

**Inland Norway
University**

Faculty of education and pedagogic

Vivian Moses Shoo

Master thesis.

Multilingualism in Computer mediated communication.

A study of language choice among youngsters in rural Tanzania.

Master's in digital communication and culture.

2019

Consent to lending by University College Library YES NO

Consent to accessibility in digital archive Brage YES NO

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis is my final work in master's in digital communication and culture at Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences. It has been a wonderful and educational experience to work with a topic that interests me most.

I am grateful to many people whose participation and support made this work possible. First and foremost, to my supervisor professor Guri Bordal Steien, thank you so much for believing in me and for always being there to encourage, to support and to professionally provide constructive feedbacks. Because of you I managed to put this work together.

To my six participants in Tanzania, thank you for taking time to share your experiences and thoughts with me. You provided the knowledge my thesis needed for it to exist.

To my family, I appreciate you so much because you all were there to encourage and support in every way possible!

Special thanks to my son Daniel, you are the reason I kept going. Thank you for being patient when I couldn't spend time with you because I had to work. You are the most understanding five-year-old I know.

Vivian Moses Shoo

Elverum, November 2019.

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	3
ABSTRACT.....	7
1. INTRODUCTION	9
1.1 RATIONALE	9
1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS	11
1.3 STRUCTURE.....	12
2. BACKGROUND.....	14
2.1 COMPUTER MEDIATED COMMUNICATION (CMC)	14
2.2 MULTILINGUALISM.....	19
2.2.1 <i>Historical background of the notion of multilingualism</i>	<i>19</i>
2.3 LANGUAGE AND CMC IN AFRICA	23
2.4 LANGUAGES IN TANZANIA.....	26
2.4.1 <i>Kiswahili</i>	<i>26</i>
2.4.2 <i>Tribal languages</i>	<i>28</i>
2.4.3 <i>English</i>	<i>29</i>
2.4.4 <i>Kiswahili and English language role/position in Education.....</i>	<i>31</i>
2.5 HISTORY AND PEOPLE	32
2.6 RURAL TANZANIA.....	36
2.7 SUMMARY.....	38
3. THEORY.....	40
3.1 LANGUAGE CHOICE	40
3.1.1 <i>Language choice in computer mediated communication</i>	<i>42</i>
3.2 CODE SWITCHING.....	44

3.2.1	<i>CODE SWITCHING VS OTHER CONTACT PHENOMENA</i>	47
3.2.2	<i>THREE MAJOR APPROACHES IN THE STUDY OF CODESWITCHING</i>	49
3.2.3	<i>FUNCTIONS OF CODESWITCHING</i>	50
3.3	OTHER APPROACHES TO DIVERSE LINGUISTIC PRACTICES	53
3.3.1	<i>Metrolingualism</i>	53
3.3.2	<i>Translanguaging</i>	55
3.4	FIXITY AND FLUIDITY	58
3.5	SUMMARY	60
4.	DATA COLLECTION AND METHODS	61
4.1	DATA TYPES	61
4.2	SELECTION OF PARTICIPANTS AND PRESENTATION	63
4.3	TRANSCRIPTION AND CODING	66
4.4	SELECTION OF EXAMPLES FOR ANALYSIS	66
4.5	SUMMARY	66
5.	DATA ANALYSIS	67
5.1	FIXITY AND FLUIDITY IN ORTHOGRAPHY	67
5.1.1	<i>Example 1. Interview data</i>	68
5.1.2	<i>Example 2: Interview data.</i>	69
5.1.3	<i>example 3. Observation data</i>	70
5.1.4	<i>Example 4. Observation data</i>	71
5.1.5	<i>Example 5. Observation data</i>	73
5.1.6	<i>Example 6. Interview data</i>	75
5.2	FIXITY AND FLUIDITY IN LANGUAGE CHOICE	75
5.2.1	<i>Example 7. Interview data</i>	76

5.2.2	<i>Example 8. Interview data</i>	77
5.2.3	<i>Example 9. Observation data</i>	79
5.2.4	<i>Example 10. Observation data</i>	79
5.2.5	<i>Example 11. Interview data</i>	81
5.2.6	<i>Example 12. Observation data</i>	81
5.2.7	<i>Example 13. Observation data</i>	82
5.2.8	<i>Example 14. Interview data</i>	83
5.2.9	<i>Example 15. Observation data</i>	84
5.3	FIXITY AND FLUIDITY IN INCORPORATION OF SEVERAL LANGUAGES	85
5.3.1	<i>Example 16. Observation data</i>	86
5.3.2	<i>Example 17: interview data</i>	87
5.3.3	<i>Example 18. Interview data</i>	88
5.3.4	<i>Example 19. Interview data</i>	89
5.3.5	<i>Example 20. Observation data</i>	90
5.3.6	<i>Example 21: interview data</i>	91
5.3.7	<i>Example 22: Observation data</i>	92
5.4	SUMMARY	95
6.	DISCUSSION	96
7.	CONCLUSION	101
8.	REFERENCES	102
	ATTACHMENT 1 – INTERVIEW GUIDE	107

Table list.

Table 1: Participants description..... 65

Abstract

African youth linguistic practices have merely been regarded as an urban phenomenon that has nothing to do with rural areas. They have sometimes been labelled as urban vernaculars, a label that excludes creative linguistic practices of rural youths. This thesis aims to study how linguistic practices of Tanzania's multilingual rural based youngsters are reflected in Computer mediated communication by examining to what extent are their linguistic practices fixed in the sense that they orient to the monolingual system and standard varieties or fluid in the sense that their whole linguistic repertoire is involved in the meaning-making process. I also examine which languages these youngsters use.

I introduce multilingualism by considering its historical background regarding its evolution during the last six decades as well as a brief explanation of Computer mediated communication in general and in Africa. I have chosen to briefly introduce and explain language situation in Tanzania because its awareness will ensure understanding of the aim of research topic and the analysis of the youngsters' linguistic practices in Computer mediated communication. Throughout the theory chapter, there will be a discussion of multilingualism's central concepts such as language choice and code-switching. However, data in this thesis will be analyzed in the light of fixity and fluidity, and theories that suppose fluid linguistic practices, such as metrolingualism and translanguaging are also introduced in the theory.

This study is done through a qualitative research design. Data used in this thesis is based on individual interviews and observation collected from six rural based Tanzania's youths. There is a total of 22 examples of both interviews and observation selected to represent the main tendencies in the data. Findings of this study shows how youths' linguistic practices in computer mediated communication challenge the monolingual approach to language emphasized by once but no longer hegemony state that is Tanzania. Online youth linguistic practices appear in many different shapes characterized by both local and global practices witnessed in many various social networking sites. Such linguistic diversity in computer mediated communication is contributed by various motives.

Key words: *Multilingualism, Computer mediated communication, language choice, fixity, fluidity.*

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Rationale

As the title of this thesis suggests, this study will focus on linguistic practices on computer mediated communication (CMC) among youngsters in Tanzania specifically rural based youths. The focus will be on fixity and fluidity. As I shall explain later in next chapters, Tanzania just like most societies in the world, is a multilingual country and most of its citizens speak three languages. This study will examine context of use for different linguistic resources and how they are employed in CMC. In the age of digital communication that we live now, there are many communication platforms where interactions are happening in many various ways and users are presented with varieties that cater for their interests. To what extent, which platforms, and how is a rural based Tanzanian youth able to access and participate in CMC, is among other questions that will be answered in this study. In this introduction chapter I will first explain the background for the choice of the topic before I present research questions, and structure of the thesis.

My interest in the topic became clearer when I joined master studies in digital communication and culture during the second semester of the first year where the course “communication in the multicultural society” was one of the modules of that semester. That is when I realised that I had the opportunity to learn and work with a topic that interests me and is also part of my experience as a rural born and raised Tanzanian.

Being born and raised in Tanzania rural area myself, I was interested to do this study specifically in rural areas because I would like to learn how multilinguals in non-urban areas reflect their language resources in CMC which have become part of everyday life for most people especially youngsters. My interest in language choice in CMC in rural Tanzania arose from the observation that most of the people that I communicate with, did not use one specific named language at time but they use different languages in the same context. They mix various named languages, mostly Kiswahili and English, but also some tribal languages as well as other creative linguistic varieties. This motivated me to study the background of language choices among youngsters, with emphasis on fixity and fluidity (cf. Otsuji & Pennycook

2010). I decided to use these two concepts in order to be able to look at various aspects of linguistic practices that are involved in the meaning making process. By using them I will be able to include a wide range of facets of meaning making process in communication instead of looking at a language as just one named variety guided by limited rules which narrows perspective of other broader aspects of communication.

Innovation and creativity behind youth linguistic practices has always been mainly associated with urban spaces, and with urban speakers seen as the creators and change makers of youth linguistic practices (Nassenstein, 2018). While rural based youths linguistic practices have given minimal attention, I chose to study youngsters because they are the age group that is mostly participating in CMC and are often initiating new linguistic practices that quickly spread and become part of most people repertoire (Nassenstein & Hollington, 2016, p. 172).

Also, since CMC pose no physical boundaries, the distance between people in different geographical positions is blurred thus linguistic practices are being shared in real time and space. This is also another aspect of CMC that will be examined in this study to see if global linguistic practices are integrated in Tanzania's rural youths' repertoire and what impact they have to their languages. To be able to study these aspects, I have chosen to conduct one-on-one interviews with rural based youngsters in Tanzania and analyse the interviews for further discussion.

1.2 Research questions

In this thesis I wish to have a closer look on linguistic practices on CMC among youths in rural Tanzania with a focus on language choice and usage of the chosen language with consideration of the fact that Tanzanian society is multilingual. With this in mind, I pay attention to conventional and unconventional linguistic practices that occur during communication with the awareness that they are not coincidence but important resources for meaningful conversations. My research question is therefore as following:

Why and to what extent are the CMC linguistic practices of youngsters in rural Tanzania fixed, i.e. do they stick to one named language at time and respect official orthography, or fluid, i.e. do they use their whole linguistic repertoire and creative communication styles?

1.3 Structure

I have divided this study in eight chapters. The first chapter is the introduction chapter which introduces the background of the choice of the topic and research questions. Chapter 2 provides some crucial background and discusses some general issues related to CMC in Africa. It starts from a brief historical background of digital media that facilitated CMC. Throughout the chapter I also explained language situation in Tanzania where the role of three different languages used in Tanzania is described. On the last part, it's a history of Tanzania as well as rural Tanzania.

Chapter three is the theory chapter where the central concepts of the study and the analytical tool are discussed. It starts with a general discussion of language choice and code-switching with its functions. The distinction between code-switching and other contact phenomena is also made because some of the contacts phenomena have been considered to be cases of code-switching when they are not. As it will be made clear on section 2.2.1 and chapter 3, these two concepts of multilingualism are included in the thesis to show the traditional way of looking at language. The traditional way that emphasises on language as a separate entity has led some linguists who want to challenge that view of language to come up with new approaches that looks at language as a borderless practices that can be used fluidly without ascribing labels and rules introduced by the traditional orientation. These new approaches and the analytical tool are explained in the last part of this chapter.

Chapter 4 engages with the ways in which data for this thesis was collected, handled and how selection of examples was done. It starts with data types with a discussion of how individual interviews were conducted as well as observation. It also provides an explanation of how participants were selected and their description.

Chapter 5 is data analysis. Here is where the selected examples of both individual interviews data and observation data will be analysed in the light of fixity and fluidity the concepts of metrolingualism that will be discussed on chapter 3 section 3.4.

Chapter 6 presents discussion of findings, theory and research methods for this thesis.

Chapter 7 concludes the thesis and summarizes the main findings of the study.

Chapter 8 consists of reference list used in the entire thesis.

2. BACKGROUND

In this chapter, I will start by explaining what CMC is, while giving a brief history of how innovation of first electronic computer transformed media into a digital media in which CMC is made possible. On the second part I will discuss the notion of multilingualism and its historical background before I explain language and CMC in Africa in general on the third part. On the last parts of the chapter I will turn to languages in Tanzania, history and people as well as rural Tanzania.

2.1 Computer Mediated Communication (CMC)

CMC can be defined as communication that involves the use of electronic devices. Technically speaking, CMC has existed since the invention of first electronic computer in 1930's. Manovich (2001) puts it clear that the year 1936 media and computing history changed when media and computer met.

Manovich (2001) writes,

All existing media are translated into numerical data accessible for the computer. The result: graphics, images, sounds, shapes, spaces, and texts become computable, that is, simply sets of computer data. In short, media become new media (p. 25) the digital medium itself, its material and logical organization. (p. 11)

Digital media can be defined as any medium of communication, storage, creation and dissemination of information which use digital technologies. It consists of two different layers, a cultural layer such as encyclopaedia, story and plot, mimesis and catharsis, and a computer layer such as sorting and matching, function and variable, computer language and data structure. They influence each other, the computer layer gradually changes as hardware and software changes and when new tasks are introduced to the computer. Cultural layer is influenced by the computer through its crucial operations like sort, match, filter, and search. Also, because new media is created, distributed and stored in computers. A common representation code, numerical representation and digitization are three unrelated concepts that are under digital representation of which numerical representation played important function of turning media into a computer data and therefore making it programable. This contributed to changing the nature of media because a new media was born when different media could contain another set of computer data (Manovich, 2001, pp. 20, 46, 52).

Computer plays a significant role in the digital world because of its ability to display a wide variety of media. All digital media have a digital code and their objects can be subjected to algorithmic manipulation, which means they can be edited and altered according to one's wish. Also, they can be defined using mathematical function. Computer media revolution affects all stages of communication, including acquisition, manipulation, storage and distribution, it also affects all types of media – texts, still images, moving images, sounds, and spatial construction. Speaking of the capabilities of a modern computer, Manovich sees the need to clarify the popular misunderstanding of the role of a modern computer in relation to new media. “The popular understanding of new media identifies it with the use of a computer for distribution and exhibition rather than production” (Manovich, 2001, pp. 19, 27). This means computer in addition to all other functions; it also produces media. For example, television programs are shot on digital video and edited on computer, we can print out varied materials that are saved on a computer, we can play games on a computer, through computer we can access different websites and internet (Manovich, 2001, pp. 19, 27).

It has been suggested that, CMC began since the first recorded exchange of prototype emails in the early 1960s, but the history of CMC is a little older than that because people have been communicating about and by means of computers since their innovations. However, computers were not an integral part of everyday people's lives. They were highly technical and specialist until by the 1990s when personal computers had become easily accessed by many people like students, schoolteachers, office managers etc. Before early to mid-1990s, academic interest in people's interaction and communication through computer technology was still exclusively and restricted mostly to practical issues such as information processing, data transfer and human-computer interaction. But, since the mid-1990's CMC has attracted scholarly attention (Thurlow, Lengel, & Tomic, 2004, pp. 14-15).

Now that the internet is getting more and more accessible and with the innovation of web 2.0 that comprises social networking sites, the function of computational media has changed to production and contribute to creating collective presence and massive connectivity as a result of the “explosion of user generated digital content” (Mitchell & Hansen, 2010, p. 180), for example blogs, discussion forums, photo sharing, and video animation. This has been the case

with many social media platforms like among others Facebook and YouTube where millions of users connect and are able to create various content. Availability of user generated content on social media platforms has attracted many scholars of various fields. Linguists have been attracted to the text-based communication which is one of the biggest characteristics of CMC (Maynor, 1994; Crystal, 2001; Flores, 2014). “It is by now a truism that computer-mediated communication (CMC) – defined here as predominantly text-based human-human interaction mediated by networked computers or mobile telephony – provides an abundance of data on human behaviour and language use” (Herring, 2007, p. 1).

Herring (2007) argues that, researchers and practitioners have sorted such abundance into groups, label and categories which are narrow enough to limit a researcher into one direction of analysis. She saw the need to present a faceted classification for Computer mediated discourse following the fact that there has not been systematic discussion on how to analyse digital texts. The categories she presented are of two types, ten medium(technological) and eight social(situational).

The technical categories are the following: Synchronicity(M1) implies various modes of “real-time” chat where the sender and the receiver of a message must be logged on simultaneously. Since spoken conversation requires the presence of both parties at the same time, thus synchronous, it makes synchronicity an important dimension for comparing various types of computer mediated communication with other types of spoken and written discourse. Message transmission(M2) involves transmission of the “granularity of the units” by computer mediated communication system that are either message-by-message also known as one-way transmission where the receiver cannot engage or interrupt the sender because there is no indication that the sender is creating a message until is sent and received, or character-by-character which is two-way transmission, i.e. both the sender and the receiver can see that the message is being produced and the receiver can give simultaneously feedback. Persistence of transcript(M3) refers to the duration of the presence of messages in the system. In other words, it refers to how long messages remain on the system after they are received. Some are available until deleted, for example emails, and some disappear after a certain amount of time for example, video chats and FaceTime audio calls. The greater persistence of computer mediated discourse provides participants with the opportunity to reflect on their communication, to play

with language in ways that would be difficult in spoken contexts as well as to be able to participate in many conversational threads. Size of message buffer(M4) refers to the number of characters allowed by the systems in a single message. For example, the buffer on email system is limitless compared to the text messaging systems. As a result, small buffers increase the chance of structurally abbreviated language. Channels of communication(M5) refers to the channels the CMC system makes available. These are visual channels like texts, graphics, and video and audio. Anonymous messaging(M6) together with private messaging(M7), filtering(M8), and quoting(M9) all refer to the technological affordances of CMC systems. It is possible for users to engage in these behaviours without any special technical means, but when such means are available, they facilitate the behaviours, apparently making them more likely to occur. Message format(M10) determines the order in which messages appear, what information is appended automatically to each and how it is visually presented, and what happens when the viewing window becomes filled with messages.

The situational categories are these eight: Participation structure(S1) refers to the number of participants, both the those who actively participate and the potential ones as well as the rate and amount of participation in the online communication, the nature of communication if its private, public or semi-private, as well as the extent to which participants choose to communicate anonymously/pseudonymously as opposed to their offline identities. It is also concerned with if the participation is evenly distributed among participants or if there are individuals or groups that dominate. Participant characteristics(S2) describes participants backgrounds, skills, experiences and real-life knowledge as well as norms and interactional patterns in online interaction. Other aspects that may affect participants choice and behaviour online are beliefs, ideologies and motivations. Purpose(S3) is on two levels, that is the group purpose which generally refers to whether it is professional or social etc. and the goals of interaction which refers to the goals that the individual participants hope to achieve in any interaction. Topic or theme(S4) is also on two levels, such are group level which indicates the appropriateness of the discussion content according to group's definition and the exchange level that refers to what participants are talking about in any interaction. This may or may not be on the official topic of the group. Tone(S5) refers to the manner or spirit in which discursive acts are performed, i.e. if and to what extent is the discussion serious, its formality, as well as the degree of contentiousness and cooperation. Emoticons are also carrying meanings depending on the tone of an exchange which they may also help to establish. Activity(S6)

refers to the discursive means of conducting interactional goals like flirting for developing personal relationships, debate and so forth. Each activity has associated conventional linguistic practices that signals when that activity is taking place. Norms(S7) are conventional practices within the computer-mediated context. There are three types of norms: Norms of organization refer to formal or informal administrative procedures of a group organization and functionality. Norms of social appropriateness refers to behavioural standards that normatively apply in the computer mediated context. They may be implicit or written and available to public. Norms of language refers to linguistic standards particular to a group or users, example, abbreviations, jokes etc. Code(S8) refers to the language or language varieties like dialect and registers in which computer mediated interactions are carried out (Herrings, 2007, pp. 13-22).

The technical categories are according to Herring a description of technological features of CMC systems determined by messaging protocols, servers and clients, associated software, hardware and interfaces of users' computers, they are an attempt to find out "under what circumstances specific system features affect communication, and in what ways" while situational factors "assumes that context can shape communication in significant ways, although it does not assume that any given factor is always influential" (Herring, 2007, p. 11).

Efforts made by early linguists to classify computer mediated discourse in 1980's and 1990's was associated with ambiguity of whether it is written speech because it is typed on a keyboard and read as a text or it is in-between speech and writing because features of spoken language can be observed. Herring claims previous classification by other linguists "tended to overgeneralize about computer-mediated language" (Herring, 2007, p. 2) by categorizing it as a single similar genre. Narrow focus of attention to individual modes of computer mediated discourse was noticed on the later work of other researchers like Cherny's (1999), Collot and Belmore (1996) to mention a few, but neither of their work had classification as its primary goal. "Rather they have characterised their data in pursuit of other goals to distinguish them from other kinds of data, and to invoke factors that explain their characteristics" (Herring, 2007, pp. 8-9).

Herring's faceted classification approach follows the early idea of faceted classification approach to the organization of information in the field of library and information science which was later developed by U.K research on classification group for the organization of document collections in scientific fields. It has recently been used to assist automated search and retrieval of information including on the web. Its whole meaning consists of the general look on one thing with its entire subcategories as defined as "a faceted scheme [that] has several facets and each facet may have several terms, or possible values" (Herring, 2007, p. 9). Herring's approach can be functional to "data samples of almost any size although not all categories are relevant for very small samples" (Herring, 2007, p. 12). The approach is useful in a way that the flexibility of choosing which categories are suitable for one's research, and the broadness of each category provides a researcher a wide perspective on what exactly should be analysed on which type of data one is presented with but, as I will explain in section 2.2.1, theoretical tool for analysing data in this thesis will be concepts of fixity and fluidity inspired by metrolingualism.

Now that I have explained how CMC came about through the innovation of electronic computer and how it has attracted scholars from various fields and linguists, I will now turn to the notion of multilingualism and its historical background.

2.2 Multilingualism

2.2.1 Historical background of the notion of multilingualism

Multilingualism is a global phenomenon. Most countries are multilingual which means their people speak more than one language. The regions where people used multiple languages were known from the earliest years of mankind (Aronin & Hufeisen, 2009, p. 1). In 1800's J.A. Friis studied language situation among Kvener, sami and Norwegians a population which resided at Kvænangen on North of Norway. The study of 200 families showed that 80% of the residents were multilinguals with the ability of up to three languages (Kulbrandstad 2006).

