Journal of Education, Humanities and Sciences, Volume 10 No. 5, 2021: 59–75

Structural Analysis of Code-switching in Tanzanian Swahili-English Online Telecom Adverts

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Abstract

This study analyses structural configurations of code-switching from Swahili-English online business-related advertisements in Tanzania. The study uses advertisements disseminated by telecom corporations on Facebook. Through the matrix language frame (MLF), and the 4–M models of code-switching, the study discloses the dominance of Swahili as the matrix language (ML), supplying a relatively higher quantity of content morphemes (CM) in clauses; whilst English becomes the embedded language (EL). The Swahili's supremacy in larger mixed language structures reflects the higher application of Swahili in day-to-day interactions in Tanzania, while English 'chips in' at times. In bundle names, which are phrases in structure, the study shows English as the ML; and Swahili as the EL. Further analyses indicate that both early system morphemes (early SMs), which are bound in nature, and bridge late system morphemes which are free in nature, come from Swahili. Similarly, coming from Swahili too, outsider late system morphemes are attached to content morphemes. Generally, Swahili and English partake in mixed language constructions with variations in terms of quantity, types, morpheme properties, and the syntactic properties of linguistic structures.

Keywords: *4–M model, advertisement, code-switching, matrix language framework, Tanzania*

1. Introduction

In the contemporary world whose majority population is multilingual (Ahn, La Ferle, & Lee, 2016), speakers activate and deactivate languages at their disposal for various uses. The activation and deactivation, however, is not a random process; rather, it is carefully executed in respect to grammatical limitations, contextual circumstances, and interlocutors (Busch, 2015). This observation justifies that multilingual speakers have an inborn ability to examine the linguistic surroundings and use the available linguistic resources accordingly (Wei, 2011). But, with regard to the mixture of more than one language in the same speech—i.e., codes-switching[1] (CS)—deactivation of one language is partially executed.

Numerous code-switching definitions have been offered. Ahn et al. (2016: 2) view CS as "… the insertion of linguistic elements of one language into another language." Notwithstanding, this definition does not explain in which part of the expression an insertion occurs. Foster and Welsh (2017: 396) conceptualizes code-switching as "… the switching to, or between multiple languages or dialects within the same speech act, orally, or in writing." This definition suggests that the switch might include dialects of

[1]Following various debates over the differences between code-switching and code-mixing as explained in Ndimane-Hlongwa & Ndebele (2014), this study shall treat these two concepts as one – the alternation of two or more languages in the same discourse.

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the same language depending on the circumstance or interlocutors. The definition further captures the contexts through which switching language codes can take place, i.e., in speaking or writing. Kharkhurin and Wei (2015: 153) regard code-switching as "… the alternation and mixing of different languages in the same episode of speech production." This definition suggests that alternation might capture the inter-sentential code-switching, while mixing occurs at the level of a word, i.e., intra-sentential code-switching. The current study adopts the Conradie and Niekerk's (2015: 119) definition that perceives CS as "… designate switches between a matrix, or a dominant language, and an embedded language within the same advert" as it aligns with the perspective of the study.

CS studies cut across various dimensions, including sociolinguistics, pragmatics, psycholinguistics, applied linguistics, and structural linguistics (Mugo & Ong'onda, 2017). Within the above-mentioned fields, various types of code-switching are drawn. Blom and Grumperz (1972), as cited in Boztepe (2003: 11), provide two types of code-switching, namely: situational code-switching, in which interlocutors switch between languages in respect to change in circumstances; and metaphorical code-switching, which is subject to the change of topic. Myers-Scotton (1993), as cited in Ndimana-Hlongwa and Ndebele (2017: 240), came up with four types of code-switching: unmarked, marked, sequential, and exploratory code-switching. From a structural linguistic perspective, Poplack (1980) offers three types of code-switching: intersentential code-switching—a switch between sentences which feature multiple languages; intrasentential code-switching—a switch within a sentence; and tag switching, which refers to the switch from one language to another in the tag part of a clause. Basically, different forms of code-switching exist in respect to the dimension (sociolinguistics, structural linguistics, etc.) in which code-switching is examined.

