Swahili-English Codeswitching
in Development Communication in Tanzania –
an Obstacle for Participatory Development?

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Introduction

In this paper, I want to discuss examples of codeswitching by Tanzanian development workers that were recorded in the two agricultural programs in Musoma and Zanzibar. Both programs were about developing and implementing "appropriate" and "modern" technology in co-operation with rural communities. In line with contemporary approaches to social development, both were also committed to target group participation in program implementation. In both networks, development workers were involved in communication in various contexts:

- in interaction with target groups on the grass-root (rural) context
- in organizational communication, such as staff meetings (often in urban context)
- in international communication, especially with donors or foreign experts

In the generation and exchange of information between the different social groups, formal meetings played an important role.

The data I refer to was collected during research in two rural development networks in Tanzania in the 1990s. One of them was a program focusing on organic farming (SAP - Sustainable Agriculture Program), jointly implemented by an Austrian NGO and a local Diocese and financed by the Austrian Government. The other program focused on rain-fed rice cultivation (RMP - Rice Mechanization Program)[1], was implemented by the Ministry of Agriculture in Zanzibar and financed by the African Development Bank. In both networks, various kinds of formal meetings were recorded and transliterated for analysis. Additionally, participant observation and qualitative interviews were used to obtain data on language use and organizational structure. Work presented here is part of a larger research on development communication and donor dominance.[2]

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[1] Names and acronyms referring to individuals and programs have been altered to ensure anonymity.

[2] The research on „Language and discourse in donor-driven development" is funded by the Austrian Science Foundation.

Codeswitching – an obstacle in participatory development?

Participation has in the last decade become one of the leading buzzwords in the practice of development co-operation, marking an increased emphasis on the social dimension in program implementation (Hickey and Mohan 2004, Cornwall 2001). The concept itself is used to denote a variety of approaches and objectives. In this inquiry into codeswitching and participation, emphasis is placed on informed decision-making. Access to information, integration into communicative networks as well as having a say in important decisions are preconditions if some control over development programs is to remain with those who will have to bear their consequences. Using a viable language or communicative code is obviously a must in this endeavor.

In Tanzania, the use of Swahili is taken for granted in participatory approaches to social development. As more than 90% of the population speak it as a first or second language (Batibo 2000), Swahili is well-established as a means of communication in rural development work, especially at "grass root" level. English is spoken by less than ten percent of the population (Neke 2003), English is an important resource for development workers: it is required in technical contexts, training and interaction with international co-operation partners. With 'Swahili-language' and 'English-language' domains intersecting in development communication, intensive language contact is part of the routine.

Practical considerations seemingly determine the norms of language use in development networks. Use of Swahili is taken for granted for communication in rural areas. At grass-root level, using English is not a viable option, as target group members are not proficient in the language. In development organization's staff meetings, Swahili including occasional codeswitching to English is the norm. In communication with donors, English is used. At a closer look, it becomes clear that many of the taken-for-granted rules about language use in development networks are a consequence of donor dominance and control. For example, in the SAP programme in Musoma, staff meetings were usually conducted in Swahili, including occasional codeswitching to English. Written records of these meetings were, however, kept in English. This facilitated detailed accountability towards the donor, but precluded a similar openness towards rural target groups. Many more examples could be added: It was usual for target group members and development workers to accommodate the linguistic needs of foreign partners, whether by switching to their preferred language or through providing a translation. The reverse rarely happened: project applications, annual reports and other essential program documents were rarely compiled or translated into a language that would make them accessible to the target group. Likewise, target groups had little say in the way their voices were edited and represented in and beyond the development network.

Generalizing the above examples, one can assume that target groups benefit from the use of Swahili, while they are excluded from contexts where English is used. Foreign donors gain advantages from the use of English, as it gives them access to the respective information. But how about the case for Swahili-English codeswitching, where lexical material from English is embedded in Swahili discourse? Is it just an expression of creative language use in which the dominance of English is widely resisted except for a

few decorative elements one could easily do without? After all, Standard Swahili is widely used in public and official contexts in Tanzania. Or is codeswitching a strategy of exclusion, an expression of status and a factor aggravating hierarchies? Or is codeswitching evidence of a deficiency in individual linguistic competence, prompted by lexical gaps in Swahili that are conveniently filled with English? In view of the present educational system in Tanzania, where Swahili is neglected in higher education, this would not be surprising (Legère 2004). Or how about the myth that it is not possible to communicate technical innovation in Standard Swahili, except if the shortcomings of the language are compensated by an "advanced" language such as English (Neke 2003)? While such interpretations have fortunately been discarded in linguistics since the 1960s, they are still widespread in popular perception. Worse still, they also pervade donor and Western expert circles, whose members are rarely informed of or competent in non-European languages.

Codeswitching is a complex phenomenon that has been the object of sociolinguistic studies from the 1970s onwards. Starting from the realization that codeswitching is an expression of bilingual competence and of speakers' ability to creatively draw on all linguistic resources at their disposal (Gumperz 1982), detailed studies on the meaning and structural properties of codeswitching in a variety of linguistic contexts have been carried out, a number of them in the East African context (Eastman 1992, Blommaert 1999, Myers-Scotton 2002, 1993a, 1993b). Reflecting on the social motivation for codeswitching between Swahili and English, Myers-Scotton argues that educated Kenyans use Swahili-English codeswitching to convey both peer solidarity as well as higher education and expertise. While many of the previous studies researched codeswitching practices in informal situations, the present study has its focus on codeswitching in formal communicative events such as organizational meetings. It draws on some of Myers-Scotton's concepts, such as the notion that codeswitching has different implications whether it is used as a neutral (unmarked) or an unexpected (marked) choice that is possibly regarded as inappropriate by other speakers. In regard to structural aspects of codeswitching, the study also follows Myers-Scotton's approach of not making a principal distinction between single-lexeme and other forms of intra- and intersentential code-switching (Myers-Scotton 1993a; 1993b; 2002).

In order to find out whether Swahili-English codeswitching practices by Tanzanian development workers facilitate grass-root level participation or constitute an obstacle to it, this paper will discuss examples from transliterated conversation in meetings. Specifically, it looks at differences of language use by development workers in staff meetings and in meetings with target groups.

Bilingualism and codeswitching in formal meetings: attitudes and language use

To gain an overview over codeswitching practices in development networks, a first outline of opinions expressed in interviews as well as evidence from recorded conversations was compiled. This overview raised further questions, which guided the analysis of the text examples.

In short, the following statements on attitude and motivation for language choice were made in the interviews: Development workers preferred to use Swahili because everybody could understand it and because it was the expected language in interactions with the rural target groups. The also said that they spoke it better than any other language. Development workers expressed commitment to promoting Swahili as a participatory means of communication in development work. As to the reasons for speaking English, they stated that is was the language of higher learning and of technical knowledge. Moreover, it was indispensable in communicating with foreign colleagues. In both networks, Tanzanian development workers had collaborated with foreign development workers, and both had mentioned that this had made them use English in formal meetings. Some development workers also commented on codeswitching, explicitly stating that they mixed Swahili and English in everyday interaction. Repeatedly, technical terminology was mentioned as a major reason for using English as well as for codeswitching to English. Considering that in target group meetings only Standard Swahili is used, a certain contradiction emerged here: was there no need to discuss technical matters in meetings with the target group?

