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Kyrie,

It is Zeus' anathema on our epoch (for the dynamism of our economies) and the heresy of our economic method and policies that we should agonize the *Skylla* of nomismatic plethora and the *Charybdis* of economic anaemia. It is not my idiosyncracy to be ironic or sarcastic but

International

...dynamize nomismatic plethora, they **Journal of Language, Translation and Intercultural Communication**, Our policies should be strategic and philanthropic scopes. anti-economic. In an epoch characterized by geopolitic antagonism and polymorphous

more orthogonal, but this should

hobia, which is endemic among

...ists.

Special Issue ...try should not antagonize economic acme. A *Varieties of English* between the practices of the economic and nomismatic archons is basic. Parallel to this, we have to synchronize and harmonize more and more our economic and nomismatic policies panethnically. These scopes are more practicable now, when the prognostics of the political and economic barometer are halcyonic. The history of our didimus organization on this sp¹ **TECHNOLOGICAL** and their gnostic practices will always be **EDUCATIONAL** and **INSTITUTION OF EPIRUS** and idiomorphous ethincal economies. The government of the **Department of Applied Foreign Languages in Management and Commerce** organization will dynamize these policies. Theref² although not without criticism one or two t³ Languages in Management and Commerce and the hierarchy of our organs in their zeal to program of economic and nomismatic policies, although I have some logomachy with them. I apologize for having tyranized you with my Hellenic phraseology. In my epilogue, I emphasize my eulogy to the philoxenous aytiochtons of this cosmopolitan metropolis and my encomium to you, Kyrie stenographers.

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English in Tanzania: A linguistic cultural perspective

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English in Tanzania: A linguistic cultural perspective

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Abstract

Talking about 'English in Tanzania' or what Schneider (2007) has in general categorized as postcolonial English for that matter instantaneously evokes notions pertaining to language contact as well as the field of contact linguistics. It was the British colonization of East African territories in the first half of the 20th century that brought English into the region and consequently set off the contact process with indigenous local languages that would subsequently shape and define the dynamics of linguistic culture as still observed today. Of particular interest is the contact and subsequent coexistence between English and Swahili especially in Tanzania. There is no any country in sub-Saharan Africa other than Tanzania that provides a perfect illustration of the dynamics of language contact in the 20th century and beyond between a European language and an indigenous African language in the African setting – to the extent that a story of 'English in Tanzania' would blatantly appear incomplete without bringing in a story of 'Swahili in Tanzania' and vice versa. This is exactly what this paper has assigned itself to do – examining a linguistic culture that has evolved in a particular time and space with English and Swahili occupying the center. Nevertheless, the literature on the topic abounds; only that its linguistic cultural dimension has not been privileged enough. Linguistic culture encompasses dynamics related to language contact phenomena such as lexical and grammatical borrowings, code-mixing, bilingualism, language shift, development of pidgins and creoles, attitudes toward languages, linguistic stereotypes and prejudices, and the like. Contact linguistics as an analytical tool pertaining to the structural aspects of bilingual language production is not marginalized in linguistic cultural approach but rather it is highlighted in order to provide concrete evidence on the cultural dimension. In this regard, 'English in Tanzania' is explored by contextualizing it within the parameters of the dynamics of Tanzanian linguistic cultural landscape. Specifically the paper outlines the dynamics of Tanzanian linguistic culture evolving around the English language, of course, alongside Swahili in terms of distinct political periods between the British colonial era and today's era of globalization; second, it concentrates on actual language use and related public discourse as observed in public space; third, it demonstrates communicative creativity arising from the coexistence between English and Swahili and, finally, it concludes with recapitulation regarding the significance of linguistic cultural approach to sociolinguistics explorations.

Keywords: Language contact, linguistic culture, mixed code, code-mixing, bilingualism, communicative innovation

1. Introduction

While language contact could be as old as human history and research into its related phenomena has been on the linguistic agenda as long as linguistics exists, there is a general consensus in the field that only the last two decades or so have witnessed an intensification of this research - the factor which is attributed to the intensified globalization processes (Hasselblat, et al. 2011; Blommaert 2010; Coupland 2010; Clyne 2003). The research on language contact has taken the traditional approaches regarding the divide between 'core' linguistics and sociolinguistics in which the former emphasizes instances of contact-induced changes that are found at all levels of the language grammar (e.g., Hasselblat et al. 2011; Myers-Scotton 2003) and the latter concentrates on what Blommaert (2010:28), for example, puts in a nutshell as "the study of concrete language resources in which people make different investments and to which they attribute different values and degrees of usefulness". Clyne (2003:1) provides the most insightful nature of the field that:

language contact is a multidimensional, multidisciplinary field in which interrelationships hold the key to the understanding of how and why people use language/s the way they do. This includes interrelations between the structural linguistic, sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic; between typology and language use; between macro- and microdimensions; between variations and change.... between the linguistic, sociological, demographic and political.

