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Code-switching and advising in multilingual African situations: An analysis of radio phone-in programmes in Kenya and Cameroon

Billian Khalayi Otundo
Moi University, billiankhalayi@mu.ac.ke

Susanne Mühleisen
University of Bayreuth, susanne.muehleisen@uni-bayreuth.de

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Code-switching and advising in multilingual African situations: An analysis of radio phone-in programmes in Kenya and Cameroon

Billian Otundo, University of Bayreuth & Moi University, billiankhalayi@mu.ac.ke

Susanne Mühleisen, University of Bayreuth, susanne.muehleisen@uni-bayreuth.de

Radio phone-in programmes are relevant for linguistic analysis in multilingual contexts, like Kenya and Cameroon, because they provide relatively natural data in expert-user and user-user contexts in an often emotional interactive environment. Any relationship topic is an emotive undertaking in any society, given the varied cultural disparities. On radio phone-in programmes, speech activities such as advice-giving and advice-receiving are also performed symmetrically or asymmetrically. In this media format, code-switching is a significant phenomenon that is an expected and unconscious part of the linguistic behaviour of multilingual speakers. Switches between languages are highly relevant since they provide evidence for evaluations of language variety, power and authority, as well as language and emotion. This research explores how code-switchingis used on radio phone-in programmes during discussions on relationships. This article focuses onthe social and pragmatic motivations of code-switching between the caller and the host during phone-in sessions. The Kenyan data was collected from two radio phone-in programmes: *TheBreakfast Show* on Classic 105 Fm and *The Big Breakfast* on Kiss 100, where participants switched from English, Kiswahili, Sheng, and their mother tongue in isolated occurrences. At the same time, two radio phone-in programmes from Cameroon, *Make we Talk* and *The Other Side of Midnight*, were considered for illustrations with code-switches between English and Pidgin. The analysis reveals thatsituational code-switching was dominant for the Cameroonian data, while metaphorical switcheswere evident for the Kenyan data. The findings further demonstrate that speakers' code-switching is far from random but switch between languages at specific times for particular reasons, especially in informal emotion-provoking (public) discourse to achieve meaning and urgency.

Keywords: Code-switching; radio phone-in programmes; conversation analysis; advising

1 Introduction

Code-switching (henceforth CS) has been defined as the "juxtaposition of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems within the same exchange" (Gumperz 1977: 1) or simply as the use of two or more languages in the same clause (Myers-Scotton 2002). As has been shown in research on CS and will also be the subject of our discussion in this article, CS is far from random, and switches may be motivated by social (Myers-Scotton 1993) as well as pragmatic meaning (Auer 1995; Flamenbaum 2014). Code-switching is one of the critical features of the linguistic situation in most sub-Saharan multilingual African countries, such as Kenya in East Africa and Cameroon in West Africa. These countries are characterised by their highly diverse linguistic scenery. Cameroon boasts approximately 270 local languages, English and French as co-official languages, which are used to a different extent in the smaller Anglophone and the larger Francophone region of the country. There is additionally a contact variety, Cameroon Pidgin English, which is used as a nationwide lingua franca and Camfranglais, an urban youth code. The language situation in Kenya is different, of course, but no less diverse with also two co-official languages - English and Swahili - which are used as nationwide linguae

francae, as well as 43 local languages plus Sheng - an acronym for **S**wa**h**ili-**Eng**lish slang - which originated among the urban youth of Nairobi as a constantly evolving linguistic code based on Swahili and English and primarily influenced by numerous vernacular languages of Kenya (Gatobu 2019). Multilingualism permeates many spheres of interaction in both countries, including the domain of radio broadcasting. In Kenya and Cameroon, the languages of the media have been stipulated by their respective national policies for either use of local language(s) or their co-official languages. In both countries, public radio stations mainly cover the cities, and their programmes attract a multilingual receivership. The many languages spoken in Kenya and Cameroon have led to the manifestation of CS as a natural phenomenon of the language behaviour of multilingual speakers. Subsequently, it is inevitable to find CS on the radio in these multilingual ecologies. Radio programmes in Kenya use English, Kiswahili, local languages, and Sheng, while those in Cameroon predominantly use French, English or Cameroonian Pidgin English. In both countries, speakers frequently mix these codes, more so on radio phone-in programmes. Radio phone-in programmes (henceforth PiPs) are a participatory media format where listeners can call in and discuss a particular topic with the radio host and studio guests (Ferenčík 2007). In this interactive public media space, CS is an inexorable conversation strategy in multilingual speakers' repertoires that enables speakers to achieve meaning and urgency in the speech activity of advice. Onyango (2009), for instance, examined the extralinguistic factors that motivate English and Kiswahili CS by anchors on Kiss Fm and Easy Fm radio stations in Kenya. The present study takes a different direction and considers radio PiPs that engage the audience to expose the types of CS employed by Kenyans in the speech activity of advice and further analyses data from a similar interaction in the Cameroonian context. Thus, the research adopts the following questions: (a) How does CS manifest in the speech activity of advice on radio PiPs in the Kenyan and Cameroonian contexts? (b) What is the motivation for the CS?

