

*Mobility, Identity and Localization of Language in
Multilingual Contexts of Urban Lusaka*



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ABSTRACT

Mobility, Identity and Localization of Language in Multilingual Contexts of Urban Lusaka

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This study explores *Mobility, Identity and Localization of Language in Multilingual Contexts of Urban Lusaka*. By examining data from different sites of language practices of Lusaka urbanites, that include, casual and formal conversations, Zambian popular music, computer mediated discourses and advertisements; the study shows how interlocutors creatively draw on their extended communicative repertoire to make meaning, transform social structures/roles and stylize modern identities. Accordingly, the study consolidates the recent sociolinguistic theoretical position that views language as social practice and privileges speakers as social actors in shaping and recreating language. In this regard, the study foregrounds language as localized social practice and argues against the idea that language is homogenous and a bounded system. In doing so, the study adds to recent sociolinguistic theorizing calling for a paradigm shift to language studies. Therefore, the main research question that the study addresses, relates to how Lusaka urban dwellers achieve their mediated agency, voice and actorhood through linguistic choices during interactions in various social contexts of modern Lusaka. In turn, the question relates to how urbanites use language as localized social practice to maintain, transform and reproduce social structures/roles and identities in modern Lusaka.

Owing to the type of data the study collected, a multifaceted methodological and analytical approach was employed for both data collection and analysis. Informed by a descriptive research design, the study used focus group discussions and individual key-informant interviews to collect data from casual and formal conversations. Data from Zambian popular music were purposively sampled from *Youtube.com* and music CDs. In addition, group/individual interviews with

musicians were conducted in order to supplement data collected from music CDs and video sources. Data from online discourses were collected from the Facebook platform and from two Zambian based online news blogs, while data from print advertisements were collected through the capturing of images on billboards around Lusaka city as well as advertisements from newspapers and internet sites. Television and radio advertisements were recorded from the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation TV and radio channels. All the data collected from these sources were generally analyzed using Conversational Analysis, Facework Negotiation Theory, Multimodal Discourse Analysis and its cognate analytical tools such as Resemiotisation, Semiotic Remediation, Intertextuality, Multivocality and Dialogism.

The study shows that message consumption is not a function of isolated semiotic resource but a combination of semiotic material drawn from semiotics that people are familiar with. The study thus argues that social meaning is steeped into social and cultural experiences of the speakers and that any study of language practices in such contexts should take into account the multifaceted nature of human communication. Furthermore, the study demonstrates that given the advancements in communication technology and mobility of semiotic resources across modes which have largely contributed to a reconceptualization of the nature of human language, any study of language in social contexts ought to account for other meaning making semiosis in both methodological and approaches to data collection and analysis, respectively. The study further shows how interactants in late modern settings of Lusaka stylize their multiple identities by dissolving the traditional linguistic boundaries through use of the extended linguistic repertoire. In this vein, the study demonstrates that social identity is a dynamic aspect of social life which is actively negotiated and performed through speakers' linguistic choices. In this respect, the study finds that speakers simultaneously stylize translocal hybrid identities which include urban versus rural, modern versus traditional, African versus Christian (Western fused) as well as gendered ones, through their use of different linguistic choices.

Furthermore, the study finds that language borders and domains of language use are permeable. In this regard, the study demonstrates how Lusaka urban speakers use localized language forms

to colonize the formal spaces thereby challenging the dominant ideologies about language as a fixed, impermeable and a bounded system. In the process of colonizing formal spaces using localized language forms, the study shows how speakers perform acts of humour, role play, face saving, identity and meaning enhancement. In turn these localized repertoires are drawn upon as resources to accomplish different tasks which would not be accomplished if only a 'single' language were to be used. In this regard, the study views language as a resource that transcends the role of meaning making. In addition, the study shows how, through the use of localized repertoires in formal spaces, speakers transform traditions and modernity into a hybrid space which identifies them as having multiple identities. This demonstrates that speakers in such modern settings use language as a resource to accomplish several things at once. It also highlights speakers' agency in recreating language as well as transforming their social spaces.

The findings of the study entail contributions to recent arguments on language that view it not as an autonomous system but rather as embedded in people's social interactions. It demonstrates that languages have no clear-cut borders. The study also contributes to methodological and analytical approaches to the study of language in recent times. In addition, the study adds new knowledge to our understanding of identity as a performative act which is actively negotiated for as people interact in different social contexts. This implies that identity is not a fixed thing as traditionally conceived. Ultimately, the study calls for a rethinking of our conception of language and identity considering modernity practices.

DECLARATION

I declare that *Mobility, Identity and Localization of Language in Multilingual Contexts of Urban Lusaka* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Full name: Kelvin Mambwe

Signed: _____ Date: _____



DEDICATION

To my family



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This work is as a result of cumulative contributions from many people too numerous to mention. However, I owe much of it to Professor Felix Banda my supervisor, who provided me with professional and unwavering guidance, motivation and all the support I needed during my studies. I especially thank him for facilitating a teaching assistantship in the Department of Linguistics that made my stay in Cape Town a memorable one. Prof. you are one in a million! I say *zikomo kwambiri!* You have not only guided me to produce this work, but more so, moulded me into an academic I have always dreamt to be. In this vein, I also wish to thank the entire Department of Linguistics at UWC for the support and friendship I received during my studies. In particular, I thank Professors Stroud, Bassey, Dyers; Dr. Bock, Dr. Ndlayedwa, Mr. Duncan, Ms Coetze and Ms Grovers. Others include my fellow PhD candidates at the time with whom we shared our academic discussions and these are: Dinis, Gift, Lynn, Fiona, Tedros, Prosperous, Thoko, Niklaas, Kustrayi, Quentin, Amiena, Dimtri and Ian. I sincerely thank Lynn for specialized help she offered me in editing video screen shots. Thank you so much!



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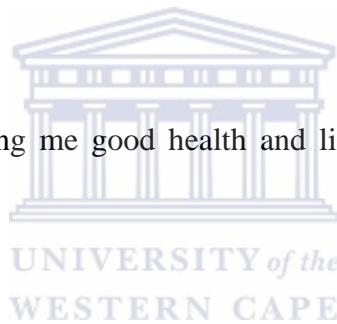


TABLE OF CONTENTS

KEYWORDS.....	i
ABSTRACT.....	ii
DECLARATION.....	v
DEDICATION.....	vi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	ix
LIST OF TABLES.....	xv
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xvi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	xviii
CHAPTER ONE.....	1
INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY.....	1
1.0. General.....	1
1.1. The sociolinguistic background of Zambia.....	1
1.2. Situating the study: The languages of Lusaka.....	4
1.3. Statement of the problem.....	7
1.4. Aim and objectives of the study.....	8
1.5. Research questions.....	9
1.6. Rationale of study.....	9
1.7. Scope, limits and limitations.....	10
1.7.1. Scope and limits.....	10
1.7.2. Limitations.....	11
1.8. Organization of the thesis.....	11
1.9. Summary of chapter.....	14

CHAPTER TWO	15
LITERATURE REVIEW	15
2.0. Introduction.....	15
2.1. Sociolinguistic studies on Zambia	15
2.2. A brief account on structuralist and post-structuralist perspectives on language	22
2.3. Language as social practice.....	24
2.4. Multilingualism as local practice	32
2.5. Towards recent sociolinguistic theorizing	38
2.6. Summary of chapter.....	41
CHAPTER THREE	42
LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL IDENTITY.....	42
3.0. Introduction.....	42
3.1. Social identity	42
3.2. Social identity and language: a brief historical account.....	46
3.2.1. Early studies on social identity	46
3.2.2. Later studies on social identity.....	47
3.3. A critique on “traditional” social identity theories	49
3.4. Current perspectives on language and social identity	53
3.4.1. Speech accommodation theory and acts of identity	53
3.4.2. Identity and practice.....	54
3.4.3. Identity and the notion of indexicality	55
3.4.4. Identity as a contact phenomenon	56
3.5. Multilingualism and negotiation of identity.....	57
3.5.1. Socio-psychological and interactional approaches	58
3.5.2. Interactional sociolinguistic approaches	60

3.5.3. Social constructionist approaches	61
3.5.4. Poststructuralist approaches	62
3.6. The process of negotiation of identities	62
3.7. Summary of chapter	64
CHAPTER FOUR.....	65
THEORETICAL AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK.....	65
4.0. Introduction.....	65
4.1. Towards a multimodal discourse analysis	66
4.1.1. From discourse analysis to multimodal discourse analysis	66
4.1.2. The importance of multimodal discourse analysis	69
4.2. Extending the work of MDA through resemiotization	71
4.3. Semiotic remediation	73
4.4. Multivocality and dialogism	74
4.5. Intertextuality	76
4.5.1. The meaning of intertextuality.....	77
4.5.2. Intertextuality and advertising	79
4.5.3. Intertextuality and popular music.....	80
4.6. Conversation analysis (CA)	81
4.7. Facework negotiation theory.....	84
4.8. Summary of chapter	86
CHAPTER FIVE	88
RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	88
5.0. Introduction.....	88
5.1. Research design	88
5.2. Research Methodology	92

5.2.1. Population and Sample.....	92
5.2.2. Mixed methods approach.....	99
5.3. Data analysis.....	104
5.4. Ethical considerations.....	108
5.5. Limitations.....	110
5.6. Summary of chapter.....	110
CHAPTER SIX.....	112
STYLIZATION OF IDENTITIES THROUGH URBAN DISCOURSES IN LUSAKA.....	112
6.0. Introduction.....	112
6.1. Dissolution of linguistic borders.....	113
6.2. Bound morphemes and lexemes in combination.....	115
6.3. The conflation of standard and non-standard forms of language.....	118
6.3.1. Combination of standard and non-standard bits and pieces of language.....	118
6.3.2. Standard bits and pieces of language in exclusive use.....	122
6.4. Stylizing identities in Lusaka urban discourses.....	128
6.4.1. Constructing translocal identities.....	128
6.4.2. Contesting imposed gendered identities.....	132
6.4.3. Incorporating Christian identities.....	137
6.4.4. Localized Lusaka urban identities.....	140
6.5. Summary of chapter.....	142
CHAPTER SEVEN.....	143
THE COLONIZATION OF THE FORMAL SPACE IN URBAN LUSAKA.....	143
7.0. Introduction.....	143
7.1. The permeability of the formal space.....	143
7.1.1. Localized language aspects as acts of relaxation and humour.....	145