The story of 'English in Tanzania' which also implies the story of 'Swahili in Tanzania' provides a perfect illustration of Clyne's view regarding the concept of interrelationships which is here contextualized in the linguistic cultural landscape. A linguistic cultural perspective emphasizes viewing a community of users of language(s) as existing in time and space - a political space that has evolved over a specific period of time in which a linguistic culture also evolves with socio-political and economic changes.

2. Dynamics of linguistic culture: an historical overview

The historical development of modern Tanzanian linguistic culture is well documented (e.g., Campbell-Makini 2000; Roy-Campbell & Qorro 1997; Heine 1990; Batibo 1995; Mazrui & Mazrui 1998; Blommaert 1997; Whiteley 1969; Abdulaziz-Mkilifi 1972) and, therefore, it is not the purpose of this paper to reproduce it here. However, a brief historical account regarding language policies in various political eras and their resultant outcomes is essential for contextualizing English in Tanzania. The issue of language policy is privileged here because it is indisputable that language policies have a significant impact on the linguistic culture (i.e., social, instrumental, and sentimental valuation of the languages in

question) in any given speech community. It has been expounded in the literature that states make choices of language forms and functions for various purposes including efforts to mobilize large groups of people in support of a certain political idea such as political independence, to consolidate diverse territories and peoples into a new entity, to facilitate a sense of belonging or to challenge definitions of belonging to a community and the like (Weinstein 1990; Myers-Scotton 1990). Moreover, government language policies always have direct effects on the media of instruction pertaining to the educational system because education in any society constitutes one of the indispensable agents for the reproduction, sustainability, and maintenance of the desirable socio-economic and political system. In this regard, all states view the media of instruction in their educational systems as something that should not only be appropriate for imparting intended knowledge, but also for shaping and reproducing socially "fit" individuals.

2.1 The British colonial era and the advent of the English language

After World War I, a great portion of the former German East Africa came under the British administration and was renamed Tanganyika. Consequently, as distinct colonial territories as they were, Tanganyika and Zanzibar once again came under the same colonial power and were more or less administered in the same fashion. From language contact point of view, this brought some relatively remarkable changes on the part of Tanganyika. First, one language of colonial power was replaced by another, that is, German was replaced by English, and the language policy already introduced in Zanzibar was extended to Tanganyika. Second, the acquisition of English was limited to a few of the colonized people who were prepared to assist in higher levels of education and administration while promoting indigenous ethnic languages and the lingua franca, Swahili, for low-level administrative purposes (Schneider, 2007). It has been argued by some scholars that the spread of English as the language of high-level administration and higher education under British rule had the effect of relegating Swahili to the status of second-class language even among Africans themselves. Whiteley (1969:61-62), for example, observes that whereas in German times the acquisition of Swahili represented a first stage toward participating in government through membership of the junior Civil Service, no further stage in this participation could be achieved through the language. The next stage involved the acquisition of English and for this reason, Swahili was increasingly viewed by Tanganyikans as a 'second-class' language.

Nevertheless, from the very beginning the British colonial administration promoted Swahili and made unprecedented efforts to standardize it, as evidenced in the formation of the East African Inter-territorial Language (Swahili) Committee (ILC) on January 1, 1930. The committee became a paramount mechanism in the process of standardizing Swahili throughout the region (Whiteley 1993[1969]; Ohly 1973; Mwansoko 1991). Despite such tremendous efforts to promote Swahili, a sharp boundary was drawn and maintained between the roles of Swahili and English in the colonial administrative settings. English enjoyed a prestigious status as the language of high-level administration and higher education, and Swahili