In the beginning of research on multilingualism, the concept of multilingualism was given a different consideration than it is now.

Wei (2000) writes,

From the early nineteenth century to about the 1960's, there was a widespread belief that bilingualism has a detrimental effect on a human being's intellectual and spiritual growth. Stories of children who persisted in speaking two languages in school having had their mouths washed with soap and water or being beaten with a cane were not uncommon. (p. 18)

Back then multilingualism was something negative because it was considered a weakened factor on one's intellectual abilities while being monolingual was seen as an asset. Early research on the topic see Laurie, (1890) and Saer, (1923) tended to confirm this negative view point, finding that monolinguals were superior to multilinguals on intelligence tests and multilinguals were concluded to be mentally confused and at a disadvantage in intelligence (Wei, 2000, pp. 18-19). The assumption also implied that a person cannot be fully competent in the languages they spoke therefore, most multilingual research focused on problems associated with multilingualism rather than its importance on the individual and society in general.

A positive attitude towards multilingualism started around 1950's with among others Weinreich (1953), Vildomeck (1963). In the beginning, the focus on the field of multilingualism was mostly concentrated on sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic studies, while recently other areas than those of earlier researchers such as computational linguistics and applied linguistics have received attention (Kemp, 2009). Kemp regards multilingualism as a new discipline due to the growing focus on the subject of which she argues that, one of the crucial "characteristics of new disciplines is that term and definitions undergo a process of specification, refinement and agreement resulting in a convergence of usage of terms" (Kemp, 2009, pp. 11-12). Multilingualism and bilingualism have often been defined differently and under one meaning such is they both involve the ability of an individual to speak two or more languages. On this thesis, I will use the term multilingualism since it's one of central concept of my thesis as well as the mostly preferred term in the discussion of the respective field. Weinreich (1953) argues, "no two studies are thoroughly comparable, because the linguistic techniques employed and the sociological orientations, if any, on which they are based have been so different from one case to the next" (p. 115). Kemp's opinion on the definition of multilingualism and its related topics is that, it's important to redefine the field which is emerging as new with critical mass of information and experience in research techniques

beginning to be built across this field because definitions are “fundamental for theory and have implications for choice of participants, research methodology, and consequently, research findings” (2009, pp. 11-12).

Multilingualism has long run up against popular assumptions as discussed above and has become a well-established field in linguistic with which languages are studied as separate entities governed by different rules. Although I shall deviate from the consideration of languages as separate entities in the last parts of this thesis where I will introduce new ways of studying linguistic practices proposed to challenge the traditional idea of multilingualism, it is unavoidable to not use the term in the thesis because the aim is to study youths linguistic practices online and the field of multilingualism has laid a foundation for language studies in the sense that the vocabulary of language in plural/multi is a starting point to look at various linguistic practices.

Lee (2017) explains,

. . . labelling individual languages is still meaningful [because] ordinary language users often talk about their meaning-making resources in terms of individual *languages*, [therefore] it's necessary to use socially accepted boundaries between languages to understand people's cultural knowledge related to the languages they use online. (p. 11)

There has been debates of what exactly should be definitions for both bilingualism and multilingualism. Language researcher Bloomfield argued bilingualism is mastering all the languages a person speaks as much as their first language “the native-like control of two languages”(Bloomfield, 1935). Bloomfield's regards bilingualism from language competence point of view where both spoken and written competence is put in consideration. But should multilinguals be considered as such only if they master all their languages like their first languages? Other language researchers like William F. Mackey have argued “[Multilingualism] is not a phenomenon of language; it is a characteristic of its use. It is not a feature of the code but of the message. It does not belong to the domain of “*langue*” but of “*parole*” (MacKey, 1962, p. 51). MacKey base his consideration of multilingualism on the uses and function of language. Also, he points out four essential characteristics that should be put in consideration while describing multilingualism such are degree, function, alternation, and interference. Briefly, the four characteristics should inform about how multilingual the person is in relation to the languages they use, what does the language being use for, how does

the person alternate between his/her languages and how does his/her languages influence each other. From his perspective, he creates an understanding and importance of looking at the relationship between language users and the languages they use. In other words, a language should not just be regarded as separate entity guided by rules and multilingual the person as the producer. The user of the language should also be considered as important in the process of producing, using and integrating her/his languages.

Wei (2000) writes,

The word '[multilingual]' primarily describes someone with the possession of two languages. It can, however, also be taken to include the many people in the world who have varying degrees of proficiency and interchangeably use three, four or even more languages. (p. 7)

Wei's perspective also differs from Bloomfield's among other researchers due to its inclusion of varying degrees of proficiency where it allows multilinguals to be considered in the respective category regardless degrees of their mastery of the languages they possess. He further states that, being multilingual, one does not have to live within a community or a country where multilingualism is actual because even the places where monolingualism is dominant there could be multilinguals whom have learned several languages in various context of their lives.

Research on multilingualism have continued to challenge assumptions that made it be discouraged in the first place in favour of monolingualism. The topic has however become more and more acknowledged in the society and its studies are rising more interests of sociolinguists who have been proposing new alternative concepts of studying language which allows speakers to flexibly employ their various repertoires in meaning making process. Such concepts are among others, translanguaging (Garcia & Wei, 2014), translingual practices (Canagarajah, 2013), polylinguaging (Jørgensen, 2008; Jørgensen & Møller, 2014) and metrolingualism (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010).

In this thesis I will briefly explain the concept of metrolingualism and translanguaging on section 3.3. This is because I have decided to use two notions of fixity and fluidity (see section 3.4) inspired by metrolingualism to study online youth practices because metrolingualism stresses the importance of including the complex ways in which fixed and fluid language

practices, as well as global and local practices reconstitute language and identities. I will explain translanguaging because there is a noteworthy interconnection between metrolingualism and translanguaging regarding fluid and dynamic linguistic practices among multilinguals. It is also included in the thesis because not only it's one of the proposed approaches of fluid language studies that share significant number of similar perspectives with metrolingualism of challenging the idea of multilingualism which is multiplying languages instead of engaging their complex aspects, it also “can denote a universal instinct, the fluid language of [multilinguals], an approach to language, an educational philosophy, and resistant linguistic practices—not to mention that it retains its original pedagogical sense as the planned alternation of different languages in class” (Jaspers & Madsen, 2019, p. 10). Therefore, translanguaging with its diverse roles it can play in linguistics, it makes it hard to know which one of its meanings is in play that is why I choose to use metrolingualism inspired concepts. (for more on this, see section 3.3.1 and section 3.3.2).

Discussion of multilingualism is nevertheless important in this thesis because through multilingualism, the awareness of existence and importance of multiple languages in most societies is being made. It is through it that the discussion of how and what is a proper way of looking at languages started, where new alternatives as mentioned above are being proposed to make sure that studies of language shifts from pluralising it to seeking broader understanding of its complexity especially currently that diversity has become key factor for language contact due to globalization. Therefore, language choice and code switching as two central concepts of multilingualism will be discussed on the theory chapter before I move on to the explanation of metrolingualism and translanguaging as the two approaches that emphasizes on the importance of fluid use of languages.

2.3 Language and CMC in Africa

In Africa, most countries are predominantly multilingual where people speak more than one language and have a wide range of linguistic resources which are used in daily communication (Nassenstein & Hullington, 2016, p. 175). There are numerous African languages which are spoken by indigenous tribes and these are often a mother tongue for people of the respective tribes. In multilingual societies, languages are often ranked, a ranking that is expressed in the educational progression from primary to tertiary schooling and one that reflects the history of

its constituent social groupings (Ferguson, 1959). In African countries, the progression is from the ‘mother tongue’ to an African lingua franca such as Kiswahili to the language of the former colonial rulers, such as English, French or Portuguese (Bond, 2009, p. 25). The diverse nature of African linguistic situation is well demonstrated especially by young people through CMC. African youths’ way of communicating in a globalized context involves their linguistic creativity in which they use their complex repertoires to negotiate their fluid identities (Nassenstein & Hullington, 2016, p. 175). As a result of globalization, “people and linguistic resources are mobile” (Blommaert & Backus, 2012, p. 11), where encountering particular bits of language, learning them and put them in use is part of everyday life. People can longer be straightforwardly associated with particular groups and identities being national, ethnic or sociocultural, because their communication practices can no longer be claimed to belong to particular languages and cultures (Blommaert & Backus, 2012, pp. 5-6). Because of globalization, people’s repertoires are also influenced by various forms of media easily accessed through modern technology and the internet.

What sociolinguists traditionally addressed as villages, have changed because through globalization processes, a particular stage of real development is represented “and changes in economic and technological infrastructure have especially affected what we currently understand by mobility” (Blommaert, 2010, p. 6). Internet access and mobile phones availability in Africa is rapidly increasing. International Telecommunications Union (ITU), the United Nations specialized agency for information and communication technologies (ICTs), estimated that at the end of 2018, 51.2 per cent of the global population, or 3.9 billion people, were using the Internet (ITU, 2018). Africa of all the ITU regions was reported the strongest growth with the astonishing percentage of people using internet increased from 2.1percent in 2005 to 24.4 percent in 2018. In developing countries in general, growth has constantly continued to increase from 7.7 per cent in 2005 to 45.3 per cent at the end of 2018. Tanzania’s percentage of individuals using internet went from 0.12 percent in the year 2000 to 25 percent in 2017. This continuously increase in the percentage of people using internet is for the most part contributed by the availability and affordability of mobile-cellular telephone which is in unprecedented scale in Africa today where people have access to the internet through a 3G network or higher speed network. In Tanzania, mobile-cellular telephone subscriptions increased from 110518 people in the year 2000 to 43497261people in 2018. It

surpassed its fixed-telephone subscription counterpart which was higher in early 2000s (ITU, 2018).

Superdiversity highly contributed by globalisation of which new and diversified migration processes resulting in unprecedented forms of ethnic, linguistic, cultural, and religious diversity, organised in broad range of different forms of community and electronically mediated network structures, and with very diverse degrees of attachment and loyalty to the place where one lives, can be observed not only in the global megacities and highly mobile world of global professionals, popular artists and businesspeople but also in less metropolitan places (Blommaert, 2014, p. 11). CMC in Africa which in fact involves both rural and urban areas, displays superdiversity features mentioned above just like any other metropolitan centres and socio-economic margins of the world. Both rural and urban areas are regarded as home for the nonstandard linguistic practices used by youngsters whose creativity in manipulation of language plays an important role in identity building and determining how modern a specific sound, word or sign may be. Language contact, migration, and language shift have been recurrent in African communities for centuries and have been affected by both internal and external factors such as the transatlantic slave trade, colonialism and socioeconomic changes (Nassenstein, 2018, pp. 107, 113). The phenomena now described as features of superdiversity were, actually, always and everywhere common features of social processes, and that differences between such process in the peripheries and in the metropolitan centres are differences to degree rather than to substance (Blommaert, 2014, p. 11).

Taking African youths language practices specifically, as explained by Nassenstein (2018), they have always been treated as an urban concept where urban based youths have been regarded as the only innovators and creatives of youth language practices used across African countries. This is because in colonialists' memories and in the accounts of first explores, rural areas and speakers have been pictured as remote, inaccessible, cut off from urban areas and mainly places of nostalgia and wilderness. These African village images portrayed in the past, have been retained in the modern day touristic portray of Africa where the village environment is still naturally and culturally fragile in which adventure can be experienced. On the contrary, due to globalization, broad rural repertoires, interconnectedness of city and village to mention a few, rural youths are as creative, manipulative, and open-minded in linguistic processes as

urban youths. They manipulate rural language registers and styles to express regional identity and agency through stylized practice in addition to using urban and global forms of language (Nassenstein, 2018, p. 107). CMC for Africans involves their traditional communication culture and the well-known global practices. Global terminologies through music, movies and social media sites become embedded in youngsters' repertoires.

2.4 Languages in Tanzania

In this section I will describe Tanzania's languages and their various roles and positions in communication and society in general. There are three types of languages used in Tanzania such are Kiswahili, English and Tribal languages. Each language type plays its separate role in the society even though there is overlapping in their roles regarding the fact that Tanzania has a diverse population with over 120 tribes which share distinctive customs and traditions as I shall further explain this in section 2. 4. 2.

2.4.1 Kiswahili

Kiswahili is believed to have risen from the East African coastal region through interaction between Arab traders and Bantu communities which resided along the east coast "to facilitate interaction between local coastal Bantu peoples and Arab traders and ". . . is more widely spoken in the country because most Tanzanians are Bantus who have a natural advantage in learning the language because it is dominated by Bantu language structure and vocabulary" (Otiso, 2013, p. 11). It is also the mother tongue of the people residing along the coast and Zanzibar and of young generation in urban areas. In rural areas Kiswahili becomes mother tongue of the people who are born in inter-ethnic marriages or in cases where both or one of the parents had Kiswahili as their mother tongue. Moreover, as stated on the first paragraph, Tanzania has more than a hundred and twenty native tribes, and each of these tribes has its own tribal languages which are replaced by Kiswahili in an inter-ethnic communication, but they are mostly used at homes especially in rural areas.

The tribal languages are the primary languages that are spoken by the members of these tribes who share distinctive traditions and customs. Despite having a wide variety of languages to choose from, not many of the languages was promoted to carry a national language status because Kiswahili language had been prioritized even before Tanzania got its independence.

Blommaert (2014) writes,

The choice of Swahili was based on the fact that, apparently for centuries, varieties of Swahili were widespread throughout East Africa, due to the existence of extensive commercial networks running inland from the coastal mercantile communities of Zanzibar, Mombasa, Kilwa, Lamu and Malindi. (p, 49)

During the Germany and British Colonial rule Kiswahili was being prioritized to ensure possible communication between colonizers and the local population. Since the language had spread and established well throughout Tanzania before German took over the country in the 1880's, the colonists had to learn Kiswahili and even started with the documentation of the language and translation efforts were made. Also, Kiswahili was used by TANU to spread political awareness among Tanzanians and organise independence movements. After independence, Kiswahili became the national language and an identity for Tanzania's citizens. It also gained the same status in the neighbour countries like Kenya and Uganda, but in Tanzania Kiswahili gained more emphasize as the colonial languages and tribal languages were strongly discouraged because the goal of postcolonial Tanzania was to build strong unity among Tanzanians to be able to rebuild a new Tanzania for Tanzanians. Blommaert (2014) writes, "The local, 'ethnic' or 'tribal' languages in general received very little attention, because they were perceived as an obstacle to national development" (p, 47). Tribal languages were believed to not be enough in unifying people because they differ from each other therefore it would be difficult to build unity when people can't communicate with each other. Also, Kiswahili was considered neutral, because it did not belong to one tribe so every Tanzanian regardless their status would acquire Kiswahili equally, meaning that it would not be easily acquired by certain tribes than others and none of the tribes would feel superior than others. However, "Kiswahili is spoken by 90% of the population" (Mtesigwa, 2009, p. 70). Therefore, still there are Tanzanians who can't speak or write Kiswahili because of various reasons like migration, lack of enough exposure to most of the Swahili speaking population and lack of primary education opportunities. Taking example from my experience of the Hadza and Sandawe tribe which still lives primitively on their own by hunting and gathering, most of them do not speak Kiswahili. Also, Maasai tribe which still practice its original

culture, most of its people do not speak Kiswahili for the similar reason as the Hadza and Sandawe people (my own experience).

Even though, Kiswahili gained so much attention and the National language status, it did not replace tribal languages. They are still used but mostly in homes and some of them are rapidly developing for example Gogo language spoken by over one million people of Dodoma, Singida and Iringa regions, while others are threatened, for example, Doe language which is spoken by only 8000 people of Pwani region (Eberhard, David, Gary, & Charles, 2019). Others are extinct, for example, Aasax and Kw'dza (Otiso, 2013, pp. 11-12). Tribal languages have for a long time being discouraged in public settings, religious gatherings and education. For this reason, Kiswahili has become the main identity of Tanzanians and the symbol of unity (Blommaert, 2014). Kiswahili has been a written language since thirteenth century and in Tanzania people learn Kiswahili from when they start school or even earlier if they have it as mother tongue, while some of the tribal languages lack their own written status, most of them are only used at homes therefore most people do not know how to write them. At some point the attention and emphasize given to Kiswahili in Tanzania for so many decades, is seen as a weakening factor for tribal languages as Otiso (2013) writes, "the adoption and promotion of Swahili as Tanzania's official and national language and the country's rapid modernization and increased population migration and intermixing are growing threats to the survival of many of the country's native languages, especially the smaller ones" (p. 11). The concerns of Kiswahili language being a threat to smaller languages may seem relevant to some point regarding CMC among Tanzanians the fact that they would rather mix English and Kiswahili while communicating than mixing tribal languages.

2.4.2 Tribal languages

Tribal languages are primary languages that are spoken by members of tribes who share distinctive traditions and customs. I am aware of the connotations of the word *tribal* languages, but I have chosen to use it because it is a direct translation of what we call them in Tanzania "lugha za makabila" in Kiswahili ('lugha'-'language', 'za'-'of'(plural), 'makabila'-'tribes'). As I mentioned in section 2.4, there are over 120 tribes in Tanzania and each one of these tribes have their own languages, therefore, there are over a hundred languages that are spoken

in Tanzania, and they belong to the Bantu, Cushitic, Nilotic, Khoisan, Indo-European and Semitic language families (Blommaert, 2014, p. 48). There is a significant difference of the number of speakers for each language as well as power and status-group association of particular language as explained in section 2.4.1 and to be explained in section 2.4.3. During Kiswahili language policy and language planning in the 1930s, tribal languages in general were less prioritized because they were perceived as an obstacle to Tanzanian national development (Blommaert, 20014, pp. 47-48).

Tribal languages continue to be language of communication in rural Tanzania despite many hours of using Kiswahili at school because in rural areas people who share similar traditions and customs and language reside in the same village. Besides, in urban areas there are also families that use their tribal languages if all members of such families are from same tribe originally. Because these tribal languages are spoken mostly during ethnic communication, Kiswahili takes over when it comes to inter-ethnic communication. Ethnic can be defined as “relating to large groups of people classed according to common racial, national, tribal, religious, linguistic, or cultural origin or background” (Merriam-Webster, n.d., Definition 1a). The fact that there has been too little to no efforts put on learning how to write in tribal languages, most Tanzanians cannot communicate through tribal languages during written communication although that does not mean they do not have written form, most of them have written scripts. For example, there are books in tribal languages mostly religious books which are currently and have been used in church and Sunday schools across Tanzania for many years (Mtesigwa, 2009).

2.4.3 English

Starting from colonial period in Tanzania, language played an important role in politics which was targeted to carter for the interests of the rulers. Political rhetoric by Africans in Kiswahili during that period was seen as an intrusion in the domain of politics, which was the monopoly of the colonial authorities and it challenged the linguistic hegemony of the colonizers by placing an African language in the privileged position of a language of politics which is normally taken by only what was seen as civilized languages, such as English, French etc. However, during colonial rule, there were pragmatic efforts made to spread and standardize

Kiswahili as a lingua franca for East Africa in order to improve communication between colonial officials and the local population. English was used in national-level administration, parliament, judiciary and higher-level education while Kiswahili was used in primary school education and local-level administration (Blommaert, 2014, p. 49). After independence, Kiswahili became the national language, but English was still used in the higher positions of social and political life, except for the decision of using Kiswahili in the parliament. In 1994, perception toward Kiswahili and English changed because at that time Tanganyika and the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba had united but Zanzibar after revolution, its first action was to ban the use of all foreign languages such as English and Arabic from public life and promote Kiswahili. This had not been the case for Tanganyika and its citizens therein because Kiswahili was most people's second or third language but for Zanzibaris Kiswahili was the mother tongue of the majority (Blommaert, 2014, pp. 37, 50).

When the adult education program called education for Self-Reliance was launched in 1967, Kiswahili would be used as a medium of instruction for both primary school and the adult education curriculum. English would be used in higher education to educate the intellectuals who would become experts and government officials. The language was supposed to be used until the day that Kiswahili would have developed enough to take over the functions of English in secondary and higher education. The program to be implemented from the year 1971 onwards established by Tanzanian government to gradually replace English with Kiswahili, remains unimplemented and English is still the language of education in secondary and higher education (Blommaert, 2014, p. 50). This and other functions of English language in Tanzania will further be explained on section 2.4.4.

According to Eberhard et al (2019), four million people in Tanzania speak English but the number might be higher than that because the population of Tanzania has increased a lot since 2003 which is the reference used on the site.

2.4.4 Kiswahili and English language role/position in Education

Kiswahili became the language of instruction in primary schools as well as medium of instruction for adult education which was launched in the early 70's. It is important to mention that, Kiswahili did not start to be used in primary school after the Arusha declaration, it had been the medium of instruction since the beginning of such education, even during German occupation in the 1880's Kiswahili remained the language of instruction and German was just a subject in primary schools. What became new is the education system where the once regarded as 'preparatory phase' which focused on preparing students for further education, now became 'Kiswahili medium primary school program' with the aim of teaching beneficial subjects to Tanzanians for Tanzania. When Britain took over Tanganyika territory, the now called Tanzania mainland after the first world war, English became the official language, but it did not replace Kiswahili's position in the first years of primary education. In secondary schools as well as higher education Kiswahili is taught as a subject, but English is the medium of instruction except for teacher's colleges for primary schools and degree courses offered by the Kiswahili department at the university of Dar es salaam (Mtesigwa, 2009, p. 68). Even though Kiswahili is only used as a medium of instruction in primary schools and the few selected institutions, it remains the dominant language in Tanzania. "Because of its long history and geographical spread in the country. Kiswahili constitutes about 80% of everyday language use in public places, especially in urban areas" (Mtesigwa, 2009, p. 68).

Like in many other African countries which decided to keep their colonial languages as either national or official language and to some countries both national and official language, English became official language in Tanzania. Being the official language in Tanzania, English is not much used in daily face to face communications among Tanzanians, ". . . probably because only 10% of the population seriously need it for communication. [And] it serves international functions that link Tanzania to the international community" (Mtesigwa, 2009, p. 69).

