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CODE-SWITCHING AND CHORD CHANGES: LANGUAGE, MUSIC, AND IDENTITY IN WELSH ROCK

In addition to the linguistic work which goes into identity-building in any one language, code-switching is an important way in which many multilingual speakers perform identity. So too is music, with its semiotic richness and prominence in social life. Language and music are independently important sites of identity creation, but are particularly powerful when they function in concert in semiotic bundles to create social meaning. In this article, this combination is explored through the multilingual music of three Welsh rock artists: Super Furry Animals, Gorky's Zygotic Mynci, and MC Mabon. Using a multimodal, musicolinguistic approach which treats musical and linguistic signs as part of a unified whole, it examines how co-temporal musical and linguistic shifts – shifts between different semiotic bundlings of music and language – help enact the distinctive global and local Welsh identities of each artist: a Welsh-language band succeeding in the English-language mainstream while resisting globalization; a bilingual, bi-stylistic band adopting ironic Englishness to accentuate and define their Welshness; and a global-citizen MC with links to Wales, Patagonia, and beyond.

Keywords: code-switching ♦ Welsh ♦ music ♦ identity ♦ multimodality

Introduction

Code-switching is an important resource multilingual speakers use to create and perform identity: “the social positioning of self and other” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 586). Whether alternating between discrete idioms with multiple indexical associations (Lo, 1999) or conveying social meaning through the alternation itself (Ali, 2023; Camilleri, 1996; Li & Zhu, 2013; Zentella, 1997), hybrid language practices are often integral to the creation of bi- and

multilingual identities (Gumperz, 1982; K. Hall & Nilep, 2015). In addition to language, music is equally crucial to identity work (Firth, 1996; Stokes, 1994), enacting and contesting personal (Waterman, 1982), group (Cooley, 2014), Indigenous (Bracknell, 2019), religious (Harkness, 2013), political (Machin & Richardson, 2012), and national (Daughtry, 2003) identities, among others. Language and music are independently important sites of identity creation, but they are also two semiotic systems that are frequently expressed and experienced together, as in song. What happens, then, when we analyze the performance of identity in these instances of musically-situated language not through separate musical and linguistic systems, but by examining language and music as a unified whole?

This article aims to explore this possibility through an analysis of code-switching, musical style-shifting, and identity in Welsh rock music, to highlight the importance of combining musical and linguistic data in sociocultural linguistic analysis, and to introduce a framework for musicolinguistic analysis of identity in musically-situated language data. Taking Bucholtz & Hall's (2005) conceptualization of identity in sociocultural linguistics as a starting point, it introduces a multimodal methodology based in discourse analysis to examine language and music together, and uses this method to show how co-temporal linguistic code-switching and musical style-shifting combine to create emergent, hybrid identities in Welsh rock music.

Welsh and Welsh-language music

Welsh (*Cymraeg*) is a Brythonic Celtic language, closely related to Breton and Cornish, and more distantly to Irish, Manx, and Scottish Gaelic (Hammarström et al., 2022). It is spoken by around a half-million people in Wales (ONS, 2012) – just under 20% of the country's population – as well as by several thousand people in Welsh Patagonia (*Y Wladfa*) (O'Neill, 2005, p. 429), a culturally-important region which features in some of the music analyzed in this study. The Welsh-language presence in the Argentine province of Chubut began in 1865, as part of a migration specifically intended to preserve Welsh language and culture away from the ongoing English colonization of Wales (Birt, 2005; Johnson, 2009).

In terms of language endangerment, Welsh is classified by UNESCO as vulnerable (Moseley, 2010), but it is important to note that in spite of this designation, Welsh language revitalization efforts are strong and varied. Welsh-language education is increasingly common and more accessible, and vibrant cultural institutions like *Eisteddfodau* (music-and-language festivals with competitions in music, literature, poetry, and dance held in Welsh, from the local to national level) and *Yr Urdd* (a Welsh-language youth organization) give the language a significant presence in many speakers' social lives. Welsh is also well-represented in media, with a Welsh-language public television channel (*Sianel Pedwar Cymru* or “Channel 4 Wales”)

and a national Welsh-language radio station (BBC Radio Cymru), in addition to a significant number of books, movies, and videogames published in the language. Perhaps the most important media sector for the Welsh language, however, is popular music (Hill, 2007).

Modern popular music in Welsh began to develop, first as smaller scenes and then as an industry, in the 1960s. Not coincidentally, this was also the time when the modern Welsh language revitalization movement began, galvanized by the poet Saunders Lewis' radio speech *Tynged yr Iaith* ("Fate of the Language"), broadcast live on BBC Wales in 1962 (Phillips, 2005). In direct response to this speech, Welsh youth founded *Y Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg* ("The Welsh Language Society"), and these same activists poured their energy into the development of a popular music in Welsh, with the two causes linked ever since.

Young people were central to the emergence of Welsh popular music, then, as well as to the survival of the language revival movement. Overtly politicized from the beginning, Welsh popular music "existed in part to engage the younger audience with the language movement" (Griffiths & Hill, 2005, p. 219). Once they became engaged in its preservation, Welsh-language pop music also gave young Welsh speakers a way to modernize the image of their language, and to make it explicitly relevant to their generation (Hill, 2007, p. 60). This constant evolution of the language through music helped keep Welsh-language pop linked to "an increasingly confident and assertive attitude to the use of the language itself" (Llewellyn, 1998), and resulted in a government-sponsored, export-friendly explosion of popular music from Wales in the 1990s and 2000s – in both Welsh and English – referred to as the Cool Cymru ("Cool Wales") phenomenon (Harris, 2007).

Today, Welsh-language music remains a significant force in Wales' cultural landscape; along with long-standing labels such as Ankst and Sain Records, dozens of smaller independent labels have emerged – including Peski, Recordiau Lliwgar, Recordiau Neb, Aderyn Papur, and many more – releasing new Welsh-language music. An initiative started by the Welsh Government in 2015 called *Dydd Miwsig Cymru* ("Welsh Language Music Day") also brings annual attention to music in Welsh every February. Fronted by Welsh-speaking BBC Radio 1 DJ Huw Stephens, the event promotes new Welsh music with playlists, resources, a social media campaign and new releases leading up a day of free concerts of across Wales and beyond, with the intention of raising the profile of Welsh-language pop music both in Wales and abroad (Llywodraeth Cymru, 2018).

Code-switching and identity

Code-switching – often described as the use of two or more languages within the same sentence, conversation, or interaction – has been an important research topic in linguistics since the 1970s. Linguists have studied how and when code-switching can occur in terms of morphosyntactic environments (Muysken, 2000; Myers-Scotton, 2009; Poplack, 1980), and explored the grammatical and usage differences between intra-sentential code-switching (occurring within a clause), and inter-sentential code-switching (alternations in language in successive clauses). Many other studies have examined the sociolinguistic and discourse functions of code-switching, investigating the conversational and interactional contexts in which speakers code-switch, and the social and semantic work that these alternations perform (Auer, 1984; Gardner-Chloros, 2009; Gumperz, 1982; Poplack, 1988).