Regarding the cursory analysis of the recorded conversations, the following initial picture was obtained: Generally, codeswitching was a regular but not too frequent occurrence. By far the largest part of grass-root level meetings and staff meetings were conducted in Standard Swahili. In staff meetings, Swahili was used as the main language of interaction, with Swahili and Swahili-English codeswitching representing unmarked choices. In grass-root level meetings, Swahili was used. Codeswitching to English occasionally occurred but often represented a marked choice: as the majority of target group members did not speak English, codeswitching to this language had to be accounted for, otherwise it was likely to cause offence. The usual pattern of codeswitching in staff meetings was intrasentential codeswitching, where an occasional single-lexeme switch was embedded into an otherwise Swahili matrix text. Intersentential codeswitching, in contrast, was rare, occurring only in two meetings within the whole data sample. The respective two meetings had themselves been exceptional as during the course of these meetings, English had been extensively used by a foreign development worker. In sum, this short outline or attitudes and language use raised the following additional questions:

> ➢ What is the relationship between the use of technical language and code-switching to English?
> ➢ How are technical matters communicated at grass-root level?

> ➢ What is the relationship between the communication with foreign colleagues and codeswitching to English?
> ➢ How do individual speakers adapt to different communicative situations?
> ➢ Which role do language competence and lexical gaps play in codeswitching?

In the following, seven text passages will be discussed in detail to find some answers to these questions. They were selected to illustrate different aspects of language use in target group and staff meetings.

Example 1: Rural development communication as a Swahili domain

Example one is taken from a rural meeting. Although this passage does not include any instances of codeswitching, it is included into the analysis to illustrate the use of technical terms at grass-root level. The text itself is a summary of a group discussion on resources, problems and possible solutions in agricultural work. The results of the discussion were noted down in a protocol, which was then read out at the subsequent meeting. Being part of a written document, the wording is more carefully chosen than in oral spontaneous speech, which would rarely contain such dense listings of abstract and technical concepts.

Mwenyekiti wa kikundi:[3] […] baada ya maswali hayo wajumbe walianza kujadili kila swali na kutoa majibu yake xx na kutoa majibu ya kila swali / kuhusu nyenzo wajumbe walisema kwamba / nyenzo walizonazo ni kama ifuatavyo / maji, mashamba ya kutosha, watu, virutubisho, mashamba mapya, pembejeo, mbegu / xxx / utaalamu, juhudi, ushirikiano / baada ya kumaliza hilo waliingia katika swali la pili / katika swali hili wajumbe walianza kutoa matatizo yanayowakabili ili kupata jibu hatua zipi zichukuliwe / walisema matatizo hayo ni kama yafuatavyo• / ukame, wanyama waharibifu, ukosefu wa nyenzo rahisi za umwagiliaji, ugonjwa katika mimea, mashamba yaliyochoka, ukosefu wa virutubisho, wizi wajumbe walisema kwamba• hayo ndiyo matatizo yanayowakabili / kwa hali hiyo — /	**Chairman of the group:** […] after these questions the delegates started discussing each question and giving its answers xx and giving answers to each question / concerning the resources the delegates said that / the resources they have are as follows: water, enough farmland, people, fertilizers, new fields, agricultural supplies, seed / xxx / expertise, zeal, co-operation / After finishing this one they entered the second question / in this question the delegates started to give the problems they face in order to get the answers as to which steps should be taken / they said that the problems are as follows / drought, pests, lack of cheap implements for irrigation, plant diseases, depleted soil, lack of fertilizers, theft / the delegates said that these are indeed the problems they face / because of this - / because of this the steps

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[3] In the left column, the transliteration of the original taped material is given; the right column contains an English translation.

kwa hali hiyo waliona kwamba hatua za kuchukuliwa ni hizi• / kilimo cha umwagiliaji kwa kutumia nyenzo rahisi, ushirikiano katika — xxx, ushirikiano — kupambana na wanyama waharibifu, utumiaji wa utaalamu katika kilimo hasa kupambana na magonjwa yanayoshambulia mimea, kama vile kupumzisha ardhi, kubadilisha mazao, kuchanganya mazao, +++ kilimo cha mseto, utumiaji wa mboji, kilimo cha matuta, uchaguzi mzuri wa mbegu bora zinazostahimili ukame na za muda mfupi. M4-SAP:1	to be taken are as follows / irrigation farming with cheap implements, co-operation in xxx / co-operation – fighting pests, using expertise in farming especially in fighting plant diseases, such as letting land lie fallow, mixing crops, +++ mixed farming, use of compost, contour farming, fine selection of excellent seed that is drought-resistant as well as fast-growing [varieties].

Most of the technical terms occurring in this passage are nouns that represent one of the multiple patterns of coining, derivation, semantic extension or borrowing typical for lexical formation in Swahili: **"Nyenzo"** originally denotes "raw materials"; its meaning in contemporary usage is extended to "resources" and "means of production". "Pembejeo" (agricultural supplies) is a specific coining. Derivations such as "virutubisho" (nutrients/fertilizers) [abstract noun derived from "rutuba" (fertility) and verb "rutubisha" (apply nutrients) with causative verbal extension plus class 8 prefix] are particularly common, another example being "umwagiliaji" (irrigation) [abstract noun derived from verb "–mwagilia" with class 11 prefix]. Another frequently used pattern is the connective form: "Kilimo cha mseto" (mixed farming) [connective; noun kilimo derived from "–lima" (dig) and prefix class 7, noun "mseto" derived from verb "–seta" (mash) and prefix class 3], "kilimo cha matuta" (contour farming) [connective; noun "tuta" indicating a raised bed for planting, the meaning in agricultural contexts is extended to contour farming] illustrate that technical terms for agriculture are widely available and in use. Some terms are realized as relative clauses, for example "mbegu bora zinazostahimili ukame" (quality drought- resistant seed) "mashamba yaliyochoka" (depleted soil) or "magonjwa yanayoshambulia mimea" (diseases that affect plants / plant diseases). "Ugonjwa katika mimea" (diseases in plants / plant diseases) is an alternative to the latter term.

"Utaalamu" is a borrowing from Arabic, integrated into noun class 11, denoting an abstract. Some of the paraphrases used here obviously originate in the intention to use simple wording for effective communication. Understandable language is as much a product of common effort as the results of the discussion it is used to convey.

This first example illustrates that technical discussion in standard Swahili is an everyday occurrence in target group meetings: Both development workers and members of the target group discuss technical issues in Swahili.

Table 1: Analysis of Swahili technical terms in Example 1

Swahili technical terminology		
nyenzo (resources)	semantic extension "raw materials" -> "resources, inputs"	
virutubisho (fertilizer)	derivation "rutuba" (9/10) -> v. "rutubisha" (causative) -> noun class 8	
pembejeo (agricultural supplies)	specific coining	
utaalamu (expertise)	borrowing of Arabic origin -> Integration into noun class 11 to denote an abstract concept	
umwagiliaji (irrigation)	derivation from verb "–mwagilia" -> integration into noun class 11	
kilimo cha mseto (mixed farming)	connective; noun "kilimo" derived from "–lima" (dig) and prefix of noun class 7, noun "mseto" derived from verb "–seta" (mash) and prefix of noun class 3	
kilimo cha matuta (contour farming)	connective; noun "tuta" indicating a raised bed for planting, the meaning is extended to contour farming	
mbegu bora zinazostahimili ukame (quality drought-resistant seed)		relative clause
mashamba yaliyochoka (depleted soil)		relative clause
magonjwa yanayoshambulia mimea (plant deseases)		relative clause

Example 2: Negotiating language use and activities for the week

The second example is from a SAP staff meeting. The focus of conversation is on formalities of the program director's working contract. The linguistic pattern in this meeting can be summed up as "usually mostly Swahili, but this time with an unusually large share of English". In particular, this meeting was exceptional, as one of the participants, an Austrian development worker, used English in large parts of the meeting. The other team members responded either in English, Swahili, or, as in the example quoted, by intersentential code-switching between the two languages.