It is not only medium of instruction in secondary and high education in Tanzania but also used in diplomatic functions, information exchange between Tanzania and foreign countries, and international trade and business. Mtesigwa (2009) point out the ambiguity that face linguistic situation in Tanzania as far as education system is concerned. Despite the astonishing

resources Tanzania have used in maintaining the status of Kiswahili language and its importance in unifying its people and primary education medium of instruction, the use of English in secondary and higher education have caused ongoing discussion as to why it's in use and not Kiswahili which is the dominant language and a foundation of the academic knowledge students acquire in primary schools. The debate remains whether it favours the future of Tanzania and its people regarding the fact that there has been research done and the results shows very little understanding of the subjects taught in English compared to the ones taught in Kiswahili as well as minimal participation in classes (2009, p. 71). The ongoing debate did not go unnoticed because in 2015 Tanzanian government decided Kiswahili will be the language of instruction on all levels of education but as of today the decision remains unimplemented.

2.5 History and people

Tanzania is one of five East African countries occupying about 947,300 square kilometres with a population of over fifty-three million people who belong to more than a hundred and twenty indigenous and non-indigenous tribes. "The majority of Tanzania's population (97%) lives on the mainland (formerly known as Tanganyika) while the rest lives on the Zanzibar archipelago, which is dominated by the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba" (Otiso, 2013, p. 4). Tanzania adopted multiparty system in 1995 where more political parties emerged, and the country had its first democratic election during that year, but as of today Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) has been the only party ruling Tanzania despite strong opposition from other parties.

Before independence, the country was known as Tanganyika before its union with Zanzibar islands in 1964 (Blommaert, 2014, p. 28) when it acquired a new name, United republic of Tanzania. When German lost the battle during World War 1, Britain took over Tanganyika which had been under German colonial rule since 1880s (Otiso, 2013, p. 35). It gained its independence from Britain in December 1961 (Otiso, 2013, p. 39). It is not before then Tanzania could have its first Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere the founder of TANU (Tanganyika African National Union), a political party founded in 1954 with the aim of among other things, demand full independent country through its powerful independence movements, establish a democratic government with Africans occupying majority of governmental bodies, and so on (Otiso, 2013, p. 39).

Just like many other newly independent African countries seeking to rebuild their postcolonial nations, Tanzania adopted socialism during Arusha declaration in 1967 (Otiso, 2013, p. 39). The form of socialism developed by Julius Nyerere the father of the nation whom led Tanzania to its independence, is famously known as Ujamaa na Kujitegemea. Ujamaa is a Kiswahili word which means familyhood, but the whole meaning of the term “ujamaa na kujitegemea” means socialism and self-reliance (Blommaert, 2014, p. 17). The idea was to rebuild the country through unity and solidarity.

In Ujamaa era, Nyerere insisted one of the important aspects that would successful ensure unity and solidarity among Tanzanians, was the avoidance of tribalism because “tribalism, or ethnic consciousness in general was one of the main enemies of Ujamaa” (Blommaert, 2014, p. 30) as it could cause discrimination and nepotism so, instead of basing cultural comprehension into more than a hundred and twenty different tribes, culture would be comprehended as one common identity of all Tanzanians in which unity and solidarity would be built for the sake of country’s development. However, “education for self-reliance” (Blommaert, 2014, p. 31) was launched the same year as the Arusha declaration where the goal was to increase literacy, schooling and political consciousness of the people. Primary schools medium of instruction remained Kiswahili as a result for the need to change its status which catered for the interest of further education which again was seeming to have less benefit for Tanzania and Tanzanians in general. So, the programs to be taught in primary schools would be “self-contained offered to all Tanzanians” (Blommaert, 2014, p. 31) in the language that was understandable to majority to ensure that the children who finished primary school would be equipped with everything they needed to be able to fully function in their own country. This went hand in hand with the launch of adult education which allowed adults who were denied access to education during colonialism to be able to get the right education. Moreover, the education system changed, and Kiswahili became the medium of instruction even for the adult education purposely to also ensure smooth spread of Ujamaa philosophy to Tanzanians for the aim of building a new Tanzania which most of its people could be literate enough to understand their own dilemma and the goal for the established policy and participate in political discussions (Blommaert, p. 31).

From independence to mid-1990s Tanzania's government played a key player role in education sector, but because of resource constraints it started to facilitate the operation and expansion of the sector by creating an environment where education can be provided by public, non-profit organizations and private entities. There is a total of 18 universities of which 8 are public and 10 are privately owned. Most of the largest and oldest are publicly owned. Also, there are 15 major university colleges in Tanzania as well as other institutions of higher learning and vocational training centres. Additionally, education sector faces its challenges on among other things, shortage of physical, human and financial resources which leads to increase congestion, worsening teacher-student ratio and declining educational standards (Otiso, 2013, pp. 13-14).

Tanzania has a total of twenty-six regions and its capital is Dodoma. There are approximately three hundred major urban areas in Tanzania of which Dar es Salaam, Arusha, Mwanza, Zanzibar and Mbeya are the largest of them all. Population size in Tanzania's cities vary widely, Dar es Salaam being the highly populated city with over three million people and the nerve centre of the country's social, educational, diplomatic and economic activities. Dar es Salaam is said to have started about 1000 years ago and Sultan Majid of Zanzibar who had imagined it as a fishing village started its construction around 1857 and gave it its current name in 1866 which means "haven of peace" in Arabic. Currently, the city has reasonable industrial base and is culturally diverse with population of not only Africans but also Asian, Arabic and European people, the population which dates to the onset of colonial rule. Location is one of the factors that contributes to population growth in the major cities in Tanzania resulting from among other factors rural-urban migration. Mainland's Indian Ocean front which contains Dar-es Salaam region and city is the heavily populated part of the country, Also, the regions around Lake Victoria for example, Mwanza, Shinyanga and Kagera have many urban areas because of their favourable environmental conditions which allow them to support high population densities. (Otiso, 2013, pp. 14-16).

Tanzania's literature, media and film sectors are still young making day by day progress. Much of its literature is oral and is primarily spread orally rather than in written form. Face to face communication is still highly valued by Tanzanians despite the increasing availability of modern communications because it is a central aspect of the country's oral culture. Main types

of the countries oral literature are folktales, songs, poems, proverbs, and riddles. Written literature which began to flourish in the colonial period, is less widespread than its oral counterpart which exists in all of Tanzania's living indigenous languages. Oral literature mostly exists in people's minds rather than in collections like library. Much of the recorded oral literature is in Kiswahili. Promotion of Kiswahili proficiency for political reasons, increasing modernization of the country and associated devaluation of traditional oral literature are among reasons the oral literature is currently in decline. Except for Kiswahili literature, the country has very little other indigenous language literary works because the market for such books is very small. The only book that is widely published in many indigenous languages like Kichagga, Kimasai, Kihehe among others, is the Christian Bible. Despite the many challenges facing Tanzania's written literature, the government, book publishers and writers are working to change the situation by promoting lifelong reading and learning as key factors to help eradicate personal poverty and to maintain high standards of living. The challenges facing written literature sector are the country's low reading culture that fails to support a thriving literary environment, relatively high costs of books due to high book-publishing costs and small markets that limits investment and innovation in the industry, and small personal incomes to mention a few (Otiso, 2013, pp. 68, 69, 75, 164).

Tanzania's Kiswahili literature has a long history of published works that dates to the 13th century, and because of the language's long history as both spoken and written, it has an extensive literature throughout the East African region. English literature in Tanzania is much less developed compared to its Kiswahili counterpart because as mentioned above, the promotion of Kiswahili during colonial and postcolonial era resulted to most literary works published in Kiswahili. By the mid-1970's English language had lost its prestige and market demand which led to many of the authors who had initially published their works in English switch to Kiswahili. Though, Tanzania's English literature remained low, it is gradually growing because the language has become the global lingua franca, capitalism system embraced by the country since 1980's and Internet. Most of the country's print and broadcast media is in Kiswahili language though there are also many English media outlets (Otiso, 2013, pp. 83, 85).

On this section, I have briefly explained the History of Tanzania from way before it gained its Independence and its union with Zanzibar. Through this brief introduction of Tanzania I have also managed to point out some of important information about the country such as population, size and transformation of school system during the launch of Arusha declaration where the Kiswahili language maintained its role of primary school medium of instruction as well as gained a new role of language of instruction in self-reliance education. I also explained the history of Tanzanian literature in general as well as the Kiswahili literature with works that dates thirteenth century. The information on this section, will be useful in understanding of what is to come on the next chapters because the important information about the country's history and how it has shaped the current Tanzania and its people, has been explained. Also, information on this section is a foundation of understanding linguistic situation in Tanzania which will provide clear understanding of languages to be discussed in chapter 5.

2.6 Rural Tanzania

Tanzania's rural areas differ from urban areas in some cases. It is where most original cultural and traditional practices take place, historically, traditional African village life was presented as inherently socialist in nature and structure, Julius Nyerere, the father of Tanzanian nation emphasised "the fact that precolonial Africans lived in close-knit solidarity-ruled communities in which wealth as well as poverty were equally shared, and deeply democratic forms of decision-making prevailed" (Blommaert, 2014, p. 17). This can still be seen in some aspects of Tanzanian rural life today, country's society rules and norms that govern most systems are clearly displayed and mostly practiced in rural areas compared to urban areas where such systems are beginning to erode. For example, a well-defined gender role and interaction in rural areas is stricter, communal ties are prevalent where for most part family is often understood in the extended sense, and in some local languages there is no distinction for instance between brothers and cousins. In Tanzanian society in general, preservation of relationships and flexibility is important than time, but this view is more common in rural areas (Otiso, 2013, pp. 166-167). This being the case, face to face communication is a lot more common and valued all over Tanzania but mainly in rural areas because setting time for either expected or unexpected visitors is sign of kindness and respect.

However, the aspect of face to face communication is now being challenged by CMC because of availability of mobile telephone which can be bought at cheaper price that most people in rural areas can afford. The most popular way of communicating is by more established means that is the basic services through mobile telephone such are telephone calls/beeping and short message services (SMS) to both short and long-distance areas, and due to sometimes poor network coverage experienced by rural based population, people tend to take subscriptions from several operators to compensate for poor network coverage (Blommaert, 2014, p. 111). For example, the common unexpected visits are becoming more unusual because people are calling or sending SMS in advance. In addition to offering means of short and long-distance communication at cheaper costs and effectively without requiring huge investments like those of landline networks, mobile phones also are important tools for economic, social and political development (Blommaert, 2014, p. 111). For example, instead of walking long distances to organise social events, invitations can be done through SMS and phone calls, political campaigns can be done through SMS. Another example is the money sending and receiving services that can be done through m-banking on mobile telephones instead of going to banks which are mostly located in urban centres. Some of popular money sending networks in Tanzania are M-PESA and TIGO-PESA. When money is sent to a person in rural areas, he/she can collect the money from an agent of the network the money is sent to, usually the agents are local shops.

Rural Tanzania is provided by limited information and communication technology infrastructures which leads to minimal participation in CMC. Reason to such limitation is high cost of establishing such infrastructures, insufficient electrical energy and low information and communication technology literacy. Population in rural areas consisting of low-income communities where people can rarely afford the costs of information and communication technology services. Therefore, these services are commonly delivered by shared access. Wireless mobile communication technology first entered Tanzania in the year 1994 with only one registered privately owned wireless mobile network, currently there more than five wireless mobile operators. There are fixed-line network operators whose network coverage is up to levels of regional or district headquarters. With wireless mobile operators, coverage for voice services is nearly countrywide while coverage for internet services is mostly in the urban areas. In the rural Tanzania some wireless mobile operators provide 3G coverage (Simba,

Trojer & Yonah, 2012, pp. 150, 151, 158, 159). Its stability is far from being reliable which makes it harder for users to fast access internet if they manage to get access at all. During fieldwork for this thesis, the participants were users of several social networking sites but all of them admitted to having internet access struggles which makes it hard for them to actively participate in online communication. Most of the time they must find specific sports always on an elevated area where internet coverage can be accessed although very slow. Access to regular electricity supply is another determining factor for internet availability especially in rural areas because Internet requires electricity and by 2007 more than 80% supplied in the urban areas (Blommaert, 2014, p. 112).

2.7 Summary

In this chapter I have introduced CMC by explaining its origin where innovation of electronic computer played an important role and how such communication has become part of everyday life in ensuring connectivity in an unprecedented scale of which user generated contents are made available and are drawing attention of among other sectors linguistic for studies of online language practices. I have also introduced multilingualism and explained its historical background from when it was perceived negatively in the broad field of linguistic to now that it has achieved its acceptance in the linguistic field and drawing scholars and linguists interest whose suggestion on how multilingualism should be studied differ significantly. Through the chapter, language and CMC in Africa, languages in Tanzania as well as role of two of the Tanzania's languages in education have also been explained. I have also explained history and people of Tanzania as well as rural Tanzania.

As the information in this chapter have so far created the awareness of what type of a country Tanzania is, especially linguistic wise and how CMC is being integrated on rural based population daily life, it is the reason I decided to study rural youth linguistic practices based on the research questions mentioned in section 1.2. Languages in Tanzania have not only been part of pre-colonial Tanzanian history, but they have also been part of decolonization process, and part of post-colonial nation building efforts and Kiswahili specifically has played a major role in it while other languages such as tribal languages given minor roles in the society and English facing both positive experiences of being education, commerce and diplomatic language as well as uncertainties of surviving its role in Tanzanian literature and so on. It is

these important historical aspects of linguistic situation in Tanzania and the contemporary Tanzanian rural based youth's situation as described on section 2.6 that motivated the study of rural youths' linguistic practices today in the manner pointed out on the research question. Because as it has been made clear in this chapter, Tanzania is not a one language – one people country and for that reason I wanted to look at linguistic practices in different perspective than that of monolingual orientation.

3. THEORY

On this part of the thesis I will present theoretical tool that will be used in analysis of data. In analysing the data, I will use notions of *fixity* and *fluidity* inspired by metrolingualism (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010) as I shall introduce them on the last part of this chapter. I will start by discussing two aspects of multilingualism such are code-switching and language choice. These two aspects are explained in this thesis because they have for a long time and by many linguists been a centre of attention in studying language practices, but they look at a language as a single entity governed by specific rules and norms of a given society. Therefore, its presentation is mainly to show how limiting can these two be when it comes to studying linguistic practices online compared to other approaches that I will introduce in section 3.3. Such approaches are metrolingualism, and translanguaging.

3.1 LANGUAGE CHOICE

Language choice is a decision made by multilinguals to use a language of preference in a communication context for various reasons which together contributes to shared understanding among interlocutors.

Kramersch (2009) writes,

For someone who has a choice of several languages, the language she chooses to express herself at any given time can bear traces of the sounds, shapes, and meanings of others. These unused potential meanings shape her imagination, nourish her intimate memories, and suffuse her understanding of events they give her the feeling of being both there and not quite there. (p.16)

The choice of language depends on the linguistic resources available to the interlocutors and how they want to employ it for everyone involved to understand. Linguistic resources as explained by Lee (2017), are socially constructed and they rely on several variables like experience, beliefs, values, and social backgrounds of the individual concerned.¹ They are neither predetermined, nor do they exist in human beings inherently and biologically (pp, 23-

¹ I'm aware that this statement is not trivial because there are other views of language in the field of linguistics that are contrary to this one.

24). Gumperz (1964) argues that the freedom of the individual to select the language he/she want to use is “always subject both to grammatical and social restraints” (p. 138) where the grammatical restraints relate to the quality of the sentences in relation to being understandable and the social restraints relate to their acceptability (Gumperz, 1964, p. 138). Grammatical restraints determine if the sentences made are grammatically correct in such a way that the message intended is not ambiguous even if similar sentences are formulated differently. The ungrammatical sentences that can be understandable, in linguistic analysis they are not considered part of the linguistic structure and if they are listed at all they are demoted to the realm of free variation and if the individual chooses to use them, “the power of selection is limited by commonly agreed-on conventions which serve to categorise speech forms as informal, technical, vulgar, literary, humorous etc” (Gumperz, 1964, p. 138). The agreed-on conventions have greater variations than official grammatic norm and if they are well established, they can contribute to the style of a message that gives advance information about the content. In other words, the prior hints of a phenomena increases the efficiency of communication regarding understanding “Speech styles provide advance information about the nature of messages and speed up communication in somewhat the same way that titles and tables of contents help in reading a book” (Gumperz, 1964, p. 138) but, these stylistic choices turns to problems when the one is away from his own usual environments because what is acceptable in their respective environment may be unacceptable in a different surrounding. This is because the social rule of conduct of language choice is learned along with grammatical rules and becomes part of linguistic equipment’s of the language user (Gumperz, 1964, p. 138).

Similarly, social relationships affect the choice of language in different social occasions where a person may have several statuses in his social relations and these statuses are involved with well-defined norms of behaviour. While the person is in a broader social setting, he limits the selection of social relationships to “to bear a somewhat closer relation to modes of acting and speaking” (Gumperz, 1964, p. 139). Furthermore, the social position of the person affects the choice of language in relation to the context of conversation. For example, some words might be appropriate while the person is at work but during normal conversation after work, he might need to pick a different set of codes that represents the codes employed at work. Semantically this type of alternation selects among subclasses of referent, in social interaction it reflects the positions the person wishes to assume relative to each other. “Whenever a set of linguistic

forms is interchangeable within the same frame without significant change in meaning, it is this second aspect which becomes most important” (Gumperz, 1964, pp.139-140). In addition to grammatical and social limits, it is the co-occurrence restrictions of which linguistic relationship of the components of a statement also plays a role in language choice where the alternant chosen sets limits to what should follow within the same sentence. They condition the morphological and phonological realizations of messages (Gumperz, p. 140).

3.1.1 Language choice in computer mediated communication

Several studies, for example Androutsopoulos, (2006), Lam, (2009), Lee, (2007a) have examined how web users draw on and play with linguistic and other semiotic resources to achieve their own purposes and to perform identities online (Lee, 2017, p. 12). Globalization and superdiversity in online spaces make it a norm for members of online communities to encounter multilingualism regardless how many languages one can speak (Lee, 2017, p. 13). Language choice in CMC does not only involve codes in terms of broad categories of languages but also different representational resources such as creative and unconventional resources like emoticons that are involved in the meaning-making process. Also, new resources maybe introduced to one’s linguistic repertoire and existing ones may be reshaped, re-appropriated and recontextualised depending on the context of use (Lee, 2017, p. 26). Sebba (2012) explains that a lot of work that has been done on studying multilingualism since the 70’s has focused on studying spontaneously produced spoken data, usually described as conversational code-switching although, most of it has been done on informal contexts, there exists a considerable investigation in institutional settings like classroom and office while written language mixing remains relatively unresearched (2012, pp. 97-98). He also explains that there is lack of ‘independent theoretical framework’ on how to study multilingual written discourse since most of the work out there is based on approaches for studying spoken language. His suggested approach on how to analyse multilingual texts is directed towards semiotics of mixed language texts in the broadest sense, literacy framework which will lead to understanding the performances involved in creating texts within the contexts of literacy practices and visual and spatial elements of the written form (Sebba, 2012, pp, 106-107).

According to Sebba (2012), most of the great diversity of written medium genres, do not resemble the spoken genres despite overlap in some cases so, using the approaches used to study spoken language is somehow misleading because there are several aspects of written language that should be analysed on their own as they do not correlate those of oral communication. He anyway mentions that “some kinds of written text do not seem to need direct reference to visual aspects in their analysis” (2012, p. 98).

Androutsopoulos (2013) makes a distinction between code-switching and language choice for emblems such as website names, screen names, slogans, user signatures and navigation bars. Emblematic language choice is said to extend multilingual make-up of websites and discussion forums because it introduces linguistic resources that are not regularly used in ongoing user discussions. However, the emblematic multilingualism does not challenge the dominant language, but it selects another code as relevant to the identity of an institution or individual. A code as defined by Lee (2013) “is commonly understood as a language or a variety of language” (p. 39). This instances of introduction of new codes other than the dominant language, are not instances of code-switching even though they may coexist with instances of code-switching (Androutsopoulos, 2013, p. 672). In CMC specifically media discourse studies, participants who are neither known to the speaker and inactive in an exchange, their presence affects speaker’s language choice to parts of the audience (Androutsopoulos, 2013, p. 677). Emblematic multilingualism may make certain languages relevant but that will not determine language choice among participants and the participants themselves and even when they are inactive, they may have an influence on what language the speaker should choose because speakers wants to make themselves understood by all participants.

3.2 CODE SWITCHING

Code-switching(CS) is regarded as the ability of multilinguals to employ their linguistic repertoires by choosing which language codes, they want to alternate whether in unchanged settings or in different settings during communication for various intentions such as to meet their participants needs or to clarify a certain word in another language than that of communication, identity negotiation and so forth. However, the notion of CS does not only involve multilinguals but also monolinguals can use various dialects in a conversation setting (Gumperz, 1964), (Bloomfield, 1933). Bullock and Toribio (2009) writes “All speakers selectively draw on the language varieties in their linguistic repertoire, as dictated by their intentions and by the needs of the speech participants and the conversational setting” (p. 2). They also refer to the action of monolinguals to mix between their languages as style shifting where a monolingual shift between registers and dialects of one language while language shifting is a multilingual action of exclusively using one language in certain contexts like home or school then shift to another language in other contexts. Auer (1998) argues, in CS, the difference between one code and the other is meaningful, and participants can interpret it as indexing some aspects of the situation (discourse-related switching) or some features of the CS speaker (participant-related switching). The former is not part of grammar but of everyday rhetoric which represents a metapragmatic comment on the on-going multilingual interaction while the latter is involved with instances of diverging language preferences and competences. For that matter, Auer insists the importance of including in the analysis, the sequential position of such CS in which it occurs and from which it receives its meaning because CS can never be analysed as only a mere outcome of indexing extra conversational knowledge (1998, p. 2).