Recently, scholars have also taken up the related concept of translanguaging as another perspective on the linguistic practices of multilingual speakers. A crucial difference between code-switching and translanguaging is that the latter views multilingual speakers' mental grammars as "structured but unitary collections of features" (Otheguy et al., 2015, p. 281), as opposed to being split into separate grammars for each language. Instead of manipulating and switching between the discrete linguistic systems of, for example, "Welsh" and "Spanish" – as code-switching is often described – in translanguaging, multilingual speakers instead deploy their "full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages" (Otheguy et al., 2015, p. 283). Originally coined in Welsh as *trawsieithu* in reference to specific pedagogical practices in bilingual classrooms (Williams, 1994), translanguaging has since been fruitfully expanded to examine multilingualism in education, further discursive contexts and even neurological studies of multilingualism (Lewis et al., 2012).

Because of its challenge to the idea of named "languages", some formulations of translanguaging are seen as fundamentally incompatible with code-switching, and the concept of multilingualism in general (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007, p. 22). In other conceptualizations of translanguaging, however, code-switching – along with practices like translation and borrowing – is considered an *instance* of translanguaging, where multilingual individuals draw on overlapping mental grammars as part of a unitary linguistic repertoire, and select between aspects of language that may then be associated with sociopolitically-constructed language names in a given situation (MacSwan, 2017). Recognizing that the constructed language name categories of "Welsh", "English", and "Spanish" affect how listeners interpret the musical and linguistic resources used by the artists examined here, and also that these artists' language

practices vary greatly, from alternation to fluid mixing, this article follows recent work on code-switching (e.g., Ali, 2023) in adopting an expansive multilingual perspective on translanguaging, which views code-switching as one important component.

Importantly, code-switching and translanguaging are also major ways in which multilingual speakers perform and enact their identities, through the production of the “sociopolitical relations of similarity and difference, authenticity and inauthenticity, and legitimacy and illegitimacy” integral to identity work (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, p. 382). Zentella’s (1981, 1997) seminal study of Spanish-English code-switching among New York Puerto Ricans, for example, shows how the use of code-switching itself defines the community’s bilingual identity. Similarly, in Malta, teachers code-switch between English and Maltese to construct an identity which is “professional” (i.e., associated with English) but still recognizably Maltese (Camilleri, 1996). Code-switching can also play a role in constructing ethnic identities in interaction, both of participants and non-present third parties (Lo, 1999). Other work shows how code-switching can be fruitfully employed to play with identity. Otsuji & Pennycook (2010) illustrate this in the case of non-Japanese (in terms of ethnicity or citizenship) speakers in Australia using Japanese and English in their Japan-aligned workplace, reflecting a pattern of urban language interaction they term *metrolingualism* in which “people of different and mixed backgrounds use, play with and negotiate identities through language” (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2015; 2010, p. 240), while Nilep (2009) shows how members of a foreign language learning club in Japan create a transnational group identity through language play, by learning and mixing multiple languages simultaneously. In addition to the linguistic work which goes into identity building in any one language, then, the act of code-switching itself can create social meaning which is integral to the formation of multilingual identities.

Music and identity

Along with language, music – with its rich semiotic potential, multimodality, and place in social life – is particularly important to identity work (Firth, 1996; Stokes, 1994). Much ethnomusicological research has shown how music can create and enact diverse identities, especially through the lens of “musicking” (Small, 1998, p. 9). Musicking is a formulation which reframes music from a static object of performance (music) to an expansive verbal act (to music) which includes not only what might traditionally be called performing, but also listening or dancing along; setting up instruments on stage, or cleaning up afterwards; writing or reading liner notes, or considering the cover art on a vinyl record.

A large body of the work on musicking and identity examines the construction and contestation of national identities, as in the negotiation and renegotiation of Russian national identity after

the Soviet tune of “Unbreakable Union” was reinstated and paired with modern lyrics in 2000 (Daughtry, 2003). Beyond national anthems, specific genres of music – like traditional Celtic music in Northern Ireland (Vallely, 2008) or *andalus*, *g'nâwa*, and *rai* in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia (Langlois, 2009) – can become associated with national identities through relational opposition, enacting the “sociopolitical relations of similarity and difference” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004) of identity through musical performance.

Musicking can also be instrumental in the formation of ethnic identities, in particular in minoritized contexts where these identities – and their associated languages – are under threat. In Hawai'i, for instance, Hawaiian hip-hop performance is a key part of the production of a modern Kānaka Maoli (Native Hawaiian) identity associated with resistance to the ongoing colonial occupation (Teves, 2011). In Cape Breton, Nova Scotia Gaels build a distinctive local identity around the perceived authenticity of their musical traditions in juxtaposition to modern Scottish equivalents (Sparling, 2011), and in Wales, the phenomenon of young people in the 1960s beginning to identify confidently and “uncompromisingly as Cymry [Welsh]” comes directly out of the Welsh-language popular music scene (Llewellyn, 2000, p. 320).

Throughout all these case studies, a crucial unifying factor is that musicking creates, enacts, and performs – rather than simply reflecting or resulting from – identity. As Turino (1984, p. 253) states, music “is not merely a reflection of a particular value orientation or social context. Rather, it is a public articulation of the sociocultural, economic, ideological and political makeup of an individual or group's identity, made patent through musical performance”. Notably, this conceptualization mirrors the assertion in Bucholtz & Hall's (2005, p. 588) sociocultural linguistic framework that “identity is best viewed as the emergent product rather than the pre-existing source of linguistic and other semiotic practices”. Identity, in other words, is both “made in the music” and “done in the discourse”.

Code-switching, music, and identity

With code-switching and music both important loci of identity creation, there have accordingly been a number of studies examining code-switching in music specifically as it relates to identity formation. Lyrical code-switching often serves as a particularly immediate index of artists' individual identities: even single-word switches like the Italian in Dean Martin's “That's *Amore*” can be effective markers of ethnic identities (Picone, 2002), and the interplay of specific combinations of language can help quickly index local performer identities within more globalized musical traditions, as in the use of Arabic, French, and English in North African *rai* and rap music (Bentahila & Davies, 2002; Davies & Bentahila, 2006, 2008).

Code-switching in music can also further contextualize artists' individual identities within larger ideas of national identity. In the mostly-English repertoire of the San Antonio band the Texas Tornados, for instance, code-switching into Spanish serves to maintain hegemonic U.S. linguistic hierarchies, with English at the top, representing and reproducing two distinct identities within their bicultural (white Anglo-American and Mexican-American) group (Loureiro-Rodríguez et al., 2018). In other cases, lyrical code-switching can be employed to downplay individual identities in national contexts; in contemporary Ghanaian choral compositions, code-switching serves to effectively obscure the ethnic identities of individual composers, allowing them to be read as symbols of a unified national identity on a larger scale (Amuah & Wuaku, 2021).