Mkurugenzi wa mradi[4]: ya / they will do it this week / nijaribu kumuuliza M. **if he has a chance this week** kati ya Alhamisi na Ijumaa **at least to report also this** / *(kimya)* / sababu mimi kwa kweli **I feel I need to go to Dar es Salaam because•** **last week** nilikutana na mtu wa S. / ananiambia / inaweza ikanipata mimi / **its two month they**	**Program director:[5]** *ya / they will do it this week* / I should try to ask M. *if he has a chance this week* between Thursday and Friday *at least to report also this / (silence)* / because me seriously *I feel I need to go to Dar es Salaam because / last week* I met a person from S*.* / he told me / it can get me / *its two month they don't know whether I am working here or I am where / because I*

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[4] Passages codeswitched to English are printed bold

[5] Passages that are in English in the original are printed in italics

don't know whether I am working here or I am where / **because I don't have a permission of** serikali / **so I am not happy to work** / xx / sifurahi: kufanya kazi / **I need to go.** **Mshauri kilimo:** so / unapendekeza nini? / **but it depends when you want to go** / **when I know that you want to go on a certain day** / sawa / **then tell me** +++ M8-SAP:31	*don't have a permission of* the government / *so I am not happy to work* / *xx* / I am not happy at work / *I need to go.* **Agricultural advisor** *so* / what do you suggest / *but it depends when you want to go* / *when I know that you want to go on a certain day* / OK / *then tell me* +++

It is very clear that in this example, codeswitching is not in any way motivated by considerations of an adequate technical terminology. Codeswitching at the level of the clause, as mentioned in the introduction, is a rare occurrence in the whole data sample. In the example here it is used in response to a contribution by the foreign development worker that was entirely in English. The speaker uses intersentential codeswitching here to negotiate language use: by shifting freely between Swahili and English at the clause level, he signals that he has no problem to continue the conversation in English; at the same time, he also invites his conversational partner to shift back to Swahili. Codeswitching often has echoic aspects, and code choices that find the acceptance of other participants are mirrored. Intersentential codeswitching is an expression of professional in-group identity – neither target group members nor donors have a good enough command of both languages to participate in this free shifting between languages. Individual switches may also serve the function of emphasis, the occasional repetition further emphasising the importance given to an assertion, for example as in "I am not happy to work / xx / sifurahi: kufanya kazi".

Table 2 Overview Swahili-English codeswitching in Example 2

Swahili-English Codeswitching	
they will do it this week	intersentential
if he has a chance this week	intersentential
I feel I need to go to Dar	intersentential
because last week *nilikutana na mtu wa S.*	intersentential + intrasentential
because I don't have a permission of *serikali*	intersentential + intrasentential
etc.	

Example 3: Personal style, technical terms and development jargon

The next example is from a weekly staff meeting in the RMP in Zanzibar. The conversation is about planning activities within the program: testing ploughs for the preparation of land for rice cultivation. The manager of the project has a habit of

frequently switching to English for single lexemes. The following example, which contains an English expression about every other line, is typical for his language use in team meetings.

Meneja mradi: Ni sahihi / hilo wazo zuri / hasa Mferejini kule / zile **plot** ndogondogo / ni vizuri kidogo kuendelea na hizi **trial** / ni **testing** tu ya majembe / nafikiri bora kufanya hivyo / nani Z. kuliko kuendelea na kupanda / kitu muhimu zaidi ni kujua / ni kupata taarifa kuhusu uzuri wa jembe katika kutenda ile kazi yenyewe / tusiende katika suala la kupanda na kuna mambo ambayo huko hii **team** iliyopo haiwezi kufanya lolote zaidi / kwahiyo twende hapa hapa kwenye mambo yetu ya ku**test** jembe, wakati, xxx nini **time,** pengine hata wakati wa kulima una umuhimu wake kwa upande wa jembe / ukiangalia **moisture content** ya ardhi yenyewe kwa nyakati tofauti inawezekana kuna tofauti Nakusudia kusema kwamba / bora tuendelee na hii **testing** kama tulivyoiandaa mwanzo, tusiende kwenye kupanda / jengine, kulikuwa na mambo matatu muhimu hapa / habari ya mbegu hasa kwa Pemba, haya mawasiliano na bara bora tuyafanye mapema mapema, kwa sababu kama tutafanikiwa kupata mbegu basi, kwa ajili ya Pemba ni **source** hiyo tu, kwa sababu hawa jamaa wanavuna kuanzia **August,** sasa hatujui utaratibu wao na upi wa kuuza lakini, kwa kuwa tushawasiliana mwanzo, kwamba tutakuwa na haja kubwa ya mbegu huenda pengine wakakubali kutupatia **between August September**, kwa Pemba itakuwa hatujachelewa / kidogo *at least* tutawahi. M21 RMP:8	**Program meneja:** This is correct / that is a good idea / especially there in Mferejini / these rather small *plots* / it is good to continue these *trials* / it is just *testing* the ploughs / I think it is best to do that / who Z. instead of continuing to plant / it is more important to know / to get information concerning the quality of the plough in doing the job itself / we should not go into the issue of planting while there are things that this *team* there can do nothing much about / so lets go right here into our affairs of *test*ing ploughs / the time xxx what, *time*, maybe even the time (timing) of digging is of importance for the plough / if you look at the *moisture content* of the soil at different times it can be different. I mean to say that it is best to continue with this *testing* of ploughs / lets not go into planting / otherwise, there were three important things here / the issue of seeds especially for Pemba / it is better to have this communication with the mainland rather early / because if we manage to obtain seed / for Pemba there is only this source / because these people harvest starting from *August*, now we don't know their plan and which one to sell / but because we have already communicated in the beginning / that we will require large amounts of seeds / maybe its possible that they will agree to provide us *between August September* / for Pemba we will not be late / somehow, *at least*, we will be in time.

In this passage, Swahili is the dominant "Matrix" language into which English terms are embedded. Many of the switches concern technical terms, for instance in our example the expression "moisture content". As mentioned before, the use of English originates in the fact that most technical literature or training on the subject is in English. English

terms are available as alternative expressions – and their knowledge is shared by all participants present. Looking closer at these terms, for example *plot, trial, testing, team, time, source,* it becomes clear that for most of these words Swahili equivalents are in everyday use. Consequently, considerations of style are more important here than the need to fill lexical gaps. In the passage where the speaker actually pauses to search for an English word, this does not concern a technical term but the everyday notion of "time": "wakati, xxx nini time, pengine hata wakati wa kulima una umuhimu .... " (time, what, time, maybe even the time of digging is important …). The repetition of the term in English merely serves to highlight this aspect as important; neither the use of an English term, nor its repetition in Swahili, are caused by a lexical gap or an individual lack in linguistic competence.

The names of the months like August and September are established borrowings in Swahili; however, while they are usually phonologically adapted to Swahili (and orthographically represented as Agosti, Septemba) in the example here they are pronounced according to the phonological rules of English. As there is a tendency of educated bilinguals to pronounce "loans as close to the original as possible", the issue of whether these two words constitute a borrowing or a switch remains open (Myers-Scotton 1992:31).

The last of the embedded switches is the discourse marker "at least". Because of their importance in structuring discourse, discourse markers are frequently code-switched or borrowed in language contact situations (Myers-Scotton 1992:36). In our example, "at least" is an instance of code-switching that re-occurs only twice in the rest of the text.

To sum up the analysis of this passage, codeswitching cannot be accounted for by the need to use technical terms. Rather, expression of emphasis and professional status emerge as the main motivation for codeswitching.