was subordinated to English as the language of low-level administration and lower education (Batibo 1995) which enabled it to gain momentum as the language of the masses. During the years leading to independence, Swahili had already become the major medium of nationalist movements (Mazrui & Mazrui, 1998). This was the linguistic situation that the two new independent nations of Tanganyika and Zanzibar inherited from their former colonial master in 1961 and 1964 respectively. Soon after Zanzibar's independence (1963/64), the two young nations joined to form a new United Republic of Tanzania in 1964, after which radical political and socio-economic reforms including linguistic began to take place in which Swahilization of the public domain (the promotion of Swahili as a major language in public space) would become a dominant force in the linguistic cultural dynamics of a post-colonial state - to the extent, at some point, of upsetting the former colonial master's language, English. It is this story of 'Swahili in Tanzania' that makes Tanzania a unique and interesting case regarding English in the post-colonial era and, without any doubt, has attracted enormous curiosity from sociolinguists, political scientists, educationists and the like. Swahilization and how it has impacted the whole of linguistic culture to this day can be productively examined in two main political periods - with reference to the adaptation of the socialist path popularly known in Swahili as *ujamaa*: the *ujamaa* period (from the late 1960s to the mid-1980s) and the post-*ujamaa* period (roughly from the late 1980s to the present) which, in fact, coincides with intensified globalization.

3. The Swahilization project: a linguistic-political landmark

Swahili was seen by the architect of *ujamaa* as an indispensable linguistic tool for the success of the ideology and consequently decisions were made to put it at work, that is, Swahilize the public domain. Mazrui & Mazrui (1998:129) observe correctly that "Tanzania is often castigated for the failure of its socialist experiment, but it is seldom given credit for its success in national integration on the mainland. Kiswahili is part and parcel of that integrative triumph."

In other words, just as it was instrumental in the nationalist movement for independence, Swahili, again, became the major instrument in the implementation of the *ujamaa* ideology which, in turn, raised Swahili to a position of supremacy over English in most of public domains. Soon after the Arusha Declaration in 1967 - the blueprint of *ujamaa*, Swahili was formally declared the official language (alongside English). As part of the general plan to reconstruct the educational system so that it could serve the cause of *ujamaa* ideology, language in education became a critical issue and consequently Swahili was declared the medium of instruction in all public primary schools and adult education classes. The ultimate goal was to extend the policy to secondary schools after a decade or so (Batibo 1995, Mazrui and Mazrui 1998, Blommaert 1997). In order to sustain the Swahilization project, state agencies were set to provide linguistic and policy services pertaining to the language. For example, the National Kiswahili Council (commonly known by its Swahili acronym,

BAKITA) was set up in 1967 to coordinate the standardization, development, and dissemination of Swahili terms. The Institute of Kiswahili Research (also commonly referred to by its Swahili acronym -TUKI- until 2009 when it merged with the department of Kiswahili to form the Institute of Kiswahili Studies - TATAKI) founded in 1964 in succession of the East African Inter-territorial Language Committee (ILC) was integrated into the University of Dar es Salaam in 1970 as its research organ responsible for researching and dissemination of research findings that pertain to Swahili phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon, literature, sociolinguistics, and culture. These two institutions have been collaborating in their undertakings including research and publications, consultancy and translation services as well as organizing national, regional, and international workshops and symposia on Swahili (Batibo 1995; Blommaert 1997; Mazrui & Mazrui 1998).

4. English in secondary education

Interestingly, while the process of Swahilizing primary education went smoothly, the desire to Swahilize secondary education turned out to be a tough task and was never achieved. Instead, the intent sparked a heated public debate that remained throughout the *ujamaa* period, especially at the peak of the ideology in the 1970s, and ended with the rise of signs to abandon the ideology in the early 1980s. In short, the objective to replace English with Swahili in secondary schools was never realized. It was in 1983 when the government made the official announcement that English would continue to be the medium of instruction in secondary and tertiary education (Roy-Campbell, 2001; Roy-Campbell & Qorro, 1997).

Nonetheless, the consequences for a delayed action were enormous. Practically, such a long-lasting debate created uncertainties and prejudices among educators, teachers, parents, students, and publishers. Before the 1983 announcement, no one was sure what the government was going to decide. Also, this issue divided the public into two opposing "language ideological camps". Those who associated "quality" education with the English language were of the opinion that such a move would lower the standards of education. Those who viewed education as just education regardless of the type of language used were of the opinion that for young Tanzanians to become innovative and creative it was necessary to have the same language in the whole education system. Mlama and Matteru (1977:98), for example, proposed, among other things, that 'Kiswahili kiendelee kutumiwa kufundishia hadi kiingizwe katika elimu ya juu' (translation: Swahili should continue as a medium of instruction with an ultimate goal to replace English in higher education). Blommaert (1997:502-5) views such ideologically oriented language planning as a manifestation of "two opposing (though not always incompatible) ideological currents which have dominated the country's [Tanzania] political history since independence".