Lyrical code-switching also frequently appears in musical performances of transnational identity. Code-switching between Korean and English has contributed to K-Pop's transnational popularity, especially across Asia, as well as the ability of young South Korean fans to play with alternative identities, "resist mainstream norms and values, and to reject older generations' conservatism" through this linguistic mix (Lee, 2004, p. 429). Code-switching from Korean into appropriated African American English is also instrumental in how K-Pop star CL localizes and embodies the "Bad Bitch" archetype from U.S. hip-hop into an emergent *gijibae* or "bad girl" persona (Garza, 2021). In Ethiopia, reggae music serves as an important site of identity negotiation shared by native Ethiopians and repatriated Rastafari, where code-switching between Amharic, Jamaican Patwa, Rasta Talk, and English allows both groups to express complex, transnational, relational identities (Hollington, 2016).

Finally, code-switching in music can be an effective tool to transgress perceived barriers between different identities, across both artists and audiences. In Québec, young rappers code-switch between different varieties of French, English, Haitian Kreyòl, Jamaican Patwa, and Spanish in their lyrics to reject a status quo of linguistic and racial hegemony (Sarkar, 2008), and in dip hop (or Deaf hip-hop) music – performed across both spoken (i.e., English) and signed (i.e., ASL) modalities at the same time – rappers perform a uniquely bilingual, bicultural identity to reach both Deaf and hearing audiences simultaneously (Maler & Komanićki, 2021).

Building off of this work on lyrical code-switching, and the work on music and identity above, the present study proposes a musicolinguistic approach to identity which looks at language and music as a cohesive whole, examining how they work together in concert as part of semiotic bundles – groupings of linguistic, musical, and other multimodal signs that index particular categories and create social meaning through their co-occurrence (Bucholtz, 2011, 2015; Eckert, 2004, 2008; Slobin, 2018; Turino, 1999, 2004). In particular, this article explores how

co-temporal musical and linguistic shifts in performance – shifts between different semiotic bundlings of music and language – work together to enact identity for three different Welsh rock artists active during the Cool Cymru period of the 1990s and 2000s – Super Furry Animals, Gorky’s Zygotic Mynci, and MC Mabon. Each of these artists use different types of shifts in music and language to perform three distinct identities through their work: a Welsh-language band succeeding in the musical mainstream while actively resisting globalization, a bilingual, bi-stylistic band which adopts ironic aspects of English identities to accentuate their Welshness, and a global-citizen Welsh MC with cultural links and audiences in Wales, Patagonia, and beyond.

Method: combining music and language in discourse analysis

The methodology used for this study is adapted from the framework of discourse analysis (Tannen et al., 2015). Transcription is a central component of discourse analysis (Du Bois et al., 1993); by representing conversations and other forms of naturally occurring discourse in text, the researcher can use this representation – itself a theoretical framing of the data (Ochs, 1979) – to study language use, linguistic structure, and the social meaning, practices, and ideologies that are embedded within and enacted through language (Tannen et al., 2015). With the rise of interest in multimodal communication and embodiment in sociocultural linguistics, as well as the pervasive use of video, the tools of discourse analysis have also been adapted to transcribe and analyze important aspects of multimodal interactions, including gesture (Kendon, 1995), body language and gaze (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004), cinematography (O’Halloran, 2011), and more. These studies employ transcription of language, but with additional tiers or columns to mark separate semiotic modes in temporal alignment.

This study adapts this concept of multimodal transcription to examine the interaction between music and language, by representing both semiotic systems in time-aligned columns anchored to either lyrical transcriptions (for analyses focusing on a single song) or sections of a musical work or collection (for analyses of albums or multi-piece performances). This method allows for the analysis of both music and language – as well as other relevant semiotic dimensions, such as video information or movement in performance – simultaneously, as they interact and overlap. The amount and scope of musical and linguistic information included can scale to suit the analysis; relevant musical data could include everything from stylistic markers (“ballad”) and structural information (such as key, meter, or instrumentation) to particulars of performance (i.e., the use of vibrato, distortion, or other specific audio effects) and transcriptions of specific melodies; relevant linguistic information could range from simply the language (“Welsh”) or variety used (“Northern Welsh”) to lexicon, morphosyntactic structures, and details of phonetic

production, including voice quality and specific realizations of phonemes. The examples analyzed here aim to represent this breadth of approach, beginning with an analysis at the album discography level for the first group, followed by a close reading of music and lyrics of individual songs for the next two artists, and incorporating further multimodal aspects of musicking like music videos (for the second group) and liner notes (for the third).

In the case of the current study, examining language and music together using this methodology illuminates how the co-temporal shifts in both language (through code-switching) and music (through musical style-shifting) are used to enact and negotiate distinct, hybrid identities by three Cool Cymru Welsh rock artists: Super Furry Animals, Gorky's Zygotic Mynci, and MC Mabon.

Super Furry Animals

The first group, Super Furry Animals, are one of the most prominent forces in the Welsh rock world, and also perhaps “the most successful Welsh export into the Anglo-American dominant culture” (Hill, 2007, p. 200). Though now well-known as Super Furry Animals, the group began with the founding of *Ffa Coffi Pawb*, a punk/rock band from Cardiff embodying the spirit of late-1980s and early 1990s Welsh rock. *Ffa Coffi Pawb* achieved widespread popularity within the Welsh rock scene, but were quickly banned from U.K. radio because of their name (literally “everybody’s coffee beans”, but homophonically also *ffyc off i pawb* or “fuck off everybody”). They disbanded in 1993, and then reformed with two of the original members in 1994 as Super Furry Animals.

Super Furry Animals’ early recordings for the influential Welsh independent label Ankst were almost entirely in the Welsh language; in fact, one of the conditions of their initial record contract was that they be able to record in both Welsh and English (Hill, 2007, p. 200). Though they have since gone on to enjoy mainstream UK pop-chart success in English – starting with the release of their major label debut album *Fuzzy Logic* in 1996 – they have continued to return to Welsh-language songwriting over the years. This language choice is significant, because throughout their career, Super Furry Animals have code-switched both within and across albums to negotiate a changing identity as a Welsh-speaking band navigating success and resistance in the English-language mainstream music industry.

While linguists usually examine code-switching in the context of conversations, interactions, or performances (musical and otherwise), it can also take place within recorded songs (Lee, 2004; Loureiro-Rodríguez et al., 2018) and albums – i.e., switching between languages on different tracks of the same album, or even across multiple albums in an artist’s discography

(Rottgeri, 2017). While albums represent a very different context from live performances, they still represent cohesive acts of musicking (Small, 1998) – interactional not only in recording and production, but also as they are listened to and reproduced (Berger & Del Negro, 2004, p. 122) – and thus, can be sites of code-switching as well. Super Furry Animals code-switch in Welsh and English both within and between albums, and this code-switching alongside shifts in musical style over three of their early albums released during the height of Cool Cymru – *Fuzzy Logic* (1996), *Radiator* (1997), and *Mwng* (2000) – helps create their identity as Welsh-speaking musicians strategically navigating English-language success.

Released in 1996, Super Furry Animals' first major label record for Creation – *Fuzzy Logic* – is sung entirely in English, with no code-switching into Welsh. Musically, the album embodies Super Furry Animals' signature blend of psychedelic rock and Britpop, and features mostly short, radio-friendly songs with melodic choruses.

