The Stylistics of Language Switches in Lyrics of Entries of the EUROVISION SONG CONTEST

MA thesis: Linguistics: English Language and Linguistics

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Acknowledgements

It did not come as a surprise to the people around me when I told them that the subject for my Master's thesis was going to be based on the Eurovision Song Contest. Ever since I was a little boy I have been a fan, and some might even say that I became somewhat obsessed, for which I cannot really blame them. Moreover, I have always had a special interest in mixed language songs, so linking the two subjects seemed only natural. Thanks to a rather unfortunate turn of events, this thesis took a lot longer to write than was initially planned, but nevertheless, here it is. Special thanks are in order for my supervisor, Tony Foster, who has helped me in many ways during this time.

I would also like to thank a number of other people for various reasons.

- The second reader Lettie Dorst.
- My mother, for being the reason I got involved with the Eurovision Song Contest.
- My father, for putting up with my seemingly endless collection of Eurovision MP3s in the car.
- My girlfriend, Shannon, for being there when I needed it the most. You are my number 1 (Greece, 2005).

1 Introduction

1.1 Overview

This study is based on the premise in stylistics that a breach in form marks a breach in content, as proposed by Lanham (2003). This premise allows for an analysis of texts on multiple levels, which is required when analysing the lyrics of songs. The aim of this study is to examine the relevant factors contributing to language-switching to English in the lyrics from non-English entries in the Eurovision Song Contest (ESC). The analysis of language-switching in song lyrics is a relative new field of research, and it is therefore interesting to examine in further detail. Therefore, this study aims to establish which lyric-external and lyric-internal factors contribute to language-switching in the corpus of song lyrics. Furthermore, the use of multiple languages in song lyrics, as described by Bentahila and Davies (2002; 2008), Wang (2006), and Lee (2004) has so far not been examined in enough detail, especially in a European context, and therefore this study examines the theory of language-switching in song lyrics by using entries from the Eurovision Song Contest as its corpus.

In order to analyse the language switches within the lyrics, a corpus of song lyrics from five different time periods was set up. The division into five different time periods was based on the language rules of the ESC at the time. Furthermore, the native languages of the artists were taken into account in order to establish whether speaking any of these languages had an effect on the number of language switches to English. In terms of lyric-internal factors, both a quantitative and a qualitative approach were chosen to establish which factors were relevant for language-switching.

1.2 Theoretical background

As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, this thesis is based on the notion that a formal breach indicates a content breach. This notion of internal deviation, as put forward in the works of Levin (1965) and Leech and Short (1981), was used in combination with the structuralist notion of foregrounding, as put forward by Carter and Nash (1990), to establish the formal framework of this study. In order to identify the phenomenon of language-switching in general, this study referred to Gumperz (1982), Muysken (2000), Gardner-Chloros (2009), Auer (1988), and Mahootian (2012). In terms of theory related to possible motives for using written language-switching in lyrics in particular, this study elaborates on studies by Chan (2009), Bentahila and Davies (2008), and Lee (2004). These studies

examined written language-switching in lyrics and texts from Hong Kong, Algeria, and South Korea, respectively. With respect to the possible functions of language-switching in general and in song lyrics, the work of Jakobson (1960), Likhitphongsathorn and Sappapan (2013), Wang (2006), and Bentahila and Davies (2002) was used. With regard to music theory and the role of the various sections of song lyrics, this study referred to the work of Von Appen and Frei-Hauenschild (2015). Despite the large number of already conducted studies on the use of language-switching in popular music, there is little information available on this subject in European popular music. It is for this reason that one chose to examine this subject in greater detail, since there is a considerable research gap to be observed. The choice for songs from the Eurovision Song Contest was a logical one, since this international competition has been a host to participants from different countries with different native languages throughout its history and the number of songs that have participated is enormous. Furthermore, there has always been interest in the language policies of the ESC, which is noticeable by the number of incidents and protests with regard to these language policies. Moreover, choosing the ESC as the basis for a corpus allowed for an examination of songs from various countries, not limited by national charts. Additionally, the changing language policies of the ESC provided an opportunity to look into whether or not the use of written language-switching in popular music is a phenomenon that occurs regularly or not when free language choice is allowed.

1.3 Research questions and hypotheses

In order to determine which factors are relevant to language-switching in song lyrics, this paper examines language switches to English in song lyrics in a corpus of entries of the Eurovision Song Contest. In an attempt to fill the gap in the previous research, this study will provide answers to the following research questions:

- When do language-switches to English occur in non-English songs?

Taking into account the idea of primary deviation, one would assume that a language-switch to English in the lyrics of a song would occur when the contrast is greatest. Based on the works of Von Appen and Frei-Hauenschild (2015), Bentahila and Davies (2002, 2008), and Chan (2009), one would expect that the section with the greatest contrast to the rest of the song would be the location to use a language switch. This section could be either the bridge, as one would expect when taking the results from Von Appen and Frei-Hauenschild into account, or the chorus, as suggested by Bentahila and Davies and Chan.

- What are the context/language/content factors that lead to language-switches? To answer this question, one has to answer multiple other questions, namely these:

  - Do language-switches occur more frequently in songs sung in non-Germanic languages and languages of countries in which the position of English is less well-established?

When taking into consideration the English Proficieny Index (EPI) and Auer's (1988) remarks one would expect that countries in which one's proficiency in English is higher would use more language switches. My expectation was that Germanic songs would feature more, and more complex language switches than Slavic and Romance songs, since countries in which a Germanic language is spoken ranked higher on the EPI than countries in which a Romance or Slavic language is spoken. A possible reason for this expectation is to be found in the relative similarity between English and other Germanic languages. However, another possibility would be that one's attitude towards the native language would influence the outcome. One could assume that a higher proficiency would increase the chance of a country entering a song entirely in English, which would cause the Germanic songs to have fewer song featuring language switches to English than Romance and Slavic songs.

  - Are there more language-switches to English in earlier songs than in later songs?

To answer this question one must take into account the changing language rules, and their effect on the choices made by the artists. Taking into account the remarks of Wolther (2012) on the declining popularity of national language pop music, one would expect a rise in the number of language-switches in the later years with language restrictions and either a decline afterwards (caused by a rise in the number of songs performed entirely in English), or an even greater increase.

  - Are language-switches predominant in certain semantic fields?

If the results of this research are similar to those of Bentahila and Davies (2002, 2008), Wang (2006) and Chan (2009), one would expect to find most language-switches in the semantic fields of love and other emotions.

- In what type of discourse can language switches be found, and how do they manifest themselves?

Taking into consideration the works of Wang (2006) and Chan (2009), one would expect language switches to English to be present in every text type, but that the function would vary per text type. A narrative text would feature switches with a referential function, an

expressive text would feature switches with a poetic and an expressive function, and an operative text would feature switches with a directive function.

1.4 Thesis overview

The next chapter reviews the literature on the subject of lyric-external factors of language-switching in lyrics. Additionally, to outline the framework in which the corpus was compiled, a short overview of the history of the ESC will be presented, focusing on the changing language rules. Chapter 3 reviews the literature on the lyric-internal factors of language-switching in lyrics, including the relevant music theory and an explanation of the theory of internal deviation. In chapter 4 the methodology used to find an answer for the main research questions will be explained. The methodological approach taken in this study is based on an analysis of a corpus of successful Eurovision entries from different time periods. A quantitative research design was adopted in order to make definite statements on the number of occurrences of language-switching, whereas a qualitative approach was taken in order to make statements on the functions of language-switching. Following the methodology, Chapter 5 will present an overview of the results of the corpus-based research: it will list the proportions of the number of occurrences of language-switching as found in each category and will compare these findings with the initial expectations. This chapter will also include a number of examples of the possible functions of language-switching in lyrics. These sections will be followed by chapter 6, which will elaborate upon the results and their relevance to the research questions.

2 Lyric-external factors of language-switching

2.1 Introduction

There are many reasons for language-switching in the lyrics of pop songs. This chapter focuses on those factors that are not dictated by the lyrics themselves but by external circumstances external. The most important factor, in terms of language switches, is the setting of these songs. One has to take into account that the songs that form the basis of the corpus for this thesis have been entered into a competition, which increases the need to get an audience's attention. However, this competition, the Eurovision Song Contest (ESC), has a history of changing language rules, which complicates analysis. In order to give a proper account of these changing rules, this chapter starts with a brief history of the Eurovision Song Contest, and illustrates the history of the changes in language rules for the competition. Following this history, a brief explanation of varying language policies throughout Europe is given, which provides some insight in the attitudes towards the use of language switches. The final lyric-external factor that is given is the degree of proficiency in English throughout Europe. The combination of the number of speakers of a language, the linguistic relationship to the English language, the national linguistic pride and language policy, and the year of a country's accession to the ESC can provide an insight in the probability of a country's entry containing language switches to English.

2.2 Comments on the Eurovision Song Contest

On 24th May 1956, the very first Eurovision Song Contest took place in Lugano, Switzerland. Seven nations participated in a musical competition based on the *Festival della canzone Italiana di Sanremo*, a popular Italian song contest. The contest created a platform to showcase original songs across the continent. That first evening, viewers in France, Germany, Belgium, the United Kingdom, Switzerland, the Netherlands and Italy watched the show on four million televisions set up in bars, shop windows and homes. In its sixty years existence the ESC has become one of the most watched, longest-running TV shows in the world - and a typically European tradition (Eurovision.tv). This tradition represents a cultural landmark in the history of European popular music and culture.

2.2.1 Changes in the regulatory framework of the Eurovision Song Contest

In the years following its conception, the ESC grew enormously in size. What began as a few static performances by a mere fourteen artists has evolved into a week-long spectacle

with two semi-finals and a grand finale at a massive venue, over forty contestants, and an estimated 125 million viewers each year.

The number of participating countries was not the only problem that troubled the directors at the EBU. Throughout its history, the ESC has on numerous occasions also changed its rules regarding the technical aspects of the broadcast: over the course of years there have been six different voting systems to determine the winner. In addition, another drastic change was that the use of a live orchestra was phased out with the arrival of backing tapes. Most importantly for this paper: the rules regarding the use of language have been altered several times. According to Wolther (2012), this is the result of a decline in popularity of national-language music, "which seems to have had much influence on the decreasing commercial success of the ESC entries, which tend to be stylistically associated with the national language repertoire even when performed in English" (p. 167). However, this statement applies only to the success of Eurovision entries in the charts, and not the success of an entry at the contest itself. What is of importance is the use of language in the contest itself, and how the choice of language influences a song's chances of being successful in the competition. Wolther's remark on the popularity of national-language music illustrates the urgency for changes in the EBU's language policy throughout its history.

2.2.2 The history of language rules of the Eurovision Song Contest

In addition to the rule changes of the ESC in the past, the language policy, the rules regarding the use of language in songs participating in the competition, has changed time and again over the course of the years. In terms of language restrictions these changes in policy were not extremely frequent, but they did have a large impact on the contest as such. The use of language itself had been a reason for controversy, especially because of different language attitudes across Europe.

From 1956 through 1965 there was no policy on language altogether. The only requirements for participating entries were that the songs had to be around three minutes long, and, more importantly, they had to be original. With regard to language there were no restrictions. However, despite the lack of restrictions all entries were sung in the national languages of the countries the artists represented.

Everything changed when the Swedish tenor Ingvar Wixell decided to sing his song *Annorstädes vals* in English. This choice led to the EBU changing the rules in 1966; the rule change required the artists to perform their entry in the official language of the country they represented. Ironically, the song that won in the year that the strict language rule was enforced

was the Austrian song with a French title: *Merci, Cherie.* This period of strict language policy lasted for seven years, until the EBU's first experiment with free language choice in the Eurovision Song Contest occurred between 1973 and 1976. Three out of four winning songs from that era were performed completely in English, namely ABBA's *Waterloo* in 1974 for Sweden, Teach-in's *Ding-A-Dong* in 1975 for the Netherlands, and Brotherhood of Man's *Save your kisses for me* in 1976 for the United Kingdom. Out of these three entries, only the song from the United Kingdom was performed in the official language of the country it represented, which led to protests from various groups that called for a return to the strict language rules. This, in turn, led to a dilemma between increasing the potential success of an entry in another language and infuriating viewers at home by not listening to their wishes. As a result of these protests the freedom to choose any language in which to perform an entry was abolished in 1977, as the EBU gave in to pressure from protestors and national broadcasters. The rules that dictated language choice after 1977 were extremely clear, and when they were enforced, the only language that an artist was allowed to sing in was the official language of his or her respective country.

Apart from the choice to sing in a number of a nation's official languages, there was not a lot to choose from when it came to language choice. When the Polish representative Edyta Górniak performed her song *To nie ja* partly in English during one of the dress rehearsals, the EBU threatened her with disqualification (Eurovision.tv). The rules were still strictly enforced and a looming disqualification led to Górniak coming back on her initial intention to sing the song partly in English. This strict adherence to the rules of the EBU could be the result of the acceptance the Croatian entry the year before. In 1993, Croatia had its Eurovision debut as an independent nation, the band Put represented the country with the song *Don't ever cry,* a song with verses performed in Croatian, but the chorus was sung in English. A disappointing 15th place was the result, yet despite the low score there was protest from other delegations, because they felt that disqualification was called for. This did not happen, but in the following years the EBU was less accepting of large portions of songs being performed in a language other than the *official language*. These occurrences are only the tip of the iceberg when it comes to resistance to the language policy of the Eurovision Song Contest. The resistance to the ESC's language policy became very clear in the 1990s, considering that between 1990 and 1998 five of the nine winning entries were performed entirely in English. Four of these winning entries were from Ireland, one of them was from the United Kingdom. Another cause for chagrin among other countries was the sudden

success of Malta. Malta participated in the early seventies with songs in Maltese, but these songs consistently ended up at the bottom of the board. The island nation returned in the 1990s and opted to sing in the country's other official language, English, which led to enormous successes and an almost guaranteed place in the top ten. Maltese entries became the prime example of the success of English as the language of performance, and choosing to sing in the most internationally familiar official language could explain the sudden rise in popularity of Maltese songs.

