



CODE-SWITCHING BETWEEN LUMARAMA SPEAKERS AND ENGLISH SPEAKING DEVELOPMENT AGENTS ON IMPLEMENTING NEW PROJECTS IN BUTERE SUB COUNTY, KENYA

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Abstract:

The intention of projects donors will be that the stakeholders understand their terms and conditions in implementing projects. It is important that conditions are communicated clearly for the sake of continued funding since grass root level; using English is not a viable option, as majority of target group members are not proficient in the language. The research will attempt to analyze the language used in sensitizing and enhancing effective communication to the stakeholders on suggested projects. This study will investigate the influence of Lumarama-English code-switching in two local NGO programmes in Butere District, Kakamega County in Kenya. The objectives of this paper were to establish the matrix/embedded languages used by NGOs in launching of a new programs in Butere Sub County. The Myer-Scotton's Theory guides this paper. An explanatory research design was utilised for this research with the target population consisting of project beneficiaries (community members) and donor agents' developmental workers. Questionnaires and focus group discussions instruments were data collection instruments used for this study. Study findings revealed that code-switching between Lumarama (ML) and English (EL) was common in the implementation of various development programmes in the Sub County. The development workers were found to have the ability of interpreting the donors' project documents (which were mostly in English) to Lumarama although to a moderate extent. The research concluded that implementation of projects was influenced by code-switching matrix used by development workers in Butere Sub County. The study recommends that there is need for donors to produce and translate project documents in Kiswahili, English and Lumarama.

Keywords: Lumarama, code-switching, projects

1. Introduction

Tatsioka (2015) informs that code-switching is a language of communication that has received attention from various scholars and linguists in the 20th and 21st centuries by being examined in different ways. Code-switching (CS) has turned into a study area of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) over the past twenty five years. Fields such as language teaching, socio-linguistics, formal linguistics, anthropology and psycho-linguistics have leaned towards code-switching. The Linguistics Language and Behavioural Abstract (LLBA) have more than one thousand eight hundred electronic database on code-switching as said by Nilep (2008). The communication enhancing roles of code-switching has been covered in literature work. For instance, Gysels (1992) informed that code switching may achieve two purposes: conceptual and linguistic gap and it assists in numerous communication intents. Further, code-switching serves significant cognitive and communication functions. Various reasons could make one to switch from one language to another. For instance, Crystal (1987) said that in some situations, orators may not use one language to fully say what they want to talk and therefore switch to a second language to bridge up the difficulty or deficiency so that the communication may proceed well.

The second reason is that code-switching happens when a certain group (social related) decides to exclude others (often considered outsiders); this kind of arrangement allows those who understand the language develop social function and sense of belonging. This kind of switching may transmit a particular personality or attitude to the one who is listening. Those who are monolingual (speak a single language) may change their language tone so that they can tie with perceived degree of formality hence speaking their feelings. Those who are bilinguals may use code-switching to gain similar effect and give their discourse (talk) extra impression. Rather than interfering with verbal communication, code-switching complements in situations where there are no vocabularies through provision of linguistic benefits which has been beneficial to effective communication. In addition, Gysel (1992) indicates that code-switching may be used to fill conceptual or in some situations linguistic gaps of the one who is speaking. Code-switching is perceived to be a communication approach since it offers continuity in verbal communication to counterbalance inability of full expression.

Research studies have made attempts to investigate code-switching through linguistic angles in relation to phonology and syntax while other researchers who have been interested with the role of human brains desire to study code-switching on psycho-linguistic angle (McSwan, 2004). Other researchers have looked at socio-linguistic standpoint on code-switching and its impact on community development. This is the angle that this study was based on by looking at code-switching between Lumarama speakers and English-speaking donor communities in implementation of projects in Butere Sub-County, Kakamega, and County Kenya.

