmalade down in Old New Orleans[9]
       Struttin' her stuff on the street
       She said "Hello,
       Hey Joe, you wanna give it a go?" Mmm Hmmm
       (First refrain:)
       Gitchi Gitchi Ya Ya Da Da
       Gitchi Gitchi Ya Ya Here
       Mocca chocolata Ya Ya
       Creole Lady Marmalade
       (Second refrain:)
       Voulez-vous coucher avec moi ce soir?
       Voulez-vous coucher avec moi?

       He sat in her pool
       While she freshened up
       That boy drank all that Magnolia wine
       Oh her black satin sheets
       Is where he started to freak

       Heh, Heh, Hehhhh
       Touching her skin feeling silky smooth
       Color of café au lait
       Made the savage beast inside
       Roar until it cried More, More, More
       Now he's back home doing 9 to 5
       Living his gray flannel life
       But when he turns off to sleep
       All memories keep More, More, More

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[9] For the purposes of the film, this line was changed to "Old Moulin Rouge."

> Voulez-vous couchez avec moi ce soir?
> Creole Lady Marmalade

This song throws lots of interesting curves, and a good many of them are linguistic. It begins with a prominent exclamation of sisterly/racial solidarity, but also hints strongly, later in the song, that Lady Marmalade is mixed-race (*Creole, café au lait* skin, *mocca chocolata*). Early, we also learn that there is a French dimension to Lady Marmalade, real or affected, because the name *Marmalade* receives a partially Frenchified pronunciation as [maɪmə'lad] rather than ['maɪmɔlejd]. This will be reinforced later when we reach the French refrain. But before we get there, we are made to realize that Lady Marmalade is bilingual and possibly trilingual. She makes her first pitch to her prospective customer—for she is a New Orleans street-walker[10]—in English. Then, in the first refrain, we are immediately treated to something that appears to be imitation Louisiana Creole, or a mysterious voodoo incantation, or a ditty recalling the traditional New Orleans chant "*Iko Iko*". In relation to creole, one is permitted to wonder if there is an intentional connection between *gitchi* and Geechee (Gullah). We then hear the French refrain, which hides a solicitation that is more direct than what would have been considered acceptable, at that time, had it been composed in English ('Do you want to go to bed with me?'). Notice that the earlier English version of the invitation was couched in a euphemism and that no English translation of the French is subsequently provided in the song. However, the line "*Voulez-vous coucher avec moi ce soir?*" contains an additional twist: it is borrowed verbatim from scene six of Tennessee Williams' 1947 *A Streetcar Named Desire*, also set in New Orleans.[11] The full context and wording of the French utterance that Blanche DuBois makes in the presence of her love interest Mitch follows.

(3)   BLANCHE: We are going to be very Bohemian. We are going to pretend that we are sitting in a little artists' café on the Left Bank in Paris! *Je suis la Dame aux Camélias! Vous êtes – Armand!* Understand French?
MITCH: Naw. Naw, I –
BLANCHE: *Voulez-vous coucher avec moi ce soir? Vous ne comprenez pas? Ah, quelle dommage!* – I mean it's a damned good thing ...I've found some liquor. Just enough for two shots without any dividends, honey ...

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[10] The name *Marmalade* is sexually suggestive, relating to the epithet of Ferdinand J. La Menthe, a.k.a. "Jelly Roll Morton," a moniker he earned for his love of women.

[11] Credit goes to Rachel Picone for discovering this connection.

Blanche adds an additional layer of fiction to the one she is already living by putting on airs to impress Mitch with French and by momentarily casting herself as the beautiful courtesan Marguerite Gauthier in Alexandre Dumas' (fils) 1848 novel *Camille: La Dame aux Camélias*. Yet by virtue of that same allusion and the invitation that follows it, Blanche is simultaneously and paradoxically revealing, in the presence of the very man she had hoped would save her, the secret, dark side of her past which will eventually resurface and lead to her ruin. It is interesting to consider the consequences of the inclusion of French at this moment in the play. From this point on, the audience is split between those who have gained new insight into the personality of Blanche, because they understand French, and those who have not. This illustrates well the fact that one dynamic of artistic codemixing, in instances where the codemixer forgoes translation on behalf of the listener, is to create multiple messages for multiple audiences, based on relative levels of linguistic competence.