CS is sometimes seen as lack of enough knowledge of the dominant language and in many cases is seen as a linguistic competence which is useful to people in different contexts. Bullock and Toribio (2009) states, “CS is not indicative either of the [multilingual’s] inability to separate his language or of a lack of proficiency. Rather it is an additional communication resource available to bilinguals” (p. 8). Because of continuously interaction of people taking place through migration and technological development in various contexts, there are new linguistic practices in relation to CS emerging in both written and spoken environments

therefore it is still debatable on what should stand as independent classification of which various forms of CS can be characterised (Bullock & Toribio, 2009, p. 2). “CS comprises a broad range of contact phenomena and is difficult to characterize definitively” (Bullock & Toribio, 2009, p. 2). This is because CS may range from insertion of single words to the alternation of codes for bigger parts of discourse. Also, the fact that multilinguals who produce these CS have differing degrees of proficiency in the languages they use, and their language contact settings vary, thus their CS patterns might not be similar.

Different levels of CS according to Aarsæther (2008), can be studied in two ways that are grammatic level and text level. Researchers on grammatical level will focus on how words from other languages are placed on a sentence and eventually integrates morphological and syntax in the other language they are been placed while researchers on text level, use bilingual texts or speeches as a starting point and focus on how bilinguals exchange between languages from one sentence to the other. (2008, pp. 117-118). This concept is referred by Lee (2017) as intraword switching which occurs when elements of two or more languages are combined into one lexical item and intersentential switching which involves switching across sentences (pp. 40-47).

However, there have developed several contexts in which norms and expectations of societies in general are being violated. These contexts are communities found online through social media and social networking sites. They involve communication across borders, so CS practices are common since members employ linguistic codes that can be shared by others who may or may not have similar codes. Canagarajah (2013) states that, “the social and technological changes of late modernity compel us to relate to texts differently. Internet has introduced new forms of textuality and brought out our capacity to read and write differently” (p. 129). Digital media and easy internet access provide language users with a platform to creatively use their linguistic repertoires to be able to communicate with both known and unknown participants of CMC. “Given the importance of multilingualism and the pervasiveness of digital media worldwide, it seems safe to assume that digitally-mediated communication (via both networked computers and mobile networked devices) offers opportunities for written CS on an unprecedented scale” (Androutsopoulos, 2013, p. 667).

Canagarajah (2013) regards the act of using more than one language in a conversation as “codemeshing”. He claims that through codemeshing our assumptions of how a text should be constructed in one language at a time and display a transparent meaning, are violated. Having the belief that languages are unique and therefore should be kept free from mixing with other languages in fear of altering their systems is according to him a “monolingual orientation to communication” (2013, p. 1). The practice of involving two or more languages in conversation is becoming necessary because speakers don’t always find a common code for their conversation so they can use their respective languages they are proficient in to communicate with each other (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 4). In discussing how strict norms of writing are and how they can be reformed, Canagarajah explains how codemeshing is helpful to authors as they can employ it and satisfy both demands that are the norms imposed on standard written language and voice of their own through their preferred codes and conversation (2013, p. 113).

Early linguistic research on CMC focused on the relationship between language and technology, therefore some of its main categories are considered and operate within a monolingual frame. However recent works of several linguists like Herring (2007) and Sebba (2012) have put emphasis on the importance of including medium, literacy practices and social factors that plays role in digital written language. Face-to-face interaction has for a long time been claimed to be the crucial context for CS but, CMC has revealed various forms of written CS, thus the earlier assumption on the topic is being challenged. On CMC, the visual channels are absent and the “temporal gape between contributions – means that important dimensions of the interactional co-construction of meanings are altered or restricted” (Androutsopoulos, 2013, p. 670).

Sebba (2012) explains that, there is great diversity of genres in written medium which makes it different from spoken medium in complex ways and such genres do not resemble the spoken genres even where there is some overlap. Therefore, it is not obvious that CS and the related terms are applicable to written language and if they do the question is whether they refer to the same phenomena or different phenomena. He further argues that, there are multilingual written genres that cannot be analysed insightfully using the tools developed for spoken CS (2012, p. 98).

3.2.1 CODE SWITCHING VS OTHER CONTACT PHENOMENA

CS is confused with other contact phenomena as Auer (1998) argues, “differential and historical studies of bilingualism have often been hidden under the more universalistic interests dominating the past decades of research [therefore] little is known about the dynamic aspects of speech in individual bilingual communities over a period of time” (p. 1). Bullock and Toribio suggests CS is to be distinguished from these other phenomena although it is not always easy to clear-cut distinctions between them. (2009, p. 5).

Diglossia

Diglossia “it is a characterization of linguistic organization at the socio-cultural level” (Fishman, 2000, p. 85). It is when “two or more varieties of the same language are used by some speakers under different condition in many speech communities” (Ferguson, 1959, p. 325). While CS is regarded as an individual choice to use their linguistic repertoires in a given communication setting, Diglossia is used to describe a multilingual community in general where language or language varieties is associated with a particular social function. It is community norms which determines the selection of which language to use (Bullock & Toribio, 2009). Moreover, it may develop from various origin and eventuate in different language situation. In diglossic communities’ roles of each language are taken serious even though they tend to overlap in some situation where one may be in a situation where standard language is the appropriate for the speech but right after they give the expected speech, discussion of the respective speech will shift to other language. Diglossia is said to be stable language situation which may last over thousand years. (Ferguson, 1959, pp. 327, 329, 332). In Tanzania for Example, it is a diglossic community because as explained in section 2.4 each language type has its separate role but, there is always some overlapping for instance in school settings where English is often used to introduce a certain topic but teachers and students will discuss and answer questions in Kiswahili.

Borrowing

The term borrowing which is often confused with CS and which has been used to describe among other things transfer of structural features and that of a whole clause, resembles the insertional switching which as defined by Auer (1998), it occurs when “a content word (noun,

verb, rarely adjective/adverb) is inserted into a surrounding passage in the other language . . . the insertion may be morphosyntactically fully integrated; or it may carry over grammatical elements into the receiving language” (p. 5). The confusion of CS and borrowing according to Treffers-Daller (2009) is because researchers on the language field use different terminology for data that are basically the same and sometimes, they generalise their investigation of various topics which makes it hard to conclude from a range of studies (p. 58). Borrowing occurs when borrowed words from other language are assimilated in a different language than that of their origin. Phonic and grammatical integration of loan words have captured most scholar’s attention compared to that of lexical borrowing where “a simple word to be borrowed can be transferred or reproduced by a semantic extension, a compound may be transferred in analysed form or reproduced as a loan translation or hybrid compound” (Weinreich, 1953, p. 61).

However, Nonce borrowings which are unassimilated loan words “occur spontaneously in the speech of bilinguals, blurring any boundary that can be drawn between these contact forms on structural criteria alone” (Bullock & Toribio, 2009, p. 5). Loan translations and calques “involve importation of foreign patterns or meanings with the retention of native-language morphemes” (Bullock & Toribio, 2009, p. 5). For example, English translation into Kiswahili words (‘akiba’- ‘savings’) and (‘kiufundi’ – ‘skill/skilful’) in the examples below:

Kiswahili: Wachezaji wa akiba (literally: ‘players of reserve’) (English equivalent: ‘reserve team’).

Kiswahili: Timu ya kiufundi (literally: ‘team of skill’) (English equivalent: ‘technical team’).

Language mixing

Auer (1998) explains how difficult it can be to determine language of interaction in a conversation or determine if the alternation used prompts a change of footing or is related to the competences and preferences of the speaker on each location, because of how both languages are almost equally used. When that happens and the juxtaposition seem to lack local meaning, the practice cannot be considered CS. He further argues language mixing is much more linked to syntax than CS regarding the languages used are subject to certain restraints which most syntactically oriented research on multilingualism has focused on (1998, pp, 6-7).

Common characteristics of Language mixing is the convergence of alternational and insertional strategies. The distinction between insertional and alternational juxtapositions can be difficult to maintain because of frequent intrasentential juxtapositions of the two languages. Identification of mixing styles of a more insertional kind and of a more alternational kind is often possible (Auer, 1998, p. 7). For example, an alternating kind of Kiswahili and English could be:

Mtoto wake ni mzuri sana na he loves to eat almost kila kitu

Her child is very beautiful, and he loves to eat almost everything.

3.2.2 THREE MAJOR APPROACHES IN THE STUDY OF CODESWITCHING

As the study of CS has gained attention for many decades now, there has developed three approaches to the study of CS such are structural, psycholinguistic and sociolinguist approach. Each of these approach studies CS depending on their field of interest. Structural approach is mostly concerned with what CS can reveal about language structure at all levels like lexicon, phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics. Research on this field has focused on the patterns of morphology and syntax. It is argued that linguists are provide with a challenging and unique source of information by multilingual knowledge displayed through CS because the syntactic theories are constructed to represent the knowledge of monolingual. CS in this perspective is rule-governed and systematic (Bullock & Toribio, 2009, p. 14-15).

Psycholinguistic approach is concerned with “cognitive mechanism that underlie bilingual production, perception and acquisition” (Bullock & Toribio, 2009, p. 14). On this approach CS tasks are used to examine activation of two languages. Lexical access, working memory, multilingual control and attention are some of the things that are assessed during CS tasks. The ambiguity of this process lies on the use of single lexical item during CS tasks because “it is not clear whether the multilingual process being examined is representative of CS” (Bullock & Toribio, 2009, p. 15).

Sociolinguistic approach observes the social factors that leads to CS and how CS can provide an insight into social constructs such as power and prestige. Gender, age, class, social

networks, identity, community norms and attitudes are among external factors that are focused on this approach. Sociolinguists analyses CS by using existing frameworks that are used to analyse monolingual behaviour at micro and macro levels. Micro level considers individual motivation for CS while macro level studies CS as a community behaviour where individual bilingual behaviour is positioned “within diverse social contexts and by reference to social norm” (Bullock & Toribio, 2009, p. 16).

Nevertheless, a whole description of CS cannot be fulfilled without combining results of all approaches although practically that is a complex task to be fulfilled because generally methods of obtaining results and frameworks developed for each differ from one approach to the other. For that reason, the debate surrounding studies of CS are bound to happen due to disagreement of what and how to study the topic (Bullock & Toribio, 2009, p. 14). But Gardner-Chloros (2009) argues that, CS should be considered from a sociolinguistic perspective. From this perspective language and behaviour are related to the speaker’s social life in the broad sense. Although CS is studied from several perspective currently, sociolinguistic is the primary source of data because of its longevity in relation to when it started that is in 1970’s following the work of Blom and Gumperz (1972) among others (2009, pp. 97-98).

3.2.3 FUNCTIONS OF CODESWITCHING

CS perceptions as mentioned on its historical background went from being perceived as lack of competence in a language, to availability of linguistic competence of more than one language. Following its acceptance, it has attracted attention in linguistic field which has led to development of various theoretical approaches on how to study CS. Unfortunately, CS is still “stigmatized” (Bullock & Toribio, 2009, p. 10). The stigma is mostly associated by the expectation of how spoken language should be in some contexts like official settings etc as well as the norms and expectations for written language. Most written materials are expected to have one language free from any kind of mixing, these are norms that were set when multilingualism was discouraged and before the studies of CS started to emerge. So, when people’s expectations are not met, they tend to criticize the competence of the author or speaker.

Multilingualism is regarded as a source for CS because the more language stock one has the bigger the chance that he will employ them in communication at some point for various reasons. But that does not mean all multilinguals code switch. In some communities' CS is forbidden “. . . it is commonly the case that social norms will confer prestige on monolingual forms but stigma on bilingual varieties such as CS” (Bullock & Toribio, 2009, p. 11).

Although CS in some cases helps to cover the gap left by lack of competence in a language it is proven to have other functions than that. Discussed by Bullock and Toribio (2009) is the function of overt prestige that CS may represent. In some place languages carry various status, some are dominant in certain areas and carry a higher status than the rest. In Tanzania for example, English is regarded as the language of the educated and wealthier people because as mentioned in section 2.4.3, it is used in education and official settings while tribal languages are used in a home with no special role in any official or institutional settings.

Identity negotiation is another function that is observed through CS. Identities “are socially constructed and may change as a result of various factors, such as the context of interaction or the ways interlocutors interpret the identities being projected” (Lee, 2017, p. 55). During interaction people decide what they want to reveal about themselves. Blommaert and Backus (2012) discuss the notion of superdiversity which implies extreme degrees of diversity with new dimensions of social, cultural and linguistic diversity resulting from post-cold War migration and mobility patterns. The new migrations and development of mobile global communication systems like internet are greatly contributing to the new perspectives of what was once regarded as minority, diaspora and community because of high degrees of interaction caused by such factors as internet and migration. As a result, “[people] can no longer be straightforwardly associated with particular (national, ethnic, sociocultural) groups and identities; their meaning-making practices can no longer be presumed to ‘belong’ to particular languages and cultures” (2012, pp. 5-6). The meaning-making process in superdiverse communication involves intense forms of mixing, switching and shifting which challenges former language ideologies and norms on both spoken and written languages. Yet, patterns of learning language in superdiverse environments are also diverse. Some effect of learning is permanent while others are temporary and dynamic. While the process of learning language is dependent on biography, “repertoires are individual, biographically organized complexes of

resources, and they follow the rhythms of actual human lives” (Blommaert & Backus, 2012, p. 8).

On discussing verbal repertoires as the totality of linguistic forms often used in the course of “socially significant interaction”, Gumperz (1964) explains that, because there is a set of finite rules that underlie the formation of all sentences in a spoken communication, verbal repertoires must have structure and it differs from ordinary descriptive grammars because it involves greater number of alternants, reflecting contextual and social differences in speech. Therefore, it contains all the accepted ways of creating messages that allow speakers to choose among various stocks that allow them to convey meanings they intend to (1964, pp. 137-138). Whether is the actual self or the ideal self that is to be presented, it is the decision made by interlocutors. Language choice and CS are a crucial resource for self-presentation and identity construction. However, there are identities that are fixed in such a way that language cannot change for example gender, age, and nationality.

LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985) on their work on Creole and contact varieties of English in the former British colonial empire and that of French, found out that people actually believe themselves to live in a world of distinct ethnic groups or racial groups among other factors they believe in. The belief is attached on the terms of identity which includes words that are used in conversation to clarify the concept each user attaches to each term. The terms “function as symbols ready at hand for identities to hang on providing the links between individuals and groups, the instruments therefore of identification” (1985, p. 208). However, identity on their work has two meaning, first, to identify a particular person in a group. They provide an example of a person being able to identify a child in a crowd of other children by peculiar features of the child. Second, is the ability to identify oneself with a group or a cause or a tradition (LePage & Tabouret-Keller, 1985, p. 2). CS which can be understood as a language practice which happens consciously or unconsciously involving code alternation and insertion of various forms, does conform with identity meaning of LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985). When linguistic codes are consciously switched in the course of communication, identity negotiation among other aspects, is the aim of interlocutors, to express a sense of belonging as well as to avoid misunderstandings.

Throughout the discussion of language choice and CS in this section I have brought forward some of the central aspects of both language choice and CS which has contributed to the understanding of how language can be used in different ways and be interpreted in different ways in relation to the context of use and its function. However, as this discussion has brought forward different linguists views of how they view language use, it is clear that, in this manner language is understood in terms of single separate entity functioning within certain rules that is why I have decided to use concepts of fixity and fluidity (see section 3.4) inspired by metrolingualism (see section 3.3.1) as theoretical tool for the analysis of data in this thesis because, through them language is more than what is described by early linguists and scholars discussed in this section and section 2.2.1. Through fixity and fluidity linguistic practices include social, cultural, political, historical aspects that are involved during communication, precisely, languages are not single separate entities governed by certain rules.

3.3 OTHER APPROACHES TO DIVERSE LINGUISTIC PRACTICES

On this section I will introduce two approaches to diverse linguistic practices such are Metrolingualism (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010) and Translanguaging (Garcia & Li, 2014). These approaches are proposed by linguists as an alternative way of looking at languages especially in the age of superdiversity due to globalization. They are merely challenging the traditional understanding of multilingualism as failing to capture and embrace all the important aspects of communication involved in meaning-making process. The reason for introducing these approaches here is to get overview of the choice of analytical tool for data in this thesis as I have mentioned on Chapter 3 that, data will be analysed in the light of two concepts such are fixity and fluidity inspired by Metrolingualism. Translanguaging is introduced as I also pointed out on section 2.2.1 because of its interconnection with metrolingualism in terms of dynamic and fluid linguistic practices in communication.

3.3.1 Metrolingualism

Otsuji & Pennycook (2010) proposes the notion of metrolingualism as a way of moving beyond multilingualism and multiculturalism. Metrolingualism “is a product of modern and often urban interaction, describing the ways in which people of different and mixed backgrounds use, play with and negotiate identities through language” (p. 240). It “refers to

creative linguistic conditions across space and borders of culture, history and politics . . . [also it] provides useful insights into processes of social change that are involved in different contemporary ways of being” (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010, pp. 244-245). Belonging to a certain ethnicity and possessing languages of the respective ethnicity does not necessarily decide the language one will use in social interaction at a certain place especially in the cases where a particular language has become a lingua franca of such place. In their Sidney corpus, at a workplace where Japanese and English are frequently used for both business and social functions, Otsuji and Pennycook observed instances of CS and mixing of the two languages between participants who are not Japanese (2010). Those instances are not influenced by the use of their first and second language, but they are a result of a mixed Japanese/English code which has become a lingua Franca of their workplace (2010, p. 241). They found it useful to think in terms of metrolingualism in most of their corpus instead of trying to describe it as a switching between languages because there are several aspects involved in creation of dialogue among participants. The aspects such as direct quotations, location of the company, type of company, personal relations and contrary language affiliation are among features that metrolingualism seem best to describe while looking at how language is invented, re-invented and re-constituted by examining everyday conversation and what it means to people as a local practice (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010, pp. 242-243).

On discussing how current cultural, social, geopolitical and linguistic thinking is predominated by a celebration of multiplicity, hybridity and diversity, Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) argues that, terminologies like multiculturalism, multilingualism and cosmopolitanism are considered to be an appropriate norm in different fields like academia, policy-making and education even though the underlying ideology of multilingualism and multiculturalism is that people and their practices are composed of multiple discrete languages and cultural practices. As a result, in celebrating multiplicity, languages and cultures are pluralised by models of diversity rather than complexified. As an advantage, celebration of multiple opens a door for difference and dynamism but, because of its adversary view towards pre-given fixed attributions of cultural identities, it fails to acknowledge the importance of such essential pre-given identities have in becoming different. The interaction between fixed and fluid cultural identities are crucial factors for different, multiple and dynamic, the fixed ascriptions of identities should not be treated as if they have ceased to exist, therefore it is important to include the local perspectives

of language users who seem to integrate fluidity and fixity on their mixed linguistic practices (Otsuji and Pennycook, 2010, pp. 243-244).

Moreover, metrolingualism is not limited only to urban environments, Otsuji and Pennycook states “. . . So, in different times and within different orientations to cosmopolitan, hybrid cityscapes, we want to avoid an idealisation of urban metrolingual landscapes set against the assumed narrowness of rural living” (2010, p. 245). This is because metrolingualism as a practice is not limited to the city and it is intended as a broad, descriptive category for data analysis rather than a term for cosmopolitan idea. Metrolingualism may be rural, mobile, local and fragile regarding the fact that due to movement, migration and mixing, the kinds of language use commonly found in urban areas are also found in rural areas. Moreover, its aim is exploring how the relations between language, culture, ethnicity, nationality or geography are produced, resisted, challenged or rearranged while focusing on languages as emergent from contexts of interaction rather than language systems (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010, pp. 245-246).

3.3.2 Translanguaging

The notion of Translanguaging as explained by Wei (2017) was not originally intended to be a theoretical concept, but a descriptive label for a specific language practice. It was meant to describe pedagogical practices observed by Williams (1994) in a situation where a teacher would use Welsh in teaching and the pupils would reply in English and when the pupils read in Welsh the teacher would explain in English. Such practices were according to Williams helpful as they increased the teacher’s and students’ linguistic resources in the process of problem-solving and knowledge construction. (Wei, 2017, p. 7). Translanguaging origin is also associated by the term languaging which means an ongoing process of acquiring new languages. Blommaert and Backus (2012) states that, “there is no point in life in which *anyone* can claim to know all the resources of a language. Actual knowledge of language, like any aspect of human development, is dependent on biography” (p. 8). From the perspective of distributed cognition, languaging has also been considered as an assemblage of diverse material, biological, semiotic and cognitive properties and capacities which languaging agents “orchestrate in real- time and across diversity of timescales” (Wei, 2017, p. 9).

Translanguaging explains the fluid and dynamic practices of language practices by multilinguals as Wei (2017) states “multilinguals do not think unilingually in a politically named linguistic entity, even when they are in a monolingual mode and producing one namable language only for a specific stretch of speech or text” (p. 10). The languages that are labelled for the sake of distinguishing ethnicity, race etc are not the languages that a human’s brain use, which means no individual thinks in a certain named language but rather a language of thought which is free from the boundaries of named languages and regardless of geography, social class, age, or gender-based varieties (Wei, 2017, p. 11). Named languages are languages understood in the terms of separate entities governed by rules of their own, they are rooted in the monolingual orientation. that insisted on one language as a self-standing system, pure and separated from each other, to be used among members of the same society as their common identity (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 20)

Therefore “Translanguaging is using one’s idiolect, that is one’s linguistic repertoire, without regard for socially and politically defined language names and labels” (Wei, 2017, p. 11). However, as the interconnection between language and other cognitive systems is involved, human’s communication is considered to be multimodal because it entails textual, aural, linguistic, spatial, and visual resources to create and interpret messages (Wei, 2017, p. 13).