Depending on contexts, code-switching serves numerous communicative requirements. Androutsopoulos (2011) acknowledges that code-switching is applied in greetings and well-wishes. Further, he asserts that interlocutors change language codes to adhere to aspects that can be best explained in one's mother language. Bassiouney (2006) also reports that code-switching is applied for emphatic purposes, change of topic, and to reflect one's identity and power. In Garner-Chloros (2009), numerous communicative functions are additionally offered. Code-switching provides a linguistic opportunity for an individual to manifest his/her group. Switching back and forth from a particular language code to another might provide clues to illustrate one's belongingness. Apart from that, Alhourani (2018) argues that some individuals switch language codes for prestige. In pedagogy, studies report numerous code-switching practices applied by both teachers and students. Speaking to university tutors with regard to the mixture of English (as language of instruction (LOI)), and Swahili in teaching at the University of Dar es Salaam, Shartiely (2016: 224, 225) found that tutors move back and forth between English and Swahili because "… students do not quite follow or understand the subject matter," and thus tutors do so to "facilitate understanding." In that regard, code-switching is perceived as a language resource for promoting comprehension.

In the same vein, other studies illustrate the use of code-switching in advertisements (ads). In fact, they indicate a developing trend of using multiple languages (local and foreign) in advertising (Ahn et al., 2016). According to Thorson and Rodgers (2012: 4),

advertising "… involves mostly professionally designed commercials (TV, video) or advertisements (print or online display advertising)." Apart from promoting goods and services as the primary objective in advertising, ads carry socio-cultural practices that occur in day-to-day activities of a particular community (Frith, 1997). Thus, the applications of code-switching in ads partly reflect the linguistic behaviour and culture of targeted consumers and advertisers. Similar to other communicative circumstances, code-switching in ads accomplish numerous communicative needs. Bishop and Peterson (2010) report that advertisers mix languages in ads to acknowledge the presence of multilingual speakers in their respective communities. The number of multilingual speakers is growing up worldwide to the extent that international brands localize their products linguistically to impress more consumers through the alternation of foreign languages with local ones.

As a marketing technique in advertising, CS is applied to promote products and services purposefully to manipulate the behaviour of a particular group of targeted consumers, and create a sense of belongingness despite the origin of the product (García et al., 2013). The alternation of languages is said to improve advertisers' and customers' relationships (Conradie & Niekerk, 2015). Moreover, the application of multiple languages in ads indicates 'creativity' (Kharkhurik & Wei, 2015: 153). They even argue that it is not always the case that multilingual speakers switch languages, but rather, circumstances might determine its application. Thus, in marketing, CS is not random; but rather, it is a purposeful and creative design used by ad makers to appeal to multilingual consumers.

Apart from purposes, numerous studies have investigated multiple aspects in relation to code-switching and advertising. It seems that international companies dedicate resources to localise their products and services to amaze the locals and improve the value of their sales. In a study to examine how code-switching is applied in a Korean market, Ahn et al. (2016) found out the effects that code-switching imposes on the use of English and Korean. They uncovered that the difficultness of English words to some extent affected the application of code-switching in the English-Korean (EK) pattern, whereas in Korean-English (KE) pattern, the application was more feasible and significant. Products whose ads used the EK pattern had less sales compared to those which used the KE pattern. On their part, Bishop and Peterson (2010) examined the interaction between code-switching and the language medium used in day-to-day interactions by Mexican-American bilinguals, and how such interactions manipulate advertising. Through the application of the MLF model, the researchers realised that in the Spanish-speaking community, the insertion of English words in Spanish ads had positive responses and perceptions by consumers under the pretext that the advertisers respected cultural configurations of the targeted consumers.