Table 1. *Fuzzy Logic*

	Song	Languages	Musical style
1.	God! Show Me Magic	English	-Psychedelic Britpop -Shorter songs -Distorted electric guitars -Driving rhythmic keyboards
2.	Fuzzy Birds	English	
3.	Something For The Weekend	English	
4.	Frisbee	English	
5.	Hometown Unicorn	English	
6.	Gathering Moss	English	
7.	If You Don't Want Me To Destroy You	English	
8.	Bad Behaviour	English	
9.	Mario Man	English	
10.	Hangin' with Howard Marks	English	
11.	Long Gone	English	
12.	For Now and Ever	English	

With *Fuzzy Logic*, this particular semiotic bundle of music and language helped to index Super Furry Animals as aligned with the alternative sector of the mainstream UK music industry, singing in English and producing music suited for the popular charts.

Their next album, *Radiator*, released a year later in 1997, shows a different pattern. Though it is still sung mostly in English, there is one song on the album sung entirely in Welsh: *Torra Fy Ngwallt Yn Hir*. Musically, *Radiator* is considerably more experimental than its predecessor, with instrumental songs, longer song lengths (of up to 6:14), and conspicuous influences from

techno and electronic music throughout. Significantly, however, the sole Welsh-language song on the album calls back to the poppier, more straightforwardly radio-friendly sound of *Fuzzy Logic*.

Table 2. *Radiator*

	Song	Languages	Musical Style
1.	Furryvision™	(instrumental)	-Psychedelic Britpop, power pop, rock -Range of song lengths -Techno-influenced synths -Mix of more experimental songs, and more radio-friendly songs (like <i>Torra Fy Ngwallt Yn Hir</i>)
2.	The Placid Casual	English	
3.	The International Language of Screaming	English	
4.	Demons	English	
5.	Short Painkiller	(instrumental)	
6.	She's Got Spies	English	
7.	Play It Cool	English	
8.	Hermann ♥'s Pauline	English	
9.	Chupacabras	English	
10.	Torra Fy Ngwallt Yn Hir	Welsh	
11.	Bass Tuned to D.E.A.D	English	
12.	Down a Different River	English	
13.	Download	English	
14.	Mountain People	English	

The semiotic bundle of language and music on *Radiator* helped to shift Super Furry Animals' identity, building on the mainstream success they had achieved on *Fuzzy Logic* by carefully balancing experimentation and radio-friendliness across both musical and linguistic dimensions. In terms of music, *Radiator* represented a significant branching out – a positive contemporary review called it “a mad masterpiece of a follow-up... musically fractured and dense where its predecessor was cohesive and blatant” (Cameron, 1997) – but this experimentalism was still anchored firmly in the relative radio-friendliness of the English language. Linguistically, meanwhile, *Radiator* couched the radical addition of a Welsh-language song on a major label album within the musical radio-friendliness of *Fuzzy Logic*'s straightforward pop production – the same review called *Torra Fy Ngwallt Yn Hir* “ironic[ally]... the album's most blatant pop song” (Cameron, 1997).

In 1999, after the release of *Fuzzy Logic*, *Radiator*, and an additional all-English album called *Guerrilla* on Creation, the label folded, leaving Super Furry Animals with a collection of unrecorded music written (mostly in Welsh) during their tenure with the company (Hill, 2007,

p. 203). In 2000, taking these tracks as a starting point, they recorded and independently released the entirely Welsh-language album *Mwng* to unforeseen – and, for Welsh-language rock, unprecedented – critical acclaim.

The importance of *Mwng* to the Welsh language movement is difficult to overestimate. In associating the Welsh language with one of Wales' most popular musical exports (Super Furry Animals), *Mwng* boosted the international profile of Welsh significantly. It garnered favorable reviews in both the Welsh and global press, the latter of which often commented on the Welsh language as complementary (“it’s a beautiful language, a perfect mirror to [Super Furry Animals’] musical mix of friction, space, and softness” (Segal, 2000)) or inconsequential (“this is an otherworldly record not because it is sung in Welsh, but because the music is fully realized and visionary” (Erlewine, n.d.)) to the musical artistry of the record. It was even named Record of the Week in London-based *The Sunday Times* – and “the fact that the British press paid any notice whatsoever to a Welsh-language release was itself an enormous milestone” (Griffiths & Hill, 2005, p. 228). Super Furry Animals had achieved something thought to be “impossible” in earlier days of Welsh popular music: “succeeding in the Anglo-American market while singing in the Welsh language” (Hill, 2007, p. 205). And *Mwng* was successful in other linguistic markets as well – keyboard player Cian Ciarán recalls crowds in Japan “[singing] back all the Welsh lyrics” during their *Mwng* tour (Fullerton, 2015).

The release of *Mwng* to near-unanimous praise marked a turning point for Welsh in popular music, and by extension, popular culture, as expressed in Parliament by MP Elfyn Llwyd in an official Motion in June, 2000:

That this House congratulates Super Furry Animals on their chart topping new album, *Mwng*; notes that *Mwng* is the best selling Welsh language album of all time; and notes that the Welsh language is re-establishing itself as a central part of popular youth culture and that this album is a celebration of Welsh culture embracing the new wave of confidence in the Welsh nation. (Early Day Motion 800, 2000)

As important as the release of *Mwng* was in terms of language, it was equally important in terms of music. *Mwng* represents a much more experimental sound for Super Furry Animals, featuring sparse instrumentation, melancholy melodies, and darker lyrical themes like the death of rural communities. Singer/songwriter Gruff Rhys once called *Mwng*'s closing track – about “being rooted to a sad piece of land” – “as bleak as I can go lyrically” (Rhys, 2009). Described in the press as “stripped back and raw” (Fullerton, 2015), and “a sad, beautiful record” (Paine, 2000), one contemporary review highlights the “unconventional”, non-“normal” “left turns” of the album:

There are still numbers that rock, but they're unconventional, taking wonderful left turns and being blessed with arrangements that are welcoming, but never predictable. Fuzztone guitars and floating keyboards vie for space in the mix, vocals swoon in reverb, horns sound equally eerie and enthusiastic, and instruments are compressed so they no longer sound normal (Erlewine, n.d.).

