CODESWITCHING IN NEWSPAPER DISCOURSE: A CASE OF CRAZY MONDAY ARTICLES IN THE STANDARD NEWSPAPER

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In Kenya, the codeswitching phenomenon is prevalent in everyday conversation and mass-crafted discourses because many people are multilingual. These communicators have varied language choices to make due to the multi-ethnic nature of our social background. As codeswitching has found its way into the language of newspaper, this study sought to establish the motivation for codeswitching in Crazy Monday Articles in the Standard Newspaper in Kenya. The data for this study was collected between 2013 and 2014 and was primarily obtained from codeswitched written discourse of Crazy Monday articles between the stated periods. Library research and the internet were instrumental in the study as they provided scholarly contributions on code switching in newspaper discourse. Purposive sampling technique was used whereby the researcher selected codeswitched written discourse from Crazy Monday articles only. The data collected was analyzed qualitatively using the principles of Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) of Giles in 1973 (cited in Giles, Coupland, & Coupland, 1991). The results show that the motivation for codeswitching are to fill a lexical gap, express identity, solidarity, informality, economy, aesthetic effects, direct quotations and interjections.

Keywords: Codeswitching, codemixing, newspaper, discourse, CAT (Communication
        Accommodation Theory)

Introduction

Myers-Scotton (1993) observes that "the use of more than one linguistic variety in one's speech act is a common practice in everyday conversation and mass crafted discourse such as advertising, marketing, media and political discourse" (p. 1). Code switching according to Myers-Scotton is a term used to identify alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation; with bilinguals or multilinguals selecting forms from an embedded language in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation. She further observes that the linguistic varieties participating in code switching may be different languages, dialects or styles of the same language.

On the other hand, Gumperz (1982, p. 68) defines code switching as the "juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems with the items tied together prosodically and by semantic and syntactic relations equivalent to those joining passages in a single language."

According to Myers-Scotton (1993, p. 33), "codeswitching is a natural language phenomenon in a multilingual set up world over." Myers-Scotton argues that one who becomes a bilingual in Africa is anyone who is mobile either in a socio-economic or a geographical sense; what she calls, 'the urban syndrome', to highlight the effects of salaried work experience and the multi ethnic nature of everyday interactions. Code-mixing denotes to the mixing of two or more languages or language varieties in speech (spoken or in print) (Bhatia, 2001).

Poplack (2001) defines code-switching as the practice of alternating between two or more languages or passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical system or subsystems. Some scholars use the terms "code-mixing" and "code-switching" interchangeably, especially in studies of syntax, morphology, and other formal aspects of language (Muysken, 2000; Ayeomoni, 2006).

Whiteley cited in Nyaga (2013, p. 23) refers to Kenya as a multilingual country. He observes that high multilingual would be found where:
- The community is linguistically heterogeneous.
- Access to education is unlimited and prolonged.
- Communication is good and there are incentives to use them.
- Personality mobility is high.
- Strong attempts are made to encourage people to speak a particular language e.g in language policies.

As cited in Nyaga (2013, p. 3), "there are a total of 68 languages spoken in Kenya. More specifically, various ethnic groups speak their mother tongue within their communities. The two official languages: English and Swahili are used in varying degrees of fluency for communication with other communities."

According to Appel and Muysken (cited in Nyaga, 2013), majority of Kenyans especially those living in urban Kenya (urban areas being places of convergence for people from different ethnic groups) are multilingual. They have as part of their linguistic repertoire Kiswahili and English and an ethnic language spoken within their communities while peri-urban and rural dwellers are less multilingual. This is because travel tends to promote bilingualism since the more travel, the more intergroup contacts. (p. 3)

The Kenyan language situation and the language policy as stated in the 2010 constitution recognizes both Kiswahili and English as the official languages with Kiswahili still maintaining its status as a national language. The policy also calls for the state to promote the development and use of indigenous languages. Kenyan sign language and Braille further reinforces the multilingual situation.