2. Problem Statement

Participation and effective communication has in the last decade become one of the leading words in the practice of development co-operation, marking an increased emphasis on the social dimension in program implementation (Hickey & Mohan, 2004; Cornwall, 2001). Butere being a multilingual district just like other districts in Kenya, Lumarama is used in most for being taken for granted in participatory approaches to social development. Sustainable development cannot be achieved if issues of communication between project stakeholders (Lumarama speakers and English–donor communities) are not addressed. It is also not understood that non-completion and stalling of projects could be contributed by lack of effective communication between the donors and community members. Therefore, the current paper assess code-switching between Lumarama speakers and English speaking donor community in implementing Projects in Butere–Sub District, Kakamega County.

3. Theoretical framework

This paper utilised Myers-Scotton (1993a) markedness model (MM) as its underpinning theory. Myers-Scotton (1993) Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model is grounded on the idea of a main or matrix language to which another language is embedded on. The markedness model by Myers-Scotton of communication analysis is derived from ‘negotiation principle’, which states that:

“Choose the form of your communication contribution such that it indexes the set of rights and obligations which you may wish to come in force between the speaker and the audience for current exchange”. (1993b:13).

The discourse language of ‘unmarked choice’ is related with community ‘social norms’ which are in some situations known as ‘rights and obligations’ set. According to Myers-Scotton, selecting the ‘marked’ language amount to speakers’ intervention for other rights and obligations set which is different from the status quo or cultural norm. Myers-Scotton highlights 4 kinds of code-switching under markedness model: the first is code switching as a sequence of marked choices in which each language is utilised in the unmarked choice as a result of varying communicational and social requirements. Secondly, code-switching itself as unmarked choice which may happen among bilingual interlocutors who are friends or related. Thirdly, code-switching as a marked choice through which an interlocutor switches codes so that they may not adhere with the expected contextual or cultural behaviour / norm. Lastly, code-switching as an exploratory choice where the unmarked choice between interlocutors when the choice of the code is not well clear given in a particular situation. In communication, the unmarked language is commonly the Matrix Language (ML) while the marked language is known as embedded language (EL). Matrix Language is regularly applied language and embedded language is rarely used during conversations or utterances. According to Myers-Scotton (2006), speakers may choose one

code over another so that they can meet specific objectives. Myers-Scotton argued that for every communication, there exist specific sets of rights and obligations that expresses expected linguistic behaviour which are mostly the unmarked choices. Therefore, when speaker agree with this set of rights and obligations of a specific communication and utilise an unmarked code, communal disorder is not aggravated. Differently, when a speaker resolve to utilise the marked code, that is an unanticipated language code in relation to the topic, situation of communication, participants where he/she contravene the set norms set up by higher status interlocutors, family or even society. In this situation, the speaker who aims to realise a particular goal in most situations settles a new code and therefore a new sets of rights and regulations. When speakers settle on a new code, they collaborate together and their associations with the audience which is mostly known as negotiation for power and solidarity (Myers-Scotton, 2006). In relation to this study, the decision to code-switch rests on the development worker implementing the project. According to the Myers-Scotton markedness model, communicators choose one code compared to another to achieve specific objectives. Speakers in this study may decide to use English or Lumarama to ensure the message is delivered to the appropriate stakeholders well. This occurs through cultural borrowing which comprise of words that are not in existence in the lexicon of the language the one is receiving.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Concept of Code-Switching

Research on code-switching has been conducted from two angles: socio-linguistic point of view and grammatical point of view (Grimes, 2000). A socio linguistic outlook is connected with functions of social aspects in code switching incident with the purpose of determination of patterns of how code switching occurs and how it could be influenced by social aspects like speakers role and context relationship (Nilep, 2008). The second perspective is grammatical approach that looks at the structural features of code-switching with the role of establishing morphological and syntactic features of code – switched construction (Tatsioka, 2015). The vocabulary describing language contact issues in research studies is less than dependable and it is important at the beginning to obtain clear difference between a numbers of related incidents and code switching (Geysel, 1992). The concept of code switching is the exchange of two or more languages during the process of communication. Wardaugh (1998) reported that code switching occasionally happens somehow deliberately; persons in some situation could not understand whether they have code switched or being in a position to give an account with respect to communication through the code they utilised for a specific matter. Nevertheless, despite bilingual communicators argue that code-switching is an oblivious behaviour; research has also revealed that this is not a casual incident. Wei is considered to be of linguists who have researched on code-switching to come up with more linguistics factors relating to the relationship between participants, setting of the topic, ideological developments, community values and norms, societal and political views influencing speakers decision to use a specific language during communication.