Table 3. *Mwng*

	Song	Languages	Musical Style
1.	Drygioni	Welsh	-Acoustic pop, rock, folk rock, ballad, techno -Longer songs (up to 7:55) -Sparse and varied instrumentation, including many acoustic instruments -More minor-key songs and melodies
2.	Ymaelodi Â'r Ymylon	Welsh	
3.	Y Gwyneb Iau	Welsh	
4.	Dacw Hi	Welsh	
5.	Nythod Cacwn	Welsh	
6.	Pan Ddaw'r Wawr	Welsh	
7.	Ysbeidiau Heulog	Welsh	
8.	Y Teimlad	Welsh	
9.	Sarn Helen	Welsh	
10.	Gwreiddiau Dwfn/Mawrth Oer Ar y Blaned Neifion	Welsh	

Together, the shift in language – from English to Welsh – and the shift in musical style – from pop psychedelica to a darker, mellower, stripped-back sound – work to create a new identity for Super Furry Animals, using their previous success in the mainstream UK music industry to experiment both linguistically and musically, and to bring the Welsh language into focus from the conceptual periphery. And while the band has stated that their choice to record *Mwng* in Welsh was “politicised because of the precarious state of the Welsh language” rather than “an expressly political statement” (Rhys, 2009) – Gruff Rhys later said that after the release of *Mwng*, “the stage was built for us to become spokespeople for the Welsh language, [and] we ran a mile” (Fullerton, 2015) – that it was still an important choice can be seen in the following quote from Rhys on the recording of *Mwng*:

As a band we speak a language that is virtually an invisible language. Welsh doesn't feature in the Webster's list of world languages, because there are fewer than a million people who speak it. Therefore it doesn't exist in the corporate world [...] The last thing on their mind is to make concessions to a local language. That's happening on a global scale to all small cultures. So, when we record a Welsh language album, it is a stand against globalisation, even if indirectly. (Select editors, 2000)

For Super Furry Animals, “standing against globalisation” – and in particular against the linguistic imperialism which minoritizes the “invisible languages” of “small cultures” – is accomplished through strategic shifts in both language and music. Shifting between Welsh and English across their career while keeping these languages mostly separate by album allowed them to navigate their identity between two groups with prevailing monolingual ideologies: the mainstream UK music industry, in which singing in English is essentially a prerequisite for success, and the Welsh-language music scene from which they emerged, where singing in English was seen as “a taboo move” (Rhys, 2009). At the same time, shifting between more mainstream and more avant-garde musical styles helped to bridge these two worlds; by building their audience and industry standing with radio-friendly material, introducing more left-field musical experimentation in English, and returning to a radio-friendly sound to pull the Welsh language in from the periphery, Super Furry Animals effectively utilized musical artistry to sidestep the barriers of a commercialized music industry (“the corporate world”) and language minoritization (“Webster’s list of world languages”) and ultimately deliver an experimental Welsh-language album to the masses in *Mwng*. Their identity inbetween these worlds, then, is a product not just of language, and not just of musical style, but of the shifting semiotic bundling of both.

Gorky’s Zygotic Myncci

The next group, Gorky's Zygotic Myncci, formed in Camarthen in 1991, and were active in various forms until disbanding officially in 2006. Gorky's Zygotic Myncci released three albums on Ankst before signing to international label Fontana in 1996. Like Super Furry Animals, Gorky's Zygotic Myncci also code-switch across their albums; their first three releases on Ankst (1992's *Patio*, 1994's *Tatay*, and 1995's *Bwyd Time*) as well as their Fontana debut (1997's *Barafundle*) all feature both Welsh and English songs. This analysis, however, will focus on their intra-song code-switching, in which they switch between English and Welsh within the same song. Using shifting semiotic bundles of language, musical style, lyrical content, and video signifiers, Gorky's Zygotic Myncci evoke two complimentary identities within their songs: a Welsh-speaking identity which is psychedelic, playful, and modern, and an English-speaking identity which is nostalgic, innocent, wistful, and ultimately ironic.

These shifting semiotic bundles can be seen clearly in two of their songs: *Mae Merched yn Neud Gwallt eu Gilydd*, their first (1994) single, and *Patio Song*, a 1996 single released ahead of 1997's *Barafundle*, which peaked at No. 41 in the UK (Roberts, 2006).

The first of these songs, *Mae Merched yn Neud Gwallt eu Gilydd*, is presented via a schematic representation of its music video¹ – showing semiotic bundles of language, music, and visual signs – below, in Table 4²:

Table 4. *Merched yn Neud Gwallt eu Gilydd*³

Lyrics	Semiotic Bundle
Intro: [Indistinct] And Angel Toes and Angel nose and our souls And Angel Tose and Angel nose and our souls	Intro: <i>Music:</i> School choir with out-of-tune piano <i>Language:</i> English language, nasal voice quality (nerdiness) <i>Video content:</i> School uniforms, cricket bat, making faces and picking noses
‘A’ Section: Mae merched yn neud gwallt eu gilydd trwy'r nos Yn clywed y gan ond yn chwarae 'mlaen Mae merched yn neud gwallt eu gilydd trwy'r nos Dy croen fel y lloer 'neud fi teimlo'n oer <i>Translation:</i> <i>Girls are doing each others' hair through the night</i> <i>Hearing the song but playing on</i> <i>Girls are doing each others' hair through the night</i> <i>Your skin like the moon makes me feel cold</i>	‘A’ Section: <i>Music:</i> Psychedelic, distorted guitar, fast tempo, driving drums (tom/snare) <i>Language:</i> Welsh language, modal (non-nasal) voice quality <i>Lyrical content:</i> Surreal, abstract <i>Video content:</i> Spinning camera, jumping around
Transition: (There's no need to worry! Why's that Stevie?)	Transition: <i>Music:</i> (none; spoken section) <i>Language:</i> English-language, nasal voice quality (nerdiness) <i>Video content:</i> School uniforms, making faces
‘B’ Section: 'Cos we ain't got school in the morning baby No, no, no, no Ain't got school in the morning baby No, no, no, no Ain't got school in the morning Well you can try, try, try Baby cry, cry, cry But what you'll never know	‘B’ Section: <i>Music:</i> Britpop, harpsichord, clean guitar, slower tempo, pop drums (hi-hat/snare) <i>Language:</i> English language <i>Lyrical content:</i> Wistful, nostalgic, ironic <i>Video content:</i> Beatles-style body movements, knowing glances at camera, tongue-in-cheek

¹<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9TkoRZHuKxQ>

²English translations of lyrics here and in following songs are my own, and are given in italics

³ Diolch yn fawr iawn i Tyler Sanchez for help with the English intro lyrics

The video for *Mae Merched yn Neud Gwallt eu Gilydd* opens with an introduction in the English-language bundle, with a slightly out-of-tune piano accompanying a school choir in an indistinct English recitation, made almost undecipherable by overlapping out-of-unison voices, read from a hymnal or songbook and sung with a nasal voice quality – an index of nerdiness (Bucholtz, 2011, p. 77). Notably, during this section, the band members are dressed as schoolboys carrying cricket bats – indexing a stereotypically English sport, as opposed to a more stereotypically Welsh sport like rugby – making funny faces, and picking their noses, indicating that this identity is being presented ironically.

At the end of this section, a band member jumps in front of the camera, screams, and the song moves into it's a section in the Welsh-language semiotic bundle. Here, the music changes to psychedelic rock, with a quick tempo, driving drum beat alternating between the tom and snare, and fuzzy, distorted guitar. In the video, the camera spins around quickly and constantly while focused on the lead singer lying in the grass, setting a disorienting, vertiginous scene. The lyrics are all in Welsh, sung in a modal voice quality, and are abstract and almost surreal, describing a dream-like stasis of girls “doing each others’ hair through the night”, with “cold skin like the moon”, “playing on” over “the song” heard in the background.