Wolther's (2012) remarks on the declining popularity of music performed in the national language in the charts points to one of the reasons for potential participants to decline the opportunity to participate. The ESC is a perfect opportunity to boost one's musical career both on a national and an international level. However, if one is forced to perform a song in one's own language, but singing in one's own language is not convenient for success in the national and international charts, the chance of a potential contestant taking part diminishes. International success would be highly unlikely and a bid for the Eurovision could be deemed useless apart from a bit of extra publicity in their own nation. Allowing the contestants to enter songs performed in another language – the most obvious option being English – would be an opportunity to once again attract the bigger names in show business. Together with the enormous increase in the number of successful entries performed in the English language, this lack of big stars led to protests from the various participating broadcasters. The EBU gave in in 1999, when they finally did away with the language restrictions, and allowed the broadcasters to enter songs in any desired language.

2.2.3 The importance of language choice

The results of the Eurovision Song Contest show that the English language has become increasingly important in the Eurovision Song Contest. The rise of English as the *lingua franca* of the contest was extremely noticeable in the 2014 contest, in which only five entries were fully performed in a language other than English. In addition to these five songs, four entries were performed partly in English and partly in the official language of the country they represented. From the 37 songs that entered the contest, 28 were performed fully in English. In previous years the number of songs performed in English also increased, leading to a potential loss of language diversity in the contest. The notion that a song had to be performed in English to be successful became almost impossible to ignore, seeing that the top-10s of the most recent years consisted of at least 70% of songs that were performed partly

or completely in English. These statistics force the participating countries to make choices in terms of the language in which they perform.

However, some entries tend to succeed in finding a balance between international appeal and national pride, which they do by using language-switching in song lyrics as a tool for both globalisation and localisation. An example of this is the Polish entry from 2014, Donatan & Cleo's *My Słowianie – We Are Slavic.* In order to attract votes from its neighbouring countries, the so-called bloc-vote, Poland employed a technique that has been used many times before. The singer Cleo and her backing vocalists were dressed in clothing with a traditional Slavic appearance. They performed a song about the positive and charming aspects of Slavic girls in order to gain the sympathy of the other Slavic countries, without being extremely nationalistic. The distinction was subtle but noticeable. If Cleo had sung purely about Polish girls, a great part of the song's appeal to Poland's neighbouring countries would have been lost. Instead, she deliberately chose to sing about a large group of people. By doing so, she transcended country boundaries and appealed directly to a large cultural group. In terms of language this entry did precisely the same, as opposed to the original version of the song, which was in Polish, or the alternative English version, which would be easier accessible for a larger audience in terms of languages, the version that was performed at the ESC was sung partly in English and partly in Polish. A balance had to be struck, since a song entirely in Polish would lose its meaning to the majority of Europe – including in the Slavic countries –; if it had been performed entirely in English, it would have risked undercutting its message of cultural pride. These reasons for performing a song in a bilingual fashion apply to a great number of other songs in the competition. If, on the other hand, a song is performed in a foreign language, it is considered to be a betrayal of cultural heritage and national pride. A song performed in the national language is considered to be an outsider for top marks in the competition, since Eurovision fans from other countries cannot understand it.

Additionally, since participants consider the ESC a perfect opportunity to present their act to the world, it would seem unwise to put more emphasis on their own culture, because this would cause them to lose their international appeal. The Polish entry from 2014 is an example of what has occurred more frequently after the change in language rules in 1999. However, this strategy was employed before. . The 1993 song by Put from Croatia showed that some English phrases in a song were acceptable and that the technique of mixing languages in order to appeal to the public and juries could be considered a way of bending the rules to the advantage of the country it represents. This shows that there was some space to

manoeuvre within the confines of the strict regulations. By including a number of English words a lyricist is able to appeal to a listener's sympathy. When the connection between song and listener cannot be established, it is impossible to imagine that such a song would garner a large number of votes in a competition. However, the inclusion of words from another language that is more widely spoken across Europe can have a significant impact on the results. Klapheck (2004) also suggests that performing in English is more effective for success, and claims that performing in another language can be interpreted as a competitive aspect.

2.3 Language policies in Europe

One of the most obvious factors that comes into play with regard to language-switching is that of language policy. Countries tend to protect their language, which they frequently do by creating and enforcing rules. This protection of a national language is usually restricted to standardisation of spelling, although there are examples of countries that take legal measures to protect the use of the official language in official documents and other texts. The most famous example of this restrictive and regulatory language policy is France, which has shown quite some resistance towards the influence of English. France has resisted, or at least tried to resist, the influence of English by taking a number of measures throughout the years. The Académie Française, the main advisory body with regard to language and language usage, opposes Anglicisation fiercely. Even though the Académie's advice is not legally binding, it is regarded as valid and usually accepted. The French government has taken important steps to consolidate the position of the French language. An example of one such measure is the Toubon law, which mandates the use of French in official government publications, in workplaces, in advertisements, and some other contexts ("Loi n˚ 94-665", 2000). Moreover, on a subject matter closely related to the subject of this thesis is the amendement Pelchat, which provides that 40% of songs on certain radio stations should be performed in French ("Loi n˚ 94-88, n.d.). These are but two examples of the restrictive language policy with regard to the use of English in France.

The French stance on language policy is merely an example, and there are numerous variations on this stance to be found throughout Europe. A number of countries have a similar structured language policy, whereas others take a more lenient approach towards foreign elements. An example of this is the Netherlands, which does have a body that regulates standardisation of spelling, namely the Dutch Language Union, but it does not aim to influence regulation with regard to the language.

2.4 Language relations and proficiency

Another factor that is of importance in determining when language switches to English occur is the relationship between the native language and English. Moreover, the relationship between these countries in which the people speak the native language and their proficiency in English. The importance of this factor is supported by Auer (1988), who mentions that "by language-switching they display their preference, or their better competence in a language" (p. 210). A logical conclusion to this would be that people who use language switches to English would do so because they are more competent in that language. Taking into account Lightbown and Spada (2006), it is assumed that a person is more proficient in English if their native language is similar to English. This similarity can be considered a result of the language families, which would mean that a speaker of another Germanic language would be more proficient in English than a speaker of a Romance or Slavic language. To test if this generalisation can be considered correct, one would have to look at the EF English Proficiency Index (EF EPI) (http://www.ef.nl/epi/). The results for European countries are displayed in Table A.1, which can be found in Appendix A.

The general image that one can see is that the various levels of proficiency are distributed fairly uniform along the lines of the language families. All countries in which a Germanic language is spoken can be considered as having at least a high proficiency in English. Moreover, the only country in which a Germanic languages is spoken not to be in the top 10 is Switzerland, where over 35% of the population speak a Romance language (Federal Statistical Office FSO, 2013). As expected, the Romance languages did not score as high as the Germanic ones, which is evidenced by the low ranking of Italy and France. A surprise was found within the countries in which a Uralic language is spoken. Despite not being in the Indo-European language family, countries with a Uralic language generally score high. Opposed to this is the only other country in which the people speak a non-Indo-European language, namely Turkey, which is the lowest scoring European country in terms of proficiency in English. The final group of languages consisted of the Balto-Slavic ones. Since the distribution of these countries on the EPI was quite irregular, a subdivision was created, namely Baltic, West Slavic, South Slavic, and East Slavic. Both the countries in which a Baltic or a South Slavic language is spoken scored high on the EPI, as did one West Slavic country, namely Poland. The other West Slavic countries scored moderate. The least proficient speakers of English in the Indo-European language family were found among the speakers of an East Slavic language. It is necessary to note this is a general approach, and that

a number of countries were not taken into account, leaving a gap for Semitic languages such as Hebrew and Maltese, and Hellenic languages such as Greek. On the basis of the available information, it is impossible to make a statement about the proficiency in English in the countries in which these languages are spoken.

According to the interpretation of these results the general level of proficiency in English can be categorised from highest to lowest in terms of language families as follows: Germanic, Uralic, Slavic, Romance, and Turkic. It is important to note that because of the distribution of Slavic languages on the EPI, the average score can be considered as being similar to that of the Romance languages. As stated at the start of this section, one would assume that a speaker of a language that scores higher on the EPI would be more likely to use English language switches than a speaker who is not. Based on this notion, the expectation is that singers from countries higher on the EPI would use more language switches to English than those lower on the EPI. Unfortunately, as a result of the lack of information on the proficiency in English of countries in which the native language is part of the Hellenic or the Semitic language family, it is impossible to formulate an expectation for the number and type of language switches from these countries.

2.5 Year of accession

The final ESC-related factor of language-switching in song lyrics that has to be taken into account is the year of accession to the ESC of countries. A large number of countries involved in the Eurovision did not participate until the late 1990s. The majority of new participants consisted of the countries east of the Iron Curtain, most of which speak a Slavic language. As a result, the expectations from chapter 2.2.3 and 2.4 are contradictory. One would assume that in the later years, participants would be more likely to use language switches, whereas taking into account the EPI, these newer participants would be less likely to use language switches. However, since it is not the aim of this thesis to test the socio-linguistic factors as such, the general expectations remain unchanged. Moreover, one goal is to establish if there is indeed a correlation between the year and the number of songs containing language switches, and another goal is to make a general statement with regard to the various language families and the number of language switches and the types thereof. It is not of importance to establish if there is a connection between the time period and the language families. Therefore, the overall number of language switches is expected to rise in the later years, regardless of the native languages. With regard to language families, the

expectation is that singers from countries higher on the EPI would use more language switches to English than those lower on the EPI.

3 Theoretical framework

3.1 Introduction

As mentioned in the previous chapter, this thesis aims to examine the occurrences of language-switches to English in the lyrics of non-English Eurovision entries. This chapter focuses on the lyric-internal factors of language-switching in pop songs, namely those motivated by the formal properties of the text, and those that are motivated by the content of the text. Moreover, this chapter will provide a general explanation of the deviation theory and the concept of "similar form indicates similar content", the levels of analysis of language-switches, the reasons for using language-switches, and the functions and locations of these language-switches in the text. This chapter will conclude with the main research questions, and the expected outcome of the research.

3.2 Deviation theory

This thesis is based on the premise in stylistics that similar form in a text indicates similar ideas, and that therefore a breach of form indicates a breach of content. This premise is based on Leech and Short's (1981) interpretation of Levin's (1965) idea of internal deviation. Leech and Short state that internal deviation explains "the prominence […] of an ordinary, […] piece of language which seems to gain its impact from the context in which it is found," (p. 44). This applies directly to the samples from the corpus on which this thesis is based. The lyrics of these samples show a breach of style by switching to another language at some point, thereby creating a breach of form, which seems to indicate a breach of content. To examine if changing form, in this case by switching to another language, does indeed have its effects on the content of songs, this thesis uses a corpus of 115 songs from the Eurovision Song Contest (ESC). The samples from the corpus on which this thesis is based are non-English songs that feature a language-switch to English at some point in their lyrics.

To choose to perform a part of a song in another language than the rest of the song marks that this *other* part is different, both in form and in content, to the rest of the song. This is in agreement with the idea of style as deviation as put forward by Carter and Nash (1990). In the context of a song, a switch to another language creates a breach of form, which therefore leads the listener to mark that part of the song as different in terms of form and content. This is in line with the structuralist view on foregrounding (Garvin, 1964). The fact that a part of the text is different from its context marks that part as somehow being more important, or at least different than the rest of the text.

Using deviation theory as the main premise of this thesis could cause a problem in terms of the corpus samples. If one considers song lyrics to be poems, which is the case in this thesis, one needs to mention the various levels of deviation. When taking into account the presumption that language used in poems is already different from the everyday language that is used by speakers, poetic language in itself can be considered marked. When adding another level of deviation, namely that of language-switches to English in non-English song lyrics, it leads one to consider that the English sections are even more marked versions of an already marked text. However, since this thesis does not take into account regular everyday spoken language, one can consider the non-English segments of lyrics of the songs to be the unmarked variant, whereas the English segments are the marked variant. It is for this reason that the native parts of the songs are considered the norm, whereas the English parts are considered a deviation.

3.3 Analysis of language-switching

This thesis aims to analyse the corpus samples on a number of levels. The language-switches to English that occur in the lyrics of the selected samples are analysed in the following order by size and complexity: Words, complex words, idioms, phrases, clauses, sentences and paragraphs. In order to analyse the samples it is important to clearly mark the boundaries between these categories. These boundaries are set out in the following paragraphs.

The boundary between words and complex words can be defined in many ways, and is a fairly arbitrary one. For the purpose of this thesis the category “word” is a simple lexical item that can be easily understood in its most basic form. This means that there are either no or very simple affixes or suffixes, and that these words are part of the basic vocabulary, whereas “complex words” are more specific and usually more descriptive than their simple counterparts. An example of this boundary is to be found in the words “tired” and “exhausted”. Both these words essentially mean the same, however the word “exhausted” is marked, since it is more descriptive and also more complicated than the simpler “tired”.

The category of idioms consists of words and phrases that have a fixed meaning, which makes it more complex than the aforementioned categories, since these meanings are mostly figurative and are therefore less known among non-native speakers of a language.