Table 3: Overview over Swahili-English codeswitching in Example 3

Swahili-English intrasentential codeswitching	
plot	single lexeme, noun
trial	single lexeme, noun, occurring twice
testing	single lexeme, noun
team	single lexeme, noun
*ku*test	single lexeme, verb, morphological integration
time	single lexeme, noun
moisture content	compound noun
source	single lexeme, noun
August, September	nominal phrase, borrowing; English pronounciation
at least	discourse particle

Example 4: Rendering technical information

In the next example, the Development Director of the Diocese of Musoma reports about an official journey he undertook to visit an NGO active in water development in Western Kenya. In the passage quoted here, the speaker accounts for the visit and provides information about the NGO's work. In this situation, he frequently switches to English, while during the rest of the meeting, he mostly uses Standard Swahili.

Mkurugenzi wa maendeleo: Tuliondoka hapa tarehe tatu kwenda Kenya kwenda kuangalia kazi wanayofanya watu wa KWAHO / ambayo yanahusu mpango wa maji **provision of water** halafu kuna mambo ya **health and sanitation** halafu kuna **community organization mobilization** na **income generating activities** ndizo wanazozifanya watu wa KWAHO. Kwa hiyo tuliondoka hapa tarehe tatu kwa matumaini kwamba tungefika Kisumu tarehe tatu lakini hatukuweza kwa hiyo tulilala Kisiyu, kesho yake asubuhi sana tukaondoka tukafika Kisumu, kufika Kisumu tukaonana na watu pale ofisini wakatupeleka kwenye **site** ya **project** ambayo iko Maseno / na ndiko tulikuwa **based** kabisa huko Maseno. Sasa kule kama nilivyosema mwanzoni / hao watu wa KWAHO wanashughulika na mambo ya maji, afya na kuhamasisha watu na kuona kama wanaweza kuwa na **some activities** ambazo zinaweza kuwasaidia / kwa hiyo kitu wanachoshughulika na maji / ni ile **provision of water** / katika **provision of water** wana **programs** kama tatu / moja ni hii ya visima **shallow wells** ambazo hizi ee **shallow wells** ziko za aina mbili / moja wanachimba kwa kutumia **rig**[6] / halafu nyingine wanachimba kama ile mnayochimba Etaro na kuweka zile **rigs /** halafu wakishafanya hiyo wanaweka pampu ya mkono **hand pump** hiyo ni moja / halafu nyingine ni wao wanaita **spring protection /** kwa hiyo kunakuwa chemchem ambayo inakuweko **natural, natural springs**	**Development director:** We left here on the third going to Kenya going to look at the work the KWAHO people are doing / which concern the plan for water / *provision of water* / then there is the issue of *health and sanitation* and then there is the issue of *community organization mobilization* and *income generating activities* / these are the things the KWAHO people are doing / So we left on the third hoping that we would reach Kisumu on the third but we could not so we slept in Kisuyu / the next morning very early we left and arrived in Kisumu / arriving in Kisumu we met the people in the office and they took us to the *project site* which is in Maseno / and that is where we were *based* altogether in Maseno / now there as I said in the beginning / these people from KWAHO deal with issues of water, health and mobilizing people and seeing whether they can have *some activities* that can help them / so what they deal with in water / is the *provision of water* / in the *provision of water* they have about three *programs* / one is this with wells, with *shallow wells* of which there are two types / one is dug using a *rig* / and the other one is dug like the one you do in Etaro with putting these *rigs* / and when they have done this / they put a hand pump, *hand pump*, this is one / then there is something else they call spring protection / so there are natural springs, natural springs so what they do is that they go into

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[6] drill rig = Bohrständer, cf http://www.kwaho.org/technology.html

sasa wanachofanya ni kwamba wanakwenda kwenye **catchment** ya ile spring / wanajenga **concrete** kuweza a(nga)lau kuhakikisha kwamba maji yote yanakuwa **drawn** kwenye eneo moja si kwenda kwengine / **and then** hapa ambapo yanatokea hapa wanachimba kitu kama kisima hivi **and then** wanajenga halafu na ku**seal** juu, halafu wanaweka bomba, ambayo ile bomba inatoa maji kwa hiyo maji haya hawezi kuwa **contaminated** kwa sababu iko **sealed** kabisa / sasa wanachota maji kutokea kwenye bomba na ile bomba iko **open** kusudi maji yaendelee ku**flow**. M14-SAP:9	the catchment area of the spring / they build with *concrete* so as to make sure that all the water is *drawn* into one site and not going elsewhere / *and then* there where it comes out they build a well, *and then* they build and *seal* the top, and then they put a pipe / and this pipe gives water / and this water can not be *contaminated* because it is completely *sealed* / so they draw water from the pipe and the pipe is *open* so that the water may continue to *flow* /

There are several factors that contribute to the frequent occurrence of codeswitching here. First, this is an account of a trip to western Kenya, where English rather than Swahili is used in both formal and informal contexts, and codeswitching to English is a widespread pattern even in rural contexts. This broad overall linguistic context provides a first factor facilitating codeswitching to that language. Secondly, and more importantly, the technical details reproduced in this passage were originally presented by KWAHO staff in English. As a result, the relevant technical terms readily come to mind in English and while an equivalent Swahili terminology would have to be researched on first. Third, switching to English as well as using borrowings to discuss technical details conveys professional status on the speaker.

Taking a closer look at the words appearing in English in the text, some of it may be summarized as 'development jargon', such as the words appearing in the initial sentences: *provision of water, health and sanitation, community organization, mobilization, income generating activities, site* ya *project*, *based, some activities, programs*. All these terms occur frequently in texts pertaining to development programs such as proposals or reports. Then, there are the more specific technical terms, all of them nouns, referring to concepts or items relevant to the water technology used by KWAHO: *shallow wells*, *rig, hand pump, spring protection, natural springs*, *catchment, concrete*. There is a third group of words, comprising mostly verbs and adjectives, which refers to processes related to the use of technology in water programs. This group includes everyday notions for which Swahili words are widely in use: *drawn, seal*, *contaminated, sealed, open, flow*. Finally, with *"and then",* there is also an English discourse marker which is used twice in the short passage.

Codeswitching to English in the whole passage includes both rare technical as well as everyday familiar terms. It may be interesting to consider context and processes here: "training and information" acquired in English is reproduced in Swahili with codeswitching to English. While ignorance of some technical terms is the reason for some of the codeswitching, many more English words than "necessary" by this criterion appear in the text. Many of the English terms used are accompanied by adjacent Swahili equivalents:

health / afya, kuhamasisha / mobilization, spring / chemchem, hand pump /pampu ya mkono. Most of the instances of switches concern single or compound lexemes; only few of them are integrated into Swahili morphology. Some English nouns are joined by connective, such as "*site* ya *program*", or "*catchment* ya ile *spring*", some verbs take an infinitive prefix ku- such as "ku*seal*" and "ku*flow*".

While the program director does not usually engage into such frequent codeswitching in representative board meetings, frequent switches can be considered a neutral choice in reporting activities. Codeswitching in this example serves the function of emphasizing important aspects of the message, of conveying linguistic and technical competence, of constructing authenticity in reporting. It is also motivated by greater familiarity with some of the English rather than the Swahili terminology.