2   Code-switching

Bullock and Toribio (2009: 14) point out that there are three major strands in the study of CS: the structural, the psycholinguistic and the sociopragmatic "although, in principle, a full account of CS cannot be achieved without the integration of findings from each of these strands …". In the case of this research, all the strands insofar as they contribute to understanding the sociopragmatic and structural CS in the discussion on relationships on radio PiPs in Kenya and Cameroon are considered. This study is nested in two quite different approaches to types of CS identified by Blom and Gumperz (1972). On the one hand, situational CS occurs when the languages used change according to the social situations in which the conversants find themselves; they speak one language in one situation and another in a different one. Metaphorical switching, on the other hand, is when alternation enriches a situation, allowing for an allusion to more than one social relationship (Blom and Gumperz 1972). Metaphorical CS also includes markings of a change of topic or emotive attitudes in a conversation, as argued in this article. In contrast, situational CS is more indicative of the social situation and function in which a particular language is used (Blom and Gumperz 1972). Both types of CS were later described as conversational code-switching (Gumperz 1982). The crux of this study is to scrutinise data and identify the types of conversational and situational CS in talking about relationships on radio PiPs in Kenya and Cameroon. This work also considers the Matrix Language Framework (Myers-Scotton 2002), which states that there is a matrix language (henceforth ML), which is dominant in the interaction and an embedded language (EL) in all insertional code-switching. Elements from EL are then inserted into the morphosyntactic system of ML (Myers-Scotton 1997; 2002).

3   Radio phone-in programmes and talk-in-interaction

Radio phone-in programmes or "talk-backs" have become popular sites for investigating talk-in-interaction. Thornborrow (2001a) observes that people call into PiPs to give an opinion, ask questions, and give advice. Hutchby (1995) studied how experts on British radio advice phone-ins systematically modulate their talk such that it is designed for both the individual caller who seeks the advice and the various absent constituencies of the listening audience. The experts used techniques such as "answering more than the question" and "proxy advice-giving", in which the show's host asks ostensibly naïve questions that encourage the expert to provide increasingly generalised advice. Hutchby (1996) further investigated the construction of arguments on radio PiPs in Britain. Thornborrow (2001a) offers units for participation in the framework of phone-in shows in Britain, while Thornborrow (2001b) looks at how public identities are created in the interaction on radio PiPs. Most earlier studies on radio phone-ins were carried out in Britain, the United States of America and Australia (Hutchby 1995, 1996; Ward 2002; Turner, Tomlinson and Pearce 2006), but this has since been followed up by research in African, Caribbean and Asian contexts. In the Caribbean, for instance, Shields-Brodber (1998) focuses on how women establish and maintain a "voice of authority" on radio phone-ins in Jamaica by trying to hold the performance floor. Shields-Brodber (1992) investigates how switches from ML English to Jamaican Creole might be used strategically to express cooperation and create a sense of informality and intimacy between the host and caller. Recent research (Mühleisen 2008) focuses on strategies by callers to gain membership status in the Trinidadian radio PiPs discourse community.