Moreover, Conrardie and Niekerk (2015) examined how code-switching in ads promotes relationships between corporate ad makers and targeted consumers. In this study, researchers presumed that consumers have their own social beliefs, wishes and ambitions towards particular brands. In that regard, code-switching in a company's ads might, in one way or another, influence consumers' attitude. They discovered that languages are resources, and they play a vital role in accomplishing advertisers' philosophies; and that the use of code-switching in ads promotes consumers' and advertisers' product

association. In a similar context, García et al. (2013) explored the impacts that code-switching has on Mexican consumers' attitude on advertising. The study found out the vitality for advertisers to adhere to the consumers' culture when deciding on language(s) to use in ads. Further, they noted that in the Mexican community, the insertion of English words in Spanish ads had less significant role in increasing consumers' trust towards the ads. Also, Lin and Wang (2016) investigated the use of code-switching and its effect on consumer affiliation in a monolingual context. The purpose was to learn whether the use of code-switching in ads might promote consumers' attitudes towards local and foreign products. The study uncovered that language alternations in ads in a monolingual context influence consumers' persuasion.

Similar to the aforementioned contexts, multilingual diversities in Tanzania offer opportunities to examine CS practices. The country has two official languages: Swahili (which also is the national language), and English. In addition to that, the country's richness in ethnic community languages (ECLs) presents inevitability of multilingual practices. Apart from English and Swahili being the official languages, the two are used in the education system as well. On the one hand, Swahili is used as the medium of instruction (MOI) in most public primary schools, and it is taught as a subject in secondary schools and in tertiary levels. English, on the other hand, is taught as a subject in public primary schools and used as MOI in secondary schools, and in tertiary levels, where it is taught as a subject too (Swilla, 2009; Bwenge, 2009). Some scholarship on code-switching in Tanzania have surveyed the pedagogical context (Shartiely, 2016), sociolinguistic contexts (Sebonde, 2012), radio broadcasting (Peter, 2016), online discussions (Msovela, 2017), and from town dwellers and migrants in Tanzania (Kanijo, 2017). The present study extends this scholarship from a structural analysis viewpoint. It analyses structural code-switching particularly used in online business-related ads from telecommunication corporations in Tanzania.

2. Theoretical Frameworks: The Matrix Language Frame (MLF) and 4–M Model

In examining the surface structure of mixed language constituents, the matrix language frame (MLF) offers a way through which linguistic structures are analysed. According to Myers-Scotton (2006), the MLF suggests that languages that feature in code-switched constructions are unequally contributing to the construction of a bilingual clause. The logic behind the asymmetrical distribution of morphemes in the bilingual clause is that, on the one hand, one of the participating languages (the matrix language (ML)) offers the structural frame in which the content and system morphemes are laid. On the other hand, the other (participating) language—the embedded language (EL)—supplies the content morphemes only. The morphemes come from both languages asymmetrically.

The MLF contains two principles: the morpheme order principle (MOP), and the system morpheme principle (SMP). According to Myers-Scotton (2006: 244), the MOP stipulates that in a bilingual structure that contains morphemes from the ML and the EL, the structural configuration order will be supplied by the ML. The SMP provides that in a bilingual sentence "… all system morphemes which have grammatical relations external to their head constituents will come from the ML." It is worth to note that the MLF functions in intra-clausal structures only. As aforementioned, the words from a bilingual clause participating in code-switched structures are known as morphemes.

The distribution of morphemes in phrases and clauses are best explained through the 4–M model. The model was conceived by Myers-Scotton and Jake (2009). According to them, the model refines the MLF in respect to the types of morphemes applied in mixed constituents. Specifically, it covers the types and functions of each morpheme. Another study by Myers-Scotton and Jake (2017) offers more simplified explanations of the model. According to the study, the model consists of four morpheme types (the essence of the model name), namely: (1) content morphemes (CM); (2) early system morphemes (early SMs); (3) bridge late system morphemes (bridge SMs); and (4) outsider late system morphemes (outsider SMs).