Code switching is an important activity which have intentions and functions allocated to that kind of behaviour (Myers-Scotton, 2006). Considering the above definition, the research investigated how communication messages played a key role in communication between Lumarama and English. Code-switching consisting of borrowing, transferring and mixing is the utilisation of two or more languages concurrently (Valdes, Fallis, 1977). Duran (1994) observed that competency is required for one to code-switch between two languages despite them not being fluent bilinguals. Grimes (2000) while conducting a study in China, he found out that code-switching was a common occasion to 3-4 year old children being education on English and Mandarin Chinese concurrently, because these learners are experimenting with Chinese language same as they do with English language. The learners switch codes so that they can convey a complete idea. During the time learners were unable to create an appropriate word due to limited time (Weinreich, 1970; Wald, 1985), code-switching permits them to express themselves more fluently. In some situations, code-switching happens in 'most juste' where Poplack (2000) said that the terms 'hamburgers and McDonalds' are usually expressed well in English. In some scenarios code-switching also takes the form of repetition or translation in conversation. This implies that if code-switching is a thing that occurs biologically in the design of bilingualism, it therefore has to functions for language student user. Maral-Hanak (2005) noted that code – switching is an multifaceted event which has been the focus of socio-linguistic studies from the year 1970s till date. Gumperz (1982) observed that with increased interest in code-switching as a manifestation of speakers ability and bilingual competence to artistically extract on all linguistic resources on their disposal, comprehensive research on structural properties and meaning of code-switching in various linguistic perspectives have been done in various countries in East Africa by Blommaert (1999) and Myers-Scotton (2002). However, the focuses of these studies have focused on classroom learning while this study focused on development projects.

2.2 Social-Linguistic Research Studies on Code-Switching

Code-switching phenomenon is old as language of contact contributing to bilingualism. Code-switching occurred between Catalan and Hebrew texts from as far as fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Argenter, 2005). Renewed interest in code-switching concept can be traced back to the beginning of twentieth century as Dulm (2007) indicated code-switching between Spanish and English speakers in Southern Colorado and New Mexico USA. The researcher (originally Espinoza) looked at the impact of Spanish and English, with English being the outspoken language of most of the people during the period under study, indicating that this was due to alleged dominance of English in political and commercial spheres. According to Dulm (2007), this kind of code-switching was not regulated by any noticeable limits or laws. Later, Weinreich (1963) indicated that significant changes needed to be done in speech situation but certainly not within one phrase (or single sentence), shows the structuralist obsession with language veracity. Due to this increased attention to code-switching is among one of language contact incident, scholars have given proofs in contradiction indicating that regulation based on which codes could be selected from

sentences exists. Challenges to code-switching in terms of grammatical structure and social factors have been anticipated.