7.1.2. Integrating cultural address forms and African sayings in formal domains.....	150
7.2.2. Transforming modernity and tradition in urban settings.....	151
7.2. Localized hybrid discourses on ‘monolingual’ radio stations in Lusaka.....	154
7.2.1. Hybrid language as an act of play in the formal domain	156
7.2.2. Localized language forms in formal domains as acts of identity.....	157
7.3. Summary of chapter.....	162
CHAPTER EIGHT	163
LOCALIZATION OF LANGUAGE IN ONLINE DISCOURSES AND ADVERTISEMENTS	163
8.0. Introduction.....	163
8.1.1. Spelling deviations as a strategy to avoid censorship	167
8.1.2. The English <c> in some urban written discourses	170
8.2. Crystallization of the non-standard into a ‘norm’	172
8.2.1. The grapheme <ch> and <c> in Bemba and Nyanja.....	173
8.2.2. The use of single vowels in place of long ones.....	175
8.2.3. The grapheme <ñ> and <ŋ> in Bemba and Lozi	176
8.3. Invariant phonetic contradictions in words	178
8.4. Appropriating and localization of semiotics	180
8.4.1. Localizing semiotics	180
8.4.2. Remediating semiotic resources in advertisements.....	182
8.4.3. Appropriating localized language varieties in advertisements.....	196
8.5. Summary of chapter.....	204
CHAPTER NINE.....	206
A MULTIMODAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF HIV/AIDS MESSAGES IN POPULAR ZAMBIAN MUSIC.....	206
9.0. Introduction.....	206

9.1. Appropriation of lived socio-cultural experiences and beliefs.....	207
9.2. Remodelling traditional culture	215
9.3. Reframing the practice of traditional healing.....	218
9.4. Remediation of traditional artefacts and social practices.....	224
9.5. Summary of chapter.....	225
TOWARDS A PARADIGM SHIFT IN SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDIES.....	227
10.0. Introduction.....	227
10.1. Contesting language as autonomous and bounded system	228
10.2. Deconstructing language borders.....	233
10.3. Re-assessing the concepts of bilingualism and multilingualism.....	234
10.4. Reviewing the notion of language domains.....	236
10.5. Re-examining the notions of community of speakers and identity.....	237
10.6. Metrolingualism versus Lusaka urban language practices.....	239
10.7. Is it languaging, translanguaging or polylinguaging?	240
10.8. The impact of the study findings on language policies in education	241
10.9. Summary of chapter.....	242
CHAPTER ELEVEN.....	244
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	244
11.0. Introduction.....	244
11.1. The research aim and objectives	244
11.2. Summary of research findings	245
11.3. Contribution to the field of study.....	250
11.4. Limitations of the study	251
REFERENCES	254

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Contrasts between formalist and functionalist paradigms based on Hymes (1974)	22
Table 2: Contrasts between formalist and functionalist paradigms based on Leech (1983)	23
Table 3: Transcription key	113
Table 4: A combination of data from different news blogs	168
Table 5: Some common non-standard spellings culminating into a norm in English	177



LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Triangulation of different qualitative research methods	100
Figure 2: The data analysis process (adapted from Seidel, 1998)	105
Figure 3: An MTN print in Lusaka promoting a tariff plan <i>Talk4Eva</i>	181
Figure 4: MTN ad promoting <i>Xtra time</i> tariff plan in Zambia	183
Figure 5: Football player making a phone call	186
Figure 6: Player being interrupted by the coach and referee	186
Figure 7: Coach and referee accompanying the player	187
Figure 8: Coach and player in desperation of airtime while referee looks at his watch	188
Figure 9: Coach requesting for 'xtra time' from the referee	189
Figure 10: Referee blows the whistle	189
Figure 11: Referee awards 15 minutes 'xtra time'	190
Figure 12: Accompanying text on TV screen and the player meeting the lady	191
Figure 13: Other accompanying text on TV screen	191
Figure 14: MTN brand colour and logo	192
Figure 15: Airtel's advertisement promoting <i>siliza rescue plan</i>	192
Figure 15: Airtel's advertisement promoting <i>siliza rescue plan</i>	194
Figure 16: Airtel's advertisement promoting <i>itebete</i>	196
Figure 17: Zamtel advertisement promoting <i>double tobela</i> competition	199
Figure 18: Airtel's advertisement promoting <i>beula nafuti</i>	200
Figure 19: MTN <i>mbasela</i> advertisement	202
Figure 20: Airtel Zambia's advertisements promoting their services	203

Figure 21: Children playing football	220
Figure 22: Couple helping a sick man his way to consult a witchdoctor	220
Figure 23: Couple paying consultation fee to the witchdoctor	221
Figure 24: Patient being attended to by conventional doctors	221
Figure 25: Singer seen scavenging on garbage	222



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- CA Conversational Analysis
CSO Central Statistics Office (Zambia)
Lit. Literal
MDA Multimodal Discourse Analysis



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0. General

This chapter introduces the study: *Mobility, Identity and Localization of Language in Multilingual Contexts of Urban Lusaka, Zambia*. The study is motivated out of an interest in the ways in which speakers use language in different social settings of urban Lusaka. Particularly, the focus is on how Lusaka speakers creatively use language as localized social practice in their daily interactions to communicate and to stylize their modern identities. Therefore, an examination of speakers' language practices as determined in casual/formal conversations, popular Zambian music, selected online discourses and advertisements is made.

This first chapter introduces the study in general by providing a brief sociolinguistic account of Zambia and that of Lusaka urban in particular. In addition, the chapter provides the aim, objectives, rationale, statement of the problem and a section on the organization of the thesis.

1.1. The sociolinguistic background of Zambia

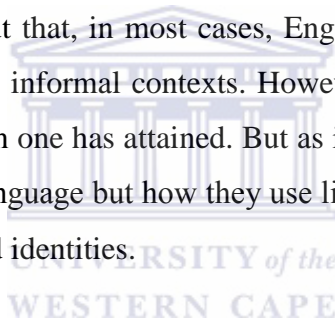
Zambia lies in the innermost part of Central Africa. It got its name from the Zambezi River, one of the largest rivers in Africa. The country shares borders with the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) to the north, with Tanzania, Malawi and Mozambique to the east, with Zimbabwe, Botswana, Namibia in the South, and with Angola in the west. It is a landlocked country because it has no direct access to the sea. According to the census of the year 2010, Zambia has approximately 14 million people (Central Statistics office (henceforth CSO) 2010) who speak different languages, most of which belong to the Bantu language family. These Bantu languages

are said to have become widely spoken in sub-Saharan Africa around 300 BC and the present day Bantu languages are the result of several linguistic developments which culminated into the languages spoken today through gradual processes which include migration, language contact and language shift over the last two millennia (Lutz & Kula 2008).

The subject of language in Zambia is a sensitive one owing to the fact that languages in this country, like in many African countries, are erroneously equated to ethnic groupings. This tends to evoke an unnecessary rivalry among ethnic groups which speak particular languages assumed to belong to certain groups of people (Banda 2010). Therefore, the mention of language in Zambia immediately evokes deep rooted ethnic-related emotions and political differences which sometimes pose a threat to national unity (cf. Posner 2005). Owing to this misconception, it is not rare to find school textbooks record 73 languages, a number that equates the 73 ethnic groupings found in Zambia. Nevertheless, studies have shown that there are fewer than 73 languages (estimated between 20 to 26 languages) spoken in Zambia. In a survey conducted by Ohannessian and Kashoki (1978), they distinguish 83 varieties (that exclude European, Indian and Khoisan languages) which are grouped based on lexical and grammatical similarities and on mutual intelligibility into 26 dialect clusters or 'languages'.

In addition to the 26 clusters of indigenous Bantu languages, the 1978 survey noted European and Asian languages spoken in Zambia, in particular English which is the official language as well as Gujarati as spoken by most Indian business people, Italian, German, Hindi, French, Urdu and Portuguese. The same survey noted small numbers of Khoe-San speakers live in western Zambia having fled from civil strife in neighboring Angola numbering approximately 300-400 speakers (Lutz & Kula 2008). However, in terms of government recognition, the 26 languages have been clustered along the seven regional lingua francas by mere pronouncement and these include Bemba, Kaonde, Lozi, Lunda, Luvale, Nyanja and Tonga. Zambia is divided into ten administrative provinces each of which has been designated one of the seven languages, except for North Western province which has three. Bemba is the regional language for the Copperbelt, Luapula, Northern and some parts of Muchinga and Central provinces; Nyanja is designated for

Lusaka and Eastern provinces while Tonga for the Southern and parts of Central provinces; Lozi for the Western province and Lunda, Kaonde and Luvale for the North-Western province. These languages are used on the national broadcaster, some community radio stations across the country as well as in some selected government documents (Nkolola-Wakumelo 2010a). They are also taught in selected high schools as optional subjects (Mambwe 2010). However, these languages are not enshrined in the republican constitution as languages of official business apart from English which is the only officially sanctioned language (Simwinga 2006; -Nkolola-Wakumelo 2010a). This lack of presence in the constitution has been viewed by many as a way of undermining local languages. However, even if Bemba and Nyanja are reported to be widely spoken in the country, English is spoken as a lingua franca across the country by a number of people especially among the educated or those that have passed through the school system (seeKashoki 2009; CSO 2000). It is therefore an important aspect of the linguistic dispensation of Zambia. It has to be pointed out that, in most cases, English is used side by side with other local languages especially in some informal contexts. However, it is spoken in varying degrees depending on the level of education one has attained. But as it will be clear, the idea is not about speakers' proficiency in a given language but how they use linguistic resources available in their repertoire to construct meaning and identities.