Returning to "Lady *Marmalade*," to anyone who recognizes the source of the French phrase *"Voulez-vous coucher avec moi ce soir?,"* its reappearance creates considerable additional intrigue and further enriches the identity of the women who utters it in the song. Whether intentionally or fortuitously, by virtue of including the song "Lady *Marmalade*" early on in the film *Moulin Rouge,* and thereby establishing a link to that particular passage in *A Streetcar Named Desire,* the song also foreshadows the unfolding plot structure of the film, which, as it turns out, borrows heavily from Dumas' novel. The fact that the film and the novel are linked through a song seems to match the dominant dramatic motif of the film itself, which uses multiple embedding of communicative art forms as its structure. It is a movie about someone writing a story about the production of a play—including the composition of a crucial song—which is being arranged parallel to and intertwining with the fictional "reality" of the main protagonists.

Returning to "Lady *Marmalade*", we find, interspersed between subsequent repetitions of the voodoo-like chant and the French refrain, lyrics painting obscure pictures of intoxication, fear, arousal, seduction, interracial sexual intimacy, regret, and obsessive fantasy. The codemixing meshes with and enhances the obscurity and intrigue of the song. Although there is no intrasentential mixing, other than that provided by the semi-Frenchified pronunciation of *Marmalade*, the song uses codemixing to great creative effect, and a mysterious, multiethnic, multidimensional persona for Lady Marmalade is thereby crafted. As an unintended *lagniappe*, an opportunity is created for an unlikely lyric in French to become an effective link between English-language drama, song, and film.

3 A Global View

3.1 World Music: Showcasing Amina

Drawing on internationally diverse sources of musical style for inspiration in popular music—a phenomenon known variously as world music, world beat, world fusion, or ethnopop[12]—has led not only to the mixing of musical styles but also, increasingly, to the mixing of languages in lyrics by bi- and multilingual composers. Though some currents of jazz helped blaze this path by fusing diverse musical traditions into a new blend long before the advent of World Music, jazz did not venture down this path with regard to language[13].

The relevant material is vast; here I will only be able to allude to one prominent artist associated with World Music. Amina Annabi was born in Carthage, Tunisia, in 1962, and then lived in Algiers, Algeria, before arriving in France at the age of twelve. In North Africa, she learned traditional *malouf* singing from her mother and also was fascinated by the soundtracks of the East Indian films that are popular there. A true eclectic, in France, she blended those styles with a variety of other musical traditions ranging from jazz, to flamenco, rock, hip-hop, Afro-Latin, Algerian *raï*, and techno-pop. Her lyrics might be French, Arabic, English, or a mixture of these. Her first big hit in Europe (1991), from the album *Yalil*, was *"Le dernier qui a parlé"* ('the last one to speak'), mixing French and Arabic, but not intrasententially. That song, an example of her socially conscious art, directly addresses the problem of cultural clash between first and second generation North Africans in France. From the same album, in "Belly Dance," also composed by Amina, we hear a number of different musical strains, along with predominantly Arabic and English lyrics, but with one prominent intrasentential code-switch from English to French.

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[12] *World Music*, the most widespread term, appeared as an official category in record shops in 1987 (Taylor 1997:2). In Germany, one encounters *Weltbeat* and *Weltmusik*. In France, the earlier term *sono mondiale* now competes, unsuccessfully for the most part, with *World Music* (Tournier 1998). A good working definition of World Music has been formulated by Guilbault (1993: 233, n. 1): "[...] popular musics that have emerged in the eighties, that are mass distributed worldwide and yet associated with minority groups and small or industrially developing countries, that combine local musical characteristics with those of the mainstream genres in today's transnational music-related industry, and that have reached markets of industrialized countries."

[13] The bossa nova song "Garota de Ipanema," by Antonio Carlos "Tom" Jobim (music) and Vinícius de Moraes (lyrics), became a famous exception when a popular version appeared on the *Getz/Gilberto* album (1963) with "verse-switching"—verses were sang in Brazilian Portuguese (male voice) and accented English (Astrud Gilberto). Norman Gimbel wrote English lyrics for "Girl from Ipanema".

(4)   If ya wanna be my belly dancer, if ya wanna be.
      (in Arabic:)
      [jæ/ajni] 'oh my baby'
      [χalini] 'let me do it' (etc.)
      Never cheek to cheek
      But belly *toute la nuit*
      Don't be so shy,
      Don't be so shy with me.