Then, at the end of this section, the camera steadies, and after a spoken-word transition delivered in nasal English by the schoolboys from the introduction, the song switches into a B section in the English-language semiotic bundle. The instrumentation changes to classic Britpop – harpsichord, clean guitar, and pop hi-hat/snare drumming – and the lyrics switch to English, with words and themes evoking the schoolday nostalgia of *Village Green*-era Kinks or early Beatles (“we ain’t got school in the morning baby / no no no no”). Notably, the video frame remains as ironic as in the introduction, with the band members – dressed in casual clothes in a lush green field – making knowing glances at the camera, moving their bodies in exaggerated back-and-forth Beatles-style movements while playing their instruments, and making faces at each other. At the end of this section, the song switches back into the Welsh bundle, as the A section repeats and the band members thrash around laughing with their instruments in the field.

A similar pattern of these two bundles can be seen in a second Gorky's Zygotic Myncci single, *Patio Song*, schematized in Table 5:

Table 5. *Patio Song*

Language	Semiotic Bundle
Section 1: <i>Verse 1:</i> Well isn't it a lovely day Oh, I'm feeling all brand new Well isn't it a lovely day Oh, boating on Sunday with you <i>Chorus:</i> And if you really want to kiss her Just go right up and tell her Oh, isn't it a lovely day for love <i>Verse 2:</i> Well isn't it a lovely day Oh, my patio's on fire Well isn't it a lovely day? Oh no words or wisdoms from liars <i>(Chorus)</i>	Section 1: <i>Music:</i> Soft pop, 6/8 ballad beat, clean, arpeggiated guitar, violin riff, soft rock drums (ride cymbal) <i>Language:</i> English <i>Lyrical content:</i> Nostalgic, innocent, ironic
Section 2: Mae'n bwrw glaw, so dal fy llaw Ond mae'r gaeaf mor hir Mae'n cymryd gormod o tir Dal fy llaw, mae'n bwrw glaw Ond mae'r gaeaf mor hir Mae'n cymryd gormod o tir <i>Translation:</i> <i>It's raining, so take my hand</i> <i>But the winter's so long</i> <i>It takes too much from the land</i> <i>Take my hand, it's raining</i> <i>But the winter's so long</i> <i>It takes too much from the land</i>	Section 2: <i>Music:</i> Power pop, 4/4 rock beat, full chords replace arpeggios, electric guitar replaces violin riff, rock drums (hi-hat) <i>Language:</i> Welsh <i>Lyrical content:</i> Sombre, abstract

Patio Song opens with English language singing over soft pop, with a 6/8 ballad beat played on the ride cymbal, clean, arpeggiated guitar, and a wistful violin riff playing in the background. The lyrics in the first verse evoke nostalgia, innocence, and even tweeness (“isn't it a lovely day / boating on Sunday with you”). At the chorus, horns join in the background of the instrumentation, and the lyrical content remains both innocent (“if you really want to kiss her / just go right up and tell her”) and twee (“isn't it a lovely day for love”). The verse then repeats, again in English, but with a disquieting lyrical change (“Well isn't it a lovely day / oh, my patio's on fire”) that indicates the innocence in this section is presented ironically.

At the end of the second chorus, instead of completing the line “isn't it a lovely day for love”, the song shifts into its second semantic bundling; the line pauses before “love”, and the lyrics code-switch into Welsh. Musically, the song undergoes a complete shift here as well, to power pop; the 6/8 soft pop ballad beat is turned into a 4/4 rock beat played on the hi-hat, full, strummed guitar chords replace the arpeggios from the first section, and a distorted electric guitar takes over the riff played earlier on the violin. The lyrical content changes theme as well as language, moving from innocence and tweeness to become somber (“it's raining / so take my hand”) and abstract (“the winter's so long / it takes too much from the land”). The song continues with this bundling until its end.

In both *Patio Song* and *Mae Merched yn Neud Gwallt Eu Gilydd*, Gorky's Zygotic Myncci use these two distinct semiotic bundlings of music and language to strategically juxtapose two distinct parts of a bilingual, bistylistic identity, aligning the Welsh language with psychedelic rock, playfulness, abstractness, and youthfulness, and the English language with Britpop, ironic innocence, tweeness and nostalgia. English is bundled with calmer and more traditional musical genres (soft pop, ballads, and Britpop), softer instrumentation (simple drumming, clean guitar, and strings), twee and innocent lyrics (“we ain't got school in the morning baby”; “isn't it a lovely day for love”), and an embodied performance of 1960s British pop artists like the Beatles, while Welsh is bundled with more modern, energetic musical styles (psychedelica, rock, and power pop), aggressive instrumentation (distorted electric guitars), surreal lyrics (“girls are doing each others' hair through the night”; “your skin like the moon makes me feel cold”), and the youthful, frenetic embodied performance of 1990s rock and punk.

Of course, this is not to suggest that English and Welsh are monolithically associated with these features for Gorky's Zygotic Myncci, but rather that the band draws on their bilingualism and musical style-shifting to “play with and negotiate identities through language” (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010, p. 246) and – simultaneously – music. The ironic frame of the English-language identity, shown through the lyrical content, musical content – and, in *Mae Merched yn Neud Gwallt Eu Gilydd*, video signifiers like body movement and knowing glances to the camera – lets Gorky's Zygotic Myncci play with this English identity to enhance their Welshness by opposition (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 598); by showing what an English-language identity looks like ironically, they emphasize the authenticity of the identity enacted by the Welsh-language semiotic bundle. Notably, this means that their use of code-switching is very different from Super Furry Animals'; the particular, playful juxtaposition of identity in Gorky's Zygotic Myncci's music is possible because they switch between Welsh and English not just across songs or albums, but within songs themselves, allowing these shifting semiotic bundles to be read

directly in terms of each other and their “relations of similarity and difference, authenticity and inauthenticity” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, p. 382).

MC Mabon

The final artist is MC Mabon (Gruff Meredith), formerly of the influential Welsh-language hip-hop group Tystion (Witnesses). Tystion was formed in Cardiff in 1996, and self-released two cassettes (1995's *Dyma'r Dystiolaeth* and 1996's *Tystion vs Allfa Un*) and an album on CD (1997's *Rhaid i Rhywbeth Ddigwydd*) before signing with Ankstmusic in 1999 to release the album *Shrug Off Ya Complex*. Shortly after the release of *Shrug Off Ya Complex*, Meredith left the group to become the one-man band MC Mabon. Though he is from and lives in Wales, MC Mabon travelled to Gaiman, Argentina, in the Welsh-speaking area of Patagonia, to record his 2007 alternative rock/rap album *Jonez Williamz*. Like Super Furry Animals and Gorky's Zygotic Mynci, MC Mabon also uses linguistic and musical shifts to enact his identity, as can be seen especially in two songs from *Jonez Williamz*: *Lawr i Comodoro* and *Perros Locos*.