Kenya is a multilingual country whose populaces can effectively communicate not only in two languages but sometimes, even three or four dialects. The two official languages (English and Swahili) are conventionally used in varying degrees together with the other 68 languages spoken in Kenya to attain effectual daily communication (Orwenjo, 2012). This phenomenon linguistically referred to as codeswitching or codemixing has found its way into the language of newspaper: formalized, historical documents.

In Kenya, the code-mixing phenomenon is currently prevalent because of the fact that many people are bilingual, trilingual or even multilingual. In addition, the current advancement of technology, business affairs, education and communication has rapidly increased local diversity and global connectedness (Ghemawat & Altman, 2012). This implies that people of different languages and different cultures come into contact constantly. Thus, in such a scenario, codeswitching is inevitable. Code-mixing has become a normal communication style and it helps people to develop and improve relationship and to adjust and suit in the multicultural environment.

Ehsan and Aziz (2014) carried out a case study on code mixing in Urdu news of a private Pakistan channel. This research aimed to explore the extent to which code-mixing is done in Urdu news of a private news channel, if any and to find out the equivalent words in Urdu language. The results revealed that the phenomenon of code-mixing is frequently practiced. Although most of the words have their equivalence in Urdu language, they are not a part of people's active vocabulary and are not usually used in everyday conversations. It reflected the general behaviour prevailing in the society and that those words are used which are easily available and can facilitate easy and fluent conversation, no matter if they are used by performing code-mixing.

Abdulaziz (2014) researched on code switching between Tamazight and Arabic in the first Libyan Berber news broadcast. The purpose of the study was to investigate the nature of code switching between Tamazight and Arabic in light of Myers-Scotton's (MLF) (Myers- Scotton, 1993), and the 4-M model of code switching.

Alruwayeh (2016) conducted a research on diglossic codeswitching in Kuwait newspapers. The study investigated the phenomenon of diglossic code-switching between Standard Arabic, as a High variety, and Kuwaiti Arabic, as a Low variety, in Kuwaiti newspaper articles. The study was precipitated by the paucity of research on the linguistic characteristics of newspaper discourse generated within this region as well as Kuwaiti perceptions towards this medium of communication.

Bautista (2004) researched on Tagalog-English code switching as a mode of discourse. The alternation of Tagalog and English in informal discourse is a feature of the linguistic repertoire of educated, middle and upper-class Filipinos. The paper described the linguistic structure and sociolinguistic functions of Tagalog-English code switching (Taglish) as provided by various researchers through the years.

Sinulingga (2009) conducted a research on 'Codeswitching and Codemixing in Smart Business Talk' of Smart Radio 101.8 FM in the theme How to Become A Superstar Sales Person'. This study analyzed the codeswitching and codemixing found in the conversation in Smart Radio1 01.8 FM with view to establish types of codeswitching and reasons for codeswitching and codemixing by presenters and callers.

John and Dumanig (2014) researched on

language choice, codeswitching and identity construction in Malaysian English newspaper advertisements. The study aimed to explore the reasons for the construction of identity through the use of code switching in English newspaper advertisements in Malaysia. The findings revealed that advertisers construct identity through code switching mainly during festivals. The findings further revealed that the main reason for advertisers to construct these identities through code switching is to persuade multilingual consumers as a form of marketing strategy. The advertisers aim to persuade consumers through the construction of these identities to accommodate the bilingual consumers, attract consumers through affective means, and build credibility and solidarity with the consumers.

Leung (2006) researched on codeswitching in print advertisements in Hong Kong and Sweden. The study focused on the codeswitching phenomenon in Hong Kong and Swedish print newspaper advertisements. With a contrastive analysis of code-switched advertisements from Hong Kong and Sweden. The paper also described the patterns and structures of Cantonese-English and Swedish-English codeswitching. The results showed that intra-sentential is the most dominant type of codeswitching and noun phrase is the most codeswitched constituent.

As codeswitching becomes an emerging trend in Kenyan newspapers, this study sought to determine the motivation for code switching in crazy Monday articles in the Standard newspaper in Kenya.