According to the above-mentioned authors, content morphemes offer semantic and pragmatic expressions. They carry the semantic content of morphemes, and in most cases, this type includes noun and verb categories. Other lexical categories such as prepositions might feature if they assign or receive semantic roles. Early SMs include a number of items such as morphemes that express plurality, definiteness, and other free or bound affixes that might change word categories of morphemes. Bridge late SMs link elements which associate and connect two interrelated parts of a CS clause. They can also be free or attached to other content morphemes for meaningful expression of a content. The outsider late SMs are 'referent markers'. Myers-Scotton and Jake (ibid.) outline the functions of these morphemes, amongst which is to provide reference to something 'outside' the part in which they exist. They ensure subject-verb agreement is adhered in a CS construction. They also mark case in some languages, and help to "… disambiguate by clarifying and specifying" ideas in a clause (ibid: 345). The MLF and its 'sister' (the 4–M model) will provide a framework of analysis in this study. The two models are used to identify the ML and EL in the Swahili-English ads. Further, the models are used to identify the morpheme types and break them down to analyse their properties and functions.

3. Data Collection

This study employed online ads for code-switching analysis. The ads used had been published by telecom corporations in Tanzania. The corporations include: Tigo Tanzania, Airtel Tanzania, Viettel (branded as Halotel), Vodacom Tanzania, TTCL, and Zantel. The above-mentioned companies post ads on Facebook pages to engage their customers. The pages are used to promote products and services, giving out instructions, and collect consumers' suggestions and complaints. Microsoft's Snip & Sketch tool was used to screen-capture the ads. Criterion sampling was employed to sample data specifically related to the objective of the study: ads containing code-switching data. Data coding involved two procedures: word-by-word coding, and line-by-line coding (Charmaz, 2006). The word-by-word approach aided to examine ads and identify intra-word switches, while the line-by-line approach was used to examine the linguistic structures beyond word level, i.e., phrases, and clauses.

4. Ethical Consideration

Cresswell and Cresswell (2018) emphasize on the importance of research ethics. They suggest that a researcher should take into considerations ethical issues prior, during, and in post-data collection. The present article was part of the researcher's PhD study at the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM). Prior to data collection, the researcher requested for research clearance from the Office of the Vice Chancellor (VC), which cleared the

researcher for data collection. Apart from that, the Ubungo, and Ilala Municipal Councils also cleared the researcher for data collection. In addition, the ads used in this study were obtained from public online space. No content manipulation of the ads was done. The focus of the study was grounded on the actual words used in the ads for interpretation in relation to the 4M model, and the MLF model.

5. Code-switching in Ads

Three forms of code-switching observed in the ads are offered in this section: switches within words, phrases, and clauses. The section further offers an analysis of data in respect to the MLF and 4–M models of code-switching. The section is organised in this manner: first, the analysis illustrates the forms of switches; second, the ML and the EL observed in the ads are analysed; and third, morpheme types as related to the 4–M model are analysed.

5.1 Code-switching in Words, Phrases, and Clauses

Code-switching structural configurations take diverse outward appearances. The switch might occur within a clause (intra-sentential), between clauses (inter-sentential), or in tags (Poplack, 1980). It is hypothesised that intra-sentential switch is normally carried out by 'in-group members' who are very much familiar with the languages in play, whereas inter-sentential and tag switches are not preferred by 'non-group members' (ibid: 589–590). In the current study, three forms have been observed as illustrated in Plate 1.



Plate 1: ***Ads: (a) Tigo, (b) Zantel, and (c) Vodacom*** (Photos: August, 2020)

The above ads generally represent three code-switching forms observed in this study. The forms include intra-word switches, switches in phrases, and switches within clauses. From ad **(a)**, we spot the morpheme *wagiftishe* 'gift them'. It merges constituents from Swahili and English. It contains the following: the Swahili prefix *wa-*, the English root morpheme *-gift-* , the Swahili suffix *-ish-*, and the final vowel *–e*. These morphemes will be discussed further in sub-section 5.7. Ad **(b)** illustrates another form of code-switching in phrases. These switches consist of two independent morphemes, one from Swahili; *njema* 'nice', and 'weekend' from English. The switch patterns of the phrases are English-Swahili as in *weekend njema*, and Swahili-English as in *usiku packs*. The higher structural switch occurs within a clause as illustrated in ad **(c)**: *story hazikati ukiwa na Jimwage* 'stories do not fade when you subscribe to *Jimwage*'.