A research by Blom and Gumperz in 1972 in Norway looked at ethno linguistic research of code-switching between Ranamal and Bokmal of Hamnesberget rooted on Bernstein's (1961) recommendation that affecting and social factors perform a significant function in speech mode preferred by speakers. They recommended that code choices by speakers are predictable and patterned based on certain features of indigenous social system. The researchers went ahead to provide distinctions between two types of code: situational switching where speakers switch languages because of change in their views of another's obligations and rights. The second is metaphorical switching that takes place with a change of topic. This study determined the situation that made the development workers to code-switch. A study was conducted by Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez (1976) studied on the social meaning of code-switching in English and Spanish. They indicated that code-switching is a behavioural scheme philosophy of community confidentiality and distinctiveness. The difference between metaphorical and situational code is more deliberated (Gumper, 1982) with situational switching being related to diglossia on where one sees functional specialization of varieties of languages and a specific language is argued to be necessary for a specific communication aspect. For instance, a formal variety is utilised in school situation while informal variety is utilised to converse family issues. That kind of diglossia is different from metaphorical code-switching on which relations between social context and language appears to be more complex. Based on code-switching research evidence from German – Slovenian, Spanish-English and English – Hindu studies, Gumperz deliberated on various conversational interjections: reiteration, personification versus objectification, interjection and message qualification. One major contribution to the functions of social factors in code-switching was done by Myers – Scotton in (2006). With regard to communal motivation for code-switching, the scholar proposed 'Markedness Model.' this model was developed from Grice (1975) cooperative principle where Myers-Scotton (1993) projected negotiating principle by underlying code choice made on code-switching situations. The negotiation principle demanded that speakers selected the forms of their speech in line with the set rules and obligations that they would wish to be enforced in a specific conversations and discussions.

In 1998, Myers-Scotton advanced the notion that speakers needed to have a markedness evaluation that allowed them to: (1) recognise that there exists a variety of linguistic decisions of various degrees of markedness with respect to discourse type; (ii) to understand that listeners may react in a different way to marked against unmarked alternatives. All code options may be discussed in relation to speaker intentions, with these enthusiasms being connected with speakers' views of communal appropriate rights and obligations sets. Those speaking may choose and switch codes in that way so that they can index the mentioned rights and obligations sets. Myers-Scotton MM suggests that accounting is needed for the four types of code-switching. At first, those speaking may code-switch as a result of unmarked preference through which codes are switched so that changes can be indexed in the RO set (Myers-Scotton, 2006). Next, code-switching could be the unmarked

alternative since code-switching is the model that transmits the needed communication needs or intentions (Myers-Scotton, 1998). Thirdly, one may take on code-switching as marked alternative, where the persons ‘disidentifies’ with the likely rights and obligations set, hoping to ascertain a new rights and obligations set as unmarked for a specific communication conversations (Myers-Scotton, 1994). Lastly, code-switching could be an investigative alternative, as when the communicator is not sure of what is optimal or expected and needs to establish which code alternative will match desires rights and obligations sets (Myers-Scotton, 1998).

3. Materials and Methods

The research methodology applied here was mixed method research approach. This research utilised explanatory research design technique. Respondents targeted in this research comprised 213 development workers (managers, project coordinators, project officers and CHWs and community representatives) in local CBOs. In selecting the respondents, stratified random sampling method was utilised to select participants for the study. Questionnaires and focus group discussions formed the main instruments for collecting data. Data from questionnaire and FGDs notes was analysed using quantitative and qualitative methods. Quantitative analysis involved use of descriptive statistics methods.

4. Results

The projects that were found mostly to be implemented in Butere Sub County are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Development Projects in Butere Sub County

Programme	Frequency	Percent
OVC	23	19.0
Farming (Mixed)	22	18.2
HIV/AIDS	19	15.7
Health programme - Peda hearth	13	10.7
Youth empowerment	11	9.1
Pig	6	5.0
Poultry	6	5.0
Banana farming	5	4.1
Parenting skills	5	4.1
VCT	3	2.5
Business	3	2.5
PMTCT	3	2.5
Fish farming	2	1.7
Total	121	100.0

The results show that the respondents are engaged in various developmental projects that aim at improving the social-economic livelihoods of the residents of Butere Sub County. This

show how code - switching was applied in communication during implementation of development projects in the study area.

4.1 Frequency of Code-Switching in Implementation of New Projects

The objective was to determine the frequency to which respondents (donor organisations representatives) code-switched when implementing new projects in Butere Sub County. This involves looking at the frequency to which development workers code-switched between Lumarama and English in introduction, implementation and coordination of various projects in Butere. At first, the respondents were asked to indicate whether they were proficient in speaking Lumarama. Their results are given in Figure 1.