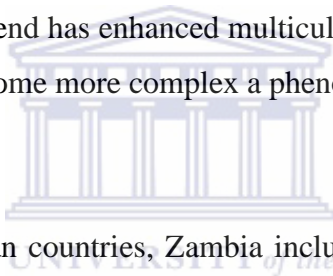
From the foregoing, it is clear that the sociolinguistic account of Zambia has been influenced by the nation-state and formalist language ideologies in which language is viewed as an autonomous system, a count, which directly corresponds to particular groups of people and that it has specific grammatical and lexical forms (this is elaborated on in Chapter Two). However, it is also clear that the language situation in Zambia is a complex one due to the presence of speakers with diverse linguistic backgrounds. It is in actual fact difficult to say who speaks what language in Zambia due to the manner in which speakers tend to combine linguistic forms from multiple sources. On the basis of this, one is made to argue that no one urban area of Zambia is exclusively monolingual as most citizens are, at least, able to speak or understand two or more languages from a formalist and nation-state ideological perspective (cf. Mc Laughlin 2009). Nevertheless, there are differences in terms of language practices due to a number of factors. For example, the diversity of language practices among rural people might be lower than those

among urban dwellers and some of the reasons may include: (1) most rural areas of Zambia are sparsely populated thus low levels of linguistic contact which in turn would enhance diversity in terms of language practices; (2) there is a low level of urban –rural drift which would further enhance diversity; and (3) most rural dwellers tend to be 'closed up' with regard to exposure to the outside world implying that their linguistic repertoire is limited. Conversely, the language practices of urban dwellers are more complex because these speakers tend to be mobile, willing to adapt to new environments and drawing on linguistic resources from multiple sources for survival purposes. Besides, they are also highly exposed to the outside world. This is what makes a study on urban language practices an interesting endeavor. It is in this regard that, the current researcher found it appealing to consider language practices of speakers in modern Lusaka as such presented interesting ways in which speakers creatively manipulated their extended linguistic repertoire to communicate and stylize their multiple modern identities.

1.2. Situating the study: The languages of Lusaka

Lusaka has been an administrative capital of Zambia from colonial times to date. At present, it can further be described as a business hub of the country as it is a hive of most industrial and commercial activities. With an estimated population of 2.1 million people (CSO 2010), Lusaka is not only a highly urbanized city in Zambia but also one of Africa's most urbanized cities (Banda 2010). To most Zambians, it is 'the ultimate' city in the country which promises better job and business opportunities than any other place. Therefore, thousands of people from different parts of the country migrated to Lusaka in search for employment and business opportunities. Its population began increasing in the late 1990s following the collapse of the mining industry on the Copperbelt province of Zambia which resulted in thousands of people losing employment and other business opportunities (Banda & Bellonjegele 2010). The only hope for a better life for most of the retrenched Copperbelt people was and is still seen to lie in Lusaka. However, this influx of people has not only involved Zambian nationals but has also involved foreigners migrating from different countries such the Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Angola, Burundi, China, India, Lebanon, Pakistan, Egypt, to mention but a few, who have come for

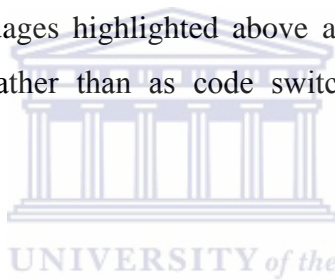
business and employment opportunities in the Capital. The burgeoning population of Lusaka has brought with it many social and economic changes in the city, some positive and others negative. For example, on one hand, conducting business in Lusaka could be described as a profitable venture for some types of businesses, especially in the food industry. On the other hand, inadequate infrastructure in many sectors of social life such as housing, water and electricity, roads and public transport, health facilities and so on, make life for many urban dwellers a nightmare. This has resulted in all forms of adaptations in the practice of everyday life. Thus, as Mc Laughlin (2009:2) puts it: “the many unique, creative, and often brilliant cultural adaptations to urban life that are applauded in contemporary scholarship on the African city are, it must be recognized, created more often out of necessity than choice”. It is not surprising then to note that the influx of people in the city has contributed to major linguistic diversity as well as broadening of the communicative repertoire from which speakers draw linguistic resources in their daily interactions. By implication, this trend has enhanced multiculturalism and in particular, linguistic creativity which has inevitably become more complex a phenomenon than ever before in Lusaka.



Linguistic diversity in most African countries, Zambia inclusive, has been the norm of life for ages except that currently it is taking a new dimension considering globalization, technological developments in communication, shifting populations, social upheavals, diseases, easy and improved accessibility to new media (Banda & Bellonjengele 2010; Higgins 2009;; Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006). Most, if not all, major cities in Africa have more than two languages spoken by members of different ethnic backgrounds besides ex-colonial languages (cf. Banda & Bellonjengele 2010; Higgins 2009; Mc Laughlin 2009). Nonetheless, as it will be demonstrated in this study, speakers in urban settings of Lusaka do not use language as it has been understood in formal/structuralist linguistics, that is, as a single coded entity, but rather that they use an amalgam of languages to construct meaning and stylize identities (Makoni *et al.* 2010, Higgins 2009). Like many urban cities across Africa where diverse language practices are the norm, Lusaka has not been spared either. As already noted, there are several languages spoken in the city with Nyanja being the (major) lingua franca and recently Bemba which has also become one of the main languages of the city (Kashoki 1972; Siachitema 1991; Chisanga 2002; Mambwe 2010). It is worth mentioning that even though Bemba and Nyanja are said to be the main

languages of Lusaka city they are usually not used as distinct languages (this is elaborated on in subsequent chapters). Besides, there are other languages that are found in the repertoire of urban speakers; these include, Tonga, Lozi, Nsenga, Lamba, to mention but a few.

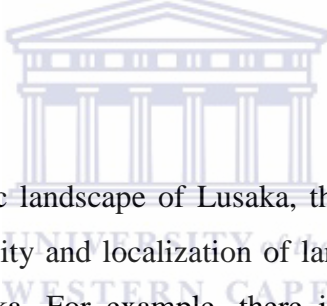
Besides, Nyanja and Bemba being said to be the main languages of Lusaka city, English is also predominant. This is primarily so because of the official language status that it enjoys as well as the social and economic benefits it promises to speakers. Thus, apart from it being used for formal business, English is in fact being used as part of the urban vernaculars by most speakers. This is in line with the observation made by Higgins (2009:2) who points out that “for many multilinguals [in Africa] English is a component of ‘urban vernaculars’”. Therefore, in any study of this nature, English should be considered as part of the overall linguistic practices of the urban speakers and that the languages highlighted above are all being used in ways that are “better described as amalgams rather than as code switches between languages” (Higgins 2009:2).



The manner in which these amalgams are being used has resulted into a new outlook of the linguistic landscape of Lusaka where the urban population has become more linguistically diverse than ever before. In this regard, speakers passively or actively develop linguistic strategies for using this linguistic repertoire at their disposal for aesthetic and communicative effect. Therefore, the main research question that the study addresses, relates to how Lusaka urban dwellers use language not as a single coded entity but as amalgams to communicate and stylize their multiple identities in modern Lusaka. In turn, the question relates to how urbanites use language as localized social practice to maintain, transform and reproduce social structures/roles and identities in modern Lusaka.

1.3. Statement of the problem

With increasing urbanization coupled with technological advancements, Zambia continues to experience substantial changes in its linguistic landscape in terms of the ways in which speakers are using their extended linguistic repertoire to communicate and stylize identities. These changes in the linguistic landscape appear to have been compounded by the rapid mobility of languages vis-à-vis population drift from one town to the other or from rural to urban areas. These developments have triggered a complex form of linguistic dispensation in the city with the majority of speakers being able to creatively use and manipulate language resources from multiple sources in their daily interactions in new and interesting ways which in turn call for new approaches to study language practices in such social and political contexts. However, the main contention is how these speakers use language not as an autonomous system linked to homogenous ethnic groups.

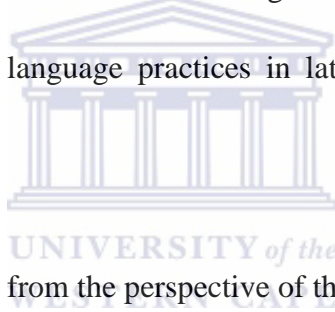


Given the changes in the linguistic landscape of Lusaka, there has been no study designed to particularly explore identity, mobility and localization of language in multilingual urban social settings within late modern Lusaka. For example, there is little or no information on how speakers use sets of linguistic resources to manage their interactions in different settings; how meaning is created through semiotic resources in advertisements; how musicians use their linguistic repertoire to compose their lyrics and combine them with other semiotics. Considering late modernity and globalization, a comprehensive study was needed to explore how Zambians exploited linguistic resources at their disposal to creatively and stylistically manage their general interactions in Lusaka and how this in turn is used to enact and (re)construct translocal identities with global appeal.

1.4. Aim and objectives of the study

The main aim of the study is to explore language as localized social practice in Lusaka and the specific objectives are to:

- i. Assess how speakers use language as localized social practice to create social meaning in late modern settings of Lusaka in their daily social encounters;
- ii. Investigate ways in which speakers use their extended linguistic repertoires to stylize modern identities by dissolving linguistic boundaries;
- iii. Examine the nature of language in late modern settings of Lusaka;
- iv. Establish the extent to which language practices in late modern Lusaka affect dominant language ideologies.



The above objectives are examined from the perspective of the following:

- (a) Music lyrics;
- (b) Spontaneous conversations;
- (c) Online discourses from local internet blogs;
- (d) Selected print advertisements;

Ultimately, the idea is to explore identity, mobility and localization of language and other social semiotics across different modalities in late modern contexts and practices of Lusaka.