It seems that the necessity to switch because of terminological requirements at some points "engenders" even more switches into English. For instance, when explaining about spring protection, the development director uses the Swahili term "chemchem" (spring) alongside with the English term "spring", but subsequently refrains from using the Swahili term with the English adjective "natural" or the noun "catchment": "kwa hiyo kunakuwa chemchem ambayo inakuweko *natural, natural springs* sasa wanachofanya ni kwamba wanakwenda kwenye *catchment* ya ile *spring*"

Table 4 Overview over Swahili-English codeswitching in Example 4

Swahili-English intrasentential codeswitching	
provision of water	compound noun
mambo ya health and sanitation	nominal phrase, morphological integration into Swahili
community organisation, mobilisation	nominal phrase, compound noun
income generating activities	compound noun
site ya project	compound noun, morphological integration into Swahili
based	adjective
some activities	nominal phrase
provision of water	compound noun
programs	single lexeme
shallow well	compound noun
rig	single lexeme
hand pump	compound noun
spring protection	compound noun
natural springs	single lexeme, compound noun
catchment	single lexeme, noun
concrete	single lexeme, noun
drawn	single lexeme, verb
and then	single lexeme, discourse particle
*ku*seal	single lexeme, verb, morphological integration

Example 5: Rural contexts - mitigating codeswitches by translation

The following examples illustrate development workers' language use in meetings with members of the target group. In this context, the anticipated choice is to use Standard Swahili. Development workers by and large conform to this expectation. When working in a rural area, they consciously avoid code-switching from Swahili to English, as target group members have none or only a very limited knowledge of this language. For most cases, development workers have no problem in adapting to their linguistic environment and replacing potential instances of codeswitching with Swahili terms. Yet, a few instances of switches still occur. Such switches violate expected norms of language use. They are therefore often accompanied by mitigating elements, such as an apology, explanation or translation, so as not to cause offence.

The topic of discussion in this example is the course on nutrition including a practical session on cooking. The setting is a meeting with the women's group in the village.

| **Mshauri akina mama:** sasa tutakuwa tunajifunza hayo tu kila mara mpaka mwezi uishe / xxx / au tutakuwa - / na katika hii kozi ya afya na lishe / kwa sababu baadaye tutakuwa na kufanya *kwa vitendo* / tutakuwa tunafanya ***practical***, *kwa vitendo* / eeh / sasa / labda tungeangalia vitu ambavyo tutavihitaji wakati huo wa kufanya *kwa vitendo* / ili tu⸺ kusudi tutakaposema tutakuwa na hii afya na lishe tutakuwa tunahitaji vitu gani gani / vikapate kununuliwa kufuatana na malengo / xx / lazima tutahitaji sufuria.
 M01-SAP:9 | **Advisor of the women's group:** now we will just be learning this every time until the end of the month / xxx / or we will be - / and in this course about health and nutrition / because later we will be and doing it in practise / we will do a practical, in practise (kursiv?) / eeh / now / maybe we should look at the things we need at the time we do the practical / so that in order when we will be saying / we will be with this health and nutrition / what are the things that we will need / they should be available and bought according to the objectives / xx / at least we will need a cooking pot. |

Table 5 Overview over codeswitching and technical terminology in Example 5

Swahili-English intrasentential codeswitching	
practical	single lexeme, noun; specification
Swahili technical terminology	
kwa vitendo	adverb

The advisor of the women's group introduces the idea of having a practical as part of the nutrition course by using the Swahili concept "kwa vitendo". Then, in the next clause, she adds the English expression "practical", and immediately again adds the Swahili equivalent to explain the concept to those who do not understand the English word: "Sasa tutakuwa tunafanya practical, kwa vitendo /" (we will also be doing it practical, in practice) This translation is important both for comprehension as well as in a symbolic sense: using an

English term may be seen to create a social distance or even affront the audience. In the course of the meeting, she uses the Swahili term "kwa vitendo" more than ten times, adding the English term "practical" only twice altogether.

For comparison, one could consider the example below, taken from a staff meeting that took place two days later. While discussing the same topic in a staff meeting, the advisor of the women's group again switches to the English term "practical" in a Swahili-language discussion; but in interaction with other Swahili-English bilingual development workers, she does not bother to provide a Swahili equivalent.

| **Mkurugenzi wa mradi:** umepangaje?

 Mshauri akina mama: ni: / tuna mipango miwili ya kuendelea na haya mafunzo tu / halafu pia tuliona kwamba ni — / kwa sababu ya haya mafunzo itafikia siku tutafanya ***practical*** / sasa niliwauliza sasa tutakapofanya ***practical*** / kitu kama mboga hivi / tutaenda kununua mjini wakati sisi tunaweza tukalima?
 M02-SAP:11 | **Program director:** how did you plan it?

 Advisor of the women's group: it is / we have to plans of just continuing with this training / and then we also thought that it is - / because of these training there will come a day where we will do a *practical* / so I asked them when we do the *practical* / things like vegetables and the like / will we go to buy them in town while we can cultivate them? |

Throughout this staff meeting, the advisor of the women's group switches to the word "practical" four times without using the Swahili equivalent "kwa vitendo". The comparison shows that on the one hand, codeswitching practices are carefully adapted to suit the respective communicative context; on the other hand, it also shows that in rare cases, single lexeme codeswitching, paired by Swahili equivalents, may still be transferred to contexts where they are considered inappropriate.

This practise leaves target group members with ambivalent feelings. It gives them an opportunity to become familiar with English terms development workers consider important in everyday activities. The pattern of repeating core terms in two languages is very much used in bilingual teaching and learning contexts, where content is taught along with terminology and language. Such codeswitching practices are, of course, inappropriate for a context where the teaching of English is not at stake. They leave the listeners with the disturbing impression that Standard Swahili, the language they know, is somehow deficient for communicating development. The fact that development workers are in many ways regarded as role models merely adds to the problem here.

Example 6: Lost for words: the dominance of English in teaching and learning contexts

The following example illustrates the difficulties that development workers may face when they try to implement knowledge acquired in the English-medium education system into an everyday rural context. In a training session on sewing, the advisor of the women's group is suddenly lost for words when she starts to explain the parts of the sewing machine in Swahili. While she generally describes her own competence in English in rather modest terms, "Nafahamu Kiswahili halafu nafahamu Kingereza kidogo" (I understand Swahili and then I understand a little English), during the training session she finds out that in this domain, it is her knowledge of Swahili rather than English that is limited. As she explains later in the session, like most of her education, she has had her instruction on sewing in English.

The excerpts discussed here are taken from a training session that is conducted by the advisor of the women's group for the women in the target group. She begins by showing the machine and its use, explaining the different parts and their names in Swahili. One of the group members, Salome, has gone to get her notebook. When she comes back, the advisor repeats the main parts of the machine:

Mshauri akina mama: Salome, nimeanza, nimesema ina sehemu kuu nne.	**Advisor of the women's group:** Salome, I have started, I said that it has four main parts.
Salome: Sawa.	**Salome**: OK.
Mshauri akina mama: Hapa ni mkono, hapa niliposhika hapa ni mkono, hapa ni kichwa, hapa ni shingo, hapa ni bamba.	**Advisor of the women's group:** This here is the arm, this here where I am holding it is the arm, here is the head, this is the neck, and this is the table.
M15- SAP:4	

While some group members take notes, the adviser of the women's group goes on with explaining the hand wheel. Generalizing her own experience, she claims that often, English terms rather than Swahili ones are used for the machine parts. "mara nyingi wanapenda kutumia Kiingereza" (many times, they like to use English).