Methodology

The data for this study was collected between 2013 and 2014. In as such, data was primarily obtained from code mixed written discourse of Crazy Monday articles between the stated period. Library research and the internet served as secondary information sources for the study since they provided scholarly contributions on code switching in newspaper discourse. Purposive sampling technique was used whereby the researcher selected codeswitched written discourse from Crazy Monday articles only.

Data collected was analyzed using the principles of Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) of Giles formulated in 1973. Convergence and divergence principles of CAT was used to analyze the data qualitatively. The main assumption in Giles' theory is that speakers change their linguistic code in order to be perceived in a more favourable way by their address-

ees. Giles suggested that speakers tend to accommodate their language choice towards that of other people because they like them or in order to please them, and they diverge from the code of people they dislike. Other reasons for divergence are to emphasize distinctiveness or to shape addressee's feelings. Speakers converge or diverge according to the purposes they want to accomplish.

Results and Discussion

Motivation for Intrasentential Codeswitching in Newspaper Discourse

Example 1. And in any case, you can't fight when your belly is digesting 12 lagers, two kilos of roast beef, a platter of **kachumbari** and a massive chunk of **ugali.**

In the above example, Kiswahili words *kachumbari* and ugali have been inserted in English sentence. This is done to fill lexical gap. This is so because of lack of an equivalent lexical item in English. These Kiswahili lexical items have been borrowed and accepted in use in English language. The insertion is within the sentence boundary hence intrasentential code mixing.

Example 2. You expect a busy **makanga** or doctor to stop working and go to a political rally?

Makanga means 'conductor'. The writer uses 'makanga' in the English sentence to fill lexical gap or to bring out the level of informality. He identifies himself with the readers both in the informal (makanga) and formal (doctor) sectors of employment. This is also intrasentential codemixing because it occurs within a sentence. The above excerpt is taken from the story Democracy only delivers hot air

Example 3. When did **miraa** become a hard drug?

Miraa which means 'khat' is inserted in English sentence. The writer's use of the term 'miraa' would be said to serve a communicative function owing to the fact that the writer is not able to access the equivalent English lexical item for the noun' miraa' or due to the habitual use of the term 'miraa'. The above intrasentential code mixed interrogative sentence was as a result of the Kenyan writer's a surprise to learn that in Tanzania, miraa was classified as an illegal drug. The above excerpt is taken from the story **When did miraa become a hard drug?**

Example 4. **Chamas** (merry go-rounds) are

a big thing because they create new bonds, strengthen existing ones and help members to pool resources for development.

The writer switches from Kiswahili to English within the sentence level. The switch is necessitated by the need to fill lexical gap. Kiswahili *chamas* is preferred because it requires less linguistic effort in comparison with its English equivalent. The writer applies the principle of economy. In addition, the writer being aware of what the addressee prefers switches accordingly.

'Chama' which is singular and the plural form being 'vyama' has been pluralized as 'chamas.' English plural marker 's' has been attached to Kiswahili singular form of the noun 'chama' to become 'chamas'.This gives rise to intraword codemixing of Kiswahili noun 'chama' + English bound morpheme 's'. This codemixing could also serve aesthetic function.

Example 5. On several occasions, the man of God is said to have left his home after supper, claiming to be headed for **keshas** in nieghbouring villages where he would pray for people.

The word *kesha*, literally to mean 'overnight prayer meeting' is inserted in English sentence. This is attributed to the need to fill lexical gap. There is no single lexical item to serve as its synonym. Kiswahili *Kesha* is preferred because it requires less linguistic effort in comparison to its English equivalent. The writer applies the principle of economy. Moreover, the writer being aware of what the readers prefer switches accordingly. Kesha has been pluralized as 'keshas.' English plural marker 's' has been attached to Kiswahili singular form of the noun 'kesha' to become 'keshas'. This gives rise to intraword codemixing of Kiswahili noun 'kesha' + English bound morpheme 's'. This codemixing could also serve aesthetic function as in example 4 above.