1.5. Research questions

Based on the above objectives, the study sets out to answer the following research questions:

- a. How do speakers use localized repertoires to create social meaning in their daily social encounters?
- b. How do speakers use their extended linguistic repertoires to stylize modern identities in late modern settings of Lusaka by dissolving linguistic boundaries?
- c. What is the nature of language in late modern settings of Lusaka?
- d. To what extent do current language practices in late modern Lusaka affect dominant language ideologies?

1.6. Rationale of study

Multilingualism as social practice has been construed as a new language phenomenon in Africa in general and Zambia in particular but yet it has been the way of life for many Africans from time immemorial (cf. Banda 2009; Trudell 2009). In areas where this linguistic phenomenon has been studied, the approaches have tended to orient toward theory that does not give a comprehensive account to the ways in which speakers use language in late modern settings of Africa. This study is significant because it perceives language as localized practice (Pennycook 2010; Heller 2007) by examining how speakers creatively manipulate language to form social meaning and construct multiple identities. Furthermore, the study shows how speakers' use of the localized repertoires effectively dissolves the assumed linguistic borders between languages which in turn challenge the dominant ideological views about language today. In doing this, the study adds new insights to the growing body of knowledge in this new area of sociolinguistics from the Zambian perspective and Africa in general. In addition, since most studies conducted on multilingualism across the world have not only oriented their analysis towards code-based theories, they have also been focused on migrant communities in the West, in circumstances that clearly present different linguistic landscapes from most parts of Africa (cf. Blackledge & Creese

2010), the findings of this study adds substantial knowledge to the general understanding of the nature of language practices in Africa.

Due to the fact that Lusaka is one of the most highly urbanized cities in Africa and thus an epitome of a cosmopolitan city in Africa, the findings of the study may not only reflect the nature of language as social practice in Zambia but may also reflect language contexts of other African countries. This is important as it sets a new theoretical base for other like studies in future on language as social practice. The study has thus consolidated the current theoretical wave on 'multilingualism' calling for a paradigm shift in the way in which we analyse language practices of speakers in modern settings.

In addition, investigating emerging language practices in late modern settings in Lusaka and examining how speakers' appropriate language to make meaning, stylize identities whilst contesting others, is important in helping us understand how individuals as social agents reflect social reality as they engage their linguistic repertoires in managing their daily interactions and how language as a social and local practice position users in localized settings.



1.7. Scope, limits and limitations

1.7.1. Scope and limits

The study was primarily conducted from four urban sites in Lusaka, namely, Mtendere, Kalingalinga, University of Zambia, areas around Lusaka Central Business Centre. This was necessary as it captured different types of respondents necessary for the study. In addition, the study collected data from written/print sources such as advertisements and online discussions. Audio and video data were also part of the study.

1.7.2. Limitations

The nature of this study recognizes the limits of investigating language as social practice in late modern settings of Lusaka. The fact that language practices may be influenced by many factors, that include social, political and cultural ones in a given context and at a given time, the results from this study may show some variations to other areas of Lusaka in particular and the nation in general. However, the findings of the study are still significant in providing insights in what is obtaining in other urban areas of Zambia. Firstly, the data collection exercise coincided with the national elections in the year 2011. Consequently, some respondents perceived the researcher with suspicion as they thought the researcher was looking for political information which might disadvantage some groups. This in turn might have affected the nature of data collected from respondents especially from conversations. Furthermore, there were few disruptions of appointments and change of respondents at short notice. However, due to the nature of data the researcher needed, this did not affect the study in a major way.

1.8. Organization of the thesis

In terms of organization of the thesis, the first chapter gives an overview of the study. It includes the background information that sets the context for the study in which a brief sociolinguistic background of Zambia is given and that of Lusaka. The chapter also provides the aim, specific objectives, the rationale, scope and limitations of the study. The chapter closes with a general outline of the thesis.

The second chapter reviews literature on the sociolinguistic studies in Zambia. It examines the studies that are relevant to situating the study. In particular, the chapter looks at studies on language practices in Zambia in general. Furthermore, the chapter investigates the concept of language and multilingualism as localized social practice, both past and present. The chapter also provides a brief account on the structuralist and post-structuralist accounts on language by examining the two paradigmatic differences between these schools of thought.

The third chapter is a continuation of literature review in which theoretical issues on language and identity are examined. Thus, the chapter focuses on selected studies on language and identity that include both structuralist and post-structuralist accounts on this subject. The chapter concludes with approaches to the negotiation of identities.

The fourth chapter reviews the theoretical and analytical framework used in the study. It essentially focuses on an eclectic theoretical approach taken in the study. In this regard, it considers multimodal discourse analysis and its sister theories such as resemiotization, semiotic remediation, intertextuality and conversation analysis.

The fifth chapter presents the research design and methodology used in the study. It discusses the research approach that the study used and recounts every detail of data collection and analysis that were used in the process of the entire research.

The sixth chapter is the first analysis chapter and focuses on the stylization of identities in late modern settings of Lusaka. In particular, the chapter shows how speakers in informal casual face-to-face conversations in social settings of urban Lusaka stylize their multiple identities by using bits and pieces of language to dissolve the traditional linguistic boundaries through use of an extended linguistic repertoire.

Chapter 7 focuses on formal face-to-face discourses that include staff meetings, presidential briefings and radio talk. By examining how speakers use localized forms of language to perform acts of humour, role play, negotiate identities and as meaning making resources, the chapter shows how speaker's language practices challenge the dominant structural-functionalist ideology about language as a bounded unit and system. Furthermore, the chapter illustrates how speakers use localized language forms as face saving acts in their interpersonal interactions; and also

demonstrates how such forms are used for transforming traditions and modernity into hybrid scenarios which project them as either rural or urban, traditional or modern people.

Chapter 8 focuses on language practices in selected written discourses from online sources and selected advertisements. The chapter is dealt with in two parts. The first considers language practices from online sources, namely, Facebook and Zambian based news blogs; and the second considers advertisements. Given the nature of language practices in written discourses in which the writing system is the critical medium of communication, the chapter explores how writers manipulate orthography by deviating from the norms and sometimes combining non-standard and standard forms in creating meaning, constructing identities and avoiding online censorship through orthographic play. The second part of the chapter examines how language and other social semiotics are appropriated in creating new meanings and constructing consumer identities and the restrictions involved in the circulation of semiotic resources.

Chapter 9 is slight in comparison to Chapter Eight and examines data from selected Zambian popular music lyrics and videos. However, the chapter takes a bias in examining only music lyrics whose theme was on the formulation of HIV/AIDS education messages. The focus is on how musicians creatively appropriate semiotic resources in making meaning and challenging social norms in their quest to form HIV/AIDS education messages that touch on a taboo topic of sex.

Chapter 10 discusses some implications of the study on some selected sociolinguistic theories. In this regard, the chapter shows how the findings of the study are consistent with the sociolinguistic theorizing of recent scholars and how the same challenge selected recent theorizing in sociolinguistic studies and at the same time consolidating calls for a paradigm shift in current language studies.

Chapter 11 concludes the entire study by reviewing the aim, objectives and research questions that the study sets out to answer. In short, the chapter presents a summary and conclusion of the study.

1.9. Summary of chapter

This chapter has introduced the study by providing the context in which the study has been conceived. It has particularly presented a brief sociolinguistic background of Zambia and focused on the linguistic landscape of Lusaka.

Further, the chapter has pointed out that due to globalization which has enhanced the mobility of people and thus languages, Lusaka urbanites have been privileged with a rich linguistic repertoire which they are using to creatively make meaning, negotiate identities, maintain, and transform social structures.

In addition, the chapter has presented the main aim of the study and the specific objectives and research questions that guide the study. It has also provided the statement of the problem, the rationale of the study, scope and limits and the motivation of the entire research. Finally an outline of the general organization of the thesis has also been given. In the following chapter, a review of scholarly literature related to the study is presented.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0. Introduction

This chapter deals with literature review and the conceptual framework that have informed the study. The chapter is divided into three parts. The first part generally focuses on some sociolinguistic studies in Zambia and in particular, those that directly or indirectly provide some background information to the study. The second part of the chapter provides a brief account on the formalist (structuralist) and functional (poststructuralist) perspectives on language in which principle paradigms to the study of language are briefly discussed. The third part of the chapter focuses on the recent conceptualization of language as social practice. This view is a radical paradigm shift away from structuralist perspectives in which language is viewed as a homogenous system to the view that language is a result of people's social daily activities. The chapter also reviews some recent theories and metaterminologies which are aimed at providing an account of language practices in late modern societies. These include metrolingualism, languaging, translanguaging and polylinguaging.

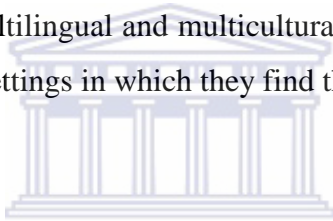
2.1. Sociolinguistic studies on Zambia

There are a few studies conducted on the sociolinguistic analysis of languages in Zambia, particularly on practices, distribution and interaction (e.g. Moody 1985). A few of these studies have focused on the interaction between Zambian languages and English and a great deal of them were conducted in the 1980s before the collapse of the copper mining industry on the Copperbelt province which was the main source of Zambia's revenue (Banda 2010). The majority of these studies focused on error analysis of isolated sentences in Zambian/English discourses. The other studies merely provided numerical data as to who speaks what and compared languages in terms of their dominance in various social domains. According to Banda

(2010) the only studies which moved away from this kind of approach were those by Moody (1985) and Chishimba (1985). Moody's study is referred to in subsequent sections of the chapter.