Canagarajah (2017) argues that “translingualism looks at verbal resources as interacting synergistically to generate new grammars and meanings, beyond their separate structures” (p. 1). Other semiotic resources and modalities that participate in communication is put in consideration. He further states that there is a gradual shift from structuralism which encouraged linguists to think of language as organised self-defining and closed structure while separating other modalities of communication from language (2017, p. 2). Spatiotemporal context with diverse inclusion of history, geography, society and so forth was also set apart from linguistic structure but recent scholars are becoming more sensitive to space as a more expansive background for explaining communication and social life (Canagarajah, 2017, p. 2). It is therefore crucial to position “communicative interactions in space and time [because] it accommodates diversity and unpredictability” (Canagarajah, 2017, p. 3). Structures are abstracted from the chaotic real life and social practice so moving beyond the foundational structuralist orientation and adapting spatial orientation, will help to understand that

translingualism accommodates communicative practices that extensively include spatial repertoires that exceed text, context dissimilarities and break social boundaries. By adapting such orientation, meaning-making ability should be regarded as distributed which means it includes the role of social networks, things, and bodies, beyond mind and grammar (Canagarajah, 2017, p. 22).

Some linguists have debated that Translanguaging is a contradictory term to describe language use. Jaspers (2017) on transformative limits of translanguaging argues that, it excludes monolinguals and retain the standard identity of the multilingual even though translanguaging scholars share several convictions with the monolingual authorities they criticize. Both authorities and translanguaging scholars have a common recognition of language that it is important for student's success at school and for reducing inequality but what type of language to be used, is the disagreement between the two. The reason for disagreement is that, authorities are more concerned with standard language competence as crucial while translanguaging scholars argue that more promising and effective way of learning results from fluid use of languages which means by allowing and encouraging pupils to integrate their home varieties. Thus, translanguaging scholars represent the idea of what society in terms of language, should reflect while authorities see the importance of citizen who speak a standard national variety as a symbol for nation's identity, modernity and cohesion. According to Jasper translanguaging concept of which he argues it is becoming dominating instead of liberating force, it is harmful rhetorical strategy which reduces the debate about effective means, school success and social inequality to a linguistic epitome (2017, pp. 2, 5).

Another concern against translanguaging is the minority language preservation which Jasper (2017) states, many minority language activists are worried about their efforts in developing and maintaining their languages because of the promotion of fluid language practices encouraged by translanguaging as a dominating force. The suggestion by translanguaging scholars for example Garcia and Wei (2014) to secure a place for minority languages though not a permanent place of which they will not compete with the majority language is according to Jaspers contradictory because it makes minority language activists accept the same conditions they were trying to avoid (2017, pp. 7-8).

A central argument of most multilingualism studies is based on considering languages as separate and countable with clear borders which exists between them. What Translanguaging and Metrolingualism concepts incorporates is the fluid use of language which integrates with the fixed identities to reconstruct new identities. The concepts do not neglect the fact that history, ideologies, repertoires, geographical locations and so forth are also central in recreating such identities and social relations. Clearly from the description of these concepts above, the borders between languages that multilingualism and its associated notion of CS claim to exist, are blurred. As Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) states, “What therefore sets metrolingualism apart is the productive power to overcome common ways of framing language, its capacity to deal with contemporary language practices, and its ability to accommodate both fixity and fluidity in its approach to mobile language use” (p. 252).

3.4 Fixity and fluidity

As the two approaches on section 3.3.1 and section 3.3.2 suggests, contemporary linguistic practices have surpassed what multilingualism has traditionally insisted. Because of globalization and its associated impacts like migration and cross geographical interactions, language use is changing rapidly because users are constantly finding ways to communicate with each other in cases of cross geographical, political and social interaction between users when no similar language is shared among them. There are more dynamic practices which involves more than just codes of certain languages during communication. Some are just symbols or emoticons combined with codes of languages and some are creatively manipulated codes and symbols to ensure understanding between interlocutors. However, fixity and fluidity are discussed in relation to metrolingualism in what Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) argue fixity and fluidity should be viewed as a symbiotically reconstituting each other. Fixity and fluidity are regarded as a dynamic way of describing and understanding processes that move across, while becoming embedded in, the materiality of localities and social relations. Pre-existing identities are as crucial in the process of becoming different as they are in their original existence. As a result, metrolingualism is imposing new perspectives on the conceptions of culture, ethnicity and language. It is challenging early notions of multilingual and monolingual because it includes linguistic diversity in all spheres of life. (Otsuji & Pennycook, pp. 243, 244, 245). They describe the way new linguistic practices move across borders and become entrenched into previously existed practices and social relations. As Canagarajah (2013) states, “The term *multilingual* typically conceives of the relationship between languages in an

additive manner. This gives the picture of whole languages added one on top of the other to form multilingual competence” (p. 7) [but, the term metrolingualism is] “interested in the queering of ortholinguistic practices across time and space that may include urban and rural contexts, elite or minority communities, local or global implications” (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010, p. 246). From the understanding of the term metro which means the productive space provided by the modern city though not limited to, to produce new language identities, the intention is to avoid pluralization of languages and cultures and to accommodate the complex ways in which fluid and fixed, as well as global and local practices reconstitute language and identities (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010, p. 247).

Though, there are fixed identity regulations of institutional modernity which metrolingual language use may have to sometime confront because fluidity is not fully accepted or encouraged on such institutions. Such situations clarify that metrolingualism is not solely about fluid possibilities available to metrolingual but also about the fragile process of identity reconstruction and the struggles in the face of local ortholinguistic process. Therefore, language ideologies, practices, resources and repertoires are main concern in metrolingualism because through language ideologies, an understanding of the ways in which languages need to be understood in terms of the local perspectives of the users as well as different struggles encountered during representation of language in one way or another, is made available. Practice gives an insight that language is an emergent property of various social practices and not an entity used in different contexts (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010, pp. 247-248). I will use the concepts of fixity and fluidity because I find them to be more relevant for my project. By using them, a wider consideration of what motivates linguistic practices integrated in most of my data, can be taken during analysis. Through these two concepts the monolingual orientation which emphasises one language one people is challenged, as I pointed out on 3.2.1 regarding Tanzania being a diglossic country where each language has its role but there is overlapping, it is the reason I have decided to study linguistic practices of rural based youths through the lenses of fixity and fluidity because I believe language usage is characterised by countless variability and diversity and that there is more than just a language involved in the meaning-making process.

In this thesis fixity will include linguistic practices that are fixed which means linguistic practices that follow standard language use regardless context of use. It will explore how those fixed linguistic practices are reflected online and reasons behind such orientation to the standard norm of linguistic practices among users. Fluidity concept will be used to analyse fluid linguistic practices. This will include manipulations, new unconventional vocabularies, orthography, use of several named languages in one context. Such fluidity will also look at how pre-existing linguistic features are being integrated in the new linguistic practices during communication and how they contribute to creativity involved in the meaning making process as it's mentioned above that the pre-existing identities are as also important in the process of changing as they are in their original being.

3.5 Summary

In this chapter I have explained language choice and CS as well as CS contra other contact phenomena. I have also described functions of CS and three approaches to the study of CS such are structural, psycholinguistic and sociolinguist approach. Through the chapter I also introduced other approaches such are metrolinguism and translanguaging proposed by various sociolinguists on how study language practices especially in the changing times of constant mobility, migration and so forth of which language contacts is inevitable. On the last part of the chapter I explained concepts fixity and fluidity which are also theoretical tool for the analysis of data for this thesis.

4. DATA COLLECTION AND METHODS

To collect data for exploring my research questions, I did field work in Tanzania as I will further explain this in section 4.2. This chapter will present methods of data collection, how the participants were selected, and process of handling the data collected, selection of examples as well as description of informants. I have used qualitative research design in this study so all information was collected using qualitative methods such as Individual interviews and observation as I shall explain it below. I will divide this chapter in four parts; data types, selection of participants and presentation, selection of examples and transcription and coding.

4.1 Data types

Data on this project is obtained through individual interviews and observation. I had twelve readymade questions as interview guide regarding CMC. Each interview took about fifteen to twenty minutes. During interviews, on the first part, I started with questioning participants linguistic abilities both of spoken languages and written languages as well as contexts of usage. On the second part of interviews the discussion navigated to the language choice online before we discussed CS online. On the last part it was a question about any challenges in relation to the participants linguistic practices online. The reason for structuring interviews like so, is to be able to see how language resources in offline contexts are implemented during online communication, and if CMC has any influence in offline language use. The interviews did not involve any direct personal data collection, and none of the information was provided on behalf of someone else.

Based on the research question mentioned in chapter 1, I asked the following questions:

- How many languages are spoken, how often and if there are some that are mostly preferred than others?
- Are the spoken languages also applied in written contexts?
- How is participation in CMC conducted and if it involves social networking sites?
- Which languages are used in CMC and are they used separately or mixed in one conversation?
- Does mixing or switching mean or imply anything to participants?

- Are there any challenges that they face in CMC in relation to the languages they use and the people they connect with?

With the help of research questions, I sought to create an environment that would keep me focused on the topic while I searched for clear and deeper understanding of the research questions. They also helped to determine what theory I should consider using as well as methods for data collection. The questions were formulated precisely in a way that they allowed to be answered and each question laid a foundation for the next question by creating a natural flow of conversation without losing focus and at the same time they allowed participants to widely express themselves which leads to new and deeper knowledge to the researcher. Because the aim of this research is to find out and explain two language aspects among multilingual rural based youths, the research questions were created to target exactly that.

The first two research questions contributed to understanding participants linguistic competence and how usage of certain languages determines its position and status in a multilingual society both online and offline. It's important to mention that, such contribution was possible because each participant answered the same questions based on their various personal backgrounds and experiences. Moreover, similarities and differences in degree of linguistic competence and other background aspects among youngsters were given much attention to see if they are the causes of various linguistic practices online.

Through the third, fourth and fifth question I examined language practices in CMC focusing on where it takes place, how and why. It is also on this part I thoroughly studied linguistic practices on CMC to see if they stick to named languages and use one at a time or they fluidly employ their entire repertoire to communicate. By doing so I would get an overview of what functions either of the practices can have to the youths and their respective languages. Through the last question I examined challenges associated with CMC given the fact that participants are multilinguals whose interactions in CMC happens between people who may or may not share similar linguistic repertoires, experiences, backgrounds, ideologies and so forth. Furthermore, through this question I get to know how they face the challenges and how they solve them.

Furthermore, observation was done by asking participants to send me some of their online conversations to compare with the interview answers and see if there are any resemblances or differences. I purposely asked them to send their conversations directly instead of me writing them down during interviews to avoid any form of altering the data. Also, through interview I could examine the way they talk and what they were saying.

Before a start of each interview, I read an information letter by Data Protection Official for Research (NSD- Norsk senter for forskningsdata) to inform participants all they needed to know about the project and their rights as participants. Thereafter, I read a consent letter which is part of the information letter to get free consent for participation from the participants. The consent is recorded on a voice recorder together with the interviews. After consent was obtained, I explained the nature of the interview and the language of interview, which is Kiswahili, but participants were given freedom to use either English or Kiswahili or both depending on which language they were comfortable to use. I decided Kiswahili would be the main language of interviews because in addition to being my second language which could ensure better description of the interview questions, it is also the common language between me and the participants who are not from Chaga tribe specifically Machame county like myself. Also, since I was later going to transcribe all the information, it would only be difficult to put it in writing if the languages used were tribal languages due to my very limited knowledge on how to write them.

4.2 Selection of participants and presentation

Participants on this project are based on my prior contact of which I made several phone calls one week after I arrived in Tanzania to ask if they were available and if they could participate in my master thesis project. The trip to Tanzania was a part of fieldwork and it took place in September – October 2018. Before I left for fieldwork, I notified and applied for data collection permission from Data Protection Official for Research (NSD- Norsk senter for forskningsdata). Through phone calls I made, I managed to get three of my previous contact to participate who later recommended some of the people they knew they could also participate. So, during interview scheduled days, I would also try to call the people who were recommended by my previous contacts, and some of them I met in person after interviews to ask if they would like to participate. Some of the people I asked especially boys/men would

participate only if I paid them but because that was not allowed for my project, they refused to partake. Also, one of the participants, belongs to a Maasai tribe, a tribe which is famously known for living their original culture which includes living in rural places away from any other tribes. I travelled for about six hours to get to a place where I would meet him for an interview. His contact was provided to me by my former colleague who works in an organization where the Maasai participant had worked as a security some years ago.

Participants were originally supposed to be sixteen years of age to twenty-three years old but because of several reasons the age limit was adjusted to twenty years old until thirty-two years old. Reasons for the adjustments were lack of mobile phones and computer access because most youngsters below age twenty were either stay at homes or students who in addition to being forbidden to have mobile phones at school as part of school rules in Tanzania, they also could not afford mobile phones. The few ones who could probably afford mobile phones, they have strict parents who would not let them own a mobile phone fearing that their children could start associating themselves in harmful online groups. As I have explained it on section 2.6, Internet availability is also a problem which hinders most people in rural areas from participating on CMC. Having mobile installed internet like 3G and 4G is an option but they always are not stable due to poor connection and high costs which most adults and youths who are the target group for this study, find it hard to afford.

Moreover, I interviewed a total of six people both boys and girls, and their socio-economic backgrounds differ: in general consideration, some are students, and some are workers, three with secondary to higher education level and three with primary education level. I did this purposely because I wanted to know if having English medium secondary school and college after the age of 12 has much or little impact in both CMC and offline language choice. Also, I wanted to know if the ones with only Kiswahili medium primary education have managed to learn some English apart from what they had as a subject in school, and how they used it in CMC if they had learned it at all. Furthermore, they also belong to three different tribes. Four of them are Chaga, one is Mpare, and one Maasai (Eberhard, et al, 2019). All speak Kiswahili and their respective tribe languages. English is a third language to all of them and their competence to it differ from one person to another because three of them had English medium secondary to higher education, while three had only Kiswahili medium primary education.

The reason for interviewing different tribes is to get overview of what influence these three different languages may have or how they may be influenced by other languages they encounter while participating in CMC as well as challenges they face in relation to the languages, they use in CMC.

The table below is a description of each participant. All participants have been given fictive names. This is because all the information they provided is treated anonymously for the sake of privacy and personal data protection.

Table 1: Participants description

Name	Age	Tribe	Education	Status	Languages	Other languages
J98	30 years	Chaga	Bachelor's degree	Teacher	Kichaga, Kiswahili, English	Kipare, Kimeru
Kipara	29 years	Pare	Primary school	Security	Kipare, Kiswahili,	Kichaga English
Mchaga	20 years	Chaga	Primary school	Stay at home	Kiswahili, Kichaga,	English, Kimeru, Kipare
prkvw	25 years	Chaga	Secondary school	Receptionist	Kiswahili, English, Kichaga	Kimasai, French, Kipare
T88	32 years	Chaga	Training college	Student	Kichaga, Kiswahili, English	French, Kihaya, Kisukuma
Baba2	24 years	Maasai	Primary school	Stay at home	Kimasai, Kiswahili	English,

4.3 Transcription and Coding

After interviews the data was transcribed through transcription application downloaded on my private computer and then coding for further use in this project. This process was done to have control and overview of the data as well as to simplify accessibility of the data during analysis. It took a little over one month to transcribe all the information and almost two weeks to code all of it. Each information of each participant was coded in relation to its respective question. This means I used research questions as principal headings then, I broke down information from each question by selecting texts with same meaning and gave them same code name as second headings, and from each second heading I broke down the texts into subheadings.

4.4 Selection of examples for analysis

In this thesis as I mentioned in 4.1 consists of both individual interview data and observation data. There is a total of twenty-two examples that will be used in the analysis part. I selected them because they are prototypical that shows tendency of linguistic practices I observed in the data set all together. They will contribute to the analysis of linguistic practices online which can help to understand the fluid and fix nature of language in CMC among Tanzania's rural based youths. It has therefore been important for me to use enough interview and observation data in the corpus to be able to answer research question and the general topic of this study in the most reliable way possible. Research topic has been a priority in the process of selection of examples for analysis because the aim is to be able to provide results that are verifiable and reliable enough to provide answers to research question.

4.5 Summary

In this chapter I have explained data types and methods I used in data collection. I also explained how I selected participants, the nature of interviews and their socio-economic background, their general repertoires as well as reasons that led to adjustment of age limit. Lastly, I described ways in which I handled the data after field work for further use in analysis as well as the reasons for selection of examples to be analysed.

5. DATA ANALYSIS

On this chapter I will use the two metrolingual inspired concepts such are fixity and fluidity as tools for analysis of data in relation to research questions. As I mentioned on the Introduction chapter, research questions are; *Why and to what extent are the CMC linguistic practices of youngsters in rural Tanzania fixed, i.e. do they stick to one named language at time and respect official orthography, or fluid, i.e. do they use their whole linguistic repertoire and creative communication styles?*

Therefore, I will divide the analysis in three parts such are fixity and fluidity in orthography, fixity and fluidity in language choice and fixity and fluidity in incorporation of several languages. The expression “online conversation/communication” will include ordinary SMS through mobile phones and conversations undertaken online.

5.1 Fixity and fluidity in orthography

As I have pointed out on section 2.4 the three main languages used in Tanzania such as tribal languages, Kiswahili and English, are used in various contexts and sometimes in similar contexts. This means people are free to use whichever language they prefer during informal communication. For example, when tribal languages are mostly used in a home in rural areas, they are also used in cities among members of same tribe. This plays a specific role in texting. While tribal languages are mostly used in daily communication in rural areas and Kiswahili in urban centres, texting practices do not necessarily reflect user’s ability to fluently speak the languages. As less as they are prioritised in official and institutional settings, tribal languages impose clear challenges to writers when it comes to standard orthography. This is mainly because they are not taught in school therefore there is no written norms that regulates the use of the tribal languages and if they exist, they are unfamiliar to the writers (personal experience).

Therefore, tribal languages are fluidly used and often it is a conscious decision that involves carefully selection of words which are often times written the way they are pronounced and following Kiswahili orthography. Additionally, because most people are provided with no to very limited knowledge on written form of the languages, their ability to creatively manipulate the languages relies only on writing them following Kiswahili orthography and pronunciation.

This is because writing in tribal languages demands specific literacy form both parties involved in a conversation therefore, one must avoid other kinds of manipulations like abbreviations, mixing of several languages and so forth.

5.1.1 Example 1. Interview data

On the example bellow one of the participants explain how she uses her tribal language when writing.

Mchaga: kwenye kichaga yani si unajua kichaga ki yani kilugha kuna namna fulani wana herufi zao kwa hiyo mi nikiandika kichaga naweza nikaandika kichaga ambacho kinafanana na kiswahili kwamba **the way navomention** ndo ivovo navyoandika sasa yule mtu mwingine anaweza akakujibu the way ambavo kichaga kinatakiwa kiandikwe **properly**.

On Kichaga you know there are ways in which they have their own letters so, when I write Kichaga I can write the Kichaga which resembles Kiswahili of which the way I mention it, it's the way I write it. Now the other person can reply the way Kichaga is supposed to be written.

As pointed out above, tribal languages are used fluidly with manipulations like spelling appropriation which is often according to its pronunciation and Kiswahili spellings. From this example, we can see that there is power, and freedom given to language users by social media which has become an influential multiplier of language innovation among youngsters (Nassenstein, 2018). Youngsters are provided with the ability to use available resources to create a meaningful message. For rural based Tanzania's youths, it is the power and freedom that for a long time has been denied by state because of wanting to prioritise Kiswahili and English and forget tribal languages that are sometimes majority of Tanzania's mother tongue, (see section 2.4.1). The fluid way of writing explained by Mchaga shows that social media provides comfortability of which language users feel free to express themselves in ways that would have been forbidden or shamefully in formal settings. Also, through her creativity involved when she modifies and remake her tribal language, Agency and control of her linguistic resources is revealed because she becomes the one to decide what and how and where to place certain resources relevant for her message.

On her interview answer, there is a fluid use of both Kiswahili and English. Such practices are common among youngsters and sometimes among adults who have used English for a while. English is sometimes used in the same context as Kiswahili because it is considered time saving especially in CMC. Some Kiswahili words can be longer compared to English. Orthographically translated the bold English words on the example would have written such as ('the way navomention' - 'kwa namna ninayotamka' - 'the way I pronounce it') ('properly' - 'kwa usahihi'). However, time is not the only reason for mixing because as seen on the translation, some English words are just as long as those of Kiswahili. Frequent use of English or a reasonable amount of exposure to English can also be the reason for such practices during communication of which some participants said sometimes a Kiswahili word does not come as faster as an English one, they have to take some seconds to think the Kiswahili word.

5.1.2 Example 2: Interview data.

Another participant of a different tribe had similar reason like that of Mchaga on example 1. On the example below, Kipara who is of Pare tribe explains a situation of his tribal language when it comes to written and verbal communication.

kipara: na kwenye maandishi pia ee sema kipare kipare kuna kuna kipare cha ndani sawa kile kipare cha ndani cha kuandika kwa vile sisi ni kipare hichi chaa cha kusikia walezi wanaongea asilimia kubwa vile vya ndani hatuvijui kwa sababu vile vya ndani vingi ni vile vinaandikwa kwenye vitabu unaona kwa hiyo unakuta katika matamshi yanavotamshwa kwenye kile kipare inakuwa ni tofauti na hichi tunacho ongea kwa mfano mtu amekwambia urewedi unamwambia nrewedi washindadhe mboa unaona yani kwamba amekwambia kwamba u u u wewe ni mzima unaona unamwambia mi ni mzima umeshindaje unamwambia salama unaona ni kama hivo

On the writing also, there is Kipare the written Kipare. But because we have the Kipare that we hear from our guardians when they speak, big percent of the complicated ones we don't know because they are the written ones the ones that are written in books. You see, so you find out that on pronunciation the way it's pronounced on that type of Kipare is different from the one we speak. For example, if a person tells you "urewedi" you tell him "nrewedi washindadhe mboa" you see that he told you "how are you"? And you tell him "I am fine how have you been" you tell him "am good" you see, it's like that.