Further CS studies have also been carried out in Asia; for example, Tanaka (2015) researched advice in Japanese radio phone-in counselling and focused on formal characteristics of advice and factors that determine its acceptance or resistance. Radio PiPs have recently gained attention in African contexts, especially in West African and Southern African studies. Drescher (2012), for instance, uses Cameroonian radio phone-ins in the Francophone region to compare the speech activity of advice in Cameroon and France. Flamenbaum (2014) investigated CS in Ghanaian radio talk shows and argued that intrasentential CS into English occurs for strategic and pragmatic reasons within the context of predominantly Twi talk-radio debates in Accra. In Ghanaian radio talk shows, CS is used to lend prominence and emphasis to one's argument(clause-final) and to negotiate for the floor and reorient the flow of debate (turn-initial) (Flamenbaum 2014). Ahlijah (2017) studied the interaction between CS, identity and political discourse on Ghanaian radio talk shows and focused on the CS behaviour of two categories of speakers, traditional rulers, and politicians. The role of talk radio as means of public and political interaction and the negotiation of inclusivity versus silence have been highlighted in Burger (2015) and Tsarwe (2018) for the Southern African context. Otundo and Grice (2022) examined salient prosodic features used in advice-giving in Kenyan English and Kenyan Kiswahili from a radio PiP and observed alternating rises and falls with a more extensive pitch range in declarative and conditional forms of advice in English-Kiswahili codeswitching instances as opposed to those in Kenyan English. As evidenced in the literature, only until recently have there been a growing number of studies on radio talk shows in African postcolonial settings. This study contributes to the continued debate on CS in multilingual spaces by focusing on the speech activity of advice on radio PiPs in Kenya and Cameroon.

4   Advice on radio phone-in programmes: a socio-pragmatic perspective

Defining advice as a speech act is relatively complex, as it can be a directive or a request for an action that will benefit the hearer (Goldsmith 2000). This speech act, often essential in participative broadcasting formats and many phone-ins, offers counsel on societal matters like health, sex, and relationships. It is this tension between public and private conversation which makes such programmes popular not only for those seeking to participate in it actively but also for listeners who are in the position of legitimately overhearing the conversation of another party. Burger (2015: 68) highlights the role of reality genres such as talk radio, where she invites the audience to share their personal life stories on matters about the AIDS pandemic as therapeutic in society:

> it is generally accepted that the public participate as volunteers in these reality-based media formats due to the reality genre's therapeutic ethos. In other words, public participants seek the validation that they are 'worth listening to', in addition to wanting the opportunity to have their say (Shattuc 1997: 42). The same therapeutic ethos answers the question: Why do listeners tune in to radio talk shows? It seems that radio listeners enjoy and participate in validating those who phone in to tell their life stories and share their personal ideas with the public.

With regard to the purpose of the communicative event, radio PiPs can be characterised as mixed, with an overt purpose of exchange of information and a covert sense of entertainment and giving people a platform for self-expression. It is evident that radio PiPs are a public communicative event, but they also carry features that, before the introduction of mass media, belonged to a more private sphere. The fact that the callers can be heard but not seen and the possibility to remain anonymous by not giving one's name create a situation of private publicity or public privacy (Mühleisen 2008). Many radio talk programmes address taboo topics or controversial issues. There is an asymmetry of roles in advice-giving and receiving on radio phone-ins , which makes the format interesting for investigating power relations. These interactions encompass more than just a private dialogue between an advice-seeker and an advice-giver. It is an active public discourse that may involve four categories: the advice-seeking caller, the advice-giving expert, the non-expert host, and the overhearing audience. Advice-giving is an activity which assumes or establishes an asymmetry between the participants in that it involves a speaker assuming some deficit in the knowledge state of a recipient. These issues relate closely with Brown and Levinson's (1987) Politeness Theory, where advice carries inherent threats to the positive and negative face of advice recipients. Advice threatens positive face by suggesting that the recipients are unable to determine the appropriate course of action on their own, and it threatens the negative face by prescribing a recommended course of action (Brown and Levinson 1987). Since advice is viewed to be intrinsically a face-threatening act (FTA), it requires redressive action (Brown and Levinson 1987). This means that advice can be implicitly given through rhetorical questions, proverbs, or suggestions. These aspects manifest more in advice-giving on the radio, more so when the advisee does not specify the kind of advice (s)he anticipates. The challenge for advice recipients is not only to respond in ways that protect their own positive and negative face but also to address the positive face of advice givers to preserve the social relationship (Brown and Levinson 1987). In various studies, the range of interactions in which advice is sought and offered, the potential loss of face is intrinsic; where advice recipients might feel 'less knowledgeable' than advice givers while advisers may feel rejected if their advice is not accepted, thus both can suffer 'loss of face' (Brown and Levinson 1987; Goldsmith 1992, 1994; Heritage and Sefi 1992; Hinkel 1994; Levinson 1992). The consequences of losing face are different in each encounter. Losing face