To a certain extent, Swahilization project was undertaken at the expense of English (Mazrui & Mazrui, 1998). One of the remarkable consequences was a sharp decline in the interest, use and proficiency in the English language as Swahili began to rise not only in social value, but also in the domains of usage and vocabulary

expansion (Batibo 1995). Young Tanzanians in schools lost their enthusiasm for learning and practicing English. The 1970s debate mentioned above and the government's strong determination to promote Swahili while at some point waging open propaganda against English was partly responsible for this situation. To some extent, the propaganda was successful because it reached a point where those who had a reasonable proficiency in English had to take extra care before using the language in public places lest they would be viewed as brainwashed or haunted by colonial mentality - *kasumba* (Roy-Campbell, 2001:141). Despite its designated function as the second official language and, specifically the language of higher education, the privileged position that it had maintained up to that time, in view of *ujamaa* ideology, English was associated with colonialism, neo-colonialism, and capitalism (it should be noted that capitalism was perceived negatively during the *ujamaa* era), as well as elitism. Swahili, on the other hand, was glorified as the language of emancipation from the shackles of neo-colonialism and capitalism. It was associated with the whole concept of *ujamaa*, as the language of the peasants and workers that *ujamaa* ideology sought, rhetorically, to emancipate and empower politically and economically.

The language ideological war in Tanzania had enormous influence on the dynamics of linguistic culture including language use and attitudes towards both Swahili and English. Tanzanians' attitudes towards Swahili became positive and its vocabulary and usage expanded. Attitudes towards English, on the other hand, increasingly became mixed but not totally negative as some studies have indicated (e.g., Schmied 1986; Batibo 1995). However, English was replaced by Swahili in many public domains especially in primary education and administration, and consequently there was an alarming decrease in the level of proficiency among Tanzanians (Mlama & Matteru 1977; Roy-Campbell & Qorro 1997). This ideological war (at least rhetorically) between Swahili and English did not stop until the end of the *ujamaa* period in the mid-1980s.

4.1 The demise of the *ujamaa* and rebounding of English in Tanzania

The renewed globalization processes that began to sweep the world in the late 1980s never spared the already weakened Tanzanian *ujamaa* and had remarkable impact on the linguistic culture, as aptly summed up by Mazrui & Mazrui (1998: 138) that "the deteriorating economic situation in Tanzania, and the country's increasing abandonment of socialist ideals, are gradually tilting the linguistic balance back in favor of English, though not necessarily at the expense of Kiswahili." Indeed, this is today's Tanzanian linguistic culture, characterized by English and Swahili dominating the center, negotiating and renegotiating through the public space as the following sample portions of the space reveal.

5. English-medium versus Swahili-medium schooling in Tanzania

As noted above, Swahilization of the public domain during the *ujamaa* era ideally aimed at empowering Tanzanian masses by altering patterns of access and changing symbols of the nation. Mazrui and Mazrui (1998:129), for example, note that "this Swahilization process in Tanzania has resulted in wider participation and broader political recruitment, and has enriched the language in terms of political vocabulary and metaphor". In fact, it could be added that the enrichment process of the language has continued today across all sectors - from new information and communication technology (TEKNOHAMA) to Tanzanian hip pop brand (Bongo flava). Since the mid-1990s Tanzania has seen intensified free-market economic policies remarkable in, among other things, the privatization of parastatal corporations, that motivated the coinage of a new Swahili term *ubinafishaji*, meaning privatization. In this regard, gradual changes in Tanzanian linguistic culture already noted by Mazrui and Mazrui (1998: 138) as "tilting the linguistic balance back in favor of English though not necessarily at the expense of Kiswahili" were not a mere coincidence but rather an integral part of the socio-political and economic reforms. The economic reforms that constitute the core of the globalization processes have opened up new economic venues for Tanzanians beyond the traditional state-controlled ones and beyond the country's borders for global-oriented employment and business opportunities that demand some form of proficiency in English. Phillipson (1999: 96) observes correctly, I think, that

the global expansion of the capitalist system, whether seen as imperialist or liberal, has major cultural and linguistic dimensions. The expansion of English in the postcolonial and post-Communist worlds has not been left to chance but has been deliberately promoted by the American and British governments, which have been concerned with promoting corporate interests and investments.