Kipara is explaining how his tribal language has basically two contexts that are oral for daily communication and the “complicated one” that is found in books which he barely sees in daily life. He calls it complicated because of his unfamiliarity with its written form. Kipara explained that, because majority of his generation do not get any emphasis on learning the written Kipare language, most of them see no need to seek knowledge on that, they learn/acquire the oral one from parents and guardians. Also, the fact that its only beneficial in ethnic communication, most people do not bother to educate themselves on the written orthography. He also points out that pronunciation between oral and written Kipare differs. This applies to most tribal languages in Tanzania.

The awareness of growing up knowing that the tribal languages spoken in homes will not be used in any academic or official settings, makes youths loose interest on learning proper orthography of their first languages. For most Tanzanians especially youngsters, writing in their tribal languages indicates a close relationship between interlocutors where both have limited linguistic competence they share, and none of them is worried about making mistakes during communication.

5.1.3 example 3. Observation data

For example, here is a WhatsApp group message sent by Mchaga to her friends.

Ngira wandu lukeenda harusin ndesi? Kuna mwenye update za usafiri

Dear people, are we going to the wedding tomorrow? Is there anyone with transport updates?

The message above indicates a continuation of a subject that had been discussed among members of the WhatsApp group chat prior to this message, because on the last part of the message she asks for transport ‘updates’. The use of English terminology in a Kiswahili sentence as explained on example1 (see section 5.1.1) is partly due to time factor where one chooses to use one English terminology to explain something that could have demanded up to more than two words in Kiswahili. Kiswahili translation for (‘update’) is (‘habari za hivi punde’) so, it takes four Kiswahili words as translation for one English word which makes time a key factor for such practice. Another interpretation could be that she used an English word to impress her friends or to show off her English language ability. The rest of the

Kiswahili used on the message is in its standard form. The bold part is in Kichaga Language. However, it is fluidly used because she used her repertoires based on the languages she speaks to be able to create such message with the language she can't write in its proper orthography. Orthographically transcribed it would have written as (Ngira wandu -'Nyira vandu' –'dear/hi people') ('lukeenda'-'lukai I enda'- 'are we going') ('harusin'-'wolyiny'- 'on the wedding') ('ndesi'-nndesi'- 'tomorrow'). We can also notice a local idiosyncrasies (Blommaert, 2014) on the word 'Harusin' taken from Kiswahili ('harusini' on the 'wedding') of which the only thing she did with it, was to drop the last vowel ('I') so that it phonetically sounds Kichaga. The fluid use of three languages; Kichaga, Kiswahili, and English is also a sign of familiarity among members of the group chat because the creation of such message shows that the sender knew in advance that recipients will understand it.

Also, in one hand, it is an indication of less serious subject in discussion, it may be used to create humorous atmosphere or to strengthen relationship, and on the other hand it can be a sign of respect and more serious conversation especially if the conversation is between a youngster and an adult. However, the concept of using tribal languages to create humorous atmosphere in most cases happens when the crowd or the interlocutors thinks it's funny to use tribal languages in a situation or environment where they hardly use any tribal language. It is the context of usage that determines its reception to the other person in conversation. For instance, the use of tribal languages in CMC is often viewed as funny because they are known to be home languages also the display of their orthography which as stated on section 5.1.1 is unknown to most Tanzanians adds the comic nature of these languages online.

5.1.4 Example 4. Observation data

On the example below is a Facebook messenger conversation between J98 and her friend.

aya nkwe!! kukeanga se class??
kwifo ikwaawi limwa ya lyshiwya
shikuidikire likeamba wai kutiri
miso mesha. yuko fbuk anaitwa
~~_____~~

Ahahahahahah! Umepata no zangu
lakin? Ikwawi liwiye shaamba eka.
Shikee likizo te mamandu ad march,
tena wo natafuta tempo te ma
niambie bc mchongo km unajua
mahal nifanye apo kdg ad april. We
unafanya ya nn?

Translation to English.

Sender: *Ok dear, aren't you attending class?? There Is a Maasai here asking me to pass his greetings to you. He says you have beautiful eyes. He is on Facebook, his name is (...)*

Receiver: *Hahah! but did you get my number? Tell the Maasai I said thanks. I am on holiday my dear until March, and oh! I'm looking for a temporary job girl, tell me if you know a place that I can work for a while until April. What do you work with?*

Both messages on the example above contain fluid use of at least three different named languages (Kichaga, Kiswahili and English) and creative manipulation of all languages. Orthography in both messages is far from being standard. There are abbreviations, spellings, youth vernaculars ('mchongo' – 'deal') that can be seen even for the languages that are widely used in written contexts such as Kiswahili and English. The use of Kichaga on the first message appeared funny to the receiver, like that was the first thing she noticed and reacted to by laughing then proceeded to answering the message. It is not only the use of Kichaga that is funny but also the spellings as it is stated on the previous paragraph that orthography for tribal languages is unknown to most hence its appearance on CMC adds the comic nature of the languages. Also, language use on the first message indicates an easy going and less serious conversation where it doesn't matter if the orthography is incorrect because there will not be any danger if the receiver won't understand it completely. However, the second message starts with Kiswahili where it shows the receiver's concern on whether the sender had gotten her number, then, the language shifts to Kichaga replying to the sender's message about Maasai before it shifts back to Kiswahili and some of English (tempo - temporary, march - March, April - April)

again and with emphasize (and oh!) which indicates that the part created in Kiswahili is of serious subject.

Moreover, the fluid nature of messages created in both Kiswahili and tribal languages and sometimes but rather rare English, are either for identity performance or to emphasize the importance of the topic in discussion without being out of or losing face (Goffman, 1967), and sometimes as mentioned above to strengthen relationships. In these types of messages tribal languages appear in the beginning of a message as greetings, or in the end, and sometimes in the middle of a message while sometimes both languages can be used equally throughout the message.

5.1.5 Example 5. Observation data

On the example below it is a Facebook messenger text sent by Mchaga to her friend.

Yewe Kyaa, unaweza kumwambia mama khalifa **ashilipe** pesa **tako nimefulia** siwezi kusubiri milele.

Hi, you girl/dear, can you tell mama Khalifa “Khalifa’s mother” to pay me my money. I am broke I can’t wait forever.

On the example above, Mchaga’s message best describes what Goffman (1967) refers to as ‘to save one’s face’ which means “the process by which the person sustains an impression for others that he has not lost face” (p. 9). In relation to social interaction, Face is the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during particular contact (Goffman, 1967, p. 5). Mchagga started off her message in a more friendly way and unexpected language (Kichaga) given that this is an online interaction. She is demanding to be paid her money but at the same time trying to save face by carefully taking a line that will not cause her to lose face. “Line is a pattern of verbal and nonverbal acts by which [she] expresses [her] view of the situation and through this [her] evaluation of the participants, especially [herself]” (Goffman, 1967, p. 5). The message is to be passed to mama Khalifa, that means the original receiver of the message is someone else other than mama

Khalifa. Here Mchaga is having ready the line of the kind both recipients of her message are expected to take.

She used two named languages such are Kichaga and Kiswahili. The words that are bold are in Kichaga language even though they are written exactly the way they are pronounced that is following Kiswahili spelling which means orthographically transcribed they could be written as ('Ora ma/kya - 'hi dear'), ('nashitee'- 'to pay'), ('takwa'- 'mine'). However, the first part ('yewe kyaa'- 'Ora ma/kya') is usually stated with a name, that means using such words as used on the example, stands more like a pronoun, a pronoun that is more common among young people than older generation. A youngster cannot use such a pronoun to an adult without including that adult's actual name, and a more accepted way is to not call adults by their names but by their names in relation to their functions or roles. For example, a parent of somebody, a teacher and so forth. This is not just for tribal languages but all languages in general, it is more of Tanzania's culture where there are different ways of expressing respect to different age groups.

The rest of the words are Kiswahili but the word "nimefulia" is a youth dialect mostly used by youngsters implying "I'm broke/ I have no money" and is not a standard Kiswahili when used in that context but it becomes standard Kiswahili if it is used to describe "laundry". It is an example of fluidity in the sense that it already exists in the Kiswahili vocabulary and now its "new" meaning is being embedded on it by youngsters and it has become a wide spread slang to be used not only by youths but also some adults who may or may not use it daily but understands what it means. The fluid use of languages in this message indicates familiarity between Mchaga and the receiver where she used the languages to identify herself as friend who needs help. The last part of the message where she said, ('nimefulia'- 'she is broke') and "can't wait forever" adds both the emphasise and a laid-back atmosphere in the message which makes it demanding but less intrusive.

Sometimes, fluidity is purposely involved in the creation of messages as a classical identity, to identifying the other person (the receiver) as a member of a particular tribe and to strengthen relationships. Some participants explained how they sometimes use words of other tribal

languages they have learned to remind their friends who they are in the cases of long-lost contacts.

5.1.6 Example 6. Interview data

Example 6 is Kipara explaining how he uses words from another tribe language to remind his friend who is.

Kipara: eehe ni mtu wa aina gani ambaye naongea naye unaona kama nlikuwapo naongea na mtu fulani kama nlikuwa naongea na daudi ni mkurya sawa aliku tulikuwa tunataniana naye kikurya nitaweka lile neno la kikurya pale ili kusudi anikumbuke Zaidi.

It depends on what type of a person I am talking to. You see if I was talking to a certain person, if I was talking to Daudi he is Mkurya (of Kurya tribe) and we use to joke in Kikurya language, I will add the Kikurya word in a message for him to remember me.

Kipara said he sometimes use words from other tribes to make it easier to be remembered, and also to remind his friends who he is by using the words he learned through them. He uses Kiswahili for the most part, while mixing with some tribal language and on spoken context he fluently uses Kiswahili, Kipare and some few English words which he has learned through his job as a security guard at a hotel.

From the analysis of orthography, it clearly shows that linguistic practices in CMC in relation to orthography are fluid and due to limited knowledge on tribal languages, they are often used together with other languages such are Kiswahili and English. Youngsters modify, manipulate and re-create unconventional orthography for several reasons such as identity negotiation, insufficient knowledge of tribal languages, to save face, to maintain relationships, and to create humorous atmosphere.

5.2 Fixity and fluidity in language choice

Language choice as Lee. C (2017) states, “is mostly concerned with the codes or linguistic resources available to online participants and how they negotiate their code preferences when communicating with others who may or may not share these resources, regardless of their

competence in the resources concerned” (p. 23). Resources available to communicators could be ideological resources, technological and human resources which together plays an important role in creating meaningful conversations online.

The Kiswahili spoken across Tanzania which as I have mentioned on section 2.4.1, it’s the national lingua franca and the dominant language in both oral and written contexts, is characterised by fluid use of non-standard Kiswahili, a mix of English and Kiswahili, and use of youth vernaculars. These practices are hardly avoided during written communication especially among youngsters. On my Tanzanian data language choice online often depends on who is involved in a conversation. Even though the language of communication offline for the rural based youths I interviewed is tribal languages, Kiswahili is mostly preferred in online communication for among other reasons, most people they interact with online, are people they have met in various environments, so they do not share the same tribal languages.

5.2.1 Example 7. Interview data

On the example below Prkvw one of the youths I interviewed said she uses Kiswahili online because it is mostly her everyday friends she contacts.

prkvw: eeh ila hiyo Instagram Facebook Kiswahili mara nyingi kwa sababu **mnao** chat nao pia ni marafiki zangu tu wa siku zote wa kawaida **so** mara nyingi ni kiswahili sana kuliko kingereza au chache ndo hiyo kingereza Kiswahili siku moja moja

Yeah but on Instagram, Facebook, Kiswahili is more often because the ones I chat with are also my ordinary friends, so, it is mostly Kiswahili than English or sometimes it’s both English and Kiswahili occasionally.

The current situation of Kiswahili used among young people especially in CMC is with no doubt different from what Kiswahili was expected to be by the state ideology that had aimed for monocentric-Kiswahili dominated sociolinguistic system. Kiswahili now stands as an umbrella term for the complex language resources characterised by newly emerging registers that can only be understandable by members of specific groups. With social networking sites like Facebook and Instagram, it is easier to consider these characteristics as being new, but they have probably existed even before such networks but hidden behind a wall of

monolingual discourse on Kiswahili (Blommaert, 2014, pp. 121-122). Even when the views promoted by language policies are clearly supported by youngsters, their linguistic practices go against their beliefs and challenge the systems imposed by such policies because “actual language use is governed by far more complex and diverse sets of norms and expectations related to the actual structure of social life rather than the desired structure sketched in formal policies”(Blommaert, 2014, p. 91).

On the example, there are instances of mixing English as we spoke. As I will explain such practices on the next examples, they are also common in CMC where for various reasons English sometimes serves as a simple, easy to express oneself and time serving language even when one claims to be more relaxed when using Kiswahili.

The same situation explained by Prkvw happens when members of same tribe connect online. Kiswahili becomes a language of communication because as I mentioned on the orthography part, writing in Tribal languages specifically challenges one’s respective language literacy because they are mainly used in oral communication in a home. Another participant stated a different reason for why she prefers Kiswahili online.

5.2.2 Example 8. Interview data

On this example the participant is reasoning why she likes Kiswahili better during online communication, but her explanation consists of fluid use of both English and Kiswahili, similar practice seen on the previous example.

J98: **yees** ndiyo napenda kutumia Kiswahili nikiwa **online** kwa sababu Kiswahili kinanifanya niwe **comfortable** zaidi. Kuandika ninakuwa **very confidence** kwenye kuandika kujieleza naweza kujieleza vizuri kwa mapana lakini kingerezaa kinani kinanifanya niwe **too much thinking** kina kinanifanya nifikirie sana kwa hiyo Kiswahili nakuwa huru zaidi ee kwa sababu nakielewa vizuri nakielewa vizuri

Yes, I like to use Kiswahili when I’m online because Kiswahili makes me more comfortable. I become very confident on writing. To explain, I can explain myself very well and detailed,

but English makes me too much thinking it makes me think much, so Kiswahili makes me freer because I understand it well.

Kiswahili having been prioritised for so many years, J98's explanation on the example above resonates with almost all the youngsters I interviewed. However, her fluid mixing of languages such as Kiswahili and English as we spoke, while claiming English makes her think too much, is one of the most common practices online and offline. Common reasons for such practices are as I mentioned on section 5.2.1, English is seen as easy to express oneself and time serving. But on the example, there is repetition of both languages which and in some parts, it looks like the informant was translating herself from English to Kiswahili and vice versa. She says ('too much thinking') and ('nifikirie sana'), ('yees') ('ndiyo') these are exactly same words in different languages and are said next to each other. Obviously, here time and simplicity of English cannot be considered reason for such mixing because if that is the case only one of each would have been used. Sometimes English is used to show off one's ability to master the language or to impress the other part involved in communication. The use of the term 'online' is quite common in Tanzania even if there is a Kiswahili term for it 'mtandaoni', it came to existence later after 'Online' had been used for a long time. 'Comfortable' in face to face communication is always used to refer to being relaxed because its direct translation to Kiswahili is 'starehe', and the term 'starehe' has always been used to refer to entertainment and leisure activities, therefore anything similar that falls outside these two categories is often described as comfortable in terms of peaceful, calm, or relaxed. 'Very confidence' is used in the terms of 'believing herself' - ('kujiamini') but translation for confidence is ('ujasiri') which is usually used in heroic activities in the sense of daring to do something major or scary, it can also be used in similar contexts as on the example where one feels very confident to use a language that helps her express herself in details.

Kiswahili being the language of preference for most Tanzanians, it differs significantly as Blommaert (2014) states, "The contemporary Tanzanian will still be recognizable by the common use of Swahili...but the Swahili that identifies Tanzanians appears in a thousand different shapes, some widely understandable and others understandable only among members of specific peer groups" (p. 121). It is fixed if the communication demands both parties to use standard Kiswahili for example, if it involves elders who do not understand youth vernaculars, parents, employers or anyone who is of authoritative position than the sender.

5.2.3 Example 9. Observation data

The example below, is the type of message that could be understood by almost every age group regardless its non-standard creation. It is a WhatsApp message sent by one of the participants to his friend informing him that the annual parliament gathering is soon starting.

Niambie kaka mambo yanasemaje wazima pande za uko bunge ndio linanza ngoja tuwasubirie tuone itakuwaje kuhusu maswala ya ajira!!!

Tell me brother, how are things on that side? the parliament is about to start let us wait for them and see how it will be about employment issues!!!

The creation of the message above makes it easier to be understood by majority regardless of their education level and age group because he used Kiswahili for the entire message with low manipulation of vocabularies. Most of its manipulation lies on non-standard spellings such as cut out letters to shorten the words ('Niambie' for 'Niambiye', 'uko' for 'huko', and 'ndio' for 'ndiyo'). Also, there is not any punctuation marks in the sentence apart from the three exclamation points at the end of the message which makes the last part of the message to appear more important than the others. In addition to those manipulations, we see the term 'mambo' which means 'things' given a speaking function 'yanasemaje' which means 'how do they say' as if it is a person that can speak. The message indicates close relationship of the two regarding the fact that he did not have to follow all the rules of writing meaningful sentences because he knew the receiver would understand it anyway. For Tanzania's youth to alternate language means texting to reach expectations of what it entails to be young, updated and skilful. Indexicality as explained by Blommaert (2010), is ordered in two forms. The one that seems to best explain youth practices I just mentioned of alternating language is 'Indexical order' is where indexical meanings occur in patterns expressing similarity and stability that can be perceived as types of semiotic practice with predictable directions (2010, p. 37).

5.2.4 Example 10. Observation data

On the following example, it is an Instagram direct message (DM) sent by another participant to her Aunt.

Shkamo shangz, naomba uni2mie picha za mtt

Hi Aunt, please send me pictures of the baby.

The fluid use of Kiswahili in the message above is common among youngsters where they use number homophones and abbreviations to shorten the word and to save time as most youths describe such practices while others do that for fun. The example above shows that Kiswahili can also be turned into a heterographic code by using similar affordances observed globally where numbers can replace words due to similar sounds produced during pronunciation of both the word and the number. She used number '2' for the Kiswahili syllable 'tu' (unitumie) as it is pronounced exactly as the English word 'to' or 'too'. This playful heterographic languaging is explained by Blommaert (2014) in terms of Supervernacular, a rapidly emerging and developing codes widely used among supergroups such as online communities in which new and locally constructed vernaculars circulate through communication technologies. They are a typical instance of register where symbolic resources of languages and scripts which transmits both denotational meanings and indexical meanings, are explored, exploited and ordered so that they create different but shareable code among members of a group in which it circulates. The script becomes more than just a form of writing, it becomes a cool, creative and subversive register. (2014, p. 116).

In addition to the heterographic languaging pointed out above, local idiosyncrasies are also seen on the example above, 'Shkamo' for 'Shikamoo', 'shangz' for 'Shangazi' and symbol 't' stands for 'to' as in 'mtt' for 'mtoto'. Again, Blommaert (2014) explains such local idiosyncrasies as a dialect of the Supervernacular where the general rules of supervernacularization are complimented with some local ones. Final syllables or vowels can be dropped from words (p. 119). There are several reasons for creating a message like that among young people, it is seen as a cool, creative and modern skill and sometimes it is for economic purposes where one purposely deducts syllables and vowels in a word to shorten the total number of words in a message to avoid message limit costs. It is also a form of identity performance where most youngsters use creative writing practices to show that they are part of young generation.

5.2.5 Example 11. Interview data

The homophone spellings and abbreviations are like defence mechanism for most youths especially when they choose to write in English because they are unsure of standard spellings in many English vocabularies. A stay at home youth with limited knowledge to English language explains the use of such texting practices:

Mchaga: Na nikiamua kuandika kwa kingereza inabidi nifupishe maneno maana sina uhakika kama ndo kinavoandikwa au la kwa sababu kingereza chenyewe ni hiki nlichojifunzia mtaani yaani kwa kuona watu wanavokiandika mtandaoni.

And if I decide to write in English I have to shorten the words because I'm not sure if that's how it's supposed to be written or not, because it is the English I learned on the streets I mean by seeing how people write it online

A conscious decision to use English, is accompanied by uncertainty of not being able to write it properly, but the possibilities provided by heterographic scripts makes it possible for the youngsters to use the language. Being able to speak English is a sign of high status, a sign of being educated, smart, clever and so forth because Tanzania as I mentioned in section 3.2.1 is a diglossic country and English holds a high position in education and international communication. Also, in addition to being an identity negotiation practice it is also an impression activity which captures the receiver's attention and is often followed by similar action from the receiver who feels the need to reply in English to impress and prove to the sender that he/she is also capable of using English. That motivates youngsters to learn some English words especially the ones that they repetitively come across with daily. Some words are widely used on the same contexts daily which makes it easier for most people to effortlessly learn and memorise them.

5.2.6 Example 12. Observation data

The example below is a Facebook messenger text sent by Mchaga to her friend:

Thanx.. 9c 2see u here..

Thanks.. nice to see you here..

Through this text a Supervernacular can be seen, implying that the rural based youngsters have adopted the heterographic rules of varieties of English that is experienced in different networking sites all over the world. The orthographic ‘nice to see you’ is written ‘9c 2see u’. “. . . they stretch the affordances of conventional scripts in such a way that a new, deviant system of normative writing emerges, different from the ‘orthographic’ one and therefore heterographic” (Blommaert, 2014, p. 116). Also, local idiosyncrasies can be noticed where symbol ‘X’ is used to replace syllables ‘ks’ thus the orthographic ‘thanks’ become ‘thanx’. The informant said she learned the exactly sentence from a friend on a group chat even though she at primary school had learned all the words in the sentence, she had not learned such heterographic script until on the group chat when other members of the group kept using it. For her to use it is mainly to impress and identify herself as updated, clever, and one of the youngsters. One of the characteristics of such heterographic forms of languaging in English by less experienced texters is that they are shorter compared to the ones written by experienced texters who have learned English for a long time as I will show on the next example.

5.2.7 Example 13. Observation data

The following example is by the participant T88, a college student who said very rare he writes in English to his friends online, but when he does, he keeps it “simple”. It is a WhatsApp message to his cousin.