In the hidden sense,'*kesha*' being in quotes in the headline and in relation to the context of use means 'intimate relationship' which in this case has brought about the conflict between the pastor and his wife. The hidden sense of *kesha* could serve the function of euphemism as the writer finds its contextual meaning spiritually embarrassing as it involves the man of God. The above excerpt is taken from the story **Pastor at 'kesha' attacked by his wife in widow's house**.

Other examples of intraword codemixing that featured in the data are **mwakenyas** (a coined term for examination cheating and **inshas** (compositions)

Example 6. An old lady who was present chuckled, 'T**o kara jo habari gi be ema lich ka**

ochopo saa ng'wenyo'. (so it means these journalists are shocking when it comes to food).

Mourners wondered why journalists who are thought to be stars in the society would resort to such habits as if they do not have enough to survive on. The communicator switches from English to Dholuo, then Kiswahil, and then to Dholuo. This is a direct quotation which also serves the function of ethnic identity.

Example 7. Gosh, I thought journalists had lots of money…**kumbe ni hustlers kama sisi?**

To mean Gosh, I thought journalists had lots of money, so they are hustlers like us.
The communicator switches from English to Kiswahili, then Sheng then back to Kiswahili.
Gosh, is an interjection to express surprise .Hustler is a Sheng term to mean 'struggling to fend for a living. Journalists are equated to the lowly in society following the way they scrambled for food at a funeral.

Examples 6 and 7 are excerpts taken from the story **Journalists Fight for Food at a Funeral.**

Example 8. I had a list of my favourite **methali** which I always infused into **insha** (composition) just to add that extra punch but the one that particularly stood out for me was **Akufukuzaye hakuambii enda.**

To mean, I had a list of my favourite proverbs which I always infused into composition just to add that extra punch but one that particularly stood out for me was **He who sends you away does not tell you to leave**. The communicator inserts Kiswahili terms methali and insha in English sentence and goes ahead to cite his/her favourite Kiswahili proverb. The subject under discussion is Kiswahili therefore he/she wants to retain the originality of the content under discussion. The above excerpt is taken from the story **When the writing is on the wall, run!**

Example 9. By the time the pension cash begins coming through, the African *mwananchi* is a couple years from his grave, exhausted, bitter and vengeful.

Mwananchi to mean ordinary citizen. The communicator switches from English to Kiswahili by inserting Kiswahili term **mwananchi** within English sentence. The switch is necessited by the need to fill lexical gap. Kiswahili term *mwananchi* is preferred because it requires less linguistic effort in comparison with its English equivalent. The writer applies the principle of economy. He/ She also identifies himself/ herself with the lowly in society whose needs are not

addressed on time.

Example 10. A whole secretariat churning out one or two statements a year, an entire library complete with a librarian and real, actual books, a bunch of cooks to cater for his tea and stewed *ingokho* (chicken) and of course, highly trained security to ensure he stays safe , what with the crime rate in Kenya.

In this example, the communicator switches from English to Kiswahili as well by inserting Luhya term **ingokho** within English sentence. He identifies himself with the Luhya community by citing the favourite dish of the community. The stewed ingokho brings out the lavish lifestyle led by the retired chiefs. This brings out the huge retirement benefits accorded to chiefs on retirement leaving the tax payers with monetary burdens to carry.

Example 10 is an excerpt taken from the story **Our retired chiefs live the life of kings**

Motivation for Intersentential Codeswitching in Newspaper Discourse

Example 1. Dan Odhiambo, a resident of Dunga, claims the cows are protected by charms, and if one dares touch them, they get stuck or hoover at the crime scene till the arrival of the owner, who has to do some rituals to set them free.

"Mago dhok ma otwe ma ka itemo mulo to inyalo kwamo kama gin ntie no nyaka wuon gi bi gonyi.Kikitem kata paro kwalogi. Those animals have been 'treated'. When you touch them, you stick around them until the owner liberates you" says Odhiambo. Dholuo is used as direct translation and also for ethnic identity. The communicator wants to convey the message clearly in the language the villagers understand best so that whoever is trapped will blame themselves.