when interacting with family and friends may not be as detrimental compared to public fora such as on radio PiPs. However, Goldsmith (1999) indicates that advice-giving between friends can likewise result in a FTA as it comprises the potential for being construed as imposition or criticism by the listener. Goldsmith (1999) and Heritage and Sefi (1992), for instance, found that advisees tend to initially 'resist' advice even when it has been actively sought. Advisees use initial 'resistance' to advice as a FEA since it implies that the advisee is less competent or capable than the adviser (Goldsmith 1994). In the same breath, studies have suggested that advice is resisted because it is prematurely given (Heritage and Sefi 1992). In other studies, advice is provided indirectly as a 'point of information' to avoid imposition (Culpeper, Crawshaw and Harrison 2008) or is implied through criticism or reproach (Tanaka 2014), which are FTAs. The findings of this research are closely linked with politeness considerations vis-à-vis the participants' shared effort to protect and enhance their own and others' face by using CS strategically in the process of giving and receiving advice.

5   Methodology

Radio PiPs provide data that is useful for investigations in several linguistic fields. In sociolinguistics, conversation analysis, and intercultural communication studies, data from radio PiPs can be fruitfully employed. For a sociolinguistic agenda, radio PiPs are participatory media formats that provide a relatively casual setting where people use natural language in public forums for unscripted talk and discussion. This setup is fascinating for the study of CS, and style-shifting, among others. In the same breath, CS can be approached from a sociolinguistic perspective by investigating the social motivations and the pragmatic functions that CS performs. Radio PiPs also contribute to a conversation analysis agenda since they provide a comparatively fixed format with set organisational features and sequences (like openings and closings of the conversationbetween host and caller) and set roles like host, caller, and guest - which imply differences in authority, not only on a given topic but also in controlling the conversation itself. Further, these programmes may ideally be used for intercultural communication studies because the relatively set nature of the genre allows for illustrations across cultures, for example, in the keeping or breaking of implicit norms. A qualitative research approach was adopted for this study, and data were purposively extracted from the PiPs to get instances of CS. This method was partly ad hoc in nature since CS occurrences are intermittent. Additionally, some parts of the programmes occurred in the form of a dialogue with observable switches. For the Kenyan case, data was collected from two radio PiPs: *TheBreakfast Show* on Classic 105 Fm and *The Big Breakfast* on Kiss 100, where participants switch between English, Kiswahili, Sheng, and occasional mother tongue. At the same time, two radio PiPs from Cameroon - *Make we Talk* and *The Other Side of Midnight* (TOSOM) were purposively considered for illustrations, with switches between English and Cameroonian Pidgin English (CPE). In the Cameroonian programmes, we have a precise distribution of the ML. While *Make we Talk* uses CPE as its primary language with occasional switches to English, TOSOM has (Cameroonian) English as its chief means of communication. In Kenyan programmes, English is used as the primary language.

Of importance, the reason for selecting these radio PiPs is that theyhave more comprehensive coverage within the multilingual metropolis of the respective countries. These radio PiPs have existed for over a decade and are aired daily for approximately one hour. Therefore, these networks can generate representative data by gathering conversational discussions. More so, the

everyday talk in these programmes is about relationships. The data collected from the two different countries is intended to enable illustrations of CS in the Anglophone-speaking part of Cameroon in West Africa and Anglophone Kenya in East Africa. The programmes were digitally audio recorded, and orthographic transcription, alongside meaningful translations into English was done following these labels: (a) MOD represents the host, (b) 1st CL_M represents first caller in the show, male, (c) 1st CL_F is the first caller in the show, female, (d) 2nd CL_M represents the second caller in the show, male, and so forth. Areas where advice is explicitly sought are underlined. The Leipzig glossing conventions (Bernard, Haspelmath and Balthasar 2008) for guidelines on presenting non-English language data were used by adopting the word-by-word alignment rule in data segments. The transcribed segments constitute instances that reveal CS as other parts of the talk are of no interest to this research. The data were analysed with these in mind: (a) natural speech is open to any number of interpretations, and (b) language can be manipulated in diverse ways to perform an endless number of functions. The illustrations and discussions from the Kenyan and Cameroonian data are shown in the proceeding section.

6   Results and Discussion: Socio-pragmatic factors of code-switching in advice in phone-ins in Kenya and Cameroon

The socio-pragmatic factors that influence the language choices of Kenyans and Cameroonians in the speech activity of advice on radio PiPs, as obtained from the data for this research, are discussed in this section. In the analysis, a distinction is made between instances of metaphorical and situational CS.