Mshauri akina mama: nini hii gurudumu dogo, gurudumu dogo / katika mashine gurudumu dogo linasaidia - / kuna majina mengi - sasa nikitumia Kiswahili / mara nyingi wanapenda kutumia Kiingereza / lakini ni gurudumu dogo	**Advisor of the women's group:** this is what, the hand wheel, the hand wheel / on the machine the hand wheel serves to - / there are many names - now if I use Kiswahili / but many times, they like to use English / but this is the hand wheel /
Veronika: Na Kiingereza ?	**Veronika:** and English?
Mshauri akina mama: Kwa Kiingereza linaitwa ni **hand wheel /**	**Advisor of the women's group:** In English it is called *hand wheel* /
Wote: hand wheel (kucheka)	**All:** *hand wheel* (laughter)
M15- SAP:4	

Prompted by the advisor's last remark, one of the group members asks for the English term. The advisor tells them and the group members repeat it amongst laughter. While the new term is of little practical value to group members, they nevertheless use the opportunity to participate in this learning experience initiated by a member who knows some English.

The advisor then goes on to explain further parts of the machine. Discussing the stitch regulator, the spool pin and the bobbin, she finds that she is unable to name these parts in Swahili[7]. Struggling to make herself understood, she tries to illustrate and explain.

Mshauri akina mama: hapa, hapa ni sehemu ya xx / wakati unaposhona kama unataka vionekane vi-**stitch** vidogo vidogo ndiyo unarekebisha hapa hivi unaweka hapa / M15- SAP:4	**Advisor of the women's group:** here, here there is a part of xx / when you are sewing if you want very small *stitches* to appear then you adjust it here and you put it here /

Describing the stitch regulators function in Swahili, she uses of the term "stitch" in English, integrating it into Swahili morphology with a prefix from noun class 8 signifying smallness and plural. While she explains "regulator" adequately with the Swahili verb "rekebisha" (correct, regulate), the use of the term "stitch" makes the explanation incomprehensible for most of her audience. She then tries to come up with an equivalent of "stitch regulator" in Swahili; this only results in a long pause: "sasa inaitwa ni xxx" (now this is called xxx) and a switch to English "kwa Kiingereza (anacheka) stitch regulator, stitch regulator" (in English <laughing> its stitch regulator, stitch regulator /) She then continues to introduce a Swahili term (mabandi) [8] for "stitches" for further explanation "inarekebisha maba:::, kwa Kiswahili ni maba::::::ndi" (it regulates the sti:::, in Swahili it is sti::::tches), at the same time again showing the respective item. One of the group members who was busy writing tries to see it and the advisor repeats "inarekebisha mabandi" (it regulates the stitches).

Mshauri akina mama: sasa inaitwa ni xxx (wengine wanacheka) / kwa Kiingereza (anacheka) **stitch regulator, stitch regulator** / inarekebisha maba:::, kwa Kiswahili ni maba::::::ndi / **Salome:** mbele hapo **Mshauri akina mama:** inarekebisha mabandi **Salome:** Inaitwaje ? **Advisor of the women's group:** Ee Kwa Kiingereza ni stitch regulator. Lakini kwa	**Advisor of the women's group:** now this is called xxx (the others laugh) / in English (she laughs) stitch regulator, it adjusts the sti:::::tches, in Swahili it is sti::::tches/ **Salome:** in front here **Advisor of the women's group:** it adjusts stitches **Salome:** what is it called? **Advisor of the women's group:** Well in English it's stitch regulator. But in Swahili

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[7] stitch regulator [Hebel zum Einstellen der Stichlänge]; spool pin [Garnspulenhalter]; bobbin [Unterfadenspule]
[8] TUKI 2001 renders "bandi" with "baste" or "tack" and "piga bandi" with to "baste" or "tack" [Heftstich]. TUKI 1981 renders "bandi" with "mshono wa mkono ambao ni wa kushikiza tu = hand-made stitch for basting/tacking only [heften]

Kiswahili ni nini, ni nini xxx kifaa kinachorekebisha mabandi, mabandi / ukubwa wa mabandi au udogo wa mabandi / M15- SAP:4	it's what, it's an instrument to adjust the stitches, the stitches / the length or shortness of the stitches /

When one of the group members asks for a repetition to take notes, the advisor finally comes up with an explanatory paraphrase in Swahili "kifaa kinachorekebisha mabandi" (instrument regulating stitch length). Her inability to name an equivalent in Swahili renders her visibly nervous. The group members take it with irony: ignorance on the part of the teacher comes as a relief to the learner struggling to grasp new information. After all, it may be possible to use the machine without remembering detailed names for all its parts.

The advisor however continues to strain herself with the new items coming up, remaining very concerned about providing adequate terms or at least explanations in Swahili. In the next example, she shows how to place the thread on the machine. While searching for a Swahili paraphrase for the spool pin[9], she again first switches to an English word in the explanation: "Kifaa cha ku*direct"*, then trying Swahili "kuonyesha" (showing) and finally arriving at the term "ongoza" (lead, direct). One of the group members is obviously irritated by this word search, understanding "kinaunguza" (it burns) instead of "kinaongoza" (it directs), but this misunderstanding is easily clarified. She then gives the English term "hii inaitwa nini kwa Kiingereza inaitwa ni spool pins" (it is called what / in English it is called spool pins), then searches for a Swahili alternative: "Kiswahili chake / ni kama ka xx, kau xxx pin kadogo" Prefixing ka-, a noun class not existing in Standard Swahili but in many other Bantu languages and colloquial Swahili, she indicates a small item, hesitates, repeats and then just fills in the English term "pin". As "ka-" is mainly used pejoratively in colloquial Swahili, using "ka-" to indicatie smallness is an interference form other Bantu languages.

Realizing that her explanation is not very precise, the advisor resigns to an apology, saying that she had her instruction on sewing machines in English and therefore is not familiar with the Swahili terms. But it is important for her to point out that the Swahili terminology definitely exists, and that she will find out and provide them: "Kipo Kiswahili chake nitawapa majina yote" (Its Swahili is there (?) and I will give you all the words).

Coming to the next item to be explained, she gives the term in English without any further comment, "kuna kifaa fulani kinaingia hapa / kinaitwa *bobbin*[10]" (there is a certain item which enters here / it is called *bobbin*). Not bothering any longer for an adequate Swahili word, she just continues to explain the function of the parts of the machine.

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[9] Ohly 1987 renders "spool" with „kibiringo", and spool-pin with "pini kibiringo". TUKI 1996 renders spool with „kidonge/kigurudumu cha uzi"

[10] Ohly 1987 renders both "bobbin" and "spool" with „kibiringo". TUKI 1996 renders "bobbin" with „kibiringo" and spool with „kidonge/kigurudumu cha uzi".

Mshauri akina mama: na hii hapa ni / kifaa hichi ni kifaa cha ku**direct**, kuonyesha, kinaonyesha, kinaongoza uzi kuingia kwenye sindano / kwa sababu uzi wetu tutakuwa tumeuweka hapa / tumeuweka hapa, kinaongoza uzi /	**Advisor of the women's group:** and this here is / this instrument is for directing, showing, is shows, it leads the thread to enter into the needle / because we will have to put our thread here / put it here, it leads the thread
Salome: kinaungu:::za?	**Salome**: it burns?
Mshauri akina mama: Kinaongo:::::za / ni kifaa kinchoongo:::::za uzi kuingia katika nini / ninajaribu kueleza ngoja baadaye nitawapa majina yake / hicho ni kifaa kinachoongoza uzi kuingia kwenye sindano / uzi unakaa hapa / hii inaitwa nini kwa Kiingereza inaitwa ni *spool pins* / lakini ina Kiswahili chake / ni kama ka xx, kau **xxx pin** kadogo / kama sehemu / kuna jina nitawapa majina bado sijui Kiswahili chake vizuri / (anacheka) nilijifunza kwa Kiingereza lakini kipo Kiswahili chake nitawapa majina yote / halafu hapa / hapa ni sehemu ya / kuna kifaa fulani kinaingia hapa / kinaitwa **bobbin** / sasa kile kifaa kinachoingia hapa kinakuwa na uzi mdogo / ###	**Advisor of the women's group:** it leads / it is an instrument that leads the thread into what / I am trying to explain wait later I will give you its names / this here is the instrument that leads the thread to enter the needle / the thread stays here / what is this called, in English it is called *spool pins* / but there is a Swahili word for this / it is like as small *pin* / like a part / it has a name I will give you the names I don't yet know its Swahili words well / (she laughs) I learnt it in English but there are Swahili words for this / I will give you all the names / then here / here is the part of / a certain utensil enters here / it is called *bobbin* / now the utensil that enters here has the small thread.
M15- SAP:4[11]	