5.2 Swahili as Matrix Language, and English as Embedded Language

As introduced above, the MOP provides that "… in mixed constituents, of at least one EL word, and any number of ML morphemes, the surface order will be that of the ML" (Myers-Scotton, 2006: 244). In the data collected, the linguistic structures illustrate such traits. See the ads below.



Plate 2: ***Ads: (a) Vodacom, (b) Airtel and (c) TTCL*** (Photos: August, 2020)

The ads in Plate (2) contain morphemes from Swahili and English languages. Ad **(a)** reads: *Wajanja tuko online wakati wote* 'We, clever-clogs are online all the time'. Structurally, the Swahili language in ad **(a)** provides the framework in which both languages supply morphemes. Both English and Swahili supply an unequal number of morphemes: Swahili with five, while English supplies only one. Ad **(b)** reads: *Weekend mteremko ukiwa na data zaidi kwa bei ile* 'Nice weekend with more data for the same price'. Swahili again supplies the syntactic structure and six morphemes, whereas English contributes two lexical words, 'weekend' and 'data'. Similarly, ad **(c)** reads: *Changamkia modem za uhakika kwa TZS 50,000/=* 'Get reliable modems for TZS 50,000/='. Similar to ads **(a)** and **(b)**, Swahili supplies both the syntactic structure, and four morphemes; while English provides only one word, 'modem'. From these three ads, we note Swahili's dominancy as the ML in longer syntactic structures (clauses), and English as the EL.

5.3 English as Matrix Language, and Swahili as Embedded Language

In bundle names, advertisers appear to code-mix Swahili and English. In this design, advertisers appear to favour English as the ML, while Swahili becomes the EL. The arrangements of morphemes conform to the English word order despite having Swahili items. The patterns show that Swahili morphemes precede and modify English headwords. The following ads in Plate (3) are illustrative.



Plate 3: ***Ads: (a) Halotel, (b) TTCL, and (c) Zantel.*** (Photos: August, 2020)

At the level of phrases, in bundle names, the ads illustrate a peculiar behaviour. In Plate (3), the three ads illustrate three bundle names. In the first ad (**a**), both languages (Swahili and English) provide one content morpheme each; *usiku* 'night', and 'packs' respectively. In this structure, English is the ML, providing the syntactic structure of morphemes (morpheme order principle), while Swahili is an EL supplying one morpheme *usiku* 'night' – a Swahili noun to modify an English noun 'packs'. In the second ad (**b**), two words, one from each language, are supplied: *watumishi* 'servants', and 'plus'. The syntactic arrangement of the words follow that of English, and the Swahili morpheme *watumishi* modifies the headword 'plus'. In ad **(c)**, the case is the same. The Swahili word *msako* 'search' has been combined with English word 'time', in which English provides the syntactic frame and the morpheme, while Swahili contributes the morpheme only.

5.4 Content Morphemes

As opposed to the functional elements in a language, content words can stand freely and express a thought. These words carry meaning. With regard to the 4–M model, this type of morpheme includes nouns, verbs, and in some languages, other categories such as prepositions are involved (Myers-Scotton & Jake, 2017). Verbs assign semantic roles, while nouns receive the roles. According to Myers-Scotton and Jake (2009), content words carry the interlocutor's goal. In the code-mixed linguistic construction, the participating languages may equally or unequally supply the content words. Let us study the following ads below.





Plate 4: ***Ads: (a) Vodacom, (b) Tigo, (c) Zantel, and (d) Airtel*** (Photos: August, 2020)

In Plate (4), data from the four ads illustrate content morphemes from English and Swahili. In ad **(b)**, the first linguistic structure, with larger sized text *Ni shangwe na story* 'It is joy with story', contains three words from Swahili, two content morphemes and one non-content morpheme. The two are: *ni* – a verb, and *shangwe* – a noun; while *na* is a linking element. English, on the other hand, supplies only one content morpheme, 'story' – a noun. In ad **(a)**, Swahili supplies two content morphemes which are the noun *muziki* 'music', and the preposition *bila* 'without'. English offers two content morphemes as well, an adjective 'online' and a noun 'stress'.