Excerpt (1): Metaphorical code-switching on *The Big Breakfast*, Kenya

> *MOD: = host*
> *1st CL_M = first caller in the show, male*
> *Context: Kenyan women have sought advice on what they can do in order to keep their men loyal*

MOD:	what do Kenyan women have to do to keep their men faithful?
1st CL_M:	((laugh)) … It's very simple.
MOD:	what?
1st CL_M:	nothing.
MOD:	what do you mean nothing? They do nothing, you go out. They giveyou money, you go out. They do everything for you, you still go out. <u>What do you want as Kenyan men?</u>
1st CL_M:	*wakae hivyo! Waachane tu na sisi!* They stay like that They leave just with us 'They stay like that!' 'They just leave us be!' They don't need to do anything. We understand. There are things you can't change. So, really.
MOD:	what do you mean you can't change?
1st_CL_M:	ok, <u>can I help you</u>? Can I just tell you the truth?
MOD:	heee ...
1st_CL_M:	you know … when a man…aah…am not talking for everyone….the way they saw you from day one. Ehee?
MOD:	heee (?)

1st_CL_M:	n*a ile nguo ulikuwa umevaa ya red na blue?*
	With that dress you had you have worn of red and blue
	'With that red and blue dress you were wearing?'
	That is the image they have. *Hawatokangi hapo.*
	                                They never leave there
	                                'They never leave that.'

In Excerpt (1) there is metaphorical switching by the caller. The caller also enriches the context for allusion by switching in the sequence of Kiswahili-English-Kiswahili and says, "*Na ile nguo ulikuwa umevaa ya red na blue?*" 'With that red and blue dress, you were wearing?' This means that the image of Kenyan women does not change to be more interesting to entice their men. He illustrates this by the way Kenyan women never enhance their wardrobes.

Excerpt (2): Metaphorical code-switching on *The Breakfast Show*, Kenya

MOD: = host
1st CL_M = first caller in the show, male
Context: Someone has witnessed a "romantic crime" happening with his friend`s fiancée and seeks advice on whether to tell his friend

MOD:	so, if I saw your wife with someone else I should not tell you?
1st CL_M:	am telling you, that's the worst part of it. *Itaenda na ita ku-pile-ia.*

                                                           It will go   and   it will   to pile on you

                                                            'It will go and pile on you.'

                               It will bring another story.
                               Atasema   wee   ndiye   ulimtafutia   in fact.
                               (S)he will say   you   the one   you looked for him/her   in fact
                               '(S)he will say you`re the one who looked [for the lover] for her/him in fact.'

MOD:	heee (?) Ok.

In Excerpt (2), the caller employs intrasentential CS in the Kiswahili-Sheng sequence. The caller switches to give advice in the form of a warning when he says, "*Itaenda na itaku-pile-ia*" It will go and pile on you, to mean that the troubles in that relationship will pile up against you if you tell your friend what you saw. He further employs intrasentential CS (Swahili-English) when he says "*Atasema wee ndiye ulimtafutia in fact.*" (S)he will say you are the one who looked [for the lover] for her/him in fact. This is a continuation of the warning as a form of advice. This quality of switching, including the marking of emotive attitudes in conversation, reveals metaphorical switching, as evidenced in Excerpt (3) by both host and caller.

Excerpt (3): Metaphorical code-switching on *The Breakfast Show*, Kenya

MOD: = host
2nd CL_M = second caller in the show, male
Context: Someone has witnessed a "romantic crime" happening with his friend's fiancée and seeks advice on whether to tell his friend

MOD:	hello!
2nd CL_M:	morning to you! Let me tell you one thing, if you ever do

                               something worse in this world, *ni kuenda kusema ati   you saw her.*
                                                […] world, is to go   to say   that you saw her
                                                     'is to go say that you saw her.'

MOD:	eheee?...
2nd CL_M:	e*nyewe, itakugeukia.*

                               It self   it will turn to you
                               'In truth, it will turn against you.'

MOD:	how?
2nd CL_M:	they'll just say *now wee ndiye ni kama umewatenganisha.*

[...] now you the one is   like   you have separated them
' [...] now you`re the one who has broken them up.'