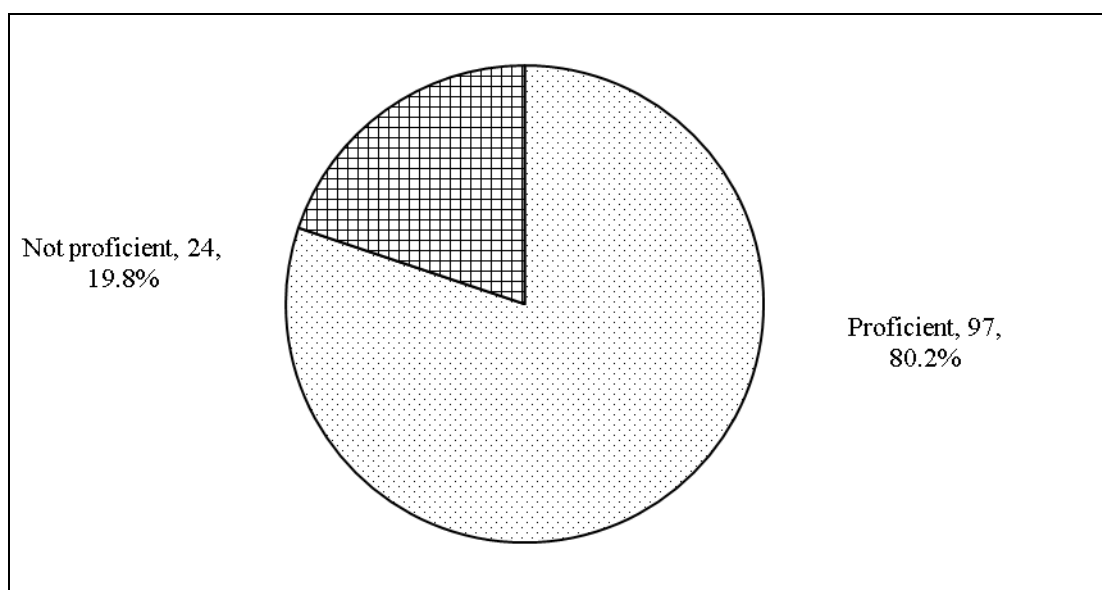


Figure 1: Development Workers Proficiency in Lumarama

Figure 1 result shows that majority 97 (80.2%) of respondents said that they were proficient in speaking and writing in Lumarama while few 24 (19.8%) said that they were not proficient in the dialect. This shows that majority of development workers are able to converse in Lumarama although this could be not the case when interpreting development projects in the area. Furthermore, they were asked to indicate the extent to which they code-switched between English and Lumarama when meeting project beneficiaries. Their results are presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Respondents' Frequency of Code-switching between English and Lumarama

Frequency	Frequency	Percent
Almost every time	45	37.2
Every time	41	33.9
Sometimes	24	19.8
Rarely	6	5.0
Never	5	4.1
Total	121	100.0

The results reveal that 45 (37.2%) of respondents said that they code-switch almost every time, 41 (33.9%) said that it is every time, 24 (19.8%) indicated that sometimes, 6 (5%) said rarely while 5 (4.1%) said that they do not code-switch. This shows that code-switching is a common practice among development workers in implementing new projects to community members in Butere Sub County.

4.2 Language Preferred by Respondents in implementing new Projects

The English speaking development workers were asked to indicate the language they preferred in implementing to target beneficiaries in the area. Their results are given in Table 3.