The above quotations of the training session illustrate that codeswitching prompted by the speaker's lexical gaps in the matrix language actually occur. For this training session on the function of the sewing machine, the advisor prepared to explain the function and maintenance of the machine, probably not bothering to go through all the names of its individual parts. After all, the objective is using the machine and not talking about it. However, after beginning her instruction, and especially as some group members ask for more detailed information on the machine, she discovers that she is somehow stuck with English terms. Being dedicated to offering understandable, practical training and at the same time being committed to the use of Swahili, she is quite disturbed by her limited knowledge.

While in the examples given, the advisor of the women's group acknowledges the problem and promises to remedy it, there are probably other situations where trainers just proceed using English terms, unwilling to admit their own ignorance.

Table 6: Overview over Swahili-English codeswitching in Example 6

Swahili-English codeswitching	
hand-wheel	single lexeme, compound noun
*vi*stitch *vidogo*	single lexeme morphological integration noun class 8
*ku*direct	single lexeme, verb, morphological integration
spool pin	single lexeme, compound noun
bobbin	single lexeme, noun

Example 7: Searching for words

The following example is from a staff meeting in which the challenge of finding standard Swahili terms for communication in the village is taken up. The debate is about a "seed risk insurance" the team wants to offer to the peasant farmers. The objective is to encourage target group members to use eco-farming methods and to plant early. Some peasant farmers are reluctant to try new approaches, wary to "risk" seed in such experiments. Some fear that if they plant early and the rains are late, seed may be lost. A "seed risk insurance" by the project team would replace seed lost in such endeavors.

Aware that this concept would have to be communicated to the peasants in Swahili, the program director brings up the question of an adequate Swahili term for "risk". Note that the whole discussion, except for the term "risk", is in Swahili.

Mshauri kilimo: wanaweza ku— tunaweza kuangalia kama *risk*	**Agricultural advisor:** they can – we can regard it as a risk
Meneja mradi: *risk*	**Project director:** risk
Mshauri kilimo: *risk* za mbegu	**Agricultural advisor:** seed risk
Meneja mradi: *risk* ni nini kwa Kiswahili ?	**Project director:** what is risk in Swahili?
Mshauri kilimo: nadhani —	**Agricultural advisor:** I think -
Mshauri akina mama: ni - kama kuna hasara itakayojitokeza	**Advisor of the women's group:** it is - if there is a damage that may occur
Meneja mradi: hasara itakayojitokeza +++	**Project director:** a damage that may occur +++
Mshauri kilimo: hasara. XXX	**Agricultural advisor:** a damage xxx
M02-SAP:3	

While nobody has the exact term readily in mind, the advisor of the women's group offers a paraphrase: "kama kuna hasara itakayojitokeza" (if there is a loss that will emerge).[12] The strategy of taking the closely matching term "hasara" (damage) and representing "risk" with a conditional and a relative clause gets rather close to the concept, but is cumbersome. The program director and the agricultural advisor shorten the paraphrase, but then proceed to another related topic before arriving at a more satisfying solution. While no exact term is

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[12] TUKI 1996 gives "hatari" for the noun "risk" and several possibilities for the verb; however, "hatari" has primarily the meaning of "danger".

established in this case, the important fact is that the issue is raised and taken serious in the team. A word that is consciously searched for will sooner or later be obtained from relevant literature, training, colleagues or dictionaries, or it may even be specifically coined for the program context.

Table 7: Overview over Codeswitching and Swahili technical terms in Ex. Seven

Swahili-English codeswitching	
risk	single lexeme, noun
Swahili technical terminology	
kama kuna hasara itakayojitokeza	conditional and relative clause

Discussion of results

Regarding the questions the examples were approached with, the following results can be summed up.

Technical language and code-switching to English
In interviews development workers had asserted that they used codeswitching to English primarily in order to communicate technical issues, referring to several reasons why the respective Swahili terminology is less accessible to them. Evidence from the examples analyzed produces a significantly different picture: Some of the codeswitched material indeed involves technical expressions. But the larger share of instances of codeswitching cannot be accounted for by the alleged unavailability of technical terms in Swahili. Most of the terms in question are in popular and widespread use in Swahili. Even in the passages analyzed, many English codeswitched expressions are accompanied by an adjacent Swahili equivalent.

Table 8: Codeswitching to English for which Swahili equivalent is used by the speaker in the same utterance

Example	Codeswitching to English	Swahili equivalent
2	I am not happy to work	sifurahi kufanya kazi
3	time	wakati
4	health	afya
4	mobilization	kuhamsisha
4	hand pump	pampu ya maji
4	spring	chemchem
5	practical	kwa vitendo
6	hand wheel	gurudumo dogo
6	kudirect	kuongoza
6	stitch	~ bandi (= baste, tack)

While these table just lists repetitions by the same speaker that occur in the immediate contexts of the original utterance, many more of the codeswitched terms are actually in common use in Swahili within the respective communicative events. Thus, lack of availability of technical terms is not the primary reason for most instances of codeswitching. The examples discussed give evidence of a number of alternative motivations for codeswitching: Single lexeme codeswitching to English in a matrix Swahili text is used to express individual style, emphasis, quotations, expertise and authority. Only a small proportion of the respective terms is used because there is a lexical gap in the speaker's Swahili language competence – the implications of which will be discussed below.

Communication of technical matters at grass-root level
Development workers and target group members express technical concepts in Standard Swahili, with the terminology originating from specific coining processes, loan translations, borrowings, derivations and semantic extensions. Some few of the arising lexical gaps are filled with English, but these are exceptions and speakers use strategies of mitigation (translations, explanations or excuses) so as not to offend their audience with the use of a language that is incomprehensible to them.

Communication with foreign colleagues and codeswitching to English
In staff meetings, foreign development workers at times prefer to speak English even if they are fairly competent in Swahili. Responding to English utterances with Swahili-English intersentential codeswitching, Tanzanian development workers indicate that they do not necessarily consider the use of English their own preferred choice. English may provide a safer ground for the foreign development worker to develop his arguments. For Tanzanians, intersentential codeswitching offers a way of both taking into account the linguistic preference of foreign counterparts as well as linguistically connecting to their own agenda.

Individual flexibility in a multilingual environment
The comparison of speech of the same speaker on the same topic in staff and target group meetings provides evidence of a distinct ability to adjust to a variety of communicative environments. In staff meetings, development workers use single-lexeme codeswitching which is part of the expected repertoire. In target group meetings, they translate the respective English terms into Swahili, largely suppressing codeswitching to English. In case codeswitching still occurs, its inappropriateness is acknowledged by various strategies of mitigation.

Lexical gaps as a cause for codeswitching
Examples analyzed shows that instances of codeswitching are motivated by a variety of reasons such as considerations of status, style, quotation, emphasis etc. Only in few cases codeswitches is caused by lexical gaps. These, however, may lead to communicative problems, especially at grass-root level. Among the staff members of

development organizations, efforts are made to enhance the common competence in time before lexical gaps become a problem.