((laugh)) ... Ladies they know how to ... *aaah ... wanarukanga   futi*
[...] aaah ... they usually jump   feet
'[...] aaah   ... they usually deny the matter

kama ishirini. Kama cheetah kuenda juu. They'll just say wee ndiye
like   twenty.   Like   cheetah to go   up.   They'll just say you the one
by like twenty feet. Like a cheetah going upward. They'll just say you're the one

umeenda   ukawatenganisha.   Wee ndiye umefanya   ajue
You have gone you went and separated them. You   the one you have done (s)he to know
who's gone and broken them up. You're the one who's made him know

hiyo   mambo. Ama?
that   things.   Or?
that matter. Or?

... mzee   kwanza   akugeukie   akuambie   now
... the old man to begin with (s)he to turn against you (s)he to tell you now…
... the husband first to turn against you telling you now ...
   did I tell you to go and look for this?'

MOD: but I saw it with my own eyes!
2nd CL_M: *aaiii ... na   hata kama uliona   you better* keep quiet because at the end
            aaiii ... and even if   you saw   you better [...]
            aaiii ... and even if you saw it, you better [...]
              of the day watakuja   warudiane   waseme
            [...] ya siku   they will come   they will get back together they will say
            [...] day they will get back together and say
            wee ndiye   ulikuwa   unachocheza   hao   na   it was just lies.
            you the one   you were   you are stirring them   and it …
            it was you who was stirring them [to break up] yet it was just lies.'

MOD: so, I keep quiet? So, if I saw your wife with someone else I should not tell you?
2nd CL_M: *am telling you that's the worst part of it because hiyo   italeta   more*
                                        [...] because that   it will bring more
                                        [...] because that will bring more
            enemies. Itaendelea   ilete   shida.
            enemies. It will continue it will bring problem
            enemies. It will continue and bring a problem.
            Ataseme   wee ndiye   ulimtafutia   in fact.
            (S)he will say you   the one   you sought it out for him/her in fact
            'She will say you are the one who sought [for the lover] for her in fact.'

In Excerpt (3), there is intrasentential switching (Kiswahili-English) by caller 2nd CL_M, who says, "*Let me tell you one thing, if you ever do something worse in this world, ni kuenda kusema ati you saw her.*" '[...] world, is to go and say that you saw her', which is a warning as a form of advice. The host seeks further by saying, "eheee?", which has been defined in the Swahili-English dictionary as a word for expressing agreement or approval, similar to the English word 'yes' (Rechenbach 1969). He pronounces this by applying the intonation of a declarative question, thus prompting the caller to elaborate on why telling the friend will be the worst thing to do. The caller has now completely switched from the main language and applies an inter-sentential switch to proffer a warning, "*Enyewe, itakugeukia*" 'In truth, it will turn against you.' Another instance of intrasentential switching (English-Kiswahili) by the same caller is when he says, "*They'll just say now wee ndio ni kama umewatenganisha*" '[...] now you're the one who has separated them up'. Here, the caller has used an assertion of future events as a form of advice.

As caller 2nd CL_M continues to expound on the issue, he applies an intra-sentential switch, "*Ladies they know how to ...aaah...wanarukanga futi kama ishirini*" 'Ladies they know how to… aaaaah… they usually deny the matter by like twenty feet'. With this example, it can be deduced that since caller 2nd CL_M has held the talk for a bit longer than the previous callers, the inclusion of " *...aaaaah ...*" (which was also audibly detectable as a hesitation sound in Kiswahili) as he switches codes can be an indicator of deficiency of expression in English. Williams, Srinivasan, Liu, Lee and Zhou (2019) state that multilingual speakers have more than one language to choose from and they would ideally proactively control which language they speak and in which context, but heightened emotions can interfere with this process. Caller 2nd CL_M further utilises an intrasentential switch (Kiswahili- English-Kiswahili) to utter a of figure of speech as a form of advice "*Kama cheetah kuenda juu*" 'Like a cheetah going upward' and deviates from this literal statement to mean that the lady will deny the 'allegations' as fast as a cheetah can bolt into the sky.