The category of phrases can be described as containing a word or group of words that form a constituent of a sentence. Moreover, these phrases can carry an idiomatic meaning. This category is different from that of clauses, since clauses contain multiple phrases in order

to form a proposition. Consequently, sentences can consist of only a simple phrase or a clause, but it is more common for a sentence to contain multiple phrases and clauses. Furthermore, paragraphs are a collection of sentences with a common theme and flow, and are the largest category to be discussed in this thesis.

One would assume that a songwriter who does employ these language-switches with limited knowledge of the language to which he or she is switching would limit their use of the less complex items, and would refrain from using the more complex ones. The use of single words in another language or even simple phrases could be expected, whereas one would not expect to see more difficult and complex clausal structures and sentences, let alone entire verses or paragraphs. Moreover, in order to analyse the lyrics on the basis of these categories, it is important to mention the parallels with the body of research on the subject of written language-switching.

The phenomenon of language-switches in the lyrics of songs can be considered a type of code-switching in written form, however, this is only the case if one interprets code-switching in the broadest sense of the word. This interpretation merely requires a switch between codes within a text, both in spoken and written form. In terms of instances of code-switching one can generally categorise them as either intersentential or intrasentential. In the former category the speaker switches between languages between sentences and phrases, whereas in the latter category the speaker switches between languages within sentence and phrasal boundaries. Distinguishing between these two types of language-switches make the analysis of these language switches in the selected lyrics possible on the aforementioned levels.

Muysken (2000) identifies three additional patterns in the category of intrasentential language-switching: insertion, alternation, and congruent lexicalisation (p. 3). Insertion occurs when a single word from one language is inserted into a sentence in another language, which is done mainly by speakers whose proficiency in both languages is not of an equal standard. Alternation occurs when the grammars of the two languages are comparable and the speaker makes a complete switch between the two. This pattern is usually found in stable bilingual communities. In cases of congruent lexicalisation, the two languages between which the switches are made have a grammatical structure that is very similar, which can be filled with vocabulary from either language; this pattern is often found between closely related languages, as put forward by Gardner-Chloros (2009, p. 105). One assumes that songwriters from countries in which the proficiency in English is relatively poor insert words, whereas the

more proficient lyricists might use the congruent lexicalisation more often, with alternation used as a medium between the two far ends of the spectrum of proficiency.

3.4 The reasons for language-switching

In order to explain the choices made by songwriters with regard to language choice in song lyrics, it is important to examine the reasons for using words from another language than the native one. One particularly important reason for borrowing a word is the conceptual gap. Borrowings from this category enter a language as a result of adopting a concept from another language and subsequently using the foreign word to describe this new phenomenon. Another important reason to borrow words is a lexical gap, which comes down to a language not having a name for a concept, and thus borrowing a word from another language. However, both of these reasons are very limiting in terms of explaining why one would choose to switch languages within a song, since the content is usually broad and not specific in terms of specialized fields of business or technology.

The most important reason for using language-switches to English in the lyrics of songs is that one can do so. This reason might seem trivial, but taking into account the history of the changing language rules of the contest, one cannot disregard the wish to use other languages than one's native language in the lyrics of a song. The rules of the ESC regarding the use of language have been altered on several occasions. According to Wolther (2012), this is the result of a decline in popularity of national-language music, "which seems to have had much influence on the decreasing commercial success of the ESC entries, which tend to be stylistically associated with the national language repertoire even when performed in English" (p. 167). However, this statement applies only to the success of Eurovision entries in the charts, and not the success of an entry at the contest itself. However, what is of importance is the use of language in the contest itself, and how the choice of language influences a song's chances of being successful in the competition. Wolther's remark on the popularity of national-language music illustrates the urgency in the past for changes in the EBU's language policy.

Muysken (2000) states that the degree of linguistic similarity between the languages can influence the types of language-switches that are likely to occur within various language communities. Additionally, Gardner-Chloros (2009) provides three factors that may influence language-switches from a sociolinguistic point of view. Firstly, there are the speakers themselves, and their competence in each language, their attitudes, and their perceptions, which is also put forward by Auer (1988), who mentions that "by language-switching they

display their preference, or their better competence in a language" (p. 210). Since this study focuses on premeditated texts, the songwriters' competence in each language is not of the utmost importance in the analysis of the texts, especially when considering that writing a song is a process in which the lyricist is able to correct him- or herself. However, their attitudes and perceptions are extremely important in analysing the texts, especially since the choice to switch between languages is made deliberately. The lyricists would deliberately insert English lyrics in order to increase the international appeal of the song. Secondly, there are factors related to the context and the conversation itself, namely the listeners and their attitudes, and the subject of the conversation. As mentioned by Wolther, the motives behind using language-switches in entries of the Eurovision Song Contest are influenced by the increasing the international appeal, in order to increase commercial success (2012). Thirdly, language-switching may be influenced by factors unrelated to the speaker or the conversation, such as prestige and the associations of each language with a particular context (Gardner-Chloros, 2009). Furthermore, there are some factors that only affect language-switches in premeditated written texts aimed at an international audience. This type of language-switching is based on the knowledge of the language of the audience, rather than on the speakers themselves. In this case language-switching is used as a tool to increase comprehensibility in order to increase the size of the audience.

Lee (2004) puts forward that the use of English in Japanese music can be attributed to the fact that lyricists might attempt to make the song sound more like English pop songs, and also finds this to be the case with Korean popular music. Lee based his findings on a corpus of popular Korean music, which features a large number of switches to English. Lee argues that the use of language-switches is a way for South Korean youths to "assert their self-identity, to create new meanings, to challenge dominant representations of authority, to mainstream norms and values, and to reject older generations' conservatism" (p. 429). The English language is employed as a way of resisting the cultural norm of the older generations, as the use of another language in music in this situation is seen as a way to reject the native culture and to embrace a more international way of living. However, this claim – although perfectly valid in the Korean situation − is not necessarily true in the setting of the European Song Contest. The ESC is a perfect tool to showcase a nation's cultural heritage and musical tradition. To claim that the use of language-switching at the Eurovision is an act of rebellion against the country a song represents would not be accurate.

However, since the results of the most recent editions of the Eurovision Song Contest show that the number of songs performed completely or partly in English has increased enormously, it is necessary to look at the reasons for using the English language in texts in general. The functions of Anglicisms, as proposed by Galinsky (1967), are conveying an American or international atmosphere and setting, increasing vividness, and conveying tone. These functions are similar to one function of language-switching, as proposed by Mahootian (2012), namely increasing visibility. Additionally, Onysko (2007) states that English lexical items add a sense of modernity and variation (p. 48). All of these functions of language-switching boil down to increasing a song's visibility and chance of success. This simplification is of great importance, since in a musical competition it is of the utmost importance to be visible in any way possible, and the use of language-switching is one way of achieving that visibility.

3.5 The functions of language-switching and their place in a text

When one uses language switches depends on a number of factors, namely the text type, the textual structure and, the most important aspect for this thesis, the structure of the song. Moreover, it is important to note that there are numerous functions of language and that that there are therefore numerous functions of language-switches. Jakobson's (1960) model of language has been a huge influence on much of today's stylistic scholarship. The model that he proposes consists of six major functions of language, namely the directive, expressive, referential, metalinguistic, phatic, and poetic functions.

3.5.1 Functions of language-switches

In the context of a music competition, the use of language-switching with a directive function is especially of importance. Middleton (1990) describes the directive function as one that "operates most obviously in certain sort of direct-address lyrics" (pp. 241-2). This direct address is aimed at the listener, who will – in the eyes of the lyricist – notice a connection. The switch in language is an immediate attention-grabber, especially when the languages that are alternated are not closely related. This particular function is of great importance for Eurovision entries, since their success relies on the amount of attention they get from the audience and juries. By using a language that people are more proficient in across multiple countries, the chances of a song's meaning coming across are higher. The use of a small number of intrasentential code switches would not necessarily improve the understanding of the meaning of the song, but by employing the directive function of these switches, the

listeners are inclined to become more involved with the song since they are directly addressed and asked to partake in the experience in a language that they are able to understand.

Another function of language-switches can be used to express sincere feelings, thus employing the expressive function. By using another language to fulfil the expressive function in the euphemistic sense, one also avoids any possible taboo terms in the native language. Additionally, switched words can be considered musical fillers, as mentioned by Moody (2001). These musical fillers are usual lexical items that have little semantic meaning, and they are usually added to complete a rhyme scheme or the meter.

Language-switches in song lyrics can also have a referential function because it can introduce concepts that are unknown or less common in the native language. Words with this function tend to fill lexical gaps in the matrix language, however, this is a category that is not used very often, apart from the use of proper nouns. Wang (2006) states that the use of the referential function can be divided into three categories, namely letters and words that lack readily available native functions, words that do not share the same connotation in the native language, neologisms and proper nouns (p. 218).

The metalinguistic function of written language-switching in song lyrics includes quotations, paraphrases and metaphors. Gumperz (1982) mentions that many switched passages could be identified as direct quotations or reported speech (pp. 75-76). Along the same line as direct quotations is paraphrasing, which is usually a close approximation in another language of the phrase that was sung in the native language. Finally, to employ another language's vocabulary in its metaphorical usage can also be considered as serving the metalinguistic function.

The phatic function of written language-switching is present in all songs that feature repetition of the same word or phrase. It differs from the metalinguistic function since the repetition is literal and not a translation. The structure of a sentence or a phrase is repeated, and by doing this in another language, extra emphasis is placed on that part of the lyrics.

The final function of language-switching is one of the most easily recognisable functions of the use of language-switches in lyrics is the poetic function. Features of poetic functions include puns, jokes and wordplay. However, the most common reason for employing language-switching as a poetic device in Eurovision entries is to complete the rhyme scheme. Holmes (2001) mentions that the poetic function is usually displayed by focussing on the aesthetic features of language, which includes rhymes and ear-catching mottos. This statement is supported by Chan (2009) who states that "pop song lyrics are

poetic texts, and [language]-switching acts as a poetic device whereby foreign words fit into the rhyming scheme and rhyme with words from the L1" (p. 125).

3.5.2 The location of language-switches

Taking into consideration the work of Reiss (1981), one accepts that in the framework of written forms of communication there are three types of written texts, namely the narrative (or the informative), the expressive, and the operative. The narrative text can be described as the telling of a story. Events are placed in a chronological order in order to entertain. In songs this type of text is found most often in ballads that mention one's personal history or that of someone else. These types of texts in songs are often the most personal and telling, which allows for numerous speech acts, which is discussed below. It is important to note that in translating narrative texts, the content is more important than the form, which allows for a freer translation, if the lyricist chooses to switch languages within the song. The expressive text focuses more on the style than the content, which makes switching languages somewhat more difficult, especially when the languages between which is switched are not similar in terms of grammar. The final style, the operative text, is ideal in terms of language-switching, since it directly addresses the listener. This address to the audience makes for a perfect point in the text to switch between languages. The speech act associated most with operative texts is the illocutionary act, since it addresses them to do something, which in most cases is something along the lines of clapping one's hands or dancing along.

In order to establish in which part of the songs language switches take place it is important to set out the basic parameters of the song's structure. There are numerous possible variations in structure, however the basic structure of the majority of pop songs can be categorised as one of the following three form models, as described by Von Appen and Frei-Hauenschild (2015). These forms are described as the Verse/Chorus forms; the AAA, strophic, or "simple verse" form; and AABA or the "American Popular Song Form" (2015, p.3).

The first type of structure, namely that of the Verse/Chorus form, can be described as having two components: These are the chorus, which is repeated multiple times without changes in the lyrics, and the verses, which are identical in harmony and melody, but the lyrics differ. Both components can be very similar, however this is not always the case.

The second type is the strophic, or "simple verse form". This type of song structure is basically a repetition of one formal component with different lyrics. The difference between this model and that of the Verse/Chorus model is the lack of a separate repeated component.

The harmonies and melodies of the verses are repeated, however the lyrics are usually different. An example of songs that fit into this category is the narrative ballad.

The final type of structure is the "American Popular Song Form", which consists of two A-sections, which in this model consists of both a verse and a chorus; a B-section, which is often referred to as the bridge, a contrasting part that is different from the verse and the chorus in terms of melody, harmony and lyrics; and by another A-section.

Bentahila and Davies (2002) stress the importance of the refrain or the chorus of the song. They state that verses usually convey the most information, and that the refrains are present as a catchy part to increase the chances of the song becoming popular. Additionally, they state that the amount of information in the chorus is usually very low. They state that "typically, the refrain sums up the general mood or theme of the song, often through banal clichés, while the verses fill in on the story-line, if there is one, or relate more particular details" (Bentahila and Davies 2002, p. 202). However, this is not necessarily true for all the occurrences of intersentential code-switching in songs from the Eurovision Song Contest.

Chan (2009) also highlights the importance of the location of a language switch within the structure of the song. He claims that a very common pattern in Cantopop is that the singer switches to English at the opening of the chorus. This switch occurs to emphasise the content of the chorus, which, according to Chan "expresses the key ideas of the whole song" (p. 123).

3.6 Semantic fields

The term semantic field might be somewhat problematic in terms of discussing the lyrics of Eurovision entries. The majority of ESC songs are love songs, which narrows the range of possible field for research. By defining the term semantic field very specifically as a register, a specific vocabulary pertaining to a specific field, it is possible to analyse examples from the corpus (Wardhaugh, 1986). Elaborating on the idea of internal deviation, a change in register therefore signifies a change in content. The aim of this study is to establish whether a language change also indicates a change in register. A positive outcome would support the proposed hypothesis that a change in form indicates a change in content.