Conclusion

There is no simple answer to this inquiry into the interdependency of codeswitching practices and participatory development. The phenomenon remains ambivalent: on the one hand, prevailing codeswitching patterns are part of an exclusive language of staff in development organizations that exacerbates expert status and hierarchies; on the other hand, codeswitching is a creative and autonomous practice that makes maximum use of given language resources. For a conclusion, both negative and positive aspects are summed up here:

Negative aspects

The fact that development professionals do - and have to - resort to English when drawing on their knowledge and experience is one of the disturbing realities of postcolonial societies. Evidence from the examples analyzed confirms that the relationship between the English language and expertise does indeed develop dynamics of its own. Even in domains where Swahili terminology is well advanced, development workers codeswitch to English to enhance their individual expert status and the importance of their argument. In this way, a language barrier is maintained between development workers and members of target groups. This makes it difficult for target group members to gain information about development organizations, even if respective communicative events were accessible to them. The findings of this research confirm that codeswitching is used to secure status and maintain hierarchies in development networks. They also suggest that codeswitching is an obstacle for target group members in gaining ground and participating. As linguistic barriers often remain unquestioned, these findings create an important starting point for future research on the role of language in participatory development.

Apart from these general findings, there is one thing the examples analyzed show very clearly: Codeswitching motivated by lexical gaps, especially if occurring in the speech of development workers in rural contexts, are symptomatic of structural sociolinguistic challenges. Like with the proverbial iceberg, seemingly minor deficiencies in linguistic competence are easily underestimated and likely to cause extensive communicative problems. With an audience that does not speak English, even a few lexical gaps in individual Swahili competence interfere and effectively prevent a serious discussion of the topic at stake. Filling these gaps with English is problematic, as rural target group members feel alienated and excluded. Even if translations, explanations and apologies are offered, still a problematic implicit message looms large: English, a language that is incomprehensible and beyond reach for members of the target group, is indispensable in development.

Positive aspects

Despite the pro-English bias in education and the lack of access to technical information in Swahili, English has not replaced Swahili in formal contexts in development networks. Instead, communication in Swahili, together with Swahili-English codeswitching, is the norm. This makes interaction at least partly accessibly to target group members. Processes of translation, for instance for conveying messages between development organization's staff and target groups, are less demanding if occasional single-lexeme codeswitching rather than two distinct languages are involved. Interaction with foreign colleagues whose Swahili is not perfect is another domain where Swahili-English codeswitching is an alternative to English and a means to negotiate local versus external linguistic preferences.

Regular codeswitching taps the resources of a rich terminology in English and creates awareness for differentiated expression. As the respective domains are often equally relevant for the Swahili speaking rural context, development workers face the challenge to enhance their Swahili competence accordingly. Tanzanians can rely on the continuous work of institutions such as BAKITA (National Swahili Council) and TUKI (Institute of Swahili Research) who foster Swahili language development on a national level (Kiango 2004, Mtesigwa 2004). These institutions compile technical word lists and dictionaries, but in turn depend on practitioners who put their work into use. In regard to dissemination and implementation a lot remains to be done. At the same time, the widespread use of Swahili at grass-root level communication in development confirms the importance of the task at hand.

Summing up, one could say that both the consideration of positive as well as negative aspects points to the need to generally enhance Swahili language development as well as supporting individual speakers in improving their competence. Codeswitching does not in itself pose a problem for participatory communication. Speakers usually adapt their language and use the appropriate code depending on their conversational partners. While codeswitching may be used to enhance status and exclude, there are other instances where it is employed to challenge existing hierarchies. The issue constituting a problem, however, is gaps in individual Swahili competence, caused by the bias towards English in development workers' education and everyday professional routine. In order to open communicative channels for target group members, and to make both information and decision-making more accessible, the vital role of Swahili has to be taken serious at organizational, not only at target group level.

Recommendations for development organizations

In Tanzania, rhetoric support for the use of Swahili at public functions is part of the political and social culture. Development organizations are no exception. They regard the widespread use of Swahili as an asset in participatory development, as a communicative channel with the potential to facilitate bottom-up communication and transparency. However, the image of Swahili as a medium in development communication is somewhat biased: often, Swahili is regarded as an effective medium for simple-style grass-root

communication, but as inappropriate for technical debates on middle or higher organizational levels.

So what should development organizations do? It is obvious that development organizations can not make up for structural biases that originate in having English and not Swahili as a medium of instruction in secondary and tertiary education. But development organizations can make a change by balancing instead of aggravating this problematic trend.

At present, however, it is rather the opposite that is the case. Organizations support their staff in "on the job" competence development in English rather than Swahili. In the SAP network, the organization offered its staff technical courses which were held in English, and it also paid for intensive English courses in Nairobi that should enhance the staff's communicative competence. Only foreign development workers are trained in Swahili, but the aim of this is mainly to enable them to communicate with target groups. In the Ministry of Agriculture in Zanzibar, a main incentive in work was the prospect of regular overseas postgraduate training. Training and information disseminated in Swahili was targeted to peasants and village level Extension Officers only.

Despite such shortcomings, Tanzania has a unique chance by having a language that is already used in so many social domains. On the part of the target groups, any minor initiative in support of Swahili (such as individual efforts by foreigners to learn the language) is usually received enthusiastically. Development organizations should thus consider some of the following measures:
- the production of important project documents in both Swahili and English
- the provision of dictionaries and time for an adequate linguistic preparation of program activities in rural contexts ("What is risk in Kiswahili?")
- further measures that enhance the use of Swahili in higher-level technical and organisational contexts (including the translation of relevant technical literature)
- enlisting of professional linguistic help in rendering essential program concepts into Swahili

Notation

/	separation of two utterances
+++	inaudible or incomprehensible part of speech
xx	interval of 2 seconds
xxx	interval of 3 or more seconds
: :: :::	lengthening of vowels

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Abstract

This paper discusses examples of Swahili-English codeswitching by Tanzanian development workers in two agricultural programmes in Musoma and Zanzibar. Evidence from formal meetings in these development networks shows that codeswitching is used both to facilitate as well as to obstruct grass-root level participation.

On the positive side, the very nature of the codeswitching patterns – intrasentential codeswitching with Swahili as a matrix language and occasional, mostly single-lexeme switches to English - means that interaction

is still widely accessible to Swahili speakers. Extending the terminological base of Swahili by codeswitching also means that the role of English in formal contexts can be kept very limited. Swahili-English codeswitching is usually translated to Standard Swahili with little effort, while providing English-Swahili translations is more time-consuming. This is important as development workers usually avoid the use of English in interaction with the target group. In case a Swahili equivalent is not readily available, some development workers engage in an active search for the adequate term, thus developing their own and the community's linguistic resources.

On the negative side, Swahili-English codeswitching may exclude and alienate target group members. The asymmetric bilingualism that the present education system creates is reinforced by linguistic practices in development networks. In some cases, development workers fail to acquire full Swahili competence in relevant technical domains and instead rely on English to fill the gaps. Codeswitching to English when discussing technical matters or when foreign development workers are involved leaves development workers ill prepared for communicating these very matters at grass-root level in rural contexts. In case lexical gaps force a development worker to codeswitch to English in village meetings, those who do not speak English are excluded, and a detrimental implicit message is communicated to the target group: that English, a language they themselves do not speak, is indispensable for development or progress.

To sum up, it is lexical gaps in Swahili rather than codeswitching that constitute the major problem for participatory communication. The recommendation for development organizations is thus to support Swahili competence of their staff in technical domains relevant to their work.

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