In the Cameroonian context, code-switches are much less likely to be metaphorical than situational on radio PiPs. This reflects the functional and regional distribution of the codes in use in Cameroon. Programmes that use English as the primary language are primarily found in the Anglophone region and the capital, Yaoundé. Those whose primary language is French abound in the larger Francophone area (cf. also Drescher 2012). Cameroonian Pidgin English as lingua franca and as the ML in talk-backs is also common, but the receivership and their social status are also reflected in the programmes. Language choice, therefore, has more of a social rather than conversational meaning here. This might be exemplified in Excerpts (4), (5), and (6), where code-choice is more dependent on the caller rather than having a conversational meaning.[1] The problem posed/advice-context in the programme is that a woman wants to adopt her sister's child legally because the sister is not financially stable. This is somewhat unusual in the Cameroonian cultural context because, firstly, your sibling's child is considered your child, and it is normal for you to be responsible for this child's upbringing without any legal backup or documentation. Secondly, Angela, the biological mother of this child, is alive and well, and loves her children, but she is a jobless single mother and lacks the resources to cater for her children. The clash of status is between the economically dominant and inferior. Because Angela's sister belongs to the former group, she imposes her idea of adopting Angela's son without giving the details. She has the support of her family, which consolidates her authority over Angela's son. The problem triggered no less than 26 calls from listeners who wanted to comment on the issue and give their advice. In Excerpt (4), the first caller - apparently a regular caller - compares the case to others that he has encountered and draws his conclusions from that:

Excerpt (4): Situational code-switching on *The Other Side of Midnight*, Cameroon

> *MOD: moderator, host*
> *1ˢᵗ_CL_M: first caller, male*
> *Context: A woman wants to legally adopt her sister's son.*
>
> MOD: we have someone on the line. hallo↑
> 1st_CL_M: good morning Rosa and welcome back.

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[1] We are grateful for the transcriptions and comments by Dr. Kelen Ernesta Fonyuy and for translation clarification by PD Dr. Eric Anchimbe for the Cameroonian data.

MOD:	ah: Mr Mbaku R[2] good morning.
1st_CL_M:	ya. morning, yesterday I tried all my best but I couldn't get to you.
MOD:	I know,: how are you today↑
1st_CL_M:	fine.
MOD:	mhm.
1st_CL_M:	eh: -h I'm surprised to have this type of letter but sometime ago eh we had a letter from Ngoundere,
MOD:	mhm.
1st_CL_M:	that was almost similar because: somebody aba- eh. well- who could not bring up eh: her son, .. gave the son to an orphanage and the son was adopted. later on when the girl became well-to-do she wanted to go back to that family to- to take the child.
MOD:	mhm.
1st_CL_M:	what is seemingly strange here... is that by- our African tradition and what is common to Cameroon, is that the child in the family is every person's child.
MOD:	mhm.
1st_CL_M:	and eh: generally you cannot talk of an adoption because whether's your brother's child or your sister's child,
MOD:	mhm.
1st_CL_M:	you also treat as if it's your child...I begin to wonder ehm:.. how they want to sign this adoption papers. but Angela has two options...whether she signs the papers or she does not sign the paper, that child is her child. but not signing the papers and causing the child to be thrown on the street because you say she has nothing to do.
MOD:	mhm.
1st_CL_M:	maybe they give her back her six year old son,...in the next few months that child becomes a street child.
(…)	

The conversation between the host, Rosa and the caller, Mr. Mbaku R. is delivered in English, and both parties do not switch from the dominant language, English. The rather formal tone of the interaction is also initiated by the use of the address term to the caller, "Mr. Mbaku R". This is different in comparison to one of the subsequent callers, shown in Excerpt (5), where the caller, "pa Pidgin", also seems to be a regular caller and appears to be known for his use of Pidgin on air. The host reacts to his use of pidgin by first accommodating to Pidgin with the use of the invariant generic pronoun "e" (for "she" in English) but then going back to the dominant language - English.

Excerpt 5: Situational code-switching on *The Other Side of Midnight*, Cameroon

MOD:	hello↑
10th_CL_M:	hallo
MOD:	ya↓
10th_CL_M:	Rosa you're welcome back.
MOD:	thank you... ah: pa Pidgin.
10th_CL_M:	hallo?
MOD:	ya↓
10th_CL_M:	eh: dat woman e name na who again↑ *Well, what was the woman's name again?*
MOD:	Angela
10th_CL_M:	Angela.
MOD:	ehe.

---

[2] Last name abbreviated for anonymity reasons.

10th_CL_M: like man way I di follow e talk e fit be correct..I don see neighbour... e born e pikin..
as the previous speaker said, it might be correct. i have seen a neighbour who had a child and
put de name with e big sister e: name.
named their child exactly as their older sister.

MOD: mhm.

10th_CL_M: d- dat means de country name
That means the country name

MOD: yes.

10th_CL_M: den de big sister kam look de pikin di grow... way e day near me e kam say e go take de
the older sister watched the child grow (who is next to me). she said she wants to take the child.
pikin.I just di look am... e di work for government e go put the pikin e name like na e born am.
i simply looked at her. she works with the government. she said she will write the child's name as though she were the mother.