As mentioned, the expectation is that the changes between registers are not overwhelmingly unexpected. The medium of pop songs, often love songs, does not give the opportunity to experiment in terms of content. The subject matter is relatively similar in all instances, and a change in a completely different register would be confusing and therefore unnecessary. It is for this reason that the expected change in register would be subtle, and that it would introduce a subtopic change, rather than a complete shift in focus. An example of this

is to be found in the 2008 study by Bentahila and Davies, in which they describe a number of specific purposes that French seems to fulfil in the lyrics of rai music (a popular style of music in northern Africa). For example, there is a switch to French when the artist refers to certain semantic categories of lexical items, such as business, science, and concepts related to Europe. Moreover, French is also used to describe universal experiences and feelings such as love and desire. In the latter case, the goal seems to be to avoid addressing potentially taboo topics in Arabic by switching to French instead. Moreover, Wang (2006) mentions that language-switches in song lyrics can be employed by lyricists in order to express sincere feelings, thus employing the expressive function. This is usually achieved by inserting words such as *love, honey,* and other affectionate terms that would seem insincere in the original language into the lyrics of a song.

3.7 Research questions

This paper examines language switches to English in song lyrics in a corpus of entries of the Eurovision Song Contest. Moreover, this study aims to add to a growing corpus of data on the functions of language switches within the pop song genre by analysing these functions in a different context than has been done before.

In an attempt to fill the gap in the previous research, this study will provide answers to the following questions:

- When do language-switches to English occur in non-English songs?

Taking into account the idea of primary deviation, one would assume that a language-switch to English in the lyrics of a song would occur when the contrast is greatest. In accordance with Von Appen and Frei-Hauenschild (2015), I expect that the most obvious place for a language-switch in a song is located in the bridge of that song. Even though this term can be used to describe multiple phenomena, in this case it refers to the contrasting part of the song, usually located at the beginning of the final third of the song. This part is usually indicated by a contrasting melody or key change, which would in itself grasp the audience's attention. By using a language-switch in this part of the song, the emphasis is increased even more. However, as is brought forward by Bentahila and Davies (2002, 2008) and Chan (2009), the chorus of a song is also a good place for a language-switch, since this part of the song is repeated, which also increases the potential to get the audience's attention. In the line of their idea that the chorus is used to convey the general message of the song, it seems only natural to clarify that message by translating it into a language that is understood by the largest part of the target audience, which in the case of the ESC is English. Based on the

works of Bentahila and Davies (2002, 2008) and Chan (2009) and the remarks on contrast in the bridge and the chorus by Von Appen and Frei-Hauenschild (2015), one expects that the most obvious place for a larger language-switch (i.e. a complete chorus as opposed to a phrase or a word), would be final chorus and the bridge at the beginning of the final third of the song. The smaller language-switches could occur in more places, however they are still expected to occur more frequently in the chorus and the bridge.

- What are the context/language/content factors that lead to language-switches? To answer this question, one has to answer multiple other questions, namely these:

  - Do language-switches occur more frequently in songs sung in non-Germanic languages and languages of countries in which the position of English is less well-established?

    There are two possible outcomes for this question. Either the countries higher on the English proficiency-index use more language-switches than their lower counterparts, or they do not since they choose to perform the entire song in English, thus not meeting the criteria to be considered as a song containing language-switches. It is very well possible that because of the mix of national pride and the wish to do well at the ESC, that the countries lower on the English proficiency-index use more language switches, as was the case with the example of the Polish entry in 2014.

  - Are there more language-switches to English in earlier songs than in later song?

    To answer this question one must take into account the changing language rules, and their effect on the choices made by the artists. The remarks of Wolther (2012) on the declining popularity of national language pop music would lead one to expect a rise in the number of language-switches in the later years with language restrictions and either a decline afterwards (caused by a rise in the number of songs performed entirely in English), or an even greater increase.

  - Are language-switches predominant in certain semantic fields?

    If the results of this research are similar to those of Bentahila and Davies (2002, 2008), Wang (2006) and Chan (2009), one would expect to find that most language-switches can be found in the semantic field of love and other emotions.

- In what type of discourse can language switches be found, and how do they manifest themselves?

As mentioned in 3.5.2, the operative text lends itself very well for insertions in other languages, since it applies to the audience to take action in one way or another. The language-switches in narrative texts can be considered as well, since quotations are used in those texts. The less obvious answer is the expressive text, since that is based on the artist themselves, which would make a language-switch less necessary.

4 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces and discusses the methodological approach and design of this paper. A multi-method strategy is proposed to answer the research questions as set out in the previous chapter. An outline of the research approach and research design is given, this being a quantitative corpus-based analysis of language switches to English in the lyrics of non-English Eurovision entries, and a descriptive qualitative examination of the functions of this phenomenon. A justification is provided for each of the specific methods of analysis. The following sections illustrate the source material, the process of data-collection, and provide an overview of the methods of analysis. This chapter concludes with a brief summary.

4.2 Research approach and research design

As mentioned in the introduction of this paper, the premise of this study is based on the idea in stylistics that similar form constitutes similar content (Leech, 1981). A logical conclusion to this idea is that stylistic deviation from the norm in form indicates deviation in content. In this thesis, a language switch to English constitutes a deviation from the form of the rest of the song, which is performed in the native language, and is therefore the norm. In order to test whether or not this also applies to language switches to English in the lyrics of non-English entries in the Eurovision Song Contest, an approach that was both qualitative and quantitative is required. This requirement limits the possible research designs. As a result a multi-method strategy was chosen for this study in the form of a descriptive corpus-based approach. This type of approach has been used to examine language switches in song lyrics by others such as Chan (2009), Lee (2004, 2006), Bentahila and Davies (2002, 2008), and Wang (2006). As has become clear from the study by Likhitphongsathorn and Sappapan (2013), the analysis of foreign units in the lyrics of pop songs cannot be fully achieved by merely counting occurrences of the various kinds of units. Instead, a more extensive descriptive approach was required when analysing the factors that come into play with regard to the reasons behind the use of language switches.

4.3 Source material

The corpus consisted of the lyrics of all non-English Eurovision entries between 1956 and 2014 that featured language switches to English. Each entry was analysed individually to establish whether it met these inclusion criteria. This reduced the corpus size from over 1500

songs to 115 songs. The source material on which this analysis is based was collected from the online Eurovision Song Contest database "The Diggiloo Thrush", which provided an accurate representation of the results of every year that the competition was held. The combination of lyrics and translations made "The Diggiloo Thrush" a trustworthy source of material.

Another reason for specifically using this database as the source for the song lyrics used in this study was the style choice that was made in order to highlight language mixing. When more than one language was used in a song, the part of the text in a language other than the native language was placed in italics. It should be noted that this was only the case in the translated version of the song, as the official versions of the lyrics were not italicised at all. Nevertheless, this stylistic choice greatly decreased the time necessary to locate language switches in a song. However, it has to be taken into account that this type of highlighting was only employed when the song was officially performed in one language, and that songs that were officially listed as being performed in multiple languages were not taken into account.

4.4 Quantitative analysis

Some lyric-external factors, although not the main focus of this study, were taken into account only in the quantitative analysis of the data. These factors included the country of origin of the singer or songwriter, and their place on the English Proficiency Index (EPI), as described in chapter 2.4. Another factor that was taken into account was the year in which a song was entered into the ESC, in order to see if the occurrence of language switches was more likely in a period of restrictive language-rules or not. Furthermore, the timeframe was also of importance in testing whether the use of language switches coincided with a decline in popularity of native-language pop music. Furthermore, to test whether there were similarities between a number of lyric-external and lyric-internal factors, these results were added to table B.1, which can be found in Appendix B.

The analysis of the lyric-internal factors that constituted language switches to English was both qualitative and quantitative. The qualitative approach was required since an analysis of content factors cannot be achieved by merely counting occurrences, whereas the quantitative approach was required to analyse the formal properties of the texts. This multi-method strategy was chosen so that a clear division was possible between the formal properties of the texts and their contents. The quantitative analysis of the texts was based mainly on the 2013 study by Likhitphongsathorn and Sappapan, in which they counted the occurrences of language switches in Thai pop songs, and in which they categorised them by

word type. In order to analyse the formal properties of language switches in the lyrics of Eurovision entries, this study aimed to emulate this research design. The number of occurrences of language switches was counted, which resulted in a large data pool. This pool was used to categorise the songs containing these units by size and type. In terms of size and complexity, these categories were as follows: words, complex words, idioms, phrases, clauses, sentences, and paragraphs. If a song's lyric contained multiple types of foreign units, the category in which it was placed was the most complex one. This choice was made in order to make the analysis of the combination of lyric-internal and lyric-external factors less complicated. These results were added to table B.1, which can be found in Appendix (B).

With the addition of the aforementioned results, table B.1 contained a number of variables, these being: year, country, artist and song title, original language, and type of foreign unit. Two of the research questions could be answered with the use of these variables. The first question was whether or not language switches to English occur more frequently in songs sung in non-Germanic languages or of languages of countries in which the position of English is less well established. The second question was whether there is more language-switching in earlier songs than in later songs or vice versa.

4.5 Qualitative analysis

To answer the other research questions, a more qualitative approach was necessary. The answering of the remaining research questions depended on a descriptive approach, which led to a different research design, more in line with the designs of Chan (2009), Wang (2006) and Bentahila and Davies (2002, 2008). They all offer examples from their corpora and highlighted the importance of the descriptive approach. Chan in particular offers a research design that could be used in almost the same way in this study. In his study, he gave examples of language switches in song lyrics followed by analyses of their functions, which created a clear overview and a logical setting. It was for this reason that this approach formed the basis of the research design of this study, since a number of lyric-internal factors could not be explained by merely counting the occurrences. A description was necessary in order to explain the various lyric-internal factors that came into play.

On a more formal level, there were two main issues that had to be described, namely the relationship between the music and the text, and the textual transitions. Based on the theoretical framework by Von Appen and Frei-Hauenschild (2015), and the remarks of Bentahila and Davies (2002, 2008), there was an expectation that a language-switch could and would occur whenever there was a contrast in terms of music and content. Bentahila and

Davies (2002) have proposed that the chorus of a song contains less narrative information and that it is more of an explanation of the general theme of the song. It was for this reason that they proposed that, in order to increase international appeal, a song would switch to a more widely spoken language. Furthermore, the verse-chorus structure, as proposed by Von Appen and Frei-Hauenschild, supported the claim by Bentahila and Davies. Moreover, in this structure, the chorus is described as being different on a textual level, and more importantly, on a musical level in terms of harmony and melody. The chorus, by its repetition, is marked as a transition in content, by deviating from the norm in terms of language and music. However, American Popular song form, the AABA-structure, which was considered to be more appropriate for the analysis of modern pop songs, adheres to the idea that the most obvious textual and musical transition take place in the bridge of a song. Taking into account these two different structures, one would assume that the use of language switches occurs mainly in choruses and bridges of songs, leaving the verses relatively native. In order to test this hypothesis, this study aimed to describe the general location of the language switches in Eurovision entries, and did so by offering examples and analysing whether these examples adhered to the proposed pattern of language-switching. If this was indeed the case, these hypotheses could be considered valid.

In terms of the content of the song lyrics, the approach was similar, since it included descriptions of the language switches to English and analyses of these units based on the speech acts that they performed, and the semantic fields in which these units were found. One cannot mention the speech acts without referencing the functions of language in general as put forward by Jakobson (1960), namely the directive, expressive, referential, metalinguistic, phatic, and poetic functions. These functions were of importance in the analysis of the speech acts, since they facilitated a clearer division between the groups of speech acts. In order to establish which speech act was performed, the language switches were analysed in a manner comparable to that of Wang (2006). He, although focusing more on the functions of language-switching, has mentioned that the speech acts involved with language switches were to be analysed in a descriptive manner (2006). For this reason, the functions of language-switching and the speech acts were analysed in the same section. This description allowed for a better analysis of the various speech acts involved in the lyrics of songs, and made possible the explanation of mood changes in the content as a result of these changes in speech acts and functions.

The final aspect that was included in the analysis of the foreign units was the examination of the relevance of changes between semantic fields within lyrics. In order to test whether or not the changes in language indicate a change in subtopic, a number of song lyrics were analysed. This was done mainly to see whether a switch of language was also combined with a change of register. In this case register can be described as a type of jargon, specific to a certain field of conversation. Such a change would indicate a change in subtopic, as put forward by Bentahila and Davies (2008). They found that a switch in language usually indicated some sort of variation on the main theme in the lyrics of rai music. Their examples illustrated a dichotomy between the use of Arabic, the main language, and French, which was employed in order to illustrate more risqué subject matters. Furthermore, the use of another language in specific semantic fields is also brought forward by Lee (2004), who states that the use of English units in the lyrics of Korean pop songs was limited to some degree to certain semantic fields, such as love or actions.

4.6 Summary

This chapter has outlined the research approach and research design and described the procedures in detail. The only logical research approach to answer all the research questions, as stated in the introduction of this paper, was a combination of a quantitative approach and a descriptive qualitative approach. This resulted in a multi-method research design, which focused mainly on the lyric-internal factors of language-switching in Eurovision entries. This, however, did not mean that the lyric-external factors were not taken into account. A combination of lyric-external and lyric-internal factors were analysed in a quantitative manner by counting occurrences of the aforementioned variables. The descriptive qualitative approach was chosen in order to allow a more comprehensive and inclusive analysis, as opposed to a restricted quantitative approach. The lyrics of Eurovision entries were selected as the primary source of data, which gave valuable insights in the workings of language switches in European popular music, on which there is very little information. The information gained from the quantitative analysis was structured in tables, which allowed for further examination, whereas the qualitative analysis was structured more loosely. This loose structure consisted mainly of examples from the corpus texts and explanations, which allowed for better comparison, since it focused on creating a more generally applicable structure of researching language-switching in pop songs, as opposed to a specific illustration of the situation in the ESC.