These two songs are important because they represent multimodal shifts in music and language with respect to the musical and linguistic content of the album as a whole. In terms of music, the majority of *Jonez Williamz* consists of relatively standard rock instrumentation: prominent distorted electric guitar, bass, and drums. Four songs, however, feature additional instrumentation, including a *charango* (a small, Andean lute with a resonator traditionally fashioned from an armadillo shell) and *siku* (or *zampoña*, Andean pan pipes). In terms of language, the album is mostly sung and rapped in Welsh, but includes Spanish lexemes and phonology in two songs:

Table 6. *Jonez Williamz*

	Song	Languages	Additional instrumentation
1.	Pethe Gwell	Welsh	
2.	Llond Bola	Welsh	
3.	Gloi Boi Heb Gar	Welsh	
4.	Lawr i Comodoro	Welsh & Spanish	Charango, Siku (pan pipes)
5.	Be Di Be	Welsh	
6.	Perros Locos	Welsh & Spanish	Charango
7.	Gwynt A Glaw	Welsh	Charango, Siku (pan pipes)
8.	O Ffrind	Welsh	
9.	Pwdin	Welsh	
10.	Dau Gam Ymlaen	Welsh	Charango, Welsh <i>pibgorn</i> Bagpipes

The two songs in which these musical and linguistic shifts coincide – *Lawr i Comodoro* and *Perros Locos* – show how MC Mabon uses these semiotic bundles to enact his identity. Specifically, he uses Welsh-Spanish code-switching alongside shifts in musical signification to create an identity as a global Welsh MC, at home in both Patagonia and Wales.

The first of these two songs, *Lawr i Comodoro* (Down to Comodoro), lyrically references the city of Comodoro Rivadavia, the largest city in the province of Chubut, in which Gaiman and other important Welsh-speaking centers of Patagonia are also located. In the chorus, MC Mabon sings *Dwi yn mynd drwy'r storm, meddwl mynd lawr i Comodoro* (or “I’m going through the storm, thinking of going down to Comodoro”). Though this initially looks to be entirely in Welsh, the use of *Comodoro* here actually represents a subtle but important shift in linguistic practice. While it cannot be considered a canonical code-switch into Spanish, it represents a bivalent Welsh/Spanish pronunciation, and a specific feature of Welsh morphosyntax – initial consonant mutation – allows it to be interpreted as an interesting case of hybrid language use.

Initial consonant mutation in Welsh causes the first consonant of words to change in certain morphosyntactic contexts, including following the *i* or “to” of *Lawr i Comodoro*. This *i* or “to” in Welsh triggers a soft mutation, which would normally change an orthographic <c> (IPA: /k/) into <g> (IPA: /g/); “down to Camarthen” in Welsh would be *lawr i Gamarthen*, for example. While prescriptively this change is said to apply across the board, in practice the use of mutations in speech is sensitive to many factors. Notably, placenames that are thought of as less geographically and culturally Welsh – including placenames of Welsh Patagonia – are less likely to be mutated by Patagonian speakers (Sleeper, 2020). Thus MC Mabon’s production of *lawr i Comodoro* as opposed to *Gomodoro* is significant in two ways; it represents a switch away from unambiguously Welsh phonology in the rest of the chorus into a bivalent Welsh/Spanish pronunciation of the placename, and it also aligns his (non-)mutation practice with that of Welsh speakers from Chubut, indexing his familiarity with both the city and the linguistic geography of Welsh Patagonia.

Importantly, this shift into linguistic hybridity is also accompanied by a shift in musical signifiers; in *Lawr i Comodoro*, both the *siku* and a *charango* (neither of which were present in the previous songs) play prominently throughout – the *charango* replacing the role of the rhythm guitar and the *siku* playing behind and inbetween vocal lines in the verses. These two instruments serve as instant musical indexes of South America in Western popular music – the *charango* features prominently on Simon & Garfunkel’s (1970) hit cover of the Peruvian song *El Cóndor Pasa*, for example – but carry further semiotic meaning in the local, Welsh Patagonian context. Both the *siku* and *charango* are Andean instruments, associated with

musical traditions of the Altiplano region at the confluence of western Bolivia, southern Peru, northern Chile and northwest Argentina. And while these instruments' origin in the Altiplano is geographically far removed from Chubut, today they are a salient marker of a local regional identity. Folk music groups from the far north of Argentina – where *siku* and *charango* were common – became hugely popular throughout Argentina during the 1940s and 1950s, and this boom resulted in Andean instrumentation becoming inscribed into the local musical folklore of Patagonia, and acting as an index of a “transnational Patagonian identity” stretching across the south of both Chile and Argentina (Mularski, 2012). When these instruments are added to the musical mix on *Jonez Williamz*, then, they serve to contextualize the linguistic shift into Welsh-Spanish hybridity on *Lawr i Comodoro* as not just Spanish, but specifically Patagonian, helping to create MC Mabon's identity as a Welsh-speaker at home in both Wales and Welsh Patagonia.

The second of these two songs, *Perros Locos* (“Crazy Dogs”), is a hybrid rap-psychedelic rock song in which both the title and the prominent lyrical theme of its chorus represent code-switching into Spanish (*perros locos*):

Chorus:

Perros locos yn bob man, perros locos yn fy nghan
 Perros locos yn fy mhen, perros locos ar fy nghefn
 Perros locos yn cyfarth, perros locos yn y bath,
 Perros locos ryw fath o gwn, stopiwch neud eich fflupun swn!

Translation:

Perros locos everywhere, perros locos in my song
Perros locos in my head, perros locos on my back
Perros locos barking, perros locos on the path
Perros locos some kind of dogs, stop making your flippin' noise!

The recurring chant of *perros locos* in the chorus is an example of what has been called a *mot juste* switch – often single words or short phrases, these code-switches occur when a speaker switches because the L2 contains “what is perceived to be the best way of saying a thing” (Poplack, 1988, p. 228).

Welsh of course has various ways of expressing “crazy dogs”, but using the Spanish instead allows MC Mabon to specifically index a hyperlocally-salient phenomenon. In Gaiman – where *Jonez Williamz* was recorded – free-roaming dogs are common, and the sounds they make throughout the day are a conspicuous part of the local soundscape. The dogs *yn cyfarth* (“barking”), *yn y bath* (“on the path”), *yn bob man* (“everywhere”) and *yn fy nghan* (“in my song” – perhaps a reference to their contributing to the recording process) aren't “crazy dogs” in general, but the *perros locos* of Gaiman, and code-switching allows MC Mabon to not only

“say it better” (Zentella, 1997, p. 101), but to index his association with the local region as a result (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 594). Fluid code-switching and language mixing is common in Welsh-speaking Patagonia, and especially for locally-relevant concepts – using Spanish *siesta* (instead of *cwsg* ‘sleep’) in a Welsh sentence for the afternoon nap common in Patagonia; describing a heavy rain with *mae’n glawio infernal* (Welsh *mae’n glawio* or “it’s raining” and Spanish *infernal* or “terribly”); or inviting visitors in with *paswch* (from the Spanish *pasar* or “to come in” and the Welsh second-person plural imperative suffix *-wch*), for example (Agozzino, 2006). Switching into Spanish for *perros locos* reflects this linguistic reality, indexing – and aligning MC Mabon with – the local linguistic practices of Welsh speakers in Patagonia.