Bro, long tym. tc ol gud? Where r u nw? been thinkin 2start my own cmpny bt things r nt going d way i want. Lets meet soon mayb we cn do smthn 2getha.

Brother, long time. It is all good? Where are you now? I have been thinking to start my own company, but things are not going the way I want. Let us meet soon maybe we can do something together.

As much as globally attested English heterographic texting scripts are popular among young Tanzanian texters for example ‘r’ for ‘are’ ‘2’ for ‘to/too’ ‘u’ for ‘you’, so are the abbreviated orthographic forms which are created by inserting homophonic heterographic symbols as shown on the example above: ‘bro’(‘brother’), tym (‘time’), ‘nw’(‘now’), ‘thinkin’(‘thinking’), ‘cmpny’(‘company’), ‘bt’(‘but’), ‘nt’(‘not’), ‘lets’(‘let us’), ‘mayb’(‘maybe’), ‘cn’(‘can’), ‘smthn’(‘something’) and ‘2getha’(‘together’). There is also an eye dialect ‘d way’(‘the way’). For T88 as a person who have gone for further education, he

has learned English long enough to employ such practices that is why he considers the fluid use of English on the message above as keeping it “simple”. However, the simplicity depends on who is the receiver or if the interaction is between people who are sure to understand each other’s texting practices because as some of the participants explained, such writing style leads to similar texting style from the receiver to impress the sender and show off their ability to “play” with words. Unconventional writing in online communication is also a form of play as described by one of the participants on the next example.

5.2.8 Example 14. Interview data

On this example the participant explained the act of unconventional writing in CMC.

J98 : ni kama sanaa yani unacheza na lugha, unacheza na maneno.

It is like arts where you play with language, you play with words.

Violating language rules give youngsters a form of agency to treat the language of their choice as they wish, and freedom to showcase their virtuosity in playing with it. Such agency is regarded as a form of art that allows them to play with language. Regarding J98’s example, it indicates that the more language is there to be used constantly in various contexts, the more exposed to appropriation it becomes. The ones who don’t ‘play’ with language/words often gets nicknames such as *mchungaji* – pastor, *mshamba* – unsophisticated peasant, *mzamani* - old fashioned, *mtakatifu* – saint, and so forth. Nicknames are associated with the illusions most people have of a character reflected by a youth during communication such is writing clean and nearly standard Kiswahili or English or whatever the language they are using (personal observation, 2008-2011).

Associating linguistic practices with the actions of a character reflected by some youths is not the only way to integrate linguistic practices with a person as a character. Objects are also integrated as a way of explaining something or someone. It’s like the language used in most Tanzanian oral literature such as riddles, poems, proverbs, stories, and so forth where certain objects or animals are used as fiction to represent a person or a place (Otiso, 2013, p. 72).

5.2.9 Example 15. Observation data

The following is a SMS message by Kipara to his second cousin informing him about their mutual friend getting married to a girl he thinks is very beautiful.

Aisee nmeskia X anaoa na demu wake ni **kisu hatari** umezinyaka hizo?

*Hey, I've heard X is getting married and his girl is a **dangerous knife** "painfully beautiful" have you gotten the information?*

Here knife is used to exaggerate how beautiful X's girl is. But not knife as the object, it is the function of a knife and feeling that results from being cut by a knife that is being integrated on the message. The point is X's girl is very beautiful. The receiver is going to understand it based on his knowledge about knife as an object and its function while associating it with the 'demu' (a girl') and of course his knowledge about the use of such terminology among youngsters. *Demu* is a very popular and long-standing youth vocabulary used in Tanzania to describe a girl and in East Africa in general because it is believed to originate from Sheng Kenya. "In parts of East Africa, fluid language that spread to rural areas and then increasingly became part of village-based youths' repertoires is mainly derived from Kenyan Sheng, diffused across Uganda, Tanzania, into Rwanda, Burundi and parts of DR Congo" (Nassenstein, 2018, p. 110). This instance of cross-geographical spread of emerging and developing codes is what Blommaert (2014) described as 'supervernaculars' which refers to sociolinguistic resources widely used among huge network and online communities facilitated by new communication technologies where new and locally constructed vernaculars are shared by communities with various traditional features of community (p. 116). Also, similar practices as explained on the section 5.2.4 of using local idiosyncrasies by abbreviating orthographic forms as in ('nmeskia'- 'nimesikia'- I have heard). 'Aisee' is popular youth slang in Tanzania, it is sometimes used as a pronoun and sometimes as a greeting or a way of initiating conversation and sometimes to emphasis something. It can be placed anywhere in a sentence depending on what function it's meant to play in that particular sentence. 'umezinyaka' is also non-conventional Kiswahili used by youngsters to replace ('umezipata'- have you gotten).

From the linguistic practices discussed on this section, language choice in CMC among youngsters in rural Tanzania have surpassed the popular understanding of monolingual

orientation always stressed in written form. Their fluid linguistic practices show that, what is important for them is to be able to convey their messages in languages they choose and in ways that are understandable using available resources to them. We have seen also; rural youths show their creative semiotic abilities to negotiate identities. For example, the use of cool registers and the abilities to not only integrate globally attested heterographic scripts in their communications but also integrate the local and sometimes personal homophonic heterographic symbols. English language resources are broken down and localized in a sense that what is considered 'standard' to the original English-speaking countries, is far from what is considered standard in CMC by rural youths because a slight idea of English is considered enough to convey intended message.

5.3 Fixity and fluidity in incorporation of several languages

Like some of the interview data examples on previous subchapters indicates a fluid use of both Kiswahili and English language during informal oral communication, metrolingual practices in such interactions have been evolving for a long time given the prioritization of both languages in different settings. However, the metrolingualism situation in Tanzania specifically texting practises among Tanzanians is characterised by using their entire repertoire and not just some named languages. Creativity surrounding written interaction in CMC reflects both named languages and nameless languages which are influenced by daily experiences, personal backgrounds, ideologies, history and so forth. Youth texting language in rural Tanzania does not differ from youth texting language in urban areas. Nassenstein (2018) on his study of rural youth language practices, observes similar practices among rural youth in Uganda, Congo etc where these rural youths in addition to using urban or global forms of language, they creatively manipulate rural language registers/styles to express regional identity and agency through stylized practice. Cross-geographical fluidity goes both ways and it is uncertain if all the youth dialects originate in urban areas before they are spread all over the country because even in the cities speakers of a particular language may happen to settle in the same neighbourhoods and if they don't acquire the predominant urban languages, they are most likely to use their vernaculars to creatively innovate new language practices. In addition to rural-urban/ urban-rural migration, online interaction contributes significantly to the birth and rebirth of new vocabularies and texting styles (Nassenstein, 2018, pp. 106, 107, 112).

5.3.1 Example 16. Observation data

Below is an example of WhatsApp message sent by T88 to his friend where fluid use of both English and Kiswahili is seen.

Mwanangu buku ni shwari kabisa pande za huku hakuna matata, b'z unazipigia pande za wapi?

My friend school is absolutely fine. There is no trouble on this side, where do you work?

The example above describes youth texting language in relation to fluid use of both English and Kiswahili because the sender used manipulation associated with youth language to create such message. He used standard Kiswahili terminologies but gave them a different context. Terminologies like 'Mwanangu' is a standard Kiswahili for 'my child' on the example above it is used to refer to 'a friend'. When such terminology is used among youngsters it is a sign of close relationship, trust, and good company. 'buku' is used on the example to signify 'school'. It is a widespread street Kiswahili among Youngsters which is taken from the English word 'book'. It is the context of use of a book as an object of which is school, that is used to create such meaning of the word 'buku'. This shows how linguistic repertoires of youngsters involve more than localizing and manipulating existing terminologies, they also connect/relate objects and their respective contexts of use to innovate new unconventional terminologies. Then again, the same word 'buku' carries another meaning among youngsters such is 'one thousand Tanzanian shilling'. One must understand the entire sentence in which such word is used to be able to understand if it's the money or school that is being referred to. 'shwari' is a standard Kiswahili terminology which means 'calm' but among youngsters it is used to describe anything, anyone, and any situation that is going well, or doing fine as it is used on the example to describe how good it is going with school. 'pande za huku' is however, according to the official grammar, deviant when used to refer to a certain place and the way it appears on the example above is in plural referring to 'many parts/angles/sides' while he meant to refer to only one area where he is located. It's quite common in spoken settings but in written form it's correct to say 'huku' for 'here' which is a pronoun of a place/location used when the receiver of a message already knows where the sender is located. 'hakuna matata' is also a Standard Kiswahili for 'no trouble', it is correctly used, and its actual meaning is not altered. Also, similar to the practices explained in section 5.2.7, there is an abbreviated orthographic form created by inserting heterographic symbols 'b'z' for 'business' which he meant 'work' in general. Such abbreviated orthographic form could be confusing for some people because it could be written differently by different people and it could carry a different

or similar meaning. It is the last part of the message that makes the abbreviation b'z make sense even though the last part itself is fluidly written. 'unazipigia' is used here to refer 'to do' but the way it's used is like the receiver is doing something on behalf of the business. Concretely, orthographically transcribed 'unazipigia' should have written as 'unafanya' for 'to do' which would be the actual word that is compatible with the whole sentence on the last part except for the very last three words 'pande za wapi' instead of just 'wapi' which is the same situation for 'pande za huku' described earlier on this example. Also, there is only two punctuation marks within the sentence, a comma and question mark. Such fluidity defines youth texting language regardless of geographical position because the vocabularies used are widely used in Tanzania by most youths.

Mixing of Kiswahili and English is often unconscious activity where English words that have been used for a long time, have finally become part of unconventional Kiswahili dictionary and their interpretation to Kiswahili is either forgotten or don't Exist.

5.3.2 Example 17: interview data

Below is T88 when he explained why it can be hard to use only Kiswahili in communication:

T88: ah kiumjla misamiati ya ki ya Kiswahili ni migumu sana kwa hiyo tunafikaga mahali kuna maneno fulani ya Kiswahili huwa tunaya tuna hatuyatumii mara kwa mara mfano kama neno juice naweza nikamwambia mtu naomba juice ila neno juice ni neno la kingereza kumbe nilitakiwa nimwambie mtu naomba sharobati

Ah, in general Kiswahili vocabularies are very difficult so, we reach to a place where there are some Kiswahili words that we don't often use them. For Example, the word Juice, I can tell somebody "may I get some Juice" but Juice is an English word which I should have told the person "may I get some Sharobati".

Tanzania like many other countries, import quite a lot of its consumer goods which enters the country with their names from manufactures which is often in English because as I explained in section 2.4.4, that is the language used in international trade and business, therefore the names to such items becomes widespread and for a long time before they are renamed in Kiswahili or not renamed at all. This is partly one of the reasons most Tanzanians fluidly use English and Kiswahili unconsciously. However, his claim of Kiswahili vocabularies being

difficult is because they are not used daily, they are considered to be of more importance in formal written communication and that's the reason some of it is unknown to the public. Still, as Lee (2017) states, "There are concerns about the potential threat of English to smaller languages or endangered languages even in today's age of digital social media" (p. 17). In addition to other factors like foreign music, and film in Tanzania which contributes to spread of English among youths, English as explained in section 2.4.3, is also the official language, education and business language. Therefore, it is not surprising that many web users still select English as a more neutral language on the internet (Lee, 2017, p. 22). For Tanzania's rural youths, fluid use of English automatically becomes an alternative to Kiswahili because as mentioned in section 5.1, tribal languages demand lots of efforts and time and are a home language.

5.3.3 Example 18. Interview data

Another participant explains how fluid use of both English and Kiswahili happens unconsciously:

Mchaga: inatokea yani inakuwa ni rahisi kama tukiwa tunaongea unaweza ukajikuta tu umechomeka neno la kingereza ambalo **from nowhere** unashangaa tu limejichomeka hapo lina linaambatana yani mhh

It happens. It is easier if we are talking you can find yourself inserting an English word from nowhere suddenly it is there, it is compatible.

As mentioned in section 5.2.1, English is regarded as a time saving and 'easy to express yourself' language which for most Tanzanians as I pointed out on the previous example, is the second alternative after Kiswahili in written communication. Tanzanians who also speak English claims that some Kiswahili vocabularies have too many letters for a single word compared to English and that is why they'd rather use English to save time. Tanzanian state ideology under Ujamaa as explained on section 2.5 was hegemony with emphasis on one language Kiswahili, but post-Ujamaa Tanzanian linguistic system has moved towards a heteroglossic and polycentric system that the state can no longer control from above (Blommaert, 2014, p. 121). The same channels and networks that were built to facilitate the one-sided flow of knowledge and flows of modernity are now serving as a means to spread the knowledge and values of those on the receiving end (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 25).

Encountering other languages like English in online spaces like social networking sites, contributes to learning new vocabularies that become part of youth's repertoires. The claim made by Mchaga about using an English word from 'nowhere' is one of the reasons to believe that Tanzanian state is not monoglot and no longer hegemony because such linguistic practices are no longer controlled from above and not controllable at all.

5.3.4 Example 19. Interview data

When I sked J98 why does she use English in Kiswahili conversations she explained why that happens:

J98: No sometimes maneno ya kingereza yanakuwa short **yanasave** time mhh sometime yanakuwa short **yanasave** time. Nikiwa naandika sentensi ya Kiswahili naweza nikachanganya neno la kingereza kwa mfano ninamwambia mtu usinitafute niko busy niko busy, busy ni neno la kingereza

No, sometimes English words are shorter, they save time. When I'm writing a Kiswahili sentence, I can mix an English word. For example, I'm telling somebody don't find me I am busy, busy is an English word.

From her explanation, such fluidity is also in spoken contexts because as she spoke, she unconsciously used both English and Kiswahili. In written communication one will often see mixing of standard varieties of both Kiswahili and English for example, when she used both languages to create one word 'yanasave'. Such practice is seen mostly among people with secondary to higher education but also with and among people with only primary education. Blommaert (2014) explains his observation of English-interfered Kiswahili spoken among staff members of a university of Dar es salaam in Tanzania, where such practices were common in informal and off-the-record conversations while in formal settings, they used standard Kiswahili with some functional borrowing of English lexemes. English-interfered Kiswahili happens when both English and Kiswahili varieties are mixed into a pattern that is syntactically and pragmatically coherent and conveys the propositional message in what appears to be an adequate way. The Kiswahili used is lexically and syntactically complex so is the English and the degree of lexicosemantic shift is low (Blommaert, 2014, p. 93).

5.3.5 Example 20. Observation data

Below is an example that illustrates such practice of English-interfered Swahili as explained above. It is SMS sent by informant T88 to his friend.

Niko b'mlo (Bukoba) Moshi **nimepamiss** xana since last yr sijatia mguu pande zile. Mama Vick **nimemmiss** kesho ntamjulia hali,

I'm in Biharamlo (Bukoba). I have missed Moshi so much. I haven't been there since last year. I have missed mama Vick. I will greet her tomorrow.

The English lexis on the words 'nimepamiss' and 'nimemmiss' have kept its standard English lexical meanings and the Kiswahili reflects the standard rule of difference between pointing at a place and a person using the same word. The message was sent to a person that would understand its creation, because its manipulation shows that the sender has adequate knowledge of English and Kiswahili and is familiar with the level of understanding of the receiver. In this case also, it could be interpreted as identity negotiation where the two educated ones as they are referred to in Tanzania, share similar understanding of certain language practices and they can use them to identify as friends, intellectuals and youngsters. They are texting on youth identity otherwise sentence like 'since last yr' would have written in standard English without the abbreviations 'yr' for (year) and 'Xana' for 'sana'. Such manipulation would have not been used if the communication involved people with limited knowledge of English and of older age group.

If mixing Kiswahili and English in both offline and online informal communication happens consciously or unconsciously, in addition to the reasons mentioned above, identity negotiation can be perceived differently to some extent depending on the context and the receiver of the message. As mentioned in section 5.2.5, English is still seen as high-status language where most youths feel the need to show off their various identities while using English such as being educated, having a well-off family, to mention a few. However, the use of English is not always regarded as a positive attitude in Tanzanian society especially among youngsters. It can be associated with being arrogant, bragging, looking down on others and so forth. It is also regarded as "behaving like 'Mzungu'/white person" which for some people it is offensive because it brings a bad conscious of betraying their nationality and pretending to know everything. Also, the use of English is associated with Uzungu (western type), a lifestyle

presented mostly implicitly and sometimes explicitly as unethical, asocial and un-African. This association is powerful because it serves as a negative reflection of Ujamaa with its emphasis on Africanhood epitomized in Kiswahili (Blommaert, 2014, p. 84).

5.3.6 Example 21: interview data

On the following example the Maasai participant who learned a few English vocabularies at work, explained why he barely use them especially when communicating with his fellow Maasai.

Baba2: Sikitumii sana hicho kingeresi si unajua tena sitaki kuambiwa najifanya mimi ni msungu najua kila kitu mana wamasai wengi pale napoishi bado hawajui kingeresi ni wachache ambao wameishi nje ya masaini. Na hata hivyo sijajua kile cha ndani kabisa cha kuwesa kusungumsa visuri, ni maneno tu ya hapa na pale.

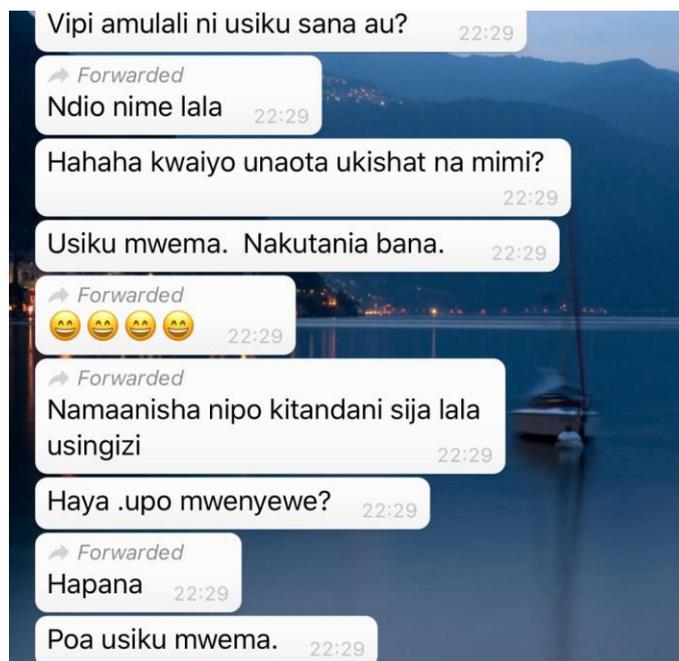
I don't use that English so much, you know, I don't want to be told I'm pretending to be Mzungu and know everything because most of Masai where I live still don't know English. It's few of them who have lived outside Maasai villages. Anyway, I have not learned the proper English to be able to speak well, it's just some words here and there.

So, at some point, one must hide their other identities and repertoires to be able to identify with a certain group because there is uneven distribution of language resources and, the specific resources that people can access and the ones that they can't access, all reveal historically and biographically emerged social positions that cannot be avoided in everyday communication. Someone who speaks a language that is not accessible to everyone can as well use this language to include or exclude people from certain material or symbolic benefits (Blommaert, 2014, p. 92). If Baba2 on the example above decides to speak the small amount of English he has learned to his friends who don't understand, they might feel excluded from the conversation and each one of them will have a different perception of Baba2 as either being a bragger, or educated and so forth. This is because as mentioned in section 2.4.4, English language is associated with higher status given the position it holds in education and international affairs. Blommaert (2014) further elaborates, "even if English is available in theory, to every Tanzanian citizen, it may not be accessible to all of them but just to a particular group or class" (p. 92).

However, the claim of not using a different language such as English than the predominant one fearing to not fit in, does not always reflect linguistic practices in CMC because, as described in section 5.3.2, some terminologies have been used all over the country and for a long time to the extent that even the people whose language of such terminologies is not theirs, have adopted and understood the meaning and context of use of such terminologies. Challenges appear on the written form if one has not learned how to properly write them, thus, write them the way they pronounce them. “Phonetically, the English phrases may sound very African” (Blommaert, 2014, p. 93) and because the English elements have been phonetically contaminated by Kiswahili, the Kiswahili which may also have been contaminated by tribal languages, appears completely different from the original English lexis that can only be understood in relation to the topic of conversation and familiarity with the pronunciation of the parties involved in a conversation.

5.3.7 Example 22: Observation data

The following example is a conversation between the Maasai participant (Baba2) and a friend of his. It shows among other fluid linguistic features, the use of an English-interfered Swahili that Phonetically sounds as described in section 5.3.6.



Translation to English:

Baba2: Hey aren't you sleeping? It's very late. Or?

Friend: Yes. I'm sleeping

Baba2: Hahaha so you are dreaming while chatting with me? Good night. I'm just joking.

Friend: Smiles (emojis) I mean I'm in bed, not fallen asleep yet.

Baba2: Okay. Are you alone?

Friend: No.

Baba2: Okay good night.