5 Results

5.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present the results of the examination of the corpus. Section 5.2 offers the results of the analysis of the lyric-external factors of language switching in the lyrics of Eurovision Song Contest entries. The time period, the language rules in those periods, and the native language of the performers were taken into account in determining which factors were relevant in the corpus. Section 5.3 offers the results of the analysis of lyric-internal factors. These factors were established on the formal properties of the text and the content of the text. The formal properties consisted of the textual transitions and the relationship between music and text, and the content of the text consisted of the speech acts, text type, functions, and the semantic fields in which language switches occurred.

In terms of lyric-external factors, the expectation was that the number of language switches to English would be greater in the later periods, and that the more complex language switches would occur in songs from countries in which a Germanic language was spoken, and the simpler switches in songs from Romance and Slavic countries. In terms of lyric-internal factors, the expectation was that language-switching would occur at points in the songs that were considered different, for example the chorus or the bridge. Furthermore, the expectation was that the majority of language switches would occur in the semantic field of emotions and actions.

5.2 Lyric-external factors

Table 5.1 present the results obtained from the preliminary analysis of the use of language switches in Eurovision entries. Moreover, it is based on data from the corpus which can be found in the Appendix B. This table illustrates the number of occurrences of language switches in song lyrics in the various chosen time periods. The choice for these periods was made on the basis of their respective language rules, which are defined as follows:

- 1956-1965: free language-choice, early
- 1966-1972: language-restrictions, early
- 1973-1977: free language-choice, middle
- 1978-1998: language-restriction, late
- 1999-2014: free language-choice, late

Table 5.1
Number of songs in selected periods

Period	Total	Number of songs featuring a language switch to English	Percentage of songs featuring a language switch to English
1957-1965	140	5	3,6%
1966-1972	116	5	4,3%
1973-1977	89	10	11,2%
1978-1998	452	31	6,9%
1999-2014	559	64	11,4%
Total	1356	115	8,5%

It is apparent from this table that in the first two periods, namely 1957-1965 and 1966-1972, the number of songs featuring language-switching did not change very much. The first major shift can be seen in the third period, 1973-1977, in which 11,2% of the entries featured a language switch to English. This number fell in the following period, 1978-1998, to 6,9%, yet it was higher than in the first two periods. The second major rise took place in 1999-2014, in which 11,4% of the songs featured a language switch to English. These results show that the most language switches occurred in the periods of free language-choice, which was expected. Moreover, it shows that the later periods in general featured more language-switches, both in relative terms as absolutely.

Table 5.2 illustrates the data from the examination of the songs featuring language-switching based on the native language of the artist. As stated in chapter 4.4, the entries were categorised into either one of four language families, namely Germanic, Romance, Slavic, and other. Taking into consideration the language policies of countries in which languages from the respective language families are spoken, and their general proficiency in English as defined on the EPI, the expectation was that the Germanic languages would feature the most language switches to English, followed by the Slavic and Romance languages. This expectation was based on the generalisation of the results found in the EPI, in which Germanic countries scored higher than Slavic and Romance countries. As a result of a lack of information, and an uneven distribution across Europe of these other language families, there were no expectations with regard to the number of language switches that would occur in the final category.

Table 5.2
Number of songs per language family

Language family	Number of songs featuring a language switch to English	Percentage of songs featuring a language switch to English
Germanic	33	28,8%
Romance	34	29,5%
Slavic	25	21,7%
Other	23	20,0%
Total	115	100%

As can be seen in Table 5.2, the number of Germanic and Romance songs featuring language switches to English was almost identical. The Romance languages even surpassed the Germanic languages by 1 entry, which was not expected, considering the remarks in chapter 2.4. Moreover, the number of Slavic songs featuring a language switch to English was lower than the other the number of Germanic and Romance songs. However, when one considers that the majority of Slavic countries acceded to the ESC after 1995, this number is relatively high compared to the other categories. Relatively speaking, this means that the total number of Slavic entries is lower than the total number of Germanic and Romance entries however, this was not taken into account for this thesis, since this variable was not of interest in determining the general lyric-external factors that contribute to language-switching to English in song lyrics. Furthermore, the final category, that of the other language families, consisted of 23 songs that feature a language switch to English in their lyrics.

The surprising outcome of the data from Table 5.2 only answered one part of the research question. To fully comprehend the extent of the influence of lyric-external factors on the number of songs featuring language switches, I had to examine the types of language switches in the song lyrics from entries belonging to the various language families. The complexity of the language switch was taken into account. The expectation was that a greater proficiency in English would lead to more complex language switches. The results of the analysis can be found in Table 5.3, in which the categories are ordered in terms of complexity with the least complex units on the left and the most complex units on the right. The first three, words, idioms, and phrases, were considered to be the simpler units, whereas the final three, clauses, sentences, and paragraphs, were considered to be the more complex units. This categorisation was based on the 2013 study Likhitphongsathorn and Sappapan, in which they categorised the switched units in a similar way, including the complexity.

Table 5.3
Types of language switch per language family

Language family	Words	Idioms	Phrases	Clauses	Sentences	Paragraphs	Total
Germanic	15	0	7	2	4	5	33
Romance	5	0	7	3	6	13	34
Slavic	5	1	5	0	2	12	25
Other	4	0	1	3	1	14	23
Total	29	1	20	8	13	44	115

As can be seen in Table 5.3, the initial hypothesis that the complexity of the used language switches increases with proficiency in English was incorrect. The countries in which a Germanic language was spoken were considered to be the most proficient in English, which therefore should have led to a higher number of complex language switches in the Germanic category. However, this category scored lowest in terms of complexity. More surprisingly, songs from the Germanic language family contained the highest number of simplest language switches, namely 15. This was in stark contrast with the results of the Romance language family, which had only 5 songs featuring the simplest language switches, as did the Slavic language family. The rest of the language families only had 4 songs that featured language-switching to English. The number of songs in the following category, idioms, was not very considerable for any of the language groups. There was one Slavic entry that featured an English idiom. The distribution of songs that featured switched phrases was fairly even among the first three language families, with Germanic and Romance containing 7 entries each, Slavic containing 5. The other language families only featured 1 entry with switched phrases, which is a clear shift from the other three groups. The number of songs featuring switched clauses was low, with 3 songs for both Romance and Other, 2 songs for Germanic, and no songs for Slavic. This distribution was the most even among all the categories. The division was greater in the category of sentences, in that the largest number of songs featuring switched sentences was 6 for the Romance language, and only 1 for the other languages. Germanic, which according to the hypothesis should have had more, had 4, whereas Slavic somewhat supported the hypothesis by having 2 songs. As mentioned earlier, the final category, namely that of the paragraphs, showed some unexpected results. Romance, Slavic and Other languages had respectively 13, 12, and 14 songs that featured language switches to English in the form of paragraphs. Germanic, on the other hand, had only 5, which was unexpected. These results did not support the hypothesis that a higher proficiency leads to the use of more complex language switches in song lyrics.

Since the hypothesis on proficiency was not supported by the results of the data analysis, it was necessary to test whether the other lyric-external factor, the time period, had influence on the type of language switch in song lyrics. In order to test whether the factor of the time period had an influence, the data was analysed in the same way as was the case in Table 5.3, but focusing on the time period and not on the language family. On the basis of the language rules of the ESC, the attitude towards the use of language-switching, and the remarks by Wolther (2012) on national language music, the expectation was that the complexity of switched units would increase in the later periods of free language choice. The results of this analysis can be found in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4
Types of language switch per time period

Period	Words	Idioms	Phrases	Clauses	Sentences	Paragraphs	Total
1956-1965	3	0	1	0	0	1	5
1966-1972	2	1	1	0	1	0	5
1973-1977	4	0	0	1	2	3	10
1978-1998	14	0	11	2	4	0	31
1999-2014	6	0	7	5	6	40	64
Total	29	1	20	8	13	44	115

As can be seen clearly in Table 5.4, the hypothesis was supported by the results of the data analysis. The largest number of complex switched units occurred in the latest period. Not only was this number of complex language switches the largest in this period, it was also relatively the largest category in that period, namely 62,5% (40/64). Moreover, this period contained the largest number of language switches in general, which was also expected. Another trend that can be found in the data is the difference between periods that had free language-choice and those with language restrictions. The only periods in which entire paragraphs were switched were the ones with freedom of language choice. This is clear in the periods 1973-1977 and 1999-2014, in which the majority of songs featuring language switches of a more complex nature, respectively 60% (6/10) and 79,7% (53/64). In the periods with language-restrictions, 1966-1972 and 1978-1998, the situation was different, since the majority of songs contained simpler language switches, respectively 80% (4/5) and 80,6% (25/31). The only exception to this pattern is the first free period, 1956-1965, in which the majority of language switches was of a simpler nature, namely 80% (4/5).

5.3 Lyric-internal factors

5.3.1 Textual transitions and music-text relationships

Based on the idea that a shift in form indicates a shift in content, as explained in chapter 3.5.2, one would assume that a language switch takes place when there is a clear shift in form. As a result, there were two possible outcomes. The first outcome was influenced by the statements of Bentahila and Davies (2008), in which the chorus was considered an ideal opportunity to engage an international audience, since the repetition highlights the content of that particular section of the song. By switching to English in the chorus, the opportunity to connect with an audience is used in a more engaging way, than by merely repeating the same chorus in the native language. Since the songs from the corpus were aimed at an international audience, using a language switch to English in the repeated part of the song would seem the most natural solution, bar from performing the song entirely in English. However, when taking into account Von Appen and Frei-Hauenschild (2015), one would assume that a language switch would be most likely to occur in the bridge of the song. The change in form in the bridge, both on a melodic level as on a textual level, increase the contrast with the rest of the song, thereby marking this particular section of the lyrics as different. The increased contrast would be considered a clear shift in form. Both studies have shown that there are multiple possibilities in terms of locations for language-switching in song lyrics. In both cases this shift in form is represented as another part of the song structure, which leads one to think that the most likely location for a language switch would be a chorus, preferably the final chorus, highlighted by a key change. The results of the analysis of the locations of language switches can be found in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5
Location of language switches in the lyrics

Location of language switch	Number of occurrences
Chorus (all)	52
Chorus (second half)	11
Chorus + Verse (all)	17
Chorus + Verse (second half)	13
Verse (all)	6
Verse (second half)	2
Chorus + Bridge	4
Bridge	3
Intro	7
Total	115

Table 5.5 shows that the most common location for a language switch in the lyrics of the song from the corpus is the chorus. In 52 cases the only language switches were found in the choruses of the songs, which supports the hypothesis posed by Bentahila and Davies (2008). Moreover, 11 songs featured a language switch in the choruses in the second half of the song, which in most cases meant that the final chorus was performed in English, as was predicted. These two results made up 55% (63/115) of the total number of songs featuring language switches. As was to be expected, the number of songs in which the only language switches took place in the verses was far lower, namely 6 for the verses in general and 2 for verses in the second half of the song, adding up to 7% (8/115). This number is surprisingly higher to the number of songs featuring a language switch in the bridge, which is 2,6% (3/115). Based on the remarks by Von Appen and Frei-Hauenschild (2015), one would have assumed that this number would be much higher. Even when taking into account that 3,4% (4/115) songs featured a language switch in both the chorus and the bridge, this number is far lower than the number of songs featuring language switches merely in the chorus. Another result, one not restricted to strict boundaries, was the number of songs featuring switches throughout the song in both chorus and verses, which amounted to 26% (30/115) of the total. Songs that feature this type of language-switching occur frequently, but definitely not as often as songs in which merely the chorus is switched. The final result, which was not taken into account by others was a language switch in the introduction of a song. All songs that fit into this category featured a half-spoken introduction in English, aimed to get the attention of the audience from the start, whereas the rest of the song was performed in the native language. This, despite not occurring very often, did occur more frequently than predicted, namely in 6% (7/115) of the cases.

5.3.2 Speech acts, text types, and functions of language switches

As explained in the literary review, there are a number of lyric-internal factors that influence the use of language switches. Three of these factors cannot be discussed separately, since they influence each other. These factors are the text type, the speech acts involved, and the functions of language switches. To illustrate these factors, this section gives examples of sections of song lyrics that fit into the category of narrative text, expressive text, or operative text. It has to be noted that one song can fit in all the categories, however, since the focus of this thesis is to illustrate the functions and not quantify them, the examples are chosen to illustrate the text type. The fact that an example from a song fits into one particular text type category does not mean that the entire song can be considered that text type.

As stated in chapter 3.5.2, one would assume that a song in a narrative style would not necessarily directly require an audience to get involved. Instead, it is much more likely that a direct approach is taken in conveying the message of the songs. It is for this reason that an assertive locutionary speech act is most likely to be performed in this type of songs. Since these types of speech acts do not necessarily require a response from the audience, there are no real perlocutionary speech acts involved in this type of song. The illocutionary act that is performed is usually an informative one. Since an informative text in the form of a song does not aim to engage the audience by using other illocutionary acts, it is most likely that the function of the language switches in this type of song would be referential. Examples of the referential function are (1) through (3).