As with *Lawr i Comodoro*, the code-switching in *Perros Locos* is importantly accompanied by a shift in musical signification; the *charango* which was absent from the previous track is brought back for *Perros Locos*, and is featured prominently as the sole instrumentation behind the rapped introduction and continuing throughout as the dominant rhythm instrument. Along with the *perros locos*, the *charango* serves as an index of the recording context in Patagonia, and – in the context of the song’s Welsh-Spanish linguistic shifts – Welsh Patagonia specifically. And in fact, for listeners from Gaiman aligned with Welsh Patagonian culture, it’s very likely that the *charango* on both *Perros Locos* and *Lawr i Comodoro* directly indexes the person playing it: local Welsh-speaking music producer Héctor Mac Donald, at whose Gaiman home studio (*Bryn Alaw*) *Jonez Williamz* was recorded. In combination, these shifts and signs powerfully evoke the total local soundscape (Scarvaglieri et al., 2013) of Gaiman: Spanish, Welsh, the *perros locos*, and the *charango* that might be heard emanating from *Bryn Alaw*.

In addition to the shifting musical and linguistic signs in the songs themselves, *Jonez Williamz* also notably features trilingual liner notes – a physical component of the cohesive act of musicking of the album – which list recording credits in Welsh, English, and Spanish, along with unique acknowledgements in each language: a full page in Welsh, half a page in Spanish, and a short paragraph in English. The *perros locos* are referenced specifically as such in both the Spanish and the Welsh, reinforcing the specific hyperlocal cultural connotations of code-switching into Spanish in the song rather than using the Welsh equivalent⁴:

⁴ English translations here are my own, and non-standard orthography and grammar is kept from the originals.

Spanish:

Gracias a los perros locos sueltos por tenernos a los corridas y por interrumpirnos el sueño!

Translation:

“Thanks to the loose perros locos for keeping us on the run and interrupting our sleep!”

Welsh:

Diolch i'r perros locos am gadw ni ar flaenau ein traed ac am y diffyg cwsg – mwncis (cŵn) bach drwg.

Translation:

“Thanks to the perros locos for keeping us on the run and for the lack of sleep – bad little monkeys (dogs).”

The addition of English in the liner notes – even when there are no English lyrics on the album – adds further meaning to the identity created by MC Mabon's mix of music and language. *Jonez Williamz* was released on Copa, a now-retired alternative and indie-focused imprint of the Welsh-language record label Sain, and most other contemporary releases on the label only feature Welsh-language notes; even Copa's standardized packaging for advance promotional copies of CDs for radio stations gave all information – including legal notices – exclusively in Welsh. In this context, MC Mabon's addition of Spanish and English to the liner notes on *Jonez Williamz* speaks specifically to the album's anticipated audiences – Spanish (along with Welsh) to connect with the Welsh Patagonian community in which it was recorded, and English for potential listeners from the wider global market, as well as those in Wales who may not speak Welsh – and help enact MC Mabon's identity as a global Welsh citizen-musician with audiences and connections in Wales, Patagonia, and beyond.

Finally, it is worth noting that while code-switching between Welsh and English is fairly common in popular music from Wales, MC Mabon is one of a very few artists to have used Welsh-Spanish code-switching in recorded music. René Griffiths – a Patagonian folk singer famous for his fusion of Argentine *gaucho* styles and traditional Welsh music – recorded an EP with both Welsh and Spanish songs for Sain in 1974, and contemporary Welsh folk band Brigyn released an album called *Dulog* (“Armadillo”) in 2015 that was thematically focused on Welsh Patagonia and featured Spanish lyrics in two songs, but MC Mabon may be unique in his hybrid performance of Welsh and Spanish in rock and rap music. And in addition to the semiotic possibilities afforded by this combination of language(s) and music, the specific way in which he integrates Welsh and Spanish on *Jonez Williamz* also contributes to his identity.

Compared to the relatively straightforward language alternations across songs and stanzas used by Super Furry Animals and Gorky's Zygotic Mynci, MC Mabon's language use is more fluid, drawing meaning from switching individual words and subtle shifts in phonetic performance,

and representing a multilingual mix that might be read as closer to canonical translanguaging rather than traditional code-switching. This particular practice linguistically mirrors the free-flowing mix of global rock/rap and local Patagonian musical styles that characterize the album, reflects MC Mabon's skill in the creative manipulation of bivalent language seen as virtuosic in multilingual hip-hop performance (Lin, 2014), and, along with the shifting linguistic and musical signs themselves, contributes to his identity as an artist authentically connected to – and perhaps actively connecting – both Wales and Welsh Patagonia.

Conclusions

For all three of these Welsh artists – Super Furry Animals, Gorky's Zygotic Mynci, and MC Mabon – music and language work together as part of semiotic bundles that help to enact identity. For each artist, the shifts between semiotic bundles – as co-temporal switches between both linguistic and musical elements – work in different ways, to construct three different identities: a Welsh-language band navigating success and resisting globalization in an English-language musical mainstream, a bilingual, bistylistic band which uses ironic aspects of English identities to emphasize their Welshness, and a global Welsh citizen at home in Wales, Patagonia, and beyond.

Crucially, none of these identities are reducible to either musical or linguistic performance alone. Indeed, the musical contexts examined here represent examples where attending only to “language” in a narrow sense would mean missing out on important aspects of these artists' identity performance. The nuanced interplay between radio-friendliness and experimentalism that defined Super Furry Animals, the irony of Gorky's Zygotic Mynci, and the hyperlocality of MC Mabon's Patagonian connections are all licensed by musical significations, and a musicolinguistic analysis reveals that it is the combination of music and language, working together in shifting semiotic bundles, that creates the relevant social meaning and enacts these artist's diverse identities.

Music can therefore be seen as an important component of linguistic analysis in musically-situated language, and the model of musicolinguistic analysis presented here could be used to explore how music and language function together to create social meaning through any lens of sociocultural linguistic inquiry. While the present analysis focuses on commercial, recorded music, the same methodology could also be applied to musical performance, evaluation, pedagogy, or consumption. It is also not restricted to juxtaposing only lyrics and music in musical performance; linguists could use this method to study discourses of music with the music itself as a central component of the data.

In advocating for a musicolinguistic approach to identity, this study aims to show that, much as the body has come to be seen as an integral part of language in conversation (Bucholtz & Hall, 2016), music can be considered an important component of linguistic analysis in musical contexts, and that attending to musical as well as linguistic signification – including language choice(s) – in these analyses can yield unique insights not possible by examining language alone. Language and music are not experienced as discrete semiotic systems by listeners, performers, or others interacting with or participating in musicking; rather, the two are intimately linked in semiotic bundles which function – as they do here – as cohesive wholes. As researchers of language, then, it benefits us to be attuned to how these systems work in concert; just as decades of research has shown that studying language in its sociocultural, historical, discursive, and prosodic contexts helps us reach a fuller understanding of its form and function, the same can be true for language in its musical context.

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