MOD: mhm.

Excerpt (6): Language use on *Make we Talk*, Cameroon

MOD: = host
1st CL_M = first caller in the show, male
Context: A father wants his daughter to leave school even though she is a good student who has never failed an exam

MOD: I tell you (.) so how you want say mek dis girl do now?
So what do you want the girl to do now?

1st CL_M: no-o me advise () de girl first but mek e no be say de advise
...I advise the girl first but let her know that the advise that
way I want give e, sometime na girl way e be di (.) e be di frequent e life

I want to give her, perhaps this girl spends much time in nightclubs…..
na for nightclub, sometime na why e papa dem want (2.0) say mek e marry
perhaps that is why her family wants her to get married

MOD: way e never ever fail examination for life
But she has never failed an exam in her life

MOD: ((laugh)) ... so wati you want say mek dis girl do now?
                    So what do you want this girl to do now?

1st_CL_M: yes, so: me I want advise e say e
Yes, so I want to advise her that she

MOD: mhm

1st_CL_M: make e tell e papa dem say eh
should tell her father that

MOD: yes

1st_CL_M: papa, you (.) never even get O Level sef, ……
Papa, you don't even have O Levels

In the Cameroonian programme, *Make we Talk*, both host and callers use the dominant language Pidgin (CPE). Because of the lexical vicinity between English and CPE, using English lexical items is difficult to determine. There are instances, however, where switches to English - "I want advise" in Excerpt (6) indicate a change to a voice of authority in a conventional situation.

7   Conclusion

This research addressed CS in the speech activity of advice on radio PiPs in the Anglophone contexts of Kenya and Cameroon. It analysed CS of Kenyan and Cameroon participants engaging in talk about relationships: a show host and a caller. Since the host solicited advice on behalf of the audience, his speech was limited to either seeking clarity regarding the advice, encouraging the callers to give advice, or translating in other instances. The findings from the Kenyan data reveal that speakers predominantly utilise metaphorical CS on radio PiPs as opposed to situational CS. Metaphorical CS has been proactively used to advise in these forms: (a) use of CS when giving a warning as a form of advice (b) CS while giving an allusion as a form of advice (c) CS when giving an assertion of future events as a form of advice. However, as evidenced by the data, heightened emotions can sometimes interfere with multilingual speakers' proactive control of CS. Metaphorical CS in the Kenyan data is reflective of the functional and national use of the codes in Kenya, where the dominant language of the selected programmes is English, and participants switch to Kiswahili, the lingua franca or Sheng, an urban youth-based slang, or on rare occasions the use of mother tongue. The Kenyan data also shows intrasentential switches regardless of the length of the utterance, and the sequence of the switches can be as interactive as, for example, English- Kiswahili-English-Kiswahili-English, with a possibility for even longer sequences. These sequences can also be generated when a local language is used alongside English. Similarly, intrasentential switches can occur in the sequence of English-Kiswahili-Sheng, with no particular order. The results show that advising in public, especially on sensitive topics, is an emotion-provoking venture that influences how speakers proactively code-switch depending on the degree of directness. This supports the notion that, indeed, multilinguals sometimes apply CS to be expressive, particularly in emotion-provoking conversations like the ones in this study. In the Cameroonian context, the data shows that metaphorical CS is less common, and the codes are used separately according to the region and social group. Both English and Cameroonian Pidgin English are employed relatively consistently in conversation on talk radio but change according to speakers and context. As mentioned earlier, both situational and metaphorical CS were later described as conversational code-switching (Gumperz 1982). Thus, the data analysis of this research reveals that speakers' conversational codeswitching is generally far from random, but that Kenyans and Cameroonians often switch codes in specific times and situations for particular reasons, especially in informal emotion-provoking discourse on radio PiPs in order to achieve meaning and urgency. These findings oppose beliefs that bilingual or multilingual participants in an interaction employ more than one code due to deficiencies in their linguistic abilities in one language or the other and support earlier studies (Gumperz 1982: 75-78; Myers-Scotton 1993; Woolard 2004: 74-75) that reveal that CS is a systematic, skilled, and meaningful asset.

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Billian K. Otundo
University of Bayreuth & Moi University
billiankhalayi@mu.ac.ke

Susanne Mühleisen
University of Bayreuth
susanne.muehleisen@uni-bayreuth.de