(1) *Europe's living a celebration* / Nuestro sueño - una realidad
"Europe's living a celebration / Our dream - a reality"
(Rosa – Europe's living a celebration; Spain, 2002)

(2) *Leha'amin bechol hatov sheba'olam haze* / I do believe
"To believe in all the good that exists in this world / I do believe"
(David D'or – Leha'amin; Israel, 2004)

(3) *'Made in Spain'* tatuado en su piel
'Made in Spain' tattooed on her skin
(La Década Prodigiosa – Made in Spain; Spain, 1988)

All three examples refer to an action or a tangible situation, which is precisely what the referential function is intended for. Example (1) refers to a situation in which the entire continent of Europe is living a celebration, a reference to the ESC itself and its effect on people. However, this example only refers to the situation and is not addressing the audience to join this celebration. It is for this reason that this example is referential and not directive. Example (2) refers to a mental process, however, since it is merely a reference to a process that takes place in the context it cannot be seen as an expressive act. The third example is once again a reference to the context, in which a girl has the words "made in Spain" tattooed in her skin. All three examples refer to the context, and are not necessarily addressed to anyone, therefore they employ the referential function of a language switch.

The second text type is the expressive text, which focuses mainly on the artist and not on the audience. The main goal of an expressive text is to convey the emotions and thoughts of the addresser. Taking into account the name of this text type, it is not surprising that the most commonly used function of language-switching is the expressive function, which is illustrated in examples (4) through (6). It has to be noted that this is the expressive function as described by Jakobson (1960) and not the expressive class of illocutionary acts as described by Seare (1975). Moreover, since this type of text is a more style based one, the poetic function of language is also used in order to engage the audience, as illustrated in examples (7) through (9).

(4) Et dans le ciel, *I miss you so*
"And in the sky, I miss you so"
(Les Fatals Picards – L'amour à la française; France, 2007)

(5) *I'd live it all again*, anch'io lo rivivrei
"I'd live it all again, I'd live it again as well"
(Al Bano & Romina Power – We'll live it all again; Italy, 1976)

(6) Jamais je ne pourrai... I want you, I love you, darling
"I could never... I want you, I love you, darling"
(Dominique Dussault – Marlène; Monaco, 1970)

All three examples show that foreign phrases are added in order to convey honest emotional passion and feelings. Phrases like "I love you" are added as the most obvious example of sincere passion and emotion, as is seen in (6), but the declaration in (4) is also a good example of the emotion behind the statement. In a sense, the expressive function, as used in expressive texts has an assertive and informative illocutionary effect. The artist does not expect a response, and is merely informing the listener of his or her emotional state. Therefore, the function of the speech act used in this type of text is merely an informative one.

One of the most easily recognisable functions of language switches in lyrics is the poetic function. Features of the poetic function include puns, jokes and wordplay. However, the most common reason for employing language switches as a poetic device in Eurovision entries is to complete the rhyme scheme, as examples (7) through (9) show.

(7) Je suis perdu, *here without you*
"I'm lost here without you"
(Les Fatals Picards – L'amour a la française; France, 2007)

(8) Sie wicklt mi uman Finger, sie wü an *winner, winner*
*"*She wraps me around her finger, she wants a winner, winner"
(Trackshittaz – Woki Mit Deim Popo; Austria, 2012)

(9) Transforma la realitat / *We still can act, but we don't react*
"Transform reality / We still can act, but we don't react"
(Anonymous – Salvem el món; Andorra, 2007)

Example (7) is an example of an attempt to complete the rhyme through perfect rhyme (since the singer pronounces "perdu" with a faux-English accent), whereas (8) and (9) do so by half-rhyme. Nevertheless, all three succeed in completing the rhyme scheme through assonance. The similarity of these switched units to their native counterparts is noticeable, which is precisely what triggers a response from an international audience. By using the poetic function of language-switching, it is possible to engage the audience more directly, since familiar content would trigger a more intense response.

Both narrative and expressive texts feature the assertive illocutionary speech act, since both of these text types do not aim to do anything else but express information. The text type that does not adhere to this structure is the operative text, which aims for the audience to take action in some form. In the performance of songs, this action can generally be considered an attempt at persuasion in terms of dancing, clapping, or singing along. As opposed to the other two text types, the operative text directly addresses the audience, which therefore engages them more directly. The speech act used for this type of action is the directive illocutionary act. Examples of this type of act are (10) through (12).

(10) Kotem njan buj-buj ik bude, šulemı nebže / *Party for everybody – dance*
"The dough is rising and my heart is cheering / Party for everybody – dance"
(Buranovskiye Babushki – Party for everybody; Russia, 2012)

(11) Besser wir vergessen die, *come on, let's dance*
"It's better to forget them, come on, let's dance"
(MeKaDo – Wir geben 'ne Party; Germany, 1994)

(12) Insieme, *unite, unite, Europe*
"Together, unite, unite, Europe"
(Toto Cotugno – Insieme: 1992; Italy, 1990)

The directive function of language-switching can be of great importance in a competitive setting, since it directly involves the listener. By directly addressing the listener, a song will have a greater appeal, especially when this address is made in a language that the listener can understand. In most cases this address is made in the spirit of joining in. By imploring the listener to partake in the song, the connection is made stronger, and to achieve this connection, the imperative mood is employed, as is the case in examples (10) through (12). By using this grammatical mood, the artist directs his or her attention to the audience and asks them to get into action, whether by joining in with singing, dancing and moving as is the case in (10) and (11), or by joining forces for a potentially good cause, which is what is attempted with the lyrics of (12).

The examples (1) through (12) all illustrate that a language switch indicates a shift in mood in one way or another. Through the use of language-switching, the artist marks that section of the song lyrics as different. One has to take into consideration that using a more widely spoken language increases the size of the audience that understands what message is being conveyed. Emphasis is put on the switched unit, and since a large part of the audience can understand it, as opposed to the rest of the song, this switched unit determines the message that the audience gets.

5.3.3 Semantic fields

Taking into consideration Bentahila and Davies (2008), one would assume that a switch in language also indicates a shift in topic, or at least a shift in subtopic. As mentioned in chapter 3.6, a switch in language could indicate a shift in terms of register. As suggested by Lee (2004), the expectation was that this would be limited to a smaller number of semantic fields such as emotions and directive actions. The examples (13) through (16) illustrate the semantic fields in which simpler language changes in ESC song lyrics took place.

(13) *Bye bye, I love you, love you* / C'était le plus bel été de ma vie, *I love you*, chéri
"Bye bye, I love you, love you / It was the most beautiful summer in my life, I love you, darling"
(Ireen Sheer – Bye bye, I love you; Luxembourg, 1974)

(14) Njama granici za nas, *I love you so much*
"There are no borders for us, I love you so much"
(Sofi Marinova – Unlimited love; Bulgaria, 2012)

(15) *Come on and take me, come on and shake me* / Quiero saber lo que sientes por mí
"Come on and take me, come on and shake me / I want to know what you feel about me"
(Soraya – La noche es para mí; Spain, 2009)

(16) *Rock me, baby,* ovo je za nervni stres
"Rock me, baby, this is nerve-wrecking"
(Riva – Rock me; Yugoslavia, 1989)

Examples (13) and (14) illustrate that the field of love and emotions is indeed one that is used frequently for language switches in ESC lyrics. Both instances contain the simple phrase "I love you" inserted in a relatively more complex context. Examples (15) and (16) support Lee's (2004) remarks that actions are likely to be switched units. In both cases, the switched units are relatively simple directive phrases, whereas the context consists of more complex clauses. The use of simpler switched units in a more complex context was expected, however, this is but a small selection. Nevertheless, there are numerous other examples with the same structure.

It was expected that the majority of songs would feature language switches to English that were restricted to the aforementioned semantic fields. However, this was not necessarily the case for songs that featured larger switched units. Songs in which longer units were switched showed that there was a clear difference between the content of the verses and the choruses, as was stated by Bentahila and Davies (2008), but they were not limited to specific semantic fields. The content of the choruses differed from that of the verses, but as mentioned earlier, the content was not limited in terms of semantic fields. Nevertheless, the remarks of

Bentahila and Davies (2008) on the difference in content between the various sections of songs were found to be accurate in a large number of the corpus samples. Examples of this phenomenon are (17) and (18).

(17)

Se mya thalassa whiskey	"In a sea of whiskey"
Navayi ke pyos mas vriski	"Shipwrecks and those looking for us"
Ke zalizete, treklizi ol' i yi	"And the whole earth feels dizzy and staggers"
Me kefali surotiri	"With a strainer head"
Ke t' amaxi trehadiri	"And the car as a trehandiri (type of boat)"
Pyos tu evale pidhalyo ke pani?	"Who put a helm and sail on it?"
Alcohol, alcohol, alcohol is free	
Alcohol, alcohol, alcohol is free	
Alcohol, alcohol, alcohol is free	
Alcohol is free	
Alcohol is free	

(Koza Mostra feat. Agathonas Iakovidis – Alcohol is free; Greece, 2013)

(18)

Deejay vor dem Mikrophon	"The deejay in front of the microphone"
Leg uns jetzt auf den Plattenteller	"Records us now on the record player"
(Den Schlager der Saison)	"(The hit of the season)"
Moneten bringt der Superseller	"Money brings the superseller"
Boom Boom Boomerang, Snadderydang	
Kangaroo, Boogaloo, Didgeridoo	
Ding dong, sing the song,	
Hear the guitar twang	
Kojak, hijack, me and you	

(Schmetterlinge – Boom Boom Boomerang; Austria, 1977)

In both these examples, the verses are performed in the native language, respectively Greek and German, whereas the choruses are performed in English. The verses in example (17) are a recounting of a drunk adventure, explained in relatively complex clauses, whereas the English chorus is a mere repetition of the phrase "alcohol is free". The difference in complexity of the text in the various sections of the song was great, as was the case in

example (18). The German verses describe a situation in sentences that run on for multiple lines of text, whereas the English chorus is a collection of random English words and phrases. These examples supported Bentahila and Davies's hypothesis (2002) that the chorus is a less complex section of the song, which makes it more suitable for language-switching. The verses contained a narrative, whereas the choruses contained a more general text. These examples were a good representation of the noticeable divide between the content of choruses and verses.

6. Conclusion and discussion

6.1 Introduction

Taking into consideration the premise that a switch in form indicates a switch in content, this research focused on the relevant lyric-external and lyric-internal factors of language-switching in the lyrics of songs in the Eurovision Song Contest. In order to examine the use of this stylistic device in the Eurovision Song Contest, a corpus of song lyrics was created and analysed. To establish the relevant lyric-external factors, namely the time period and the native language of the artist, a quantitative approach was chosen. A number of relevant lyric-internal factors, namely the textual relations and the relationship between music and text, were also approached quantitatively. The remaining lyric-internal factors, namely speech acts, text types, functions of language switches, and the semantic fields in which the language switches occurred, were analysed with the use of a descriptive qualitative approach.

This chapter sets out the results of the corpus analysis by assessing the distribution of language switches in the lyrics of entries in the Eurovision Song Contest in the five chosen time periods by means of a detailed quantitative analysis as put forward in Chapter 5.2. Section 6.2.1 will discuss the relevant lyric-internal factors, and section 6.2.2 will set out the results of the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the relevant lyric-internal factors. This will be followed by a critical discussion of the findings and their linkages to the existing literature and research in order to establish whether these new data support or contradict existing information regarding the subject of language-switching in song lyrics.

6.2 Main findings

6.2.1 Lyric-external factors of language-switching

By looking into the number of language switches in the lyrics of Eurovision Song Contest entries, the initial expectations on the lyric-external factors of language-switching could be tested. The distribution of songs over five periods with different language rules allowed for a more detailed examination of these expectations. In terms of the relevance of the time period, it was expected that the number of language switches would be greater in the later periods, and that these language switches would be more complex. In terms of the native language of the artist, it was expected that the complexity of their language switches would be greater if they were more proficient in English. The proficiency in English of the artist was determined by generalising the results from the Education First English Proficiency Index (EPI). This meant that speakers of a Germanic language had a higher proficiency than

speakers of a Romance or Slavic language. As a result it was expected that speakers of a Germanic language would use more complex language switches to English, whereas speakers of Romance or Slavic languages would use simpler language switches in the lyrics of the songs.

In order to determine whether the time period in which a song entered the ESC was relevant, this study sought to answer how many occurrences of language-switching were present in the corpus and whether the number of occurrences of language-switching in Eurovision entries varied in the chosen time periods. To answer this question, the use of language-switching in the song lyrics of entries in the Eurovision Song Contest in the chosen time periods was compared. The expectation was that the number of English elements, especially complex ones, in the lyrics of non-English songs would be greater in the later periods in which the language rules allowed freedom of language choice. The results of the analysis of the data support the hypothesis that language-switching in general, and more specifically, the switching of more complex units, was present on a larger scale in the later periods with free language-choice.

The results in Table 5.1 showed that the number of non-English songs featuring English elements was greatest in the periods 1973-1977 and 1999-2014, with respectively 11,2% and 11,4% of the total, which was to be expected, considering that one is allowed to do so. Furthermore, the number of songs featuring language switches to English in the period 1978-1998 is greater than in 1966-1972, respectively 6,9% and 4,3%. This can be explained by the rising popularity of non-national language music as proposed by Wolther (2012). Furthermore, taking into consideration the lengths to which broadcasters went to move the EBU to change the language policy with regard to language choice, these results were not surprising.

Equally expected were the results found in Table 5.4, which showed that the number of more complex language switches was indeed greater than the number of simpler language switches in the later periods in which there was free language-choice, namely 1973-1977 and 1999-2014. The contrary was true in the periods in which there were language restriction, namely 1966-1972 and 1978-1998. One possible explanation for this is that the freedom of language choice allowed for songs to be performed in another language, which led to a greater number of entries performed partly in English and partly in the native language. Instead of inserting simple foreign elements, which had been done in the periods of language

restrictions, entire sections of the songs had been translated, which is the main reason for the greater number of complex language switches in the later periods of free language-choice.