Also, ad **(b)** illustrates an equal distribution of content morphemes between English and Swahili, while in ad **(c)**, the distribution is asymmetrical. In ad **(c)** the imperative clause *Burudika na hotspot popote uendapo* 'Enjoy hotspot wherever you go' further shows the dominance of Swahili in supplying the content morphemes, with four words; whereas English supplies only one, 'hotspot'. However, ad **(d)** is different. It reads: *Airtel Tanzania and DTBI wanakuletea special program to all form VI leavers* 'Airtel Tanzania and DTBI bring to you a special program to all form VI leavers'. With an exception of two names, 'Airtel Tanzania', and 'DTBI', English dominates in this case with a relatively higher number of morphemes, whereas Swahili supplies only one morpheme – *wanakuletea* 'they bring to you'.

5.5 Early System Morphemes

Referring to Myers-Scotton (2006), the system morpheme principle (SMP) maintains that morphemes that fall under this type to accomplish grammatical requirements in code-switched constructions come from the ML. It further states that early SMs in most cases accompany content morphemes. Depending on the language, they may occur independently or dependently, attached to content morphemes (Myers-Scotton & Jake, 2017). The early SMs include plural makers, and derivational affixes. Let us examine the ads below.





Plate 5: ***Ads: (a) & (b) Tigo, and (c) Vodacom*** (Photos: September 2020)

Analysis in this sub-section is based on switches within morphemes. The three ads above illustrate an intra-word switching. In ad **(a)**, we take the morpheme *wagiftishe* 'gift them'. The morpheme is an amalgamation of an English word 'gift', with a Swahili plural marker *wa-*, (3rd person), and a causative suffix '*-ish'* – which converts a noun into the verb category, and a final vowel (FV) '*-e*', which expresses an inherent property of the verb (subjunctive mood). These affixes come from Swahili, the ML in this case, and they are attached to the English content morpheme 'gift'. In ad **(b)**, the word *jismartphonishe* 'get yourself a smartphone' illustrates intra-word mixing. Similar to the first instance, this morpheme merges the English morpheme 'smartphone', with a Swahili reflexive marker *ji-*, indicating that one has to do something for oneself. Again, the word ends with a causative suffix *-ish*, and the FV *'-e'*. In both cases, the content morphemes are supplied by English, while the early SMs come from Swahili. The data in ad **(c)** show a different morphological ending. The morpheme *jimixie* 'mix [something] for yourself' merges a Swahili reflexive marker *ji-*, an English content morpheme 'mix', a Swahili applicative suffix *-i-* (also a derivational suffix), and a final vowel *-e* (for subjunctive mood).

5.6 Bridge Late System Morphemes

Basically, these system morphemes are connectors. They link and indicate relationships between two parts of a large structure, such as phrases and clauses. The connection might occur within or between two clauses. According to Myers-Scotton and Jake (2017), these morphemes can be independent or dependent on other morphemes in respect to a given language. Their presence in syntactic structures accomplishes meaningful interpretations. In the telecom ads published on Facebook, such morphemes are illustrated below.



Plate 6: ***Ads: (a) & (b) Halotel, and (c) Tigo*** (Photos: August, 2020)