Here we are treated to a linguistic mix that teases the listener, just like its subject the belly dancer does, and alternately hides and suggests, denies and promises. Among the possible audiences, the Western listener, who is the primary consumer of this music, does not understand the Arabic and is removed from it but finds it suggestive and sensual. At one point the Arabic can hardly be differentiated from passion-induced breathing. The inclusion of the line "never cheek to cheek" puzzles the listener at first, but ultimately reveals that the song has deeper meaning and is more than just erotic poetry. The line evokes Western-style dancing, where traditionally the man leads and the woman follows, in contrast to the North African belly-dance, in which the woman is active and the man passive. Framed in this fashion, the song rescues belly dancing from its status as just another form of North African male domination (i.e. women put on display for the pleasure of men) and converts it into a vehicle for female assertion and role reversal. Role reversal is pushed further and a command/invitation is issued: "Don't be so shy with me." In the end we understand that, in the opening English line "If ya wanna be my belly dancer" the term "belly dancer" is being redefined also, and an allusion to sexual partnership is probably intended, since it is the woman herself, rather than a man, making the invitation for someone to become her belly dancer. The key to this interpretation is the inclusion in French of *toute la nuit* 'all night long.' By indicating duration, that phrase makes it possible to associate an activity with the immediately preceding use of the word "belly" appearing in isolation. As demonstrated, one must piece together the English, French, and Arabic components of the linguistic puzzle in order to arrive at an appropriate interpretation. In this song, the codemixing, used to veil and tease, and ultimately to transform, is perfectly suited to the message.

During an interview conducted in Los Angeles by Don Heckman and subsequently appearing in *The Los Angeles Times* (July 13, 2001), Amina alludes to her construction of self-identity, describing herself not only as a "free spirit" with regard to traditional roles assigned to women but also as a transnational: "Arabic women, in their country, are expected to be totally Arabic. But that's not being free. And I'm not like those women at all. I'm a

free spirit in the body of a woman. I think I am French intellectually, in my way of thinking, but that my heart is really Arabic. And I try to make a bridge between both, between my heart and my head." These remarks alert us to the fact that, in "Belly Dance" as in all the rest of Amina's music, the codemixing must be viewed at another level. Codemixing, even more than mixed musical styles and instrumentation, allows her to make strong inferences about her own transnational identity, yet in ways that complement rather than compromise the purely artistic value of her musical creativity. Codemixing forces the listener to be constantly confronted with the need for metalinguistic awareness, linking changing language use to inferences about ethnic identity. That is, one cannot ignore the linguistic form and lose oneself in the meaning of the words in the same way that one does when listening to a monolingual song in one's own first language. The art form becomes richer and more complex as the mixed music and the mixed language of the music force the listener to grapple with new levels of interpretation in relation to both content and ethnic identity, none of which can be made to surface in the same way in monolingual art.

3.2 La Diva Québécoise

In Québec we can find an example of yet another linguamusical dynamic. Language loyalty is high among most Québécois Francophones, who see English as a far greater menace than does the average metropolitan French person. By and large, popular sentiment limits the amount of artistic codemixing that can be incorporated with approval into French music for popular consumption, especially for a high-profile personality such as Céline Dion. It is interesting to track her progress as she sings her way through a linguistic battlefield of sorts. To ascend to international stardom, she must produce a considerable inventory of songs in English. To cater to the home market and remain linguistically loyal, she must continue to sing in French. Dion's strategy so far has been to strictly compartmentalize her English and French repertoires. I know of only two exceptions where she has allowed codemixing to take place in her recorded music. One of them, "*Tous les blues sont écrits pour toi*" (words and music by Frenchman Jean-Jacques Goldman, 1998) can be "forgiven" because it is context appropriate: The song relies heavily on an American-style blues motif in melody and instrumentation. In keeping with this, the inclusion of English phrases, borrowing heavily from classic blues lyrics, is formulaic (cf. "Woke Up this Morning" by B.B. King and Jules Taub, 1964), and the French "ces mots que d'autres avaient écrits" makes the borrowing explicit. The first verse is exemplified in (5), as it appears in the liner notes, quotation marks included.