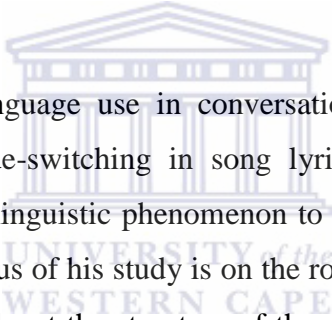
Some of the notable studies that have looked at the interaction of a Zambian language and English include Kashoki's study on Town and rural Bemba. In his study on Town Bemba, Kashoki (1972) notes that Town Bemba is an urbanized version of rural Bemba. He illustrates how speakers of this variant stylistically incorporate foreign words or phrases in their speech in order to achieve special effects on their listeners, particularly to separate themselves from the rural or to enhance their social status among their audience. He contends that this mixing does not just include English but other African languages as well such as Nyanja and Kabanga (Fanagalo), a pidgin for the mining towns (at that time). In as much as his study does not go into exploring the meaning of multilingualism, his study illustrates the point that multilingualism is not a recent phenomenon in Zambia (cf. Banda 2009), especially in the urban cities, as people have been using it as a resource for communication and as a way for expressing and constructing different social identities (cf. Trudell 2009). This is supported by Spitulnik (1999) who states that Town Bemba expresses urban identities of various social groups of people from the low class to sophisticated business individuals and the upper-class university students. She further adds that the different registers that constitute Town Bemba such as street Town Bemba, an elite Town Bemba, a smooth Town Bemba and every day Town Bemba have strong links with the notions of modern urban life as opposed to the traditional village life. The point being made is that multilingualism has been a part of the lives of city people or indeed of different groups of people living and working together. In such scenarios, there is always need to communicate with one another. This need and demand for communication with other speech communities is what determines multilingualism (cf. Ouane 2009a, 2009b). Multilingualism is therefore a norm in such communities, as Banda (2009:108) argues: "...in multilingual contexts of Africa, people use linguistic repertoires rather than drawing on a singular monolingual system to communicate and to perform different identity options, including hybrid ones". This is elaborated on in subsequent sections of the chapter.

In this regard, in their study, Banda and Bellonjengele (2010) demonstrate how Zambians stylistically (re)construct the linguistic representations to codify their multilingual and multicultural experiences and African identities through online based encounters. Using web-based data on current news stories in Zambia from different sites, they further show, how Zambians use the extended 'code' repertoire in the sense that include hybrid 'code' to perform social roles and identities (urban, rural, modern, hybrid) in changing multilingual discourses. They argue that the mixed 'codes', that include, English, urban and rural vernaculars reflect the 'code' repertoire available to a community of practice with which they use to construct multilingual discourses. The study further illustrates how Zambian speakers are able to tap into diverse cultural attributes by switching from rural/urban forms of Zambian languages and at the same time producing hybrid forms. Their study is particularly relevant to the current one in that it partially focuses on how Lusaka urbanite multilinguals are constantly using their linguistic representations to express their multilingual and multicultural experiences and identities in post-modern Zambia in various social settings in which they find themselves.



In another related study, Nkolola-Wakumelo (2010b) reports that there has been an emergence of different forms of communication by different social groups in Zambia as a result of a shift to urban vernaculars as opposed to rural ones. She particularly focuses on how “call boys” and mini-bus drivers have developed a form of communication as they interact amongst themselves. Her study provides further insights as to how a particular social group within multilingual Zambia creatively uses their linguistic resources to communicate and to provide them with an identity. Nkolola-Wakumelo (2010) further claims that this form of communication that has developed is more than code-switching and that it is in fact a hybrid form of language as it constitutes diverse elements from different sources which have a composite linguistic nature (cf. Moody 1985; Banda 2009, 2010). She adds that the discourse has appropriated lexical items from other languages whose orientation has been extended, reinvented, adapted or changed to assume varied meanings (see also Banda 2010). Her study is equally relevant to the current one in that it helps us appreciate the new dimensions that multilingualism in urban Lusaka is giving rise to, that of hybrid languages on one hand and new social identities on the other.

However, Nkolola-Wakumelo's study focuses much on the types of lexicon used by "bus conductors" and min-bus drivers, their origin and their probable meanings and how these provide the interactants with a social identity. This current study examines data on casual/formal conversations from different social groups as well as data from different modes of communication in urban Lusaka in order to explore how language as localized social practice provides interactants with voice and agency in different social settings and how this in turn provides them a resource to negotiate role structure and hybrid social identities. Unlike Nkolola-Wakumelo's, this study does not give preeminence to types of lexicon and their etymologies as they occur in their hybrid forms but rather it focuses on how these forms of language come about as people interact.



In addition to the changes in language use in conversations, Mambwe (2009) reports that multilingualism has triggered code-switching in song lyrics in popular music as well. He illustrates how musicians use this linguistic phenomenon to creatively compose their songs (cf. Banda 2011). Nevertheless, the focus of his study is on the role and the form that code switching takes in music. He particularly looks at the structure of the songs and the place where the code switches occur and as well as their particular roles. In as much as the study provides some insight as to how Lusaka speakers are taking advantage of their linguistic repertoire in using it in different social settings and modes, it does not go further to highlighting the different identities and social roles that language mixing in these songs enact and how the perceived identities in these songs are performed. The current study explores how language as social practice is being used as a resource to negotiate identities and how the resultant identities are represented in popular Zambian music. It furthermore seeks to highlight the various intercultural (local) references that are made in some Zambian music and how these provide a further illustration of how multilingualism helps us understand the social nature and role of language(s) spoken in Lusaka. These languages include Nyanja, Bemba and English.

There is no doubt that because of Zambia's colonial past; English is one of the major elements in its multilingual landscape. The problem however is that English is mostly analysed from 'centre' norms rather than in localized contexts in which it is used by former colonial countries (cf. Banda 1996; Higgins 2009). In a recent study, Pennycook (2010:74) has also questioned this approach. He claims that:

[r]ather than attempting to sort out the local from the derived - the constant comparison between the peripheral and metropolitan forms of English [or any language] we need to consider what language users do with English [language], how they understand its relationship to their own condition, and what new meanings are generated by its use.

In this regard, language and multilingualism are viewed as social practice (I elaborate on this below) in which people use sets of linguistic resources rather than single languages in meaning making in different social contexts. Therefore, in the Zambian case, in order to understand the nature of language and multilingualism and the actual language practices of the people, English should be one of the key elements in any study on multilingualism. This is because of the localized functions that the language has taken in the lives of the majority urbanites.

Pennycook's argument is evident in Moody's (1985) "Zambians Talking: Twenty Five English conversations", which looks at how Zambians use English by considering natural conversations. Moody contends that because of the nature or ways in which English is being used in Zambia, it is close to becoming a vernacular in that it was once seen as being used in (low) domains and situations in which a Zambian language would have been exclusively used then than it is now. In a related study, Higgins (2009) describes the situation and use of English in Tanzania in a book aptly entitled *English as a local language* which is referred to in subsequent sections of the chapter. Moody (1985) further observes that the majority of Zambians have at least two ways of expressing themselves in their speech repertoire as they command more than one language. He further puts it that:

These Zambians possess two verbal repertoires...a compartmentalized one, in which the languages are kept as distinct in "isogloss bundles", and a fluid one, in which

transitioning between adjoining codes in a single conversation are gradual, one moving into another (Moody 1985:40).

In addition, Moody (1985) contends that, the fact that two or more languages are used in the same conversation illustrates that these languages are not perceived by the speakers themselves as, at least in so far as the act of communication is concerned, different or distinct entities but, rather, as “constituent elements of one integrated system” (Moody 1985:41). However, it can be argued that the 'compartmentalization of languages' that Moody refers to above, in which the former involves keeping languages as distinct in “isogloss bundles” is now questionable in post-modern Lusaka. The latter appears to be the reality as the study will illustrate in subsequent chapters.

Moody further accentuates that the fact that there is an existence of different languages as codes within the same system advantages Zambian speakers as they are provided with a wider speech repertoire and greater meaning potential than would be available to them if they made use of only a single language. He observes that the speakers show themselves to be “flexible, subtle and creative conversationalists” (Moody 1985:179) in their ability to code-switch between languages, the rules for which are determined by the interaction itself (cf. Banda 2005). The study draws to a conclusion that Zambians are creatively using their linguistic diversity to their advantage rather than disadvantage by way of mixing them during their interactions. However, the issue in Moody's account lies in the manner he conceives language, that is, as a code. This is a view this study contests as will be demonstrated in subsequent chapters of the thesis.

As has been pointed out, Moody's study was conducted in 1980s and analyzed casual conversations in selected domains of that time. Given the long time that has elapsed and the complexity of multilingual situation in Zambia today, the current study sets to explore further the recent discourses in view of rapid social transformation and technological advancement. Moreover, the study considers other semiotics not covered in Moody's study. This is important because it provides new insights on the nature of language practices in urban Lusaka given

current global changes. In this regard, Banda and Bellonjengele (2010:109) state that, "...the new global dispensation, including the onset of information technology have...influenced the kind of interactions and the way Zambians use their multilingual repertoire." This current study ventured into these 'new forms' of interactions in order to understand current language practices of Lusaka urbanites in light of the ever globalizing world triggered by technological development in communication and rapid demographic mobility.

Lutz and Kula's (2008) study, provides some further insights as to how language has become an important ingredient to enacting national identity of Zambians. Their study specifically demonstrates how Zambia as a multilingual country has the majority of speakers who have more than one language in their linguistic repertoire for communication and for ethnic and linguistic identities (cf. Banda 2009). Lutz and Kula's (2008) main point advanced is that the specific patterns of multilingualism in Zambia involving all the languages, to some varying extent, and with particular status of national languages as major regional languages (Bemba, English and Nyanja) are jointly constitutive of Zambia's contemporary national identity. Lutz and Kula's study equally offers some insights to the current study in that it also focuses on issues of identity and language. However, their view on language appears to be largely informed by formalist ideologies to language, a view that this current study problematizes (I elaborate more on this below). Apart from an example where musicians have been singled out as being among the people that deploy multilingualism as a resource; their study, probably because of its nature, does not provide concrete situations to demonstrate how linguistic resources in modern settings of Zambia are creatively exploited. In addition, the study does not show how multilinguals actively negotiate their identities through their linguistic practices, and thus suggesting that languages provide people with an identity as if it were fixed. In this study, identity will not be assumed a priori but rather the study seeks to understand ways in which people actively stylize these identities in different social contexts in the process of interacting with others through linguistic choices. In other words, the study sees identity as emanating from people's interactions (see Blackledge & Creese 2010; Blackledge & Pavlenko 2004; Banda 2005; Dyer 2007; Johnstone 2008; Heller 2007). Nevertheless, in order to understand this kind of language theorizing, a brief

account on structuralist and poststructuralist perspectives to language. Later, the conceptualization of language as social practice is discussed.