This argument explains precisely the rebounding of English in the post-*ujamaa* Tanzania and consequently triggering changes in the linguistic culture.

Enormous demand for English proficiency has given rise to a private educational system - distinct in its own right - alongside the old public educational system. In addition to providing a more or less quality education compared to the public one, particularly in primary and secondary education, English-medium has been one of its marketing points.

Fig. 1: A sign on a secondary school main entrance, Dar es Salaam (Bwenge 2005)



The photo in Fig. 1 shows a sign on the main gate of a private secondary school in Dar es Salaam in 2005 at which students were strictly prohibited from speaking Swahili while on the school compound otherwise they risked being punished as the warning indicates: "Speak in English. Kiswahili is prohibited & punishable." In addition to enforcing a school policy on language use on the campus, presumably the sign also functioned as assurance to parents who most probably sent their children to acquire proficiency in English. It could also function as an advertisement for those individuals searching for English-medium schools.

Fig. 2.1 A primary school sign in TABATA



Fig. 2.2 A primary school sign in TABATA



Photographed in 2008 by this author, Figures 2.1 and 2.2 demonstrate a sample of signs of primary schools that are located in the same suburb, Tabata, in the city of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. The signs speak for themselves – they exhibit the co-existence of the two educational systems at primary level, that is, the public Swahili-medium system with signs written in Swahili and the private English-medium system with signs written in English. Such signs also constitute the on-going public discourse pertaining to language in education in particular and in public space in general. It is indisputable that a great majority of private schools in Tanzania are performing better than public schools regarding national examinations. The main reason for this situation is that private schools have conducive learning environments including well-trained teachers who are also relatively well paid, modern classrooms equipped with modern technology, sufficient learning materials, and small classes. Of course, all this comes with a high price tag and consequently only a few well-to-do families can afford to send their children to such schools. The social dimension pertaining to this system is that the society is producing an English-speaking elite and Swahili-speaking masses.

Consequently, while there is an emerging English-medium schooled elite, a great majority of Tanzanian children still go to the Swahili-medium primary schools in both rural and urban Tanzania and roughly half of them would be selected to continue with secondary education. Interestingly, access to public secondary education has recently been expanded through a national policy that requires each ward, popularly referred to in Swahili as *kata*, (an administrative unit comprising several villages) to have at least one secondary school. Popularly known in Swahili as '*Sekondari za Kata*' and pejoratively nicknamed by all sorts of names including '*St. Kata*', '*asante kayumba*', and the like (which reflect public negative attitudes toward the system), a great majority of such secondary schools are poorly equipped in both physical infrastructure and human resources, and English is expected to be the medium of instruction. Although English has been maintained as the medium of instruction in public schools, several studies indicate that the level of proficiency is so low to the extent of some scholars suggesting that replacing English with Swahili would perhaps benefit students intellectually more than maintaining a status quo (e.g., Ray-Campbell & Qorro 1997, Campbell-Makini 2000, Mlama & Matteru 1977). The public debate in this regard is alive but it is not the purpose of this paper to dwell on the topic as it deserves a separate one. It is worth citing Campbell-Makini's (2000:121) observation to illustrate the difficult part of the debate that "In Tanzania, young people who can barely sustain a conversation in English have insisted that English should remain the language of instruction for secondary school (Roy-Campbell, 1992)." The outcomes of such a language situation are not uncommon in public – for illustrative purposes consider Figures 3.1 and 3.2.

Fig 3.1 (source: Mjengwablog, 2008)



Fig 3.2 (source: Mjengwablog, 2012)



Figure 3.1 displays a warning at a construction site written in both Swahili and English. The Swahili version is grammatically well constructed. However, with all good intentions for considering non-Swahili speakers, the English version has some grammatical errors which may not necessarily affect intended message. It is written “*Danger: construction are continues*”. Such a construction is similar to what Roy-Campbell and Qorro (1997) demonstrate on the cover of the book that they encountered during their study:

Teacher: What the meaning of decided?

Pupil: Decided means to ask others ...

Figure 3.2 demonstrates how Swahili is translated literally in English words and Swahili discourse structures. The notice is intended for the public:

Dear customer

Please, Please

It's against to do any dirty in besin

Besins have been kept for handwash only and not for other uses.

We request for your honor

By Utawala.

Roy-Campbell and Qorro (1997) also came across the following exchange between the teacher and a student:

Teacher: Good. What the meaning of a well?