Example 2. After a few minutes of fervent abracadabra,the Tanzanian bellowed; **"Tunawapa wanao mazoea ya kuiba hapa ilani, laa sivyo watakiona chamtema kuni.Kutoka leo yeyote atakaye jaribu kuiba hapa atakwama na hataongea."**
To mean "This is a stern warning to someone who tries to steal in this neighbourhood.Whoever attempts to do so will get stuck and will not speak."

A Tanzanian who is to perform the witchcraft that will make whoever steals the cattle get stuck gives a stern warning in Kiswahili, a national language understood and spoken by majority of Kenyans so that all the villagers can here the message. Kiswahili also

acts as a lingua franca between the Tanzanian magician and the villagers whom the majority are Dholuo speakers.

Examples 1 and 2 excerpts are taken from the story **Steal roaming livestock in Kisumu at your own risk.**

Example 3. "You can tell a man by the kind of a lifestyle he lives," a female churchgoer said. If **Mugithi** is the kind of music he listens to, there must be some truth to the allegations regarding his questionable conduct", she added. The communicator inserts Kikuyu term *Mugithi* in English text due to lack of lexical item. It also serves the purpose of identification with the Kikuyu community.

The Mugithi ringtone the lady was referring to is a corruption of secular Kikuyu compositions whereby some of the words in the original compositions are substituted with sexual expletives. This happened in Naivasha where an elder in a local church was suspended after his phone rang with a lewd ringtone in the middle of a sermon. The above excerpt is taken from the story **Mugithi ringtone gets church elder into trouble.**

Example 4. On the material day, the crafty young man, who would later serve as a lesson for other like-minded customers, swaggered into the 'hotel'and ordered a cup of soup, rather loudly and arrogantly.

"Umuthi ngwenda o gakima na kathubu kena tunyama". To mean "Today I only want a huge slice of ugali and a cup of soup. Be sure to throw in a few pieces of meat" he declared.

After being served, the client would not let the waiter leave until he had tasted the soup for salt. He then demanded a cup of less salty soup to 'dilute' what he had been served. The client who paid for ugali and one cup of soup was beaten for having not paid for the second cup of soup. However, other customers came to his rescue.

The communicator switches from English to Gikuyu between sentences. This is direct quotation. It also serves the function of ethnic identity. The above excerpt is taken from the story **Man is clobbered silly for stealing a cup of soup.**

Example 5. Auuuuwi! You have slapped me? How can you slap me? Are you my father to get the guts to put your dirty hands on me? **Kiangalie hiki kimzee**. (Look at this old man)

Auuuuwi! is an interjection to express emotion as a result of a slap. The speaker switches from

English to Kiswahili. The Kiswahili **ki-** is used to refer to a thing but here it is used to refer to the old man. It is diminutive and scornful. The utterance is meant to express the anger in the girl. The Kiswahili expression brings out the girl's point better than the English counterpart. It is for emphasis.

This example reveals a case of intersentential code switching from English the matrix language of the speech to Kiswahili.It is an intersentential code switching because it occurs between sentences. The above excerpt is taken from the story **Pastor slaps girl lying on phone in a matatu.**

Example 6. Interestingly, some people in the crowd saw nothing strange with the duo, they defended them claiming they were not harmful, and some powerful forces push them to it.
"Enye nengaki enene yabarogi, tibakonyara gwetanga.Egento nkere aroro kebabetereretie gokorabo. (This is the peak season for the witches and they cannot control themselves). Something keeps propelling them to do this)", an elderly man calmly defended them.

Here, the communicator switches from English to Ekigusi between sentences. Ekigusi is used to explain clearly about witchcraft for the crowd to understand better. The English version may not bring out the intended meaning clearly. This is a direct quotation. The above excerpt is taken from the story **Clergy's wife, daughter caught night-running at a school.**

Example 7. "This child smells of garlic and not rat poison. **Mtoto ameshiba na mnamsumbua kwa nini?** (This child is just full, why are you disturbing him?)", the Doctor exclaimed.