2.2. A brief account on structuralist and post-structuralist perspectives on language

The history of linguistics has been characterized by two main streams, the formalist or structuralist (e.g. Saussure and Chomsky) and functionalist (post-structuralism) (e.g. Halliday). These two paradigms have influenced how linguists today view language. Hymes (1974:79) provides some contrasts between formalist and functionalist paradigms or perspectives to the study of language as presented in the table below:

Table 1: Contrasts between formalist and functionalist paradigms based on Hymes (1974)

“Structural”	“functional”
Structure of language (code) as grammar	Structure of speech (act, event) as ways of speaking
Use of merely implements perhaps, may correlate with, what is analysed as code; analysis of code prior to analysis of use	Analysis of use prior to analysis of code; organization of use discloses additional features; shows code and use in integral (dialectal) relation
Referential function, fully semanticised uses as norm	Gamut of stylistic or social functions
Elements and structures analytically arbitrary (in cross-cultural or historical perspective) universal (in theoretical perspective)	Elements and structures as ethnographically appropriate (“psychiatrically” in Sapir’s sense)
Functional (adaptive) equivalence of languages; all languages essentially (potentially) equal	Functional (adaptive) differential of languages, varieties, styles; these being existentially (actually) not necessary equivalent
Single homogenous code and community (“replication of uniformity”)	Speech community as matrix of code-repertoires, or speech styles (“organization of diversity”)
Fundamental concepts, such as speech community, speech act, fluent speaker, functions of speech and of languages, taken for granted or arbitrarily postulated	Fundamental concepts as problematic and to be investigated

From Table 1 it is clear that the two linguistic paradigms have considerable differences in the manner they view language and this in turn affects how language is studied. Furthermore, Leech (1983:46) also suggests other (but slightly similar) ways in which formalism and functionalism are associated with the differences in their view of language as in Table 2 below:

Table 2: Contrasts between formalist and functionalist paradigms based on Leech (1983:46)

Structrualist view	Functionalist view
Formalists (e.g. Chomsky) tend to view language as primarily a mental phenomenon	Functionalists (e.g. Halliday) tend to regard it as primarily a societal phenomenon
Formalists tend to explain linguistic universals as deriving from a common genetic linguistic inheritance of the human species.	Functionalists tend to explain them as deriving from the universality of the uses to which language is put in human society.
Formalists are inclined to explain children's acquisition in terms of a built-in capacity in humans to learn a language.	Functionalists are inclined to explain it in terms of the child's development of communicative needs and abilities in society.
Above all, formalists study language as an autonomous system.	Functionalists study it in relation to its functions.

From the two sets of contrasts provided in the tables above, it is clear that the two paradigms influence the approaches to the study of language. For example, in the traditional accounts of linguistics, language is seen as a system(s) of communication which we use in different contexts. It is viewed as the autonomy of the system from its environments. From this perspective, the centre of linguistic thinking has focused on form, whether sound (phonology) or the forms of a larger level structure (syntax) and so on (Kress 2001). However, in post-modern linguistic thinking, there has been a shift towards conceptualizing language as related to the social and emphasizing the importance of function over form (see Eggins 2004; Eggins & Slade 1997; Halliday 1994). This has generally been dealt with under a branch of linguistics called

sociolinguistics. In this regard, the history of sociolinguistics would be viewed as the beginning point of a shift from a position in which language is seen as an homogenous system, discrete from the social, towards an insistence on the shaping significance of the social and the close link between the linguistic and the social (Kress 2001). Consequently, the field of sociolinguistics has tended to move away from the abstraction to a focus and fine-grained analysis of what is going on. It has attempted to reintegrate the linguistic with the social, a shift away from the notion of language as an autonomous linguistic system. In the sections that follow, I discuss some recent sociolinguistic conceptualization of language and multilingualism as social practice which essentially builds up on the functionalist perspectives to language.

2.3. Language as social practice

The recent shift in sociolinguistic thinking has seen a new dimension in the conceptualization of language. The principle argument in this paradigm being that language is not a bounded system but rather it is a social practice (Pennycook 2007, 2010; Heller 2007; Garcíá 2009; Blommaert 2009; Makoni & Pennycook 2007). This argument has aptly been developed in Pennycook's (2010) *Language as Local Practice* in which he rightly opposes the traditional conceptualization of language as an autonomous system. Pennycook (2010) asserts that language should be viewed as a local practice that is a direct result of social and cultural activities in which people participate. He looks at locality in its complex manifestations as place whereas practice is viewed as "mediated social activity" (Pennycook 2010:1). He thus supports a paradigm shift away from broad generalizations about language, discourse and society towards local activity as part of daily life. Thus, Pennycook (2010) argues that, to talk of language as a local practice is beyond talking about language use (practice) in context (locality) (see also Heller 2007). In this respect, this study loosely uses the notion of 'language use' for illustrative purposes only and not to suggest that it is a thing that can be taken up and put to some use.

Furthermore, Pennycook contends that to think of practices is to make social activity central by asking ourselves as to why we do things as we do, how activities are established, regulated and transformed. Therefore, practices should not be restricted to the things we do but to “bundles of activities that are central to social life” (Pennycook 2010:2). This follows then that the idea of language as a system is contested by the notion of language as doing. This further means that language is an activity, that is, a central organizing activity that people engage with. Thus, Pennycook (2010:9) asserts, “to talk of language practices is to move away from attempts to capture language as a system and instead to explore the doing of language as social activity, regulated as much by social contexts as by underlying systems” (cf. Higgins 2009). Pennycook (2010) further contends that what people do with language in a given context or place is a consequence of their interpretation of that place. He argues that people remake language and space as they interact with their physical, institutional, social and cultural spaces (cf. Makoni & Pennycook 2007; Creese & Blackledge 2010). In addition, he points out that to view language as practice is to look at language structure as deriving from repeated activity.

The point being made is that language cannot be understood outside the realm of practice. On this account, Canagarajah (2006) points out that lingua franca English does not exist as a system but is constantly brought into being in every context of communication. Pennycook (2010) continues by pointing out that in order to understand language, we need to understand local meanings of language which must be embedded in local ways of thinking. His arguments are contesting several notions of language. For example, in addition to opposing the notion of language as a pre-given entity, Canagaraja (2006) asserts that if language is viewed as action and as part of how places are constructed, how meaning of places is transformed or reinforced it implies that the notion of language and locality cannot be sufficiently catered for by the notion of language in context (cf. Makoni & Pennycook 2007). Accordingly, language is seen as part of diverse social activity and practices are the main ways in which social activity is organized. Language practices as part of these sets of practices, plays a key role in the daily social organization. Viewing language in this manner further questions what is meant by language and what is meant by context. In this respect, Pennycook aptly summarizes the idea of language as a practice in this way:

[to] look at language as a practice is to view language as an activity rather than a structure, as something we do rather than a system we draw on, as a material part of social and cultural life rather than an abstract entity(Pennycook 2010:2).

To add to this theorizing, Banda (2010) states that to look at language as social practice is to view it as not bound by rigid forms or inflexible hegemonic systems. Similar to Pennycook's theorizing, Heller (2007:15) views language as:

Sets of resources called into play by social actors, under social and historical conditions which both constrain and make possible the social reproductions of existing conventions and relations, as well as the production of new ones.

In Heller's account, language is not only viewed as social practice but as a resource (cf. Blackledge & Creese 2010; Harris 2007; Banda 2010; Schatzki 2001; Rampton 2006). This conceptualization of language as a resource enables us to move beyond language boundaries and place individuals at the centre of analysis. It follows that this study is largely modeled on Heller's (2007) and Pennycook's (2010) conceptualization of language as social practice. Therefore, in this study, language is viewed as emerging from interlocutors' interactions and that it is shaped by what the speakers do with it. This implies that language does not dictate how it should be used but speakers use it in whatever manner they deem it fit to meet various social and communicative roles.

A focus on language practices is fundamental in our understanding of language as it shifts the focus from language as autonomous system that pre-exists its use and competence as an internal capacity that accounts for language production (e.g. Chomsky) towards an understanding of language "as a product of the embodied social practices that brings it about" (Pennycook, 2010:9). In this regard, Schatzki (2001), argues that to view language as a practice requires us to move away from both the structuralist focus on concrete system or structure and the abstract

post-structuralist focus on discourse. Nonetheless, Schatzki (2001), like other scholars before him, does not suggest how this could possibly be accomplished despite his argument being in tandem with contemporary linguistic theorizing.