Pupil: A place which water are not walking.

No wonder they titled their book *Language Crisis in Tanzania: the myth of English versus Education*.

6. The outcome: English and Swahili

In today's Tanzania, Swahili still seems to dominate the public space (the media, government/administration, primary education, secondary education outside classrooms, tertiary education outside lecture rooms, etc.).

English, on the other hand, has rebounded very strongly: in proficiency levels, usages, and public attitudes (as evident in Campbell-Makini's observation quoted above). Interestingly, some attempts have been made by local authorities such as Dar es Salaam City Council to deswahilize street names, as sample street signs were found in 2005 (Fig. 4.1 and 4.2).

Fig. 4.1 old sign of Morogoro Road
(Bwenge, 2005)



Fig. 4.2 new sign of Morogoro Road
(Bwenge, 2005)



Dar es Salaam's street signs clearly demonstrate the negotiations and negotiations between the two languages pertaining to the public space that have dominated the country's linguistic culture since the British colonial era, when they first came into contact, through the *ujamaa* period to the current post-*ujamaa* era. It should be noted that at the climax of Swahilization project in the 1970s, streets were also Swahilized as *Mtaa* (shortened as *MT*) in place of *ST Street* (*ST*) and *Barabara* (*BR*) in place of *Road* (*RD*), as seen in Figs 4.1 and 4.2 above reflecting the privileges that the state accorded to Swahili over English. By 2005 all streets in the central business district of Dar es Salaam, the commercial capital and in practice the administrative capital, had been deswahilized and, of course, by implication anglicized. Intriguingly, at that time the old Swahili-medium signs had not been removed from their locations from which they appeared ugly in relation to the newly-posted fancy English-medium signs. Bearing in mind that street names constitute a source of cultural pride and historical information, such changes in Dar es Salaam's streets strongly symbolized a new phase in the long history of navigation and negotiations between Swahili and English in Tanzania.

Nevertheless, at this point there is no sign indicating drastic and major deswahilization of the public domain. It seems that Swahili will remain an indispensable medium of communication in the public sector (including politics) for

some time to come while English is viewed as a means for obtaining good-paying jobs in the modern sector. Furthermore, the English language is associated with elitism (higher education, private business, globalized segments of the society's landscape, etc).

One of the critical challenges is that English in Tanzania is learnt as a foreign language but treated as a second language (i.e., second official language and therefore a medium of instruction in secondary and tertiary education). I view it as a foreign language because it is learnt in the environment of Swahili. Even those students who go to private English-medium schools, when they step out of their school compounds they find themselves surrounded by Swahili in every corner they turn to - from interaction with local businesses through city transit services they use to ride to school and back home to their homes where they interact with families and playmates.

Certainly, this trend will boost the rise in numbers of Swahili-English bilingual speakers, notably more proficient in Swahili than in English and the desire to use both languages in public space as exhibited in Figs. 3.1 and 3.2 above. Furthermore, despite grammatical glitches pertaining to English usage in Tanzania, the two languages seem to complement each other in those local and global entities that are engaging and negotiating with each other.

7. English and Swahili: a source of communicative innovations

The interaction between English and Swahili in Tanzania has always been a source of communicative innovations (Bwenge 2008). This is evident in the emergence of Swahili-English code-mixing, a speech that has become distinct in its own right. Abdulaziz-Mkilifi (1972), for example, had already observed extensive code mixing between Swahili and English among what he referred to as 'the western-educated elite'. He noted that "what is extremely difficult to predict is language choice between bilinguals in face-to-face situations. In most cases there is constant and unpredictable code-switching and language-mixing, even when discussing highly technical subjects such as zoology, medicine or engineering. It is not a simple case of lexical borrowing to fill lexical gaps in given English or Swahili" (p. 207). Abdulaziz-Mkilifi cites a few examples of mixed utterances that he recorded in this regard such as:

[1] **Wana-lay wapi foundation?**

(where are they laying the foundation?)

[2] **Ile accident ilitokea alipo-lose control na aka-overturn and landed in a ditch**

(the accident occurred when he lost control and overturned....)

In his conclusion, Abdulaziz-Mkilifi (1972) posed a question as whether this behavior would result in the emergence of a new Swahili-English mixed language. He argues that "it is very unlikely that a new spoken language in the form of Swahili-English pidgin or creole will emerge in Tanzania... also there are social constraints working against the development of such a code. Swahili is gaining

tremendous prestige as the national language... what is likely to happen in time is that the functions of Swahili and English will be more and more clearly demarcated until the two languages reach a stable functional relationship" (pp. 211-212).