More surprising were the results of the distribution of language-switching along the lines of the native languages of the artists. The expectation was that a higher proficiency in English would lead to a greater use of English element, especially complex ones. Based on the EPI, a hypothesis was formed, stating that entries were most likely to contain language switches if they represented countries in which a Germanic language was spoken, whereas Slavic and Romance entries would feature fewer language switches. However, Table 5.2 illustrated that this expectation was not met, and that in fact, Romance entries were most likely to feature a language switch to English and not Germanic entries (Germanic 33, Romance 34, Slavic 25, Other 23).

Furthermore, as the results in Table 5.3 showed, the expectations with regard to the complexity of the language switches based on the proficiency in English of the artist were not met either. Instead, Germanic entries were the only ones to feature more simple switches (22) than complex ones (11). In the Romance, Slavic and other-language categories respectively 12/34, 11/25, and 5/23 entries were marked as containing simple language switches, against respectively 22/34, 14/25, and 18/23 complex language switches. An explanation for this could be that Germanic countries have a more pragmatic approach to the ESC, as posed by Klapheck (2004), who stated that a great number of artists have chosen to perform the entire song in English for competitive reasons. One had to take into account the less strict language policies and less protective language attitudes in Germanic countries, as opposed to a more restrictive policy and protective attitude in Romance countries. Because of this difference, these results could be explained by stating that Germanic countries were more likely to enter a song performed entirely in English in the periods in which that was allowed. When comparing the various categories, it was noticeable that the number of Germanic entries that featured language-switching to English in the final period of free language choice, 1999-2014, was relatively low compared to Slavic and Romance entries.

6.2.2 Lyric-internal factors of language-switching

The most formal of lyric-internal factors of language-switching in songs was the relationship between the text and the music, and textual transitions as a result of changes in form. Because of the statements by Bentahila and Davies (2008), the expectation as that a language switch would be most likely to occur in the chorus of the song, since that section describes the general message of the song, whereas the verses are used to give further

information with regard to a narrative. This statement was made on the basis of a simple song structure of verses and choruses, whereas Von Appen and Frei-Hauenschild (2015) suggested that the analysis of pop songs should be performed using the American Popular Song Form, the AABA-structure. The latter structure includes a bridge towards the end, often marked by a different melody and key change in the music, which would therefore indicate a shift in content as well. The shift in form in the bridge would be a marker for a shift in content, which led to the expectation that a language switch would be most likely in the bridge of a song. The results in Table 5.5 showed that the majority of the songs (63/115) only featured language switches in the choruses, as opposed to a very small number of songs featuring language switches only in the bridge (3/115). The disparity between these two results could have two possible reasons, namely that the AABA-structure was not compatible with the songs in the corpus, or that the importance of the shift in form and content was overstated with regard to the bridge. Based on the fact that in general the structure of the songs from the corpus followed a fairly simple structure pattern which did not necessarily include a bridge with a different melody and content, the AABA-structure was not proven to be of great use in the analyses.

As mentioned in chapter 5.3.2, three lyric-internal factors could not be examined separately, namely the text types, the speech acts involved, and the functions of language switches in song lyrics. Since none of the songs in the corpus could be considered as being merely narrative, expressive, or operative, examples were chosen to illustrate each of the text types, the speech acts involved with that type, and the functions of the language switches in the texts.

The examples showed that the language switches in narrative sections of songs, in most cases the verses, performed an informative illocutionary act. As a result, the main function of these language switches, based on Jakobson's model of the functions of language, was the referential function. The second text type, the expressive texts, aimed to convey the emotions and thoughts of the addresser, thus performing yet again an informative illocutionary act, which was in agreement with Wang's (2006) findings in Japanese pop music. The functions of language switches associated most with this text type were the expressive and the poetic function. The expressive function was aimed mostly on the addresser, whereas the poetic function was aimed mostly on the text itself. Lastly, the third text type, the operative texts, were different, in that they performed directive illocutionary acts. The function of these sections of text was to engage the audience, not by merely

acknowledging their existence by inserting phrases that they would be able to understand, but by imploring them to act in a certain way. Nevertheless, the fact that the operative texts aimed to directly engage the audience did not imply that this was not the case in the other text types. All occurrences of language-switching were aimed to engage the audience in one way or another. The operative texts featured more direct addresses, yet this did not mean that the foreign insertions in other text types were not engaging the audience. Mahootian (2012) stated that one goal of using language switches in a text was to increase the visibility, which is precisely what one should be doing in a competitive context. Moreover, this increase of visibility can be considered as a type of foregrounding as described by Garvin (1964). More importance is given to a section in another language, simply because it stands out from the rest of the text.

The final lyric-internal factor was the semantic field in which the language switches occurred. The analysis of this factor required a two-pronged approach, since there was a clear difference in the various semantic fields in which simpler language switches and more complex language switches occurred. The simpler language switches occurred in fields such as emotions and directive actions, as was predicted by Lee (2004). Moreover, these simple switches did not necessarily introduce a subtopic change, as was suspected, based on the remarks of Bentahila and Davies (2008). The more complex language switches were not necessarily bound by semantic fields, which was unexpected. Since the majority of more complex language switches occurred in the form of paragraphs, a subtopic change would be more likely in these sections than in the inserted simple phrases or words. Furthermore, a phenomenon occurred, which had not been predicted, which was a disparity between the complexity of the native text and the switched units. Both the simpler language switches and the more complex language switches were less complex than the native context, as could be seen in the examples of chapter 5.3.3.

6.3 Discussion

As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, some of the results of this research were rather surprising. However, in terms of lyric-external factors, the expectations with regard to the various time periods were met, since the number of complex language switches was greatest in the final two periods of non-restrictive language rules. Moreover, Wolther's (2012) remarks on the decreasing popularity of native-language music were supported by the increase in non-English songs featuring English elements in the period following the 1970s. However, an unexpected outcome with regard to the lyric-external factors was the distribution

of songs featuring language switches over the various language families. Based on the data from the EPI, the expectation was that the number of (complex) language switches would be greatest in the songs from Germanic countries, and that songs from the Slavic and Romance countries would feature fewer and less complex language switches to English. Surprisingly, this was not the case, since the number of language switches in songs from Germanic and Romance languages was almost identical, whereas there were fewer Slavic songs that featured language-switching in general. Even more surprising was the low number of complex language switches in Germanic entries, and the relatively high number of complex switches in the Romance, Slavic, and other language families. One possible explanation for this unexpected result could be the approach that artists take with regard to their language choice. In the latest period, 1999-2014, the number of songs performed in another Germanic language than English had decreased, because Germanic countries entered songs performed entirely in English. This was in stark contrast to the number of Slavic and Romance songs, which remained fairly high in that period. This showed that there was a fundamental difference between countries in their general attitude towards their native language. Generally speaking, Germanic artists were more pragmatic in their language choice, which is why they opted to perform more songs entirely in English, as suggested by Klapheck (2012). The Slavic and Romance artists' approach was somewhat less pragmatic, in that they performed songs partly in their native language and partly in English. Additionally, the use of language-switching created a connection between the national cultural heritage of the artist and the international audience. In a sense, language-switching to English in parts of the songs could be considered a compromise between language protectionism and pragmatism by the Romance and Slavic countries. Part of the song would have been performed in the native language to appease the national audience, whereas the English part would have been aimed at the international audience.

In terms of lyric-internal factors, there were fewer surprises. With regard to the relationship between text and music, and the resulting textual transitions, it was expected that the songs would feature language switches at points in the song that were fundamentally different in terms of content and form. Taking into account Bentahila and Davies' researches (2002, 2008) on rai music, the expectation was that the most frequently used structure of language-switching would be a structure of switching between native verses and English choruses. This expectation was met, especially in the periods with non-restrictive language rules. Moreover, the claim that a language-switch would be most likely in the bridge of a

song, based on Von Appen & Frei-Hauenschild was deemed inconclusive. The results illustrated that there were but a few songs in which language-switching occurred only in the bridge, which was unexpected. However, as mentioned in chapter 6.2.2, this claim should not be disregarded completely, seeing that a large number of songs from the corpus did not contain a section that could be seen as the bridge. In order to examine the validity of this claim, a larger corpus would be necessary.

With regard to the influence of the text type on the function of language switches there were no surprises. Based on the works of Wang (2006), Chan (2009), and Lee (2004), it was expected that the most used functions of language-switching would be the referential function in narrative texts, the poetic and expressive functions in expressive texts, and the directive function in operative texts. These expectations were met, since the primary functions of the language switches in the respective text types were indeed the ones that were predicted. The referential, poetic, and expressive functions, although performing no other illocutionary speech act than informing and asserting, were used in the narrative and expressive texts. In a sense, these language switches were used, as described by Mahootian's (2012), as a "tool" to promote visibility, since informing would also be possible in the native language, yet this would not have been as successful. The directive function in the operative texts performed a more direct illocutionary act, namely a directive one. In order to direct an international audience one has to do so in a language that is understood by the majority, which in this case was English. These directive acts performed a more direct part in the engagement of the audience, and were therefore more than just a tool to increase the visibility.

With regard to the semantic fields in which language switches occurred, there were little surprises. As mentioned by Lee (2004), the most common field of semantics for love songs was the field of emotions, especially strong ones, or directives aimed at the listener. Based on Bentahila and Davies (2008) it was expected that language switches would also indicate a switch in subtopic, which was not necessarily the case with the less complex language switches. These simpler language switches usually functioned as a marker that an important piece of information was conveyed, or that the audience was directed to act in some way. The more complex language switches did mark a subtopic change, since these usually introduced another section of the song, which in the majority of examples was the chorus. Moreover, the complexity of the switched units was in almost all examples lower than the lyrics of the context. Despite the fact that larger units were performed in English in the

category of complex language switches, the context was more complex than the switched units, which was not expected based on the literature.

6.4 Implications for further research

With respect to this study, a number of important limitations need to be considered. First, this study is limited by its choice of corpus, in that the relative number of useable corpus entries was fairly low. Moreover, the choice to examine only the use of language switches to English limited examination, especially when considering that the corpus allowed for examination of language-switching to other languages. However, the choice to focus on English language switches was made in order to make more specific claims with regard to proficiency and language attitudes.

Secondly, the study was limited by the lack of literature on code-switching and language-switching in European pop music. A large part of the current body of research consists of examinations of language-switching in Asian pop music e.g. Lee, (2004), Wang (2006), Chan (2009), Kuchra (2006), whereas there are but few articles with regard to this phenomenon in other parts of the world e.g. Bentahila and Davies (2002, 2008), Winer and Sarkar (2009). Despite the lack of information with regard to language-switching in a European musical context, this study aimed to add to a growing body of work on this subject in a global context. Despite the fact that Eurovision entries cannot be considered as typical pop songs, since their success in the general charts is generally not that great, this study aimed to create a framework in which language-switching in pop songs could be examined from a stylistic perspective, and not a socio-linguistic one.

6.5 Final thought

This study sought to determine what the factors are that contribute to the use of language-switching in the lyrics of Eurovision Song Contest entries. Moreover, a general structure of language-switching in songs was suggested. The first research question, namely the one that took into account the general location of language switches in song lyrics, was answered with the use of a quantitative method. The most likely location for a language switch, be it a simple or a more complex one, was the chorus of a song, and not as suggested, the bridge. The results of the analysis in this study do support the notion that a change in form indicates a shift in content. In this regard, this study aligns itself with those of Bentahila and Davies (2002, 2008), in that the content of a chorus differs significantly from the verses, which is highlighted by the language switches. However, it is important to note that it is fairly

difficult to state whether a language switch leads to a change in content, or that a change of content facilitates a language switch. Nevertheless, it is possible to determine that a change in form, in this case a language switch, marks a shift in content.

The answering of the second research question, namely the one that took into account the various lyric-external and lyric-internal factors of language switching in Eurovision entries, required both a quantitative and a qualitative approach. The results of the analysis of the lyric-external factors showed that a number of factors were less important than initially expected. The general proficiency in English of the artist as indicated by the language family to which his or her native language belongs happened to be less accurate in predicting the number of songs featuring language switches to English. In terms of language switching in general, the expectation that the highest number of language switches to English would be found in the Germanic entries was not met. Contrarily, the highest number of language switches to English was found in the Romance entries, which were expected to feature the fewest language switches. Additionally, the expected outcome of a high number of Germanic entries featuring complex language switches and a lower number of Slavic and Romance entries was not achieved. Instead, the Germanic entries featured the highest number of simple switches, whereas the Romance and Slavic entries featured more complex switched units than simple units. These results contradicted Auer's (1988) remarks on a reason for using language switches, namely the displaying of competence in the foreign language.

The outcome that was expected with regard to lyric-external factors was the rise in number of songs featuring language switches to English in the later periods. Based on the works of Wolther (2012) and Klapheck (2004) it was expected that the number of songs featuring language switches to English would increase in the periods after the 1970s. Moreover, it was expected that the more complex language switches would occur in periods without language-restrictions, whereas the simpler language switches would occur in the periods that did have language restrictions. These expectations were met, thus proving that the time period was a relevant lyric-external factor of language-switching in Eurovision entries.

In terms of lyric-internal factors, there were very few surprises. As mentioned in the discussion on the first research question, the textual and musical transitions proved to be of great importance for the occurrences of language switches. Moreover, as was expected, based on the studies by Wang (2006), Chan (2009) and Lee (2004), the functions of the language switches were generally limited to the referential function in narrative sections of the texts, the poetic and the expressive functions in expressive sections, and the directive function in the

operative sections. Lastly, there were no real surprises in terms of the semantic fields. As Lee (2004) and Chan (2009) pointed out, the main fields of semantics in which language switches occur were emotions and directives, which was found to be the case in the examples from the corpus.