Plate (6) exemplifies different linking markers that associate one part of a clause to the next. Ad **(a)** reads: *Facebook bure: iwe ni mteja wa prepaid au post-paid unaweza kufurahia Facebook bure na Halotel* 'Free Facebook: whether you are a pre-paid or post-paid customer, you can enjoy free Facebook with Halotel'. In this mixed constituents clause, analysis is grounded on two English words—'prepaid' and 'post-paid'—coupled with a Swahili bridge *au* 'or'. The bridge *au* connects two important parts of the clause which entails about two kinds of customers. In ad **(b)**, the clause reads: *Furahia Intaneti Yenye Kasi ukiwa na Smartphone ya 4G* 'Enjoy speedy internet with a 4G smartphone'. In this clause, the Swahili associative bridge *ya* 'with/of' (in this context) links one content morpheme, 'smartphone', and '4G' – an abbreviation for Fourth Generation (of internet technology). In ad **(c)**, the clause reads: *lipia tiketi ya kwenda Zanzibar kwa Tigopesa kupitia App ya ZanFast Ferries* 'Pay for a ticket to Zanzibar through *Tigopesa* in *ZanFast* Ferries app'. In this mixed constituent clause, we view the bridge *ya* 'of' from Swahili linking two content morphemes, 'app' and '*ZanFast* ferries'. In these linguistic structures, Swahili offers the bridges, while both languages supply the content morphemes.

5.7 Outsider Late System Morphemes

According to Myers-Scotton and Jake (2017), outsider late system morphemes represent a number of elements, including agreement markers, clitics, clarifiers and specifiers, and case markers. The major role of these morphemes in mixed constituents includes reflecting something/someone beyond the given context. That is to say, their presence in CS structures ensures that nominals and verbs grammatically concur. These morphemes can be free-standing, or attached to other content morphemes, depending on a language. The ads below are illustrative.



Plate 7: ***Ads: (a), (b) and (c) Tigo*** (Photos: August, 2020)

From the above ads, outsider late system morphemes appear in forms of agreement and referent markers. In ad **(a)**, the clause *Kuwa wa kwanza kupre-order na upate zawadi za uzinduzi* 'Be the first to pre-order and get limited launch gifts' contains a mixed morpheme *kupre-order*. The constituent consists of a Swahili infinitive *ku-* 'to' with an English word 'pre-order'.

The infinitive *ku-* appears in agreement with the first word of the clause *kuwa* 'be'. Also, in ad **(b)**, we analyse the mixed clause *Wagiftishe uwapendao na Tecno Y3+ music* 'Gift your loved ones with Tecno Y3+ music'. First, we take a closer look at two words: *wagiftishe* 'gift them', and *uwapendao* 'your loved ones'. *Wagiftishe* consists of the prefix *wa-* which in this case is a plural marker (3rd person). *Uwapendao* contains the prefix *wa-* (3rd person plural: object marker). The prefix *wa-* in *wagiftishe*, and in *uwapendao* conforms to the syntactic agreement between these two mixed morphemes. A similar case is observed in ad **(c)**, which reads: *Wagiftishe na Tecno Y3+ music waburudike* 'Gift them with Tecno Y3+ to get entertained'. The prefix *wa-* in *wagiftishe*, and in *waburudike* ensures structural agreement is observed. Apart from that, the prefix *wa-* in both scenarios represents referents that are external to the given context.

6. Discussion

Swahili, being the lingua franca of Tanzania, brings together more than 50m speakers of different speech communities. In most cases, English is acquired through learning. This scenario entails the supremacy of Swahili in various occasions since the language used in the ads reflects the actual use of languages in day-to-day interactions. Through the MLF, and its 'sister', the 4–M code-switching model, the findings of this study demonstrate the dominance of Swahili in supplying the morpho-syntactic frame and morphemes in clauses. In sub-section 5.2, the clauses in the ads illustrate the use of fewer English morphemes as the embedded language.

However, in a different scenario, in short, language structures, preferably phrases in bundle names (see subsection 5.3); English becomes the ML supplying the structural framework, whereas both languages contribute the morphemes. In designing the ads, the advertisers appear to favour English as the ML in shorter structures such as phrases, while in longer clauses Swahili becomes the ML, although both languages contribute morphemes.