There are two important things worth noting in Abdulaziz-Mkilifi's observation: first, he acknowledges the existence of extensive Swahili-English mixing among the bilingual elites by the late 1960. Second, informed by the then dominant view of language as a discrete linguistic system, Abdulaziz-Mkilifi could not view the way of speaking that he observed as an emerging code in its own right.

Twenty five years later, Blommaert (1997, 1999) finds that Swahili-English ad mixture still exists in the same way as was observed by Abdulaziz-Mkilifi among the same group of speakers, that is, the educated elites and roughly in the same interactional settings - Dar es Salaam. But Blommaert views it as a variety in its own right as implied in the label that he uses to refer to it, 'Campus Swahili'. Blommaert (1999:168) emphasizes that "Campus Swahili is a 'normal' code among academics. Whenever they find themselves in informal conditions with fellow academics, Campus Swahili will be the preferred code for conducting the conversation."

From the structural point of view, Blommaert describes Campus Swahili as mixing standard varieties of both Swahili and English "into a pattern which is systematically and pragmatically coherent, and which conveys the propositional message in what appears to be an adequate way" (p.164). Some of the examples of utterances he recorded include:

[3] Sasa hivi wana ...wanaanza kuaminilakini sasa haijapickup ... haijapick... ni hali ambayo kwa kweli **it is still deteriorating** ... lakini kwenye **situation** kama hiyo hata kama umepata nafasi ya kusoma nafikiri **it's just low... they can't go on**

....
(Right now they ... they start to believe But now it hasn't picked up yet, it hasn't picked It is a situation which really is still deteriorating. But in a situation like this, even if you got the opportunity to study, I think it's low, they can't go on....)

With today's modern information technology that allows people to communicate instantly through the Internet chat rooms and blogs, it is not uncommon to find the same variety of Swahili on the Swahili-medium blogs such as [4] as was posted on issamichuzi blog in January 2009:

[4] [] **might not be right** kwenye **facts and details** lakini kikubwa ni **ideology**, ameweza kuja mbele na **ku-initiate an Idea**. **We need a platform** ambapo wataanzania tunaweza kukutana na **ku-discuss** mambo ya nyumbani na kuweza kuona tunaweza vipi kutoa mchango wetu katika kuleta maendeleo

(January 2009 @ <http://www.issamichuzi.blogspot.com/>)

([] might not be right regarding facts and details but most important is the ideology, he has been able to come forward and initiate an idea. We need a platform where we, Tanzanians, can meet and discuss issues that are cropping up back home so that we can find a way on how to contribute towards bringing about development.)

The Swahili-English mixed-code has gained momentum in recent years to the extent that it has become a normal way of speaking in places where traditionally it would be prohibited, such as the debating chamber of the Tanzanian National

Assembly (Bwenge 2010). It is not surprising that the mixed code has now found its way into the advertisement discourse as seen in the 2009 billboard ad in Fig. 5 below. Presumably such an ad is intended to appeal to the educated elite segment of the society. Myers-Scotton (2006:114) points out correctly, I guess, that “the market shapes the symbolic value of different ways of speaking; therefore, speakers of different language varieties possess different qualities of linguistic or symbolic capital.”

Fig. 5 A commercial ad(Bwenge 2009)



8. Conclusion

The story of English in Tanzania provides a perfect illustration regarding linguistic cultural dynamics emanating from language contact. This paper has revealed that sociolinguistics of English in Tanzania may clearly point to which segments of the society speak or use the language, at which level of proficiency or what variety of the language in which communicative settings. Indeed, this line of research has been addressed extensively. What this paper has assigned itself to do was to emphasize the importance of linguistic cultural approach in exploring Tanzania's macro-level sociolinguistic landscape in which English and Swahili occupy the center. Linguistic cultural approach in exploring sociolinguistic landscape of any society equally privileges both historical and contemporary aspects of the landscape including languages spoken and what members of the society think about them and, therefore, brings about a clear understanding of the dynamics involved. In the case of Tanzania, it has been noted that one cannot adequately address the history of English in Tanzania in any form without touching upon the history of Swahili. This article has just presented some selected pieces of evidence pertaining to the negotiations and negotiations that have taken place between the two languages since they came into contact in the Tanzanian setting.

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