(5)   "I woke up this morning baby,
       the blues was pouring out of me"
       Cent fois ces mots je les ai dits
       ces mots que d'autres avaient écrits
       De toute ma voix, de toute mon âme
       "with all the soul that I can"
       Le blues comme on me l'a appris
       "I woke up this morning baby"
       mais ce matin-là, j'ai compris

The bilingual persona adopted for this song is not particularly disturbing. The imprimatur for the linguistic liberties taken derives partly from the prior canonization of the blues as the anthem of the downtrodden and oppressed. The song elicits sympathy, not outrage. The lyrics pay tribute to an esteemed tradition. They do not herald linguistic revolution or flauntingly violate linguistic taboos.

However, the other recorded song where Dion uses codemixing is especially innovative and provocative and is what one might refer to as "in-your-face" codemixing.. In *"Des mots que sonnent"* composed by Luc Plamondon (1991),[14] all the taboos against English are flagrantly violated, which perfectly reflects the theme of the song: An ambitious performer is totally driven by the desire to succeed, and is willing to break all the rules to make it. Caution is thrown to the wind as stigmatized borrowings, nonce borrowings, calques, hybrids, and outright switches to English crowd their way into the lyrics, excerpted in (6a-e). The steam-rolling beat of the song, allied with the linguistic recklessness, combine to create a powerful effect.

(6)   a.   *Come'on baby*, fais-moi une chanson
             Réponds au moins au téléphone
             Je sais bien que ton occupation
             Préférée ... c'est d'avoir du *fun*
       b.   J'suis *bookée* à la television
             Dans tous les *shows* de promotion
       c.   Faut que j'monte au moins jusqu'au *Top Ten*
             Y'faut qu'tu penses *AM-FM*
       d.   Ecris-moi des mots qui sonnent *right on*
       e.   Y'faut qu'ça fasse un *number one*
             Y'faut qu'ce soit l'*fun*

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[14] *"Des mots qui sonnent,"* words by Luc Plamondon, music by Aldo Nova and Marty Simon, 1991, Les Editions Mondon-Caparuscio-Polygram Music.

The identity statement that results for the persona temporarily adopted in this song sets on edge conflicting loyalties and realties. The language of the song does not hide the uneasy yet all-too-familiar role of English. It recognizes and even caters to the reality of Anglo domination in the world of popular media generally and popular music in particular. It puts the bilingual, as purveyor of Anglicisms, squarely in the center of a storm of linguistic insecurity. The song ventures into the realm of the taboo, but gets away with its indiscretion by going to the extreme in near parody-like fashion. Furthermore, by virtue of the very use of these taboo linguistic cues, the whole song become strongly emblematic of Québécois identity, because only a Québécois individual can manipulate French and English in this fashion. This, along with the fact that the rhythm and abandon of the song are stirring, cause the song to have considerable covert appeal for the Francophone Québécois listener who can admire, if only secretly, the brazen attitude that the song captures in both language and musical arrangement.

4 Conclusion

I began this presentation with allusions to linguistic models in relation to literary theory and mentioned the relevancy of the speech-acts framework. Myers-Scotton has shown that this has relevancy for conversational code-switching (1995: 96 ff.) as well. The act of switching has illocutionary force because it conveys the speaker's intention to establish a particular identity in a way that transcends the content of the locution uttered. The foregoing is consonant with this view. As a corollary, artistic codemixing, like conversational codemixing, is "performative" in nature rather than "constative" (cf. Austin 1962). In the same way that a promise or a command must be uttered in order to exist, ethnic identity is constructed by virtue of uttering mixed codes, regardless of the semantic content of the utterances. If there is no mixed utterance, there is no mixed identity.

Unlike conversational codeswitching, artistic codemixing breaks new ground in ways that are largely related to the parameters and complexities of the art forms themselves. For example, code choices are imposed, not informally negotiated by the participants in a conversation. Furthermore, because it is fixed in text, artistic codemixing invites a higher degree of metalinguistic scrutiny. In some cases, it demands such scrutiny in order to achieve its aims. We have seen examples of this, and through use of these examples, it has been feasible to demonstrate that artistic codemixing is more than just fad. Codemixing brings to the artist's palate a whole range of possibilities for painting the complex shadings of identity, and thus it can be made to serve artistic expression very well. To the extent that it does so, it establishes

a compelling new set of motivations for codemixing and rich territory for further linguistic investigation in concert with other disciplines.

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