In line with the foregoing, Makoni and Pennycook's (2007:2), propose that, the "notion of languages as separate, discrete entities and countable institutions is a social construct". Makoni and Pennycook thus call for a "critical historical account that demonstrates that, through the process of classification and naming, languages were 'invented'". They further add that in direct relation with the invention of languages "an ideology of languages as separate and enumerable categories was created" (Makoni & Pennycook 2007:2). The point being made is that language cannot be viewed as discrete, bounded and impermeable homogenous or autonomous systems. Besides, Blackledge and Creese (2010:30) add that in current sociolinguistics "one 'language' "does not straightforwardly index one subject position, and that speakers use linguistic resources in complex ways to perform a range of subject positions, sometimes simultaneously" (cf. Harris 2007; Blommaert 2009). One interesting point Blackledge and Creese (2010) are making is that in as much as languages are believed to be inventions, it is important to account for what people believe about languages, listen to how they make use of their linguistic resources and furthermore, consider the effects of their language use (cf. Higgins 2009). Nonetheless, this has to be done with caution as people's beliefs about language may sometimes be influenced by popular ideologies of language, that is, nation-state and structuralist informed. In this regard, Makoni and Pennycook (2007) propose a disinvention of languages and a reinvention that recognizes heterogeneity, adding that "languages are discursive constructions which perpetuate social inequalities". In line with this, Makoni and Mashiri (2007) suggest that instead of developing language policies which view languages as entities or that systematically seal them, there is need to describe the use of vernaculars which 'leak' into one another in order to understand the social realities of the language users themselves. Makoni and Mashiri (2007) add that it is possible to change existing ideologies about language if we are to imagine alternative ways of viewing the role and status of individuals in the world. They contend that in a world where plurality is favored over singularity, rethinking concepts founded on ideas of uniformity over those predicated on diversity is fundamental. They further point out that ideologies of

nation and language are founded on homogeneity. In this kind of thinking, the emphasis is placed on the user rather than the code or language. The current study takes after Makoni, Pennycook and Mashiri's views on issues of language and its users in which the user or social actor takes a key position in the analysis of language. In this current study, I look at how people draw linguistic resources from multiple sources as they interact in different contexts of Lusaka to stylize social identities. I also asked them to say something on what they understand about their language practices.

In addition, Rampton's (2006, 1995) work on heteroglossia in urban settings among adolescents shows how individuals appropriate and invent linguistic practices to stylize their identities. In this regard, Rampton (2006:27) refers to stylization as "a particular kind of performance in which speakers produce an artistic image of another's language". In relation to this, Bakhtin (1981:362) adds that "viewing language as a styling process places the social actor at the centre of analysis". Moreover, Rampton points out that human reality is not a product of forces that actors cannot control or understand but rather that it is extensively reproduced and created anew in socially and historically specific activities of daily life.

Besides, Blackledge and Creese (2010:31) propose a constructivist approach to language which works with "the agency of a situated speaker and is interested in explaining language use as contextually embedded". This means that "bilingualism as a 'style resource' necessitates moving away from an emphasis on language and their different codes towards an account which describes the individual as engaged in meaning making and identity work" (Blackledge & Creese 2010:31). They further claim that while analysis involving code switching might emphasize on classifying languages and explaining the roles or functions that these languages play (see Meyers-Scotton 1983, 1988), a social constructivist view problematizes the notions or constructs of 'language' and 'community' and repels categorization of languages or communities into homogenous systems. In addition, Blackledge and Creese (2010:32) contend that the option to a structuralist approach "seeks to show variety through heteroglossia and stylization".

This study also follows Blackledge and Creese's constructivist approach as it emphasizes what people do with language in meaning making and identity formation. Consistent with this view, Makoni and Mashiri (2007) argue that it is necessary to pay particular attention to the perspectives of language users, instead of placing restrictions on their practices. Therefore Makoni and Mashiri recommend a move away from understanding “multilingual” speakers as proficient in two or more languages towards the notion of “verbal repertoire” that does not acknowledge competence in particular languages. They explain that:

[in] a ‘verbal repertoire’, a speaker may have control over some linguistic forms associated with different “languages”, but this does not necessarily mean that the speaker has anything approaching full competence in the language from which the speech forms are drawn (Makoni & Mashiri 2007:84).

The above proposition is particularly reflective of speakers in modern Lusaka where full proficiency or competence in one language can no longer be used to account for the language practices of an average Zambian living in Lusaka (see Banda & Bellonjengele 2010). Therefore, this study demonstrates how these urbanites use their ‘verbal repertoire’ in meaning making and negotiation of social life in different social contexts.

It is for this reason that Makoni and Mashiri (2007) insist that the concepts of ‘language’ and ‘linguistics’ have been active in supporting certain languages at the expense of others, in which particular interests of the powerful elites are served rather than the majority, and in the process creating what has been known as linguistic minorities. Additionally, Joseph (2004:44) points out that “linguists have tended to treat languages as though they were unitary entities, either ignoring variation or relegating it to a secondary plane”. Moreover, Joseph (2004) claims that the discrete systems that linguists often study co-exist with a multiplicity of different ways of speaking that are constantly intermingling with each other, a situation that resulted into Bakhtin introducing the term ‘heteroglossia’. In this regard, Heller (2007:8) adds that “utterances can best be

understood as inherently heteroglossic, that is, a multiplicity of voices underlies linguistic variability in any given stretch of social performance”. This is also a view that the current study takes as it seeks to illustrate how multiple meanings can be realised from single utterances.

In addition, Higgins’ (2009) *English as a Local Language: Post-colonial Identities and Multilingual Practices* demonstrates, not only how languages work together and are socially practiced in multilingual societies, but also on how the former colonial language, English, has been localized or used in the like-manner to local languages to meet local needs (see Canagarajah 2006). She demonstrates how multilingual speakers benefit from their multilingual repertoires within single domains of use in casual conversations at workplace, beauty pageants and popular culture such as song lyrics. She provides practical illustrations as to how multilingual speakers exploit English to produce hybridization, a mixing of different languages that co-exist within a single national language or a single group of different branches of languages. Higgins (2009) goes on to show how, in the same workplace, the disjunction between English and Swahili is used as a resource for creating humour. She states that workers can still double-identify themselves by demonstrating one’s monolingual abilities in both languages, the elite/global language of transnational English speakers and the Swangilish Tanzania. Taking after Higgins, this study shows how speakers in Lusaka in formal contexts use the 'disjunction' between English and localized forms of Zambian languages as face saving acts and for humor. Besides, Bosire (2006:192) succinctly describes the hybrid languages of Africa as follows:

[a]s outcomes that have evolved at a time when African communities are coming to terms with the colonial and post-colonial situation that included rapid urbanization and a bringing together of different ethnic communities and cultures with a concomitant exposure to different ways of being. The youth are caught up in this transition; they are children of two worlds and want a way to express this duality, this new “ethnicity”. Out of this mix, emerge new language varieties that provide the urban youth a way to break away from the old fraternities that put particular ethnic communities in particular neighborhoods/ “estates” and give them a global urban ethnicity, the urbanite: sophisticated, street smart, new generation, tough.

Bosire's (2006) statement summarizes the linguistic happenings of most urban cities in Africa, including Lusaka. The interest of the current study is to unravel how speakers, including the youth in modern Lusaka are able to use language to communicate and to construct their multiple identities.

Again, Higgins (2009) adds that the focus on emergent languages of the street brings to the centre the ways in which new varieties of languages are forged as acts of identity (cf. Nkolola-Wakumelo 2010b). In this vein, Higgins shows how East Africans exploit the heteroglossia of languages to perform modern identities. Her focus on the performative nature of language helps us to see how language and identity are produced by localizing global linguistic and cultural resources. She illustrates how English in former English colonies goes beyond connecting the local communities to the world to serving distinctively local needs and used in a number of ways as a local language amongst local people. She furthermore shows how English can serve a local sphere of material consumption through intersecting it with a sphere of global cultural production, in addition to demonstrating how localized uses of English often creatively mix genres, in this case popular music and marketing. For Makoni and Mashiri (2007) localized English is more than just English to many multilinguals, English is an element of "urban vernaculars" or ways of using language that are well described as "amalgams" other than code switches among languages.

Higgins (2009) further adds that the new 'codes' are associated with interplay of local and global cultural references in addition to the creative and skillful use of multiple languages (cf. Banda, 2011). Higgins (2009) contends that for most multilinguals such language use is part of their day to day practice. In this regard, she illustrates how West-based hip-hop has been reappropriated in Kenyan and Tanzanian rap as a way of rappers double-identifying themselves with the worldwide hip-hop community and with the local fan base by using names and lyrics that concurrently refer to the global and the local (see Banda 2011). I find this argument and illustration important for the study as it seeks to show how Zambian popular musicians draw upon linguistic resources and skillfully blend them in their composition of music. However, as it

will be clear in subsequent chapters, this study does not view the emerging linguistic forms as codes.

In addition, Higgins' study also provides a demonstration as to how a multilingual advertisement in which English has been used is symbolic of the global and at the same time reflects the local identity where the local language varieties are infused. She contends that such hybrid language practices are very powerful forms of advertising than the monologic varieties in a multilingual setting (see Kasanga 2010). Based on recent sociolinguistic thinking about language, the notion of multilingualism has in turn been influenced by the conceptualization of language as social practice, this is discussed below.

2.4. Multilingualism as local practice

The conceptualization of language as social practice has spread its tentacles of influence to the recent thinking on the notion of multilingualism in which speakers' spaces of interactions and linguistic resources are not constrained by rigid domain boundaries (Banda 2013). In this regard, Heller (2007:11) aptly argues that "the speech of bilinguals goes against the expectation that languages will neatly correspond to separate domains, and stay put where they are meant to stay put." Therefore, this study takes the position that favors multilingualism as social practice (Heller 2007) in which speakers use linguistic resources not only for communication but to perform different identities, in different contexts and for different roles and indexical values (Banda 2005; Harris 2007; Rampton 2006). Consequently, the recent thinking of multilingualism is about the new dimensions in which people access and engage their linguistic resources in different social settings. In this regard, a number of studies have attested to the creative ways in which speakers deploy linguistic resources in their social spaces, that is, in how these linguistic resources from multiple sources work together as an integrated system of communication (see Moody 1985; Heller 2007; Makoni & Pennycook 2007; Aronin & Singleton 2008; Higgins 2009; Banda 2005, 2010; Pennycook 2010). These studies have demonstrated that in postmodern ways of thinking

“sets of languages rather than single languages perform the essential function of communication, cognition and identity for individuals and global communities” (Aronin & Singleton 2008:4).