Furthermore, asymmetrical distribution of morphemes in mixed constituents is acknowledged by Myers-Scotton (2006). The asymmetry principle entails that participating languages supply an unequal number of morphemes. The analysis of this study displays almost the same realisation. In subsection 5.4, the clauses used in the ads demonstrate the asymmetry of morphemes in mixed constituent clauses. Swahili offers a relatively higher number of morphemes, while English supplies relatively few morphemes, given that it is the EL. Nonetheless, the circumstance is dissimilar in subsection 5.3 in which English is the EL. The distribution of morphemes in designing bundle names is symmetrical: each language supplies one morpheme. Despite the fact that the structural framework supplied in Plate 3 favours English as the ML, the numerical distribution of morphemes is the same: each language offers one morpheme. Ads designs for labelling packages seem to carry two morphemes; and each language supplies one morpheme as in *usiku packs, watumishi plus, msako time*, etc.

In bridge late system morphemes, the linking elements are often applied to indicate relationships between large structures. From the mixed constituents observed in this study, the bridges come from Swahili as the ML. According to the SMP, bridges include associative markers, conjunctions, and complementisers. In this study, we observe the

kinds of independent bridges supplied in the mixed clauses. The analysis shows that in the ads (see Plate 6), the bridges include the associative marker *ya* 'with/of' as applied in '*smartphone ya 4G*', and the coordinating conjunction *au* in '*iwe mteja wa prepaid au post-paid*'. The Swahili associative element *ya* connects two nouns: *smartphone*, and the short form of 'Fourth Generation' (4G). The coordinating conjunction *au* connects two lexical items too: prepaid and post-paid (customer). This observation is similar to Myers-Scotton and Jake (2017: 345) in Swahili–English data from Kenya, and Moroccan Arabic and French. Thus, in designing the ads, advertisers—as any other multiple language users—conform to the grammatical nature of the mixed forms of languages through the application of grammatical elements from the ML, and the other morphemes such as the content ones from participating languages.

Through the outsider late system morphemes, various grammatical functions are fulfilled. The analysis of this study observed two 'outsiders'—the prefix *ku-* 'to', and the prefix *wa-*—performing multiple functions. These two come from Swahili, and they are both dependent. Observation indicates that these morphemes appear in intra-word switches as illustrated in Plate 7. They are attached to the morphemes *ku-order* and *wa-giftishe*. Basically, these two morphemes, with other words in the mixed clauses, accomplish structural and semantic agreement. For instance, in *wagiftishe uwapendao.....*, and *wagiftishe waburudike*, the outsider late SM *wa-* completes the agreement between the third person plural subject marked by *wa-* in *wagiftishe,* and the third person object marker prefix *-wa-* in *uwapendao* and *wa-* in *waburudike*. Similarly, in the mixed morpheme *ku-order*, the prefix *ku-* seems to grammatically agree with the first morpheme in the clause *kuwa* 'be'. From the two cases, the data from the ads show only one function performed by the outsider-late SMs: agreement function. These findings match with Myers-Scotton and Jake (2017: 346) in Turkish-Dutch, and Hindi-English switches.

7. Conclusion

This study attempted to examine the structural configurations of mixed language constituents sourced from online telecom ads in Tanzania. Through the MLF and the 4–M model of code-switching, the analysis outlines three forms of switches: switches in phrases, clauses, as well as within word boundaries. The analysis further demonstrates the dominance of Swahili in longer constructions—clauses in particular—in which Swahili offers a relatively higher number of content and system morphemes. In naming the packages (phrases in structure), the advertisers favour the English morpho-syntactic framework. In those phrases, English is the ML; supplying the frame and content morphemes. In early-system morphemes, the study has identified three morpheme properties, including plural and reflexive markers, and derivational affixes. These morphemes are all bound to content morphemes. In late system morphemes, two morphemes have been realised in bridges: the associative marker *ya* 'with/of', and the coordinating conjunction *au* 'or'. With the outsider late system morphemes, the study has uncovered two agreement markers: the infinitive *ku-*, and the prefix *wa-*, which performs multiple grammatical functions. Lastly, in early SMs, the prefix *wa-* marks plurality, while in outsider late SMs, it marks agreement. Generally, to some extent, the data illustrated in this paper conforms to the MLF data examined by Myers-Scotton (2006), and Myers-Scotton and Jake (2017) on mixed constituents from various languages.

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