Taken together, these results have proven valuable in determining which factors were valuable in the examination of language-switching in song lyrics in this corpus, which could be used in order to further examine this phenomenon in European popular music. The fact that more complex language switches occur more frequently in song lyrics than their more simple counterparts shows that there are similarities between European (Eurovision) popular music and East-Asian and North-African popular music, as illustrated by Lee (2004), Wang (2006), Chan (2004), and Bentahila and Davies (2002, 2008). As mentioned before, one needs to study this phenomenon by using a much larger corpus in order to make definite statements about language-switching both in a European and a competitive context. Moreover, this approach to this phenomenon requires more attention, especially since the phenomenon of language-switching has not had much attention in the field of stylistics, especially compared to the field of socio-linguistics, in which there is much attention for code-switching and code-mixing.

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Appendix A

Table A.1
Ranking of countries on the EPI.

Rank	Country	Language family	Level of proficiency
1	Denmark	Germanic	Very high
2	Netherlands	Germanic	Very high
3	Sweden	Germanic	Very high
4	Finland	Uralic	Very high
5	Norway	Germanic	Very high
6	Poland	West Slavic	Very high
7	Austria	Germanic	Very high
8	Estonia	Uralic	High
9	Belgium	Germanic / Romance	High
10	Germany	Germanic	High
11	Slovenia	South Slavic	High
12	Latvia	Baltic	High
13	Romania	Romance	High
14	Hungary	Uralic	High
15	Switzerland	Germanic / Romance	High
16	Czech Republic	West Slavic	Moderate
17	Spain	Romance	Moderate
18	Portugal	Romance	Moderate
19	Slovakia	West Slavic	Moderate
20	Italy	Romance	Moderate
21	France	Romance	Moderate
22	Russia	East Slavic	Low
23	Ukraine	East Slavic	Low
24	Turkey	Turkic	Very low

Appendix B

Year	Country	Artist	Title	Language family	Type of language switch	Location of language switch
1957	Germany	Margot Hielscher	Telefon, Telefon	Germanic	Phrases	First verse
1958	Germany	Margot Hielscher	Für zwei Groschen Musik	Germanic	Words	Verses
1959	Germany	Alice & Ellen Kessler	Heute Abend wollen wir tanzen geh'n	Germanic	Words	Chorus
1960	Sweden	Siw Malmkvist	Alla andra får varann	Germanic	Words	Final bridge
1963	Austria	Carmela Corren	Vielleicht geschieht ein Wunder	Germanic	Paragraphs	Second half. Verses + chorus
1966	Finland	Ann Christine	Playboy	Other	Words	Chorus
1968	Germany	Wencke Myhre	Ein Hoch der Liebe	Germanic	Phrases	Chorus
1969	Yugoslavia	Ivan & M's	Pozdrav svijetu	Slavic	Idiom	Verses
1970	Monaco	Dominique Dussault	Marlène	Romance	Sentences	Final verse
1972	Malta	Helen & Joseph	L-imħabba	Other	Words	Chorus
1973	Belgium	Nicole & Hugo	Baby, baby	Germanic	Sentences	Chorus
1973	Norway	Bendik Singers	It's just a game	Germanic	Sentences	Entire song
1974	Luxembourg	Ireen Sheer	Bye, bye, I love you	Romance	Clauses	Chorus
1975	Belgium	Ann Christy	Gelukkig zijn	Germanic	Paragraphs	Second half. Verses + chorus
1975	Germany	Joy Fleming	Ein Lied kann eine Brücke sein	Germanic	Words	Final chorus
1976	Italy	Al Bano & Romina Power	We'll live it all again (Io rivivrei)	Romance	Paragraphs	Entire song
1976	Germany	Les Humphries Singers	Sing sang song	Germanic	Words	Chorus
1977	Austria	Schmetterlinge	Boom Boom Boomerang	Germanic	Paragraphs	Chorus + insertions in verses
1977	Switzerland	Pepe Lienhard Band	Swiss Lady	Germanic	Words	Chorus
1977	Sweden	Forbes	Beatles	Germanic	Words	Verses
1978	Austria	Springtime	Mrs. Caroline Robinson	Germanic	Words	Chorus
1978	The Netherlands	Harmony	'T is OK	Germanic	Words	Chorus
1979	The Netherlands	Xandra	Colorado	Germanic	Words	Chorus
1979	Greece	Elpida	Socrati	Other	Words	Chorus
1981	Germany	Lena Valaitis	Johnny Blue	Germanic	Words	Chorus
1981	Finland	Riki Sorsa	Reggea OK	Other	Words	Chorus
1983	The Netherlands	Bernadette	Sing me a song	Germanic	Clauses	Chorus
1983	Austria	Westend	Hurricane	Germanic	Words	Chorus
1984	Spain	Bravo	Lady, lady	Romance	Words	Chorus
1985	Luxembourg	Margo, Franck Olivier, et al.	Children, Kinder, enfants	Romance	Sentences	Final chorus
1985	Italy	Al Bano & Romina Power	Magic, oh magic	Romance	Words	Chorus
1987	Belgium	Liliane Saint-Pierre	Soldiers of love	Germanic	Phrases	Chorus
1987	Yugoslavia	Novi Fosili	Ja sam za ples	Slavic	Sentences	Verses and chorus
1988	Spain	La Década Prodigiosa	Made in Spain (La chica que yo quiero)	Romance	Phrases	Chorus
1989	Yugoslavia	Riva	Rock Me	Slavic	Phrases	Chorus
1990	Austria	Simone	Keine Mauern mehr	Germanic	Phrases	Chorus
1990	France	Joëlle Ursull	White and black blues	Romance	Phrases	Chorus
1990	Italy	Toto Cotugno	Insieme: 1992	Romance	Phrases	Chorus
1990	Spain	Azúcar Moreno	Bandido	Romance	Sentences	Intro
1990	Norway	Just 4 Fun	Mrs. Thompson	Germanic	Words	Chorus
1990	Finland	Beat	Fri?	Germanic	Words	Intro
1992	Switzerland	Daisy Auvray	Mister Music Man	Romance	Phrases	Chorus

1993	Croatia	Put	Don't ever cry	Slavic	Sentences	First and third chorus
1994	Finland	Cat Cat	Bye, bye baby	Other	Phrases	Chorus
1994	Germany	MeKaDo	Wir geben 'ne Party	Germanic	Phrases	Chorus + bridge
1995	Spain	Anabel Conde	Vuelve conmigo	Romance	Words	Bridge
1996	Iceland	Anna Mjöll	Sjúbidú	Germanic	Phrases	Verses and chorus
1997	Norway	Tor Endresen	San Francisco	Germanic	Clauses	Verses and chorus
1997	Austria	Bettina Soriat	One Step	Germanic	Phrases	Chorus
1997	Croatia	ENI	Probudi me	Slavic	Words	Chorus
1998	Poland	Sixteen	To takie proste	Slavic	Words	Chorus
1999	Israel	Eden	Happy Birthday (Yom huledet)	Other	Clauses	Chorus
1999	Germany	Sürpriz	Reise nach Jerusalem - Kudüs'e seyahat	Germanic	Sentences	Chorus + bridge
1999	Poland	Mietek Szcześniak	Hold me tight	Slavic	Words	Intro
2000	Israel	PingPong	Sameyach	Other	Clauses	Chorus
2000	FYR Macedonia	XXL	100% te ljubam	Slavic	Paragraphs	Final chorus
2000	Turkey	Pinar Ayhan & The SOS	Yorgunum anla	Other	Paragraphs	Second half. Verses + chorus
2000	Germany	Stefan Raab	Wadde Hadde Dudde da?	Germanic	Sentences	Intro + chorus
2001	Greece	Antique	(I would) Die for you	Other	Paragraphs	Chorus
2001	Germany	Michelle	Wer Liebe lebt	Germanic	Paragraphs	Final chorus
2001	France	Natasha St-Pier	Je n'ai que mon âme	Romance	Paragraphs	Final chorus
2001	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Nino Pršeš	Hano	Slavic	Paragraphs	Intro + penultimate chorus
2001	Turkey	Sedat Yüce	Sevgiliye son	Other	Paragraphs	Second half. Verses + chorus
2001	Portugal	MTM	Só sei ser feliz assim	Romance	Words	Chorus
2002	Spain	Rosa	Europe's living a celebration	Romance	Clauses	Chorus
2002	Israel	Sarit Hadad	Light a candle (Nadlik beyachad ner)	Other	Paragraphs	Chorus + bridge
2002	Turkey	Buket Bengisu & Group Sapphire	Leylaklar soldu kalbinde	Other	Paragraphs	Second half. Verses + chorus
2002	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Maja Tatić	Na jastuku za dvoje	Slavic	Paragraphs	Second half. Verses + chorus
2003	Croatia	Claudia Beni	Više nisam tvoja	Slavic	Paragraphs	Bridge + final chorus
2003	Portugal	Rita Guerra	Deixa-me sonhar (só mais uma vez)	Romance	Paragraphs	Second half. Verses + chorus
2003	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Mija Martina	Ne brini	Slavic	Paragraphs	Second half. Verses + chorus
2003	Israel	Lior Narkis	Words of love (Milim la'ahava)	Other	Sentences	Chorus
2004	Israel	David D'or	Leha'amin	Other	Paragraphs	Second half. Verses + chorus
2005	Ukraine	Greenjolly	Razom nas bahato	Slavic	Paragraphs	First two verses
2005	Portugal	2B	Amar	Romance	Paragraphs	Second half. Verses + chorus
2005	Israel	Shiri Maimon	Hasheket shenish'ar	Other	Paragraphs	Second half. Verses + chorus + bridge
2006	Portugal	Nonstop	Coisas de nada (Gonna make you dance)	Romance	Paragraphs	Chorus
2006	Turkey	Sibel Tüzün	Süper star	Other	Paragraphs	Final chorus
2006	The Netherlands	Treble	Amambanda	Other	Paragraphs	Verses
2006	Israel	Eddie Butler	Together we are one (Ze hazman)	Other	Paragraphs	Verses and chorus
2006	Spain	Las Ketchup	Un Blodymary	Romance	Phrases	Chorus
2007	Croatia	Dragonfly feat. Dado Topić	Vjerujem u ljubav	Slavic	Paragraphs	Bridge
2007	Andorra	Anonymous	Salvem el món	Romance	Paragraphs	Chorus + penultimate verse
2007	Germany	Roger Cicero	Frauen regier'n die Welt	Germanic	Paragraphs	Final chorus

2007	FYR Macedonia	Karolina	Mojot svet	Slavic	Paragraphs	Final chorus and verse
2007	Israel	Teapacks	Push the button	Other	Paragraphs	First verse and chorus
2007	Romania	Todomondo	Liubi, liubi, I love you	Romance	Paragraphs	Verse + chorus
2007	Spain	D'NASH	I love you mi vida	Romance	Phrases	Chorus
2007	Ukraine	Verka Serduchka	Dancing Lasha tumbai	Slavic	Phrases	Chorus
2007	France	Les Fatals Picards	L'amour à la française	Romance	Phrases	Verses + chorus
2007	Portugal	Sabrina	Dança comigo (Vem ser feliz)	Romance	Sentences	Penultimate chorus
2007	Bulgaria	Elitsa Todorova & Stoyan Yankoulov	Water	Slavic	Words	Title
2008	Israel	Boaz Mauda	The fire in your eyes (Ke'ilu kan)	Other	Paragraphs	Middle chorus
2008	Spain	Rodolfo Chikilicuatre	Baila el Chiki Chiki	Romance	Paragraphs	First two verses
2009	Israel	Noa & Mira Awad	There must be another way (Einaich)	Other	Paragraphs	Chorus
2009	Andorra	Susanne Georgi	La teva decisió	Romance	Paragraphs	Chorus + verses
2009	Moldova	Nelly Ciobanu	Hora din Moldova	Romance	Paragraphs	Verse intro + verse middle
2009	Spain	Soraya	La noche es para mí	Romance	Sentences	Chorus
2010	Bulgaria	Miro	Angel si ti (You are an angel)	Slavic	Paragraphs	Middle verse + bridge
2010	Serbia	Milan Stanković	Ovo je Balkan	Slavic	Phrases	Chorus
2011	FYR Macedonia	Vlatko Ilievski	Rusinka	Slavic	Paragraphs	First verse
2011	Israel	Dana International	Ding dong	Other	Paragraphs	Second verse + chorus
2011	Italy	Raphael Gualazzi	Follia d'amore	Romance	Sentences	Verses + chorus
2011	Bulgaria	Poly Genova	Na inat	Slavic	Words	Chorus
2012	France	Anggun	Écho (You and I)	Romance	Paragraphs	Chorus
2012	Romania	Mandinga	Zaleilah	Romance	Paragraphs	Chorus
2012	Russia	Buranovskiye Babushki	Party for everybody	Slavic	Phrases	Chorus
2012	Bulgaria	Sofi Marinova	Unlimited love	Slavic	Phrases	Chorus
2012	Austria	Trackshittaz	Woki mit deim Popo	Germanic	Words	Verses
2013	Greece	Koza Mostra feat. Agathonas Iakovidis	Alcohol is free	Other	Clauses	Chorus
2013	Spain	ESDM	Contigo hasta el final	Romance	Words	Chorus
2014	France	Twin twin	Moustache	Romance	Clauses	Chorus
2014	Spain	Ruth Lorenzo	Dancing in the rain	Romance	Paragraphs	Chorus
2014	Poland	Donatan & Cleo	My Slowianie (We are Slavic)	Slavic	Paragraphs	Final verse and final chorus
2014	Slovenia	Tinkara Kovač	Spet/Round and round	Slavic	Paragraphs	Second and third chorus + second verse