Table 3: Language Preferred by Development Workers in Implementing New Projects

Language preferred	Frequency	Percent
Lumarama	58	47.9
Lumarama/English	39	32.2
Lumarama/English/Kiswahili	9	7.4
English	6	5.0
Luo and Lumarama	3	2.5
Kiswahili	3	2.5
English/Kiswahili	3	2.5
Total	121	100.0

Table 3 results show that most 58 (47.9%) of respondents preferred speaking in Lumarama, 39 (32.2%) said that they would prefer Lumarama-English (bilingual) while 9 (7.4%) said that they would prefer Lumarama/English/Kiswahili code-switching in implementing new projects in Butere Sub County. The results are similar to Maral-Hanak (2005) who argued that in some situation code-switching could alienate and exclude target group members in conversations.

4.3 Frequency of English Language Use during Project Implementation

The study has so far identified that code-switching was a general exercise during implementation of development initiatives in Butere Sub-County. Therefore, English speaking donor agents were requested to show the frequency at which several CBOs used English language in communication with Butere residents regarding various projects. Table 4 presents the results for the study.

Table 4: Frequency to which Donor Agents used English in Communication

Frequency	Frequency	Percent
Regularly	65	53.7
Sometimes	30	24.8
Rarely	26	21.5
Total	121	100.0

Results show that 65 (53.7%) of CBOs used English in communication regularly, 30 (24.8%) said that they sometimes use English while 26 (21.5%) said that they rarely use English language in communication. The usage of English could have some significant impacts on the implementation of development projects to the local community in situations where the project beneficiaries do not understand English; incidents of slow implementation could be evident. Maral-Hanak (2005) argued that in some situation code-switching could alienate and exclude target group members in conversations.

4.4 Matrix Code Used in Communicating New Projects

The study was hinged towards delivering matrix codes used by English-speaking development agents while communicating to project target beneficiaries in Butere Sub County. For instance, the study researcher attended a meeting convened by a development worker with the target beneficiaries on a food security project. The researcher recorded the conversation excerpts in this study during focus group discussion sessions. Those speaking the local dialect were mono-lingual mostly in Lumarama and Kiswahili than English language. The studies found out that majority of speakers were bilinguals (English/Lumarama) to a significant degree. When introducing the theme of the project, this is how one English-speaking development agent spoke:

Inyanga yino (today) *nditsire okhubechesia khu* **food security**
(Today I have come to teach you about food security).

Code-switching is evident here in that there is no Lumarama code for the words food security and this makes the development worker to switch to English; although some beneficiaries interrupted the agent during the FGD meetings, as they preferred thorough explanation of the concept being shared with them. In this situation, the speaker took not less than 5 minutes to explain the idea of food security to beneficiaries. The study further noted code - switching (and some aspects of mixing) was used when explaining the components of the project like in this case;

Mukhoyere murache **leguminous crops** *okhuba emisi chiatsio chimetanga* **oxygen, nitrates**
nende rotuba *mumikunda*.
(You are supposed to plant leguminous crops since they add nitrates, oxygen, and fertility to the soil).

According to the excerpt, the English-speaking development agent code-switch between Lumarama, English and Kiswahili (Multilingualism). This was because some words that were in Kiswahili had been accepted to Lumarama language and therefore the respondents could understand. For instance, the leguminous crops, oxygen and nitrates seems not to have Lumarama words while the usage of the word “rotuba” means that corrupted from the official Kiswahili word ‘rutuba’ (soil fertility). The usage of *rotuba* could be because the Lumarama are Bantus and therefore some words spoken by other groups

could be related although the pronunciation might be different. When attending a HIV/AIDS awareness and sensitisation workshop (FGD sessions), the researcher observed the following communication by a development worker to the residents:

Abaana bano, bakhoyere bairwe mu VCT khokhunyalale okhumanya estatus yabo
(We need to take these children to VCT so as to establish their status).