The communicator switches from English to Kiswahili between sentences. The Doctor switches to Kiswahili to facilitate understanding between him and the parents to the boy. Kiswahili being a national language, it is assumed that it is spoken and understood by majority of citizens. The couple seems to be ignorant and less educated hence Kiswahili is suitable for communication.

The switching therefore serves communicative effect. The above excerpt is taken from the story **Housewife mistakes garlic for rat poison**.

Example 8. One of the neighbours, however, said the woman started parking immediately after the husband had left informing them that they were moving to a 'decent' estate. **"Alituambia wanahamia ploti nyingine kisha akabeba vitu vyote kwa pick up kisha akaondoka**. (She told us they were moving

to another estate and packed all their belongings in a pick up and left)"

Here, the communicator switches from English to Kiswahili between sentences. Within the Kiswahili sentence, English word pick up has been inserted thus giving rise to intrasentential codeswitching. The lady carried away all their belongings in the absence of the husband under the pretence that they were shifting to another residence. The above excerpt is taken from the story **Woman cleans out husband's house**

Example 9. *"These are the things the management frowns upon. Get out!* **Watu sampuli hii ndio mnaaribia wengine siku**. (You are the kind of people who like ruining other people's days)," yelled the beefy chef as he dragged him by the collar.

The communicator switches from English to Kiswahili within utterances. This is direct quotation. The exclamation Get out! Indicates strong emotion, how angry the chef is with the customer who came to a hotel with a loaf of bread and ordered for chai ndogo (a small cup of tea).

The waiter raised his voice sharply; ridiculing the customer for thinking he is smarter than everyone. "Yaani unakuja hapa na chakula kutoka nje na unajua hairuhusiwi.Kwanza umeingia apa na boflo na hapo tuko na mikate mingi sana. (You can dare bring in here foodstuff from outside,yet you know clearly we don't allow that, and if anything we also sell bread)" the waiter raised his voice to the embarrassed customer.

Here, again the communicator switches from English to Kiswahili at intersentential level. It is also a direct quotation. The above example 9 excerpt is taken from the story **Rogue customer kicked out of hotel.**

Example 10. As he walked in, he bumped into his landlord escorting a new tenant, who was marveling at how cheap the house was. "Nataka hii nyumba; unalipisha pesa ngapi? Naweza kulipa niingie leo? Maji unalipishaje? (I want this house, how much is the rent? Can I pay and move in today? And what are the water charges?"), the new tenant enquired.

The communicator switches from English to Kiswahili between sentences. This is direct quotation as well. Upon realizing that the landlord was negotiating with a new tenant who was ready to move into the house that day, the rider got worried and curious. But the landlord explained to the boda boda man that

his 'brother' had moved out.

"Owadu nonyisa ni ngima ne tek kodu.Koro nung'ado ni udog dala.Noketo gigeu te mag ot e mtoka kendo owuok''. (''Your brother told me life had become hard for the two of you, and you had decided to go back to your rural home. He loaded your belongings into a pick up and left"), said the landlord.

Here, the communicator switches from English to Dholuo between sentences. This is direct quotation. It also serves the purpose of ethnic identity. To signal that the landlord and the tenant are Luos (come from the same community). It can also be seen as eliminating some speakers from a conversation. The landlord and his tenant want to eliminate the potential client from their conversation of the hosted stranger who carried away the boda boda rider's belongings. The above example 10 excerpt is taken from the story **'Good samaritan' robs 'boda boda' man.**

Conclusion and Recommendations

From the results, it was concluded that codeswitching was evident in newspaper discourse in Kenya. The results show that the motivation for codeswitching are to fill a lexical gap, express identity, solidarity, informality, economy, aesthetic effects, direct quotations and interjections. The switching is within the word, sentence and between sentences. The languages that were involved in the switching were English, Kiswahili, Sheng and ethnic languages: Luhya, Ekigusi, Dholuo, Gikuyu, among others.

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