The two in the conversation above tried to use fluid Kiswahili for the most part except the only single word in English- 'chatting'. He wrote it the way he pronounces it and how almost all Maasai pronounce it – 'ukishat' instead of 'ukichat' as in the same situation discussed by Blommaert (2014) of Kiswahili register of mixing standard varieties of both Kiswahili and English as explained earlier in section 5.3.4. The only difference here is that the English lexis did not keep its original, standard English lexical meaning even though it conveys the propositional message in adequate way. As explained in section 5.3.6, phonetically, most of both Kiswahili and English phrases sound different among Maasai people, it sounds Kimasai given the fact that Kiswahili is their second language and used only in a classroom setting and online and during interethnic communication. Orthography used by both parties on the example above displays fluid use of Kiswahili of which is characterised by local idiosyncrasies done by dropping syllables and vowels ('ndio' – 'ndiyo', 'kwaiyo'- 'kwahiyo' – 'so'), spellings ('amulali' – 'hulali'- 'aren't you sleeping'), grammar ('nime lala' – 'nimelala' – 'I am sleeping', 'sija lala' – 'sijalala' – 'I am not sleeping') and non-standard youth language ('bana'- 'bwana'- 'sir'). Such writing style shows the relationship of parties in conversation as being friends or people who know each other well enough to not be worried about unconventional writing. There is also insertion of Emoji- "a system of graphic symbols and emoticons" (Lee, 2017, p. 4). The Emoji used in the conversation above is 'smiley faces' which follows after the "I'm just joking" sentence as a sign of understanding the joke or finding it funny. Similar reaction is expressed by Baba2 but in a form of written language- 'hahaha' when his friend said he was asleep but chatting at the same time. These emoticons – "short for emotion icons"(Dresner & Herring, 2010, p. 249) are a visual resources in CMC which may be typed out or inserted from preinstalled applications, like in the conversation

above, they can also be use independently or combined with words to form multimodal messages (Lee, 2017, p, 26). “They are construed as indicators of effective states, the purpose of which is to convey non-linguistic information that in face-to-face communication is conveyed through facial expression and other bodily indicators” (Dresner & Herring, 2010, p. 250). In addition to those fluid practices, there is a shift into youth slang on the very last sentence, the term ‘poa’. Poa is a popular youth slang used to describe anything or anyone who is cool, or doing good, it is also a standard Kiswahili for ‘cool’.

Through fixity and fluidity in incorporation of several languages, we have seen how standard Kiswahili terms can be given a different meaning and context than its original to reflect youth languages. We have also seen that; mixing can involve Kiswahili and just one personal homophone that carries a different meaning and spelling to represent a whole English terminology. Also, International trade and business can contribute to widespread of English language that becomes integrated in daily communication hence cause unconscious mixing of English and Kiswahili. We have also seen that, using English can sometimes be a time saving factor because some of its vocabularies are shorter than its Kiswahili counterpart. Through this section, we have also seen how Tanzania’s linguistic system have moved away from monolingual language ideology because youth linguistic practices reveal a lot about the actual sociolinguistics of the society. Data in this section have also shown that using more than one language can be a form of identity negotiation. English is also discussed in the light of both positive and negative attitude it can reflect among Tanzania’s youngsters with which identities can be created and negotiated and it can also be provoking and trigger a feeling of not belonging. Elaboration of varieties of two languages mixed into a pattern that is syntactically and pragmatically coherent to adequately convey the intended meaning has been made. Emojis have also been described as a symbol that can independently stand as a language. Lastly, the creativity in linguistic practices is not a thing of urban youths only, as the data have revealed, rural based youths are as creative and not only do they invent and recreate their local and regional registers, they are also using well known global practices, for more on this, (see chapter 6).

5.4 Summary

In this chapter I have analysed data using notions of fixity and fluidity where online linguistic practices have been divided in three parts such are orthography, language choice and incorporation of several languages. The analysis was done by including both interview and observation data and relevant theories. Rural youth online practices as analysed in this chapter have shown to be more fluid than fixity for various reasons as discussed above. Further discussion of the findings will be done on the next chapter.

6. DISCUSSION

In this thesis, I have researched how multilingual rural based youths communicate in online settings. I have used twenty-two examples from individual interviews and observation of linguistic practices in various social networking sites. Based on the findings in my thesis it shows that rural based youths use their linguistic repertoires fluidly in CMC. Communicating in tribal languages is rare compared to Kiswahili and English due to lack of mastery of respective languages as mentioned on the analysis part. They are used in homes therefore, there is a very limited literacy on its written form. Moreover, fluid use of other languages such as Kiswahili and English, is on one hand not a result of lack of enough knowledge of these languages but a form of freedom to express themselves creatively and a sense of belonging in a group one identifies as a member of, in this case youngsters. On the other hand, the fluid use of the languages especially English is due to lack of enough knowledge of the languages in both oral and written form and this is contributed by factors like positions a language holds in a Tanzanian society, international trade, politics and education.

Identity negotiation is shown to be another key factor for fluidity where one can simply use a language to identify as a member of a certain tribe, as a youngster, a friend and so on. On digital media which has become the common place where various linguistic practices are taking place, “people do not behave as single, self-contained beings, but as networked individuals” therefore people are negotiating how do they want to be perceived as and what do other participants expect. Participants collaborate in the identity construction work because it is not only about oneself but also other members (Lee, 2017, pp. 55-56).

Fluidity in CMC among rural based youngsters is also used to save one’s face as explained in section 5.1.5, where two or more languages are fluidly used to make a claim for money less treating. Tribal language and youth language are mostly used in cases like this to create humorous atmosphere which helps to make a message less intrusive but important.

Findings in my data indicates that participants in CMC have various preferences for language choice. Even if during interviews they claimed to strongly prefer Kiswahili, the observation

data shows fluid use of more than just one named language in the same context and if it's one language used, then it's fluidly used. Data suggests that there is no pressure or expectations on what languages one should use during communication even though relationship among interlocutors can be a determining factor on what language they should use.

However, it is difficult to conclude that these findings can be a representative of all CMC among multilingual youngsters in Tanzania, specifically rural Tanzania, because data in this thesis is obtained through a research method such is qualitative method which involved individual interviews, observation of online practices, literature review, and analysis. Nevertheless, qualitative research is known for its crucial role of getting in "*the actor's point of view*" (Repstad, 2007, p. 19) because it involves gathering the desired and targeted information on the basis of various methods such as participation by questioning and observing, analysing, interviewing, using visual material, personal skills, interpretation and survey methods to cover a large area (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 3). In this thesis, the methods used aimed at studying the topic in its natural settings in attempt to make sense of or interpret the phenomena in terms of the meaning's participants shared. Due to the fact that the sample size used is small, the findings of the thesis may not be a representative of the entire rural youth population in Tanzania compared to if I had used quantitative research methods that involve statistical tests which normally require a larger sample size to ensure a representative distribution of a population and to be considered representative of groups of people to whom results will be generalised.

The starting point for quantitative research is that the entire world is one big mechanism and by taking it apart and studying its constituent parts we will in the end understand the whole machine (Lowie & Seton, 2012, p. 14). Positivism the 1800's philosophical concept is where the quantitative research methodology is rooted, it suggests among other things, science should be empirically tested, and scientific research should be objective. Qualitative research has challenged this concept because it proves to be impossible to research without influencing what one is researching. As human beings we have knowledge in advance that affects what we deal with and a researcher need these knowledges and values to be able to research effectively. A researcher as a socialized person through upbringing, school and education, brings his/her knowledge into his/her research project. Significantly, it helps in formulating

research topic, questions and selection of sources and methods (Kvarv, 2014, p. 63). I am aware that my knowledge in advance may have influenced the research work, but I positively hope that this knowledge in advance has been a foundation and a starting point for creating understanding.

Data in this thesis have been analyzed in the basis of Metrolingualism (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010) inspired concepts such are fixity and fluidity. The results have shown that CMC also influences linguistic repertoires of rural based youths by integrating the local, urban and the global linguistic practices during communication. As Nassenstein and Hollington (2016) argues, “There are also instances of cross-geographical fluidity over long distances...the interconnectedness of urban and rural space in Africa also reveals more fluidity than often hastily assumed” (p. 187).

Jaspers and Madsen (2019) argues,

Metrolingualism as a term similarly and helpfully highlights the existence of fluid language practices, but although it is presented as a broad, descriptive category for data analysis and as a way of describing diverse grounded local practices it does not offer further detail about how these practices may differ in form and function and by which other terms this can be described and if it refers to fluid as well as fixed practices, and moreover as a practice is not confined to the city the term may draw undue attention to the metropolitan melting pot. (pp. 8-9)

Despite this argument, the two concepts of fixity and fluidity have shown to be more inclusive way to study rural youths’ CMC linguistic. Its comprehensiveness has allowed the study of all aspect of communication involved in the meaning-making process that are always cut out in multilingualism concepts such are CS and language mixing. The newly proposed terms for language therefore strike several birds with one stone. They propose a theoretical perspective that strongly challenges conventional ways of understanding language, they describe fluid linguistic behaviour that move away from these traditional understandings, and they help draw attention to the normality and the availability of linguistic practices everywhere that policymakers are hesitant to register on their discursive radar (Jaspers & Madsen, 2019, p. 2).

Moreover, fixity and fluidity in this thesis have been used to analyze data because as explained in section 3.3.1, CMC involves interactions that moves beyond physical geographical location

introducing new cultural, identity and linguistic practices as well as creating integration between the existing and new practices (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010, p. 244). Findings have shown these practices in ways that using CS would only limit description of such practices into a narrow perspective that deals with multiplying codes. Describing behavior as multilingual may be correct if it corresponds with participants' conscious alternation of what they see as several linguistic codes for example French, Danish, Kiswahili, Chinese etc. But, on other occasions, such a description is jumping to conclusions, it is argued, since speakers may not regard what they say as using multiple codes but as the normal way of speaking or as using one code if not a continuously changing one (Jaspers & Madsen, 2019, p. 2).

The results may have come out differently if the data was studied in relation to multilingualism and its theoretical concepts like CS (see section 3.2) and language mixing (see section 3.2) because, CS as discussed on its respective chapter have been studied for several decades, there are many theories and other related contact phenomena as described in section 3.2.1 around it that have been developed to support the topic. But, most of the theories and studies have been developed to study spoken discourse commonly known as conversational CS (Sebba, 2012, p. 97). CS in CMC is still less well researched despite the attention of linguists it received in the mid-1990s (Androutsopoulos, 2013, p. 667). Therefore, there is no clear focus for written language and is not obvious that the term CS and the related terms are applicable to written language at all and if so, the question is whether they refer to the same, slightly different, or substantially different phenomena in addition to having so many definitions and serious disputes about issues that are partly terminological in nature (Sebba, 2012, p. 98).

Youth linguistic practices have been treated as an urban phenomenon while rural youths have been treated as minor actors and rural areas have been treated as periphery (Nassenstein, 2018, p. 120). Rural youngsters' linguistic practices in CMC discussed in this thesis have displayed the dynamic language change in a globalized world that can be observed among young people across the world. Though linguistic practices on the examples used in the thesis chapter 5, it shows how social media plays an important role of connecting youngsters in rural areas with the rest of the world because not only do they recreate and innovate practices based on their languages but also recreating and integrating linguistic practices used globally. This shows how rural based youths are as much and as important in the new and existing linguistic

practices innovation and recreation process. However, as mentioned on section 2.6, rural areas struggle with unstable internet and through cheap mobile phones rural population manage to communicate through basic phone services like SMS and beeping. In addition to using SMS and beeping and social media as way of sharing linguistic innovations in CMC, there is also traditional means of sharing innovations and linguistic creativity for example, transient media, radio, bus stations, and Television are also ways of which youth linguistic practices transfer from urban to rural and rural to urban and bus stations in rural areas are the centre of encounter connecting the rural and the city where innovation and spread of new linguistic practices happens (Nassenstein, 2018, p. 118). For these reasons, mobility of African youngsters' linguistic practices moving between rural and city centres has been there for a long time.

7. CONCLUSION

The term multilingualism as a well-established linguistic field is facing challenges that propose alternative ways of looking at languages as complex phenomena that encompasses other important aspects of communication instead of separate entities. Clearly linguists want to shift away from a focus on multiplying, switching or mixing distinct codes whenever speakers combine features that traditionally belong to separate languages, “to a focus on how speakers flexibly combine linguistic features of whatever pedigree, in line with local perceptions of language” (Jaspers & Madsen 2019, p. 2). Linguistic practices in a globalized world have been studied with a focus on urban centres paying little to no attention to rural areas. There need to be more studies of contemporary linguistic practices of rural based youths from which clear understanding of how contemporary youth linguistic practices can confidently be regarded as Youth language without having to ascribe certain practices as being ‘urban’ and others being ‘rural’, can be achieved.

In this study, as discussed in chapter 6, linguistic practices of rural based youths in Tanzania have shown more than just being rural, there are global attested practices, local and the so often called urban-like language. The question is to whether such practices should still be considered as ‘youth languages’ or should they be considered ‘fluid practices’ as suggested by Nassenstein (2018) in what he argues that, labelling such practises as being urbanity or rurality and speaking of youth languages, is a way of fixing language and making delimited codes out of fluid language use which reduces it to a demarcated and handy register bound to one place and to one group of speakers (p. 106). More studies on the topic should also focus on the rural areas to highlight rural youth’s creativity, connectedness, power and control of their local linguistic practices as well as global linguistic practices resulting from technological advancements and globalization. There are few studies that have focused on rural youth language such as, among others Kioko (2015), Rusch and Nassenstein (2016), Nassenstein (2018). Online linguistic practices of rural based youngsters in Tanzania have shown significant fluidity that helps in understanding how important rural areas and speakers therein are in the linguistic innovation process as well as helps to understand complex phenomena of dynamic linguistic and social change in rural areas in the globalization era.

8. REFERENCES

- Aarsæther, F. (2008) Flerspråklighet og flerspråklig praksis. In M. E Nergård & I. Tonne (Eds.), *Språkdiradikk for norsklærere : Mangfold av språk og tekster i undervisningen* (pp. 110-128). Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Aronin, L., & Hufeisen, B. (2009). *The exploration of multilingualism: Development of research on L3, multilingualism and multiple language acquisition*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Androutopoulos, J. (2013). Code-switching in computer-mediated communication. In S. C. Herring, D. Stein & T. Virtanen (Eds.), *Pragmatics of computer-mediated communication* (pp. 667-691). Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Auer, P. (1998). From codeswitching via language mixing to fused lects: Toward a dynamic typology of bilingual speech. *Interaction and Linguistic Structures*, 6, 1-28.
- Bloomfield, L. (1935). *Language*. London: Allen & Unwin LTD.
- Blommaert, J. (2010). *The sociolinguistics of globalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University press.
- Blommaert, J., & Backus, A. (2012). Superdiverse repertoires and the individual. *Tilburg papers in culture studies*, 24, 1-33.
- Blommaert, J. (2014). *State ideology and language in Tanzania* (2nd ed). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University press.
- Bullock, B. E., & Toribio, A. J. (2009). Themes in the study of code-switching. In B. E. Bullock & A. J. Toribio (Eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Code-switching* (pp. 1-18). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bond, G. C (2009). Introduction. In J. A. Kleifgen & G. C. Bond (Eds.), *The Languages of Africa and the Diaspora. Educating for Language Awareness* (New perspectives on language and education). (pp. 25-31). Bristol: Multilingual matters.
- Canagarajah, A. (2013). *Translingual practice: Global Englishes and cosmopolitan relations*. London: Routledge.
- Canagarajah, S. (2017). Translingual Practice as Spatial Repertoires: Expanding the Paradigm beyond Structuralist Orientations. *Applied Linguistics*, 39(1), 1-25. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amx041>

-
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. (2011). Introduction: the discipline and practice of qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The sage handbook of qualitative research* (4th ed.). Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Dresner, E., & Herring, S. (2010). Functions of the Nonverbal in CMC: Emoticons and Illocutionary Force. *Communication Theory*, 20(3), 249-268. Retrieved from <https://doi-org.ezproxy.inn.no/10.1111/j.1468-2885.2010.01362.x>
- Eberhard, D. M., Simons G. F., & Fennig C. D. (Eds.). 2019. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. (22nd ed.), Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Retrieved from <https://www.ethnologue.com/country/TZ>
- Ethnic. (n.d.) In *Merriam-Webster's online dictionary*. Retrieved November 5, 2019, from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/ethnic>
- Ferguson, C. A. (1959). Diglossia. *WORD* 15(2), 325-340. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1080/00437956.1959.11659702>
- Fishman, J. A. (2000). Bilingualism with and without diglossia; diglossia with and without bilingualism. In L. Wei (Ed.), *The Bilingualism reader* (pp. 81-108). London: Routledge.
- Gumperz, J. (1964). Linguistic and Social Interaction in Two Communities. *American Anthropologist*, 66(6), 137-153. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.inn.no/stable/668168>
- Goffman, E. (1967). *Interaction ritual. Essays on Face-to-Face Behaviour*. London: Penguin Books.
- Gardner-Chloros, P. (2009). Sociolinguistic factors in code-switching. In B. E. Bullock & A. J. Toribio (Eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Code-switching* (pp. 97-113). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Herring, S. C. (2007). A Faceted Classification Scheme for Computer-Mediated Discourse. *Language@internet*, 4. (37p.). Retrieved from <https://www.languageatinternet.org/articles/2007/761>
- International Telecommunication Union. (2018). ITU releases 2018 global and regional ICT estimates. Retrieved from <https://www.itu.int/en/mediacentre/Pages/2018-PR40.aspx>

-
- International Telecommunication Union. (n.d). Statistics. Retrieved from <https://www.itu.int/en/ITU-D/Statistics/Pages/stat/default.aspx>
- Jaspers, J. (2017). The transformative limits of translanguaging. *Language & Communication*, 58, 1-10. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langcom.2017.12.001>
- Jaspers, J., & Madsen, L. M. (2019). *Critical perspectives on linguistic fixity and fluidity. Languagised lives* (Routledge Critical Studies in Multilingualism). New York: Routledge.
- Kulbrandstad, L. A. (2006). Å leve og lære med to spark. In K. Kuusela & S. Sand (Ed.), *Introduktion och integration : Om arbete med flyktingar och invandrare i norska och svenska kommuner = Introduksjon og integrasjon : Om arbeid med flyktinger og innvandrere i norske og svenske kommuner* (pp. 155-170) . Vallset: Oplandske bokforlag.
- Kemp, C. (2009). Defining multilingualism. In L. Aronin & B. Hufeisen (Eds.), *The exploration of multilingualism: Development of research on L3, multilingualism and multiple language acquisition* (pp. 11-26). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kramsch, C. (2009). *The multilingual subject: What foreign language learners say about their experience and why it matters*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kvarv, S. (2014). *Vitenskapsteori: Tradisjoner, posisjoner og diskusjoner* (2nd ed.). Oslo: Novus Forlag.
- Le Page, R. B., & Tabouret-Keller, A. (1985). *Acts of identity: Creole-based approaches to language and ethnicity* (2nd ed). London: Cambridge University Press.
- Lowie, W., & Seton, B. (2013). *Essential statistics for applied linguistics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Li, W. (2017). Translanguaging as a practical theory of language. *Applied Linguistics*, 39(1), 1-23. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amx039>
- Lee, C. (2017). *Multilingualism online*. London: Routledge.
- MacKey, W. F (1962). The description of bilingualism. *Canadian Journal of linguistics* 7(2), 51-85. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0008413100019393>
- Manovich, L. (2001). *The language of new media*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.

-
- Mtesigwa, P. C. K. (2009). Perspectives, challenges and prospects of African languages in education: A case study of Kiswahili in Tanzania. In J. A. Kleifgen & G. C. Bond (Eds.), *The Languages of Africa and the Diaspora. Educating for Language Awareness* (pp. 64-79). Bristol: Multilingual matters.
- Mitchell, W. J. T., & Hansen, M. B. N. (2010). *Critical Terms for Media Studies*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Nassenstein, N., & Hollington, A. (2016). Global repertoires and urban fluidity: Youth languages in Africa. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 2016(242), 171-193. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl-2016-0037>
- Nassenstein, N. (2018). Rural youth language practices. Linguistic creativity and the Globalized African village. In S. Elizabeth & C. Mallinson (Eds.), *Rural voices: Language, Identity, and Social Change across Place* (pp. 105-124). Lanham/London: Lexington Books.
- Otsuji, E., & Pennycook, A. (2010). Metrolingualism. Fixity, fluidity and language in flux. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 7(3), 240-254. Retrieved from <https://doi-org.ezproxy.inn.no/10.1080/14790710903414331>
- Otiso, K. M. (2013). *Culture and customs of Tanzania*. Santa Barbara, California: Greenwood.
- Repstad, P. (2007). *Mellom nærhet og distanse: Kvalitative metoder i samfunnsfag* (4th ed.). Oslo: Universitetsforl.
- Sebba, M. (2012). Multilingualism in written discourse: An approach to the analysis of multilingual texts. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 17(1), 97-118. Retrieved from <https://doi-org.ezproxy.inn.no/10.1177%2F1367006912438301>
- Simba, F., Trojer, L., & Yonah, O. (2012). Sustainable Broadband Connectivity Model for Rural Areas of Tanzania. *African journal of science, Technology, Innovation and Development*. 4 (2), 150-172. Retrieved from [https://www.academia.edu/6715279/Sustainable Broadband Connectivity Model for Rural Areas of Tanzania](https://www.academia.edu/6715279/Sustainable_Broadband_Connectivity_Model_for_Rural_Areas_of_Tanzania)
- Thurlow, C., Lengel, L., & Tomic, A. (2004). *Computer Mediated Communication*. Retrieved from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hilhmr-ebooks/detail.action?docID=254643>

Treffers-Daller, J. (2009). Code-switching and transfer: an exploration of similarities and differences. In B. E. Bullock & A. J. Toribio (Eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Code-switching* (pp. 58-74). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wei, L. (Ed.). (2000). *The Bilingualism reader*. London: Routledge.

Weinreich, U. (1953). *Languages in contact, Findings and problems*. New York: Linguistic Circle of New York.

ATTACHMENT 1 – INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. How many languages do you speak?
2. Do you use them daily?
3. Are there some of them that you prefer most? I mean if there are some that you use them much more than the others. If yes, why? And how? And where?
4. Are the languages you are competent in applied in both written and spoken contexts? If not, which ones do you use in writing and which ones do you mostly use in spoken circumstances?
5. Do you participate in online communication?
6. How? I mean if you have smartphone that you use or a private computer or a laptop or any digital device that you use to communicate.
7. Are there social network sites that you are a member? If yes which one(s)
8. Do you use all the languages you are knowledgeable in an online communication?
9. Do you sometimes use several languages in one communication situation?
10. If yes, regarding question number 9, How and which ones do you like to use them together in one speech or message?
11. Why do you mix or switch them?
12. Are there any challenges that you face in an online communication in relation to the languages you use and the people you connect with? If yes, which challenges and how do you solve them?