The findings reveal that the word 'VCT' seems not to have a Lumarama equivalent. Furthermore, the use of the words 'estatus' comes from the word 'status'. This shows that the speaker is forced to borrow some word from English when stressing or making a point. The emergence of new vocabulary in English is not the same as in Lumarama. The information shows that the word VCT and *estatus* have been phonologically borrowed from English adapted to Lumarama. In addition, the study also observed that this when another speaker rose to talk to residents:

Mu VCT khwitsa okhubolerwa kali (if) mbu nabalwale, halafu barebwe khumisala chia ARVs
(In the VCT you will be told the status of the child. If the child is sick he/she will be put on ARVs).

The speaker switches to multilingualism mode by incorporating the Kiswahili words '*kali*' meaning 'strong' and the word '*halafu*' meaning so that it can be put 'and then'. It is seen that speakers are forced sometimes to use Kiswahili (national and official language of Kenya) to spread a certain message to the beneficiaries. The speaker used ARVs because there is Lumarama equivalent.

In another FGD meeting involving sensitisation on food security by a social development worker the following question and answer sessions was recorded by the researcher to show how matrix codes were being applied in communicating development projects in the study area.

Question (by the English speaking development agent): Khwakhakhola shina kho tsifwa tsino tsireshe okhubiya bwangu (what can we do so that the vegetables do not get spoiled faster?)

Answer: *Abandu bhakoyere okhurumishira organic farming* (*Mukasia imbolea okhurula khumasafu, itakaka nende likoshe* (people should use organic farming) (prepare manure from leaves, humus and ash).

Mwechesie caregivers okhukhola bario kho babe nende food security khulokhukhonyerera okhulisia abaana bafirwa (educate the caregivers to preserve the vegetables so that there is food security to help them take care of the orphans. They should also use organic farming for better yields.

Tsinutrients *tsirimubiokhulia bino tsila protecta abaana okhurulana nende amalwale* (The nutrients in this food will protect the children from diseases)...

In another FGD meeting, a social worker was educating the community health workers so that they go out and educate the caregivers on food security. The caregivers demonstrated how cowpeas can be preserved to be used during the drought season. The social workers use Kiswahili words "*Ochemushia*" and English words "nutrients".

Kiswahili words:

- Ichumbi – chumvi (Salt);
- Ochemushia – Kuchemsha (boiling);
- Itakataka – Takataka (rubbish);
- Kabisa – kabisa (completely).

English words commonly used:

- Tsinutrients – nutrients;
- Organic farming;
- Moisture;
- Caregivers;
- Food security;
- Tsila protecta – will protect.

From the above findings especially from FGDs, it is evident that there are several matrix codes that are used by English-speaking development agents in passing project information to residents in Butere Sub County. Maral-Hanak (2005) research in Tanzania found out that regular code-switching created awareness for distinguished demonstration and tapped resource of rich terminologies associated with English language. This was because particular spheres of influence appeared to be important for people speaking Kiswahili in rural areas; therefore English speaking agents met the obstacle of improving their Kiswahili skills well.

5. Conclusions and Recommendations

This paper looked at how code-switching happened during communication between English speaking development workers and rural target group members in Butere Sub County. Despite 80.2% of respondents (donor agents) saying that they were proficient in Lumarama, incidents of code-switching between English and Lumarama was evident. At the local level, it was established that usage of English language was not favourable since residents (beneficiaries) did not well understand English language as almost all of them spoke Lumarama dialect. The study found out that 47.9% of respondents said that they preferred using Lumarama when communicating with target groups during project meetings. The English-speaking development agents said that during organisation meetings, Lumarama was the main medium of communication especially when communicating with resident in the study area. The agents indicated that project program information are usually written in English and therefore they had to make translations to Lumarama although some words required a longer time to translate them while others were found not to have Lumarama equivalent. This showed that code - switching was a common occurrence among different CBOs in the study area. Moreover, the records of meeting at the organisational level were

found to be written in English with few written in Lumarama. The task was for the development workers to translate the information in their files to Lumarama so that the target group would understand. In recommendations, there is need for English speaking development agents to produce and translate project documents in Kiswahili, English and Lumarama to increase target beneficiaries understanding of the project goals and objectives.

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