However, this practice has always been part of Africa from time immemorial. For example, it has been observed that patterns of trans-tribal commerce and trade, and the closeness and concentration of related and not-so-related dialects in many parts of Africa point to the fact that forms of multilingualism have been the norm in Africa for centuries, even before colonialism (see Banda 2010, 2009b). Thus, colonial languages such as English and French, besides the effects of globalization and global mobility, have only added another dimension to the complexity of multilingual settings of Africa. However, even if Aronin and Singleton (2008:4) contradict themselves by referring to multilingualism as a new dispensation, they in fact, support the fact that the phenomenon of multilingualism has been in existence from time immemorial except for the new dimension it has taken. This is clearly presented in this argument: “the developments of multilingualism in the world have reached a point, where in terms of scale and significance, we believe we can claim it to be assimilable to politico-economic aspects of globalization, global mobility and ‘postmodern’ modes of thinking” (Aronin & Singleton 2008:4). These developments are characteristic of the linguistic landscapes of the world in general and that of Africa in particular where multilingualism rather than monolingualism or even bilingualism, is the reality of most language contexts. Blackledge and Creese sum up the characteristics of linguistic practices in a post-modern world as follows:

Linguistic practices move as they go, taking with them old affiliations, at times shedding these affiliations and accruing new investments. In the process of movement and change, linguistic practices come to constitute a terrain for competition, a point of negotiation, a market-place where some practices are valued more highly than others and the values of certain practices changes in the new political economy (Blackledge & Creese 2010:215).

Therefore, in the current multilingual settings (of Africa and the world), global developments are producing very different forms of multilingualism with different types of speakers and

compound constructs of communities (Blackledge & Creese, 2010). In such circumstances, it is assumed that minority languages in the outer circle and languages in the centre, that is, languages of wider communication, are fusing and that the process is concurrent with the spread of transnational economies, new “ideoscapes” and new technologies and demographic mobility. Related to this, Pennycook (2010:78) questions the notion of English or any other language as “a discrete entity that is describable in terms of core and variation.” He calls for a new way of understanding language by stating that the complex situations of changing urban life is triggering fresh language mixes and possibilities which cannot be explained by the old way of grouping languages that are assumed along the lines of language location, ethnicity and culture. Heller (2007:1) supports this assertion by stating that there is need to move away from viewing bi(multi)lingualism as “bundled units of code and community to a more processual and material approach which presents language as a social practice, speakers as social constructs and boundaries as products of social action” (see Makoni & Pennycook 2007). Given the multilingual trends in Africa, multilingualism should therefore be viewed as a social practice with which people conduct their interactions and by which they assume new social identities and index their social experiences (Heller 2007). Multilingualism as a social practice in Africa also allows greater permeability of identities as it enables people to adopt and discard identities when there is need to (Prah 2010).

Given the above, Heller (2007:1) proposes a different approach to researching multilingualism which shifts away from “a highly ideological view of coexisting linguistic systems, to a more critical approach that situates language practices in social and political contexts and privileges language as social practice, speakers as social actors and boundaries as products of social action” (cf. Higgins 2009; Pennycook 2010; Banda 2010). Blackledge and Creese (2010) support this approach to multilingualism because, for them, it explains how new multilingualisms emerge, as people especially the young, create meanings with their diverse linguistic repertoires. They also state that this approach helps to see how young people including the older ones use their “eclectic array of linguistic resources to create, parody, play, contest, endorse, evaluate, challenge, tease, disrupt, bargain and otherwise negotiate their social worlds” (Creese & Blackledge 2010:25). Thus, like many recent scholars, Blackledge and Creese (2010) pursue a

social orientation to the study of linguistic phenomena and their meanings. In line with this, they take after Heller's (2007) position that proposes that instead of looking at the notions of community, identity, and language as if they were natural phenomena, we need to understand them as social constructs. This means that specific or single categorizations cannot be attached to an individual based on their ethnicity or language (cf. Blackledge & Pavlenko 2004).

Moreover, in commenting on language practices in multilingual African contexts that involve English, Higgins (2009) also recommends a new approach to exploring multilingualism involving English by shifting from linguistic approaches that focus on the local aspects of local forms of English or the effect that it has on local languages, to evolving a framework that theorizes how languages work together in multilingual communities by putting multilingual practices at the theoretical centre. She adds that because of its global status, English is a key part to the heteroglossic or multilingual landscape of East Africa [and indeed other former British colonies like Zambia]. It is in light of Higgins' argument that this study considers English as an important element in exploring language practices of urban Lusaka.



In referring to Bakhtin (1986), Higgins calls for an approach that pays attention to the ways in which forms of multilingualism are conditioned but not determined by domains of language use (see Heller 2007). That each domain conditions and is constituted by different speech genres; and that, particular linguistic aspects of each genre are shaped by a particular nature of that given sphere of communication. She illustrates this fact by comparing two different domains involved; casual conversations and beauty pageants in which a particular kind of English closer to the “centre” is expected from participants in a beauty pageant and that when it comes to other domains such as casual conversations, popular culture, local commerce, a rather different kind of Englishes and hybrid languages are allowed and given value.

In this case, Higgins (2009) uses a domain based approach to multilingualism which reveals both affordances and limitations that given contexts create for various multilingual practices. This

study obtains insights from this approach in exploring the nature of multilingual practices in Lusaka, thus it considers multilingual practices in casual conversations, written documents such as music, online discourses and print ads. This approach is fundamental in understanding what happens when language/s circulate across contexts and modalities.

Multilingualism as a social practice is also reflected in African popular music in the manner in which musicians draw upon the linguistic resources, both local and global in composing and performing their music (see Banda 2011). A study on music by Makoni, Makoni and Rosenberg (2010) focuses on language use in popular music and the politics it implies. They particularly report on music from Southern Africa including Zambia. They argue that the choice of popular music as an area of ground-level language practices is based on the premise that music as a form of social practice has multifaceted transnational links and profound historical and social roots in Africa, that permeate many aspects of African social life. They further argue that analyzing music brings out issues to do with identity and education. They illustrate how language practices in music represent an interesting area of study as they do not only provide interpretable meanings of lyrics but more significantly, they provide symbolic significance of the varieties of languages used and possible reasons for using such varieties. They argue that the choices of language used in popular music enact particular ideologies held by the musicians or songwriters and thus these discourses are a mirror of popular beliefs in the communities where the musicians and songwriters come from.

They also report on lyrics from Zambia where they state that artists such as Amayenge Band have developed a fusion of traditional musical performance with modern instrumentation reflecting hybridity not only at the level of language but also at the level of music, style and instrumentation, showing the degree to which mixing at both linguistic and musical levels is “mutually reinforcing”. They add that the use of diverse languages by these artists indicate the linguistic diversity in Zambia and the extent to which the indigenous languages are used as a resource rather than a “constraint” in the world of music. The study concludes that language practices in popular music are based on everyday language practices and their discursive

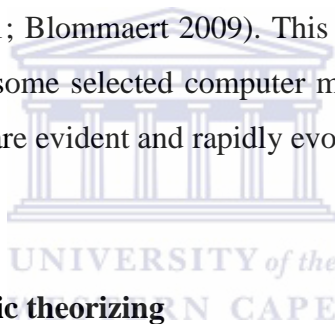
perceptions and interpretations of lived linguistic realities and that these represent both the local and global identities. Understandably, the scope of their study which encompassed musicians from the Sub-Saharan Africa was wide and thus could not sufficiently provide detailed accounts as to how popular music from Zambia represents the local and global identities. In addition, they used what one could consider “old” Zambian music samples in their analysis, for example, Shalawambe’s 1989 album and Paul Ngozi’s re-released album of the 80s which might not reflect the current multilingual practices. This study provides some account of language practices in Zambian popular music based on recent lyrics and videos in order provide new insights on linguistic practices such genres.

This study further draws some insights from Higgins’ work to illustrate how Zambians on one hand, draw from their local and global resources in their daily interactions to simultaneously convey their local and global identities and how, on the other hand, they negotiate meaning and index social experiences in their utterances. However, the fact that Zambia does not have a national local language per se, like the case of Tanzania and Kenya, the nature of the study and the outcome is slightly different. The study therefore uses a different linguistic setting from that of East Africa in as much as it acknowledges the similarities.

Like Higgins, Kasanga (2010) illustrates how advertising in DR Congo has shifted from monolingual to multilingual practices. He shows how English is used in advertisements in DR Congo, a French dominated nation. Kasanga (2010) contends that English is used by the brand-name owners to maintain their ‘intrinsic’ or ‘international corporate’ identity and that when used in French advertisements it is used to play a role of identity enhancing, ornamentation as well as brand-name keeper. He notes that other advertisers attach French tags to English brands in order to perform locality by highlighting the attachment to the local identity and in the process the advert takes on the hybrid identity. He points out that local businessmen also use local language varieties which are infused into either English or French in order to associate their products with the global identities whilst retaining the local flavor (cf. Pétery 2011). His study provides some

further context for this study which does not only consider some advertisements but also the localization of English and Zambian languages in late modern settings of Lusaka.

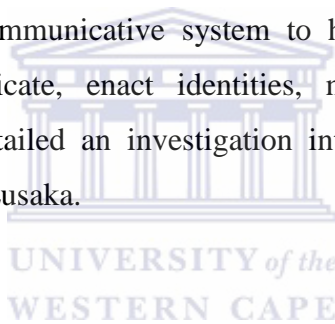
Besides, technological advancements have also enhanced the nature of communication practices of speakers. In this regard, a number of studies have focused on the description of what Herring (2001) calls computer-mediated discourse (CMD), a term that is distinguished from computer-mediated-communication (CMC) whose focus is language styles in computer communication whereas CMD concerns language and language use in online encounters (Seargeant & Tagg 2011; Sebba 2003; Crystal 2001). Studies in CMD have revealed dynamic and varied practices as well as creative mix of linguistic resources (cf. Banda & Bellonjegele 2010; Sebba 2003) which challenge the dominant ideological interpretation of the way in which language operates in society (Seargeant & Tagg 2011; Blommaert 2009). This study draws on some insights from the above studies by focusing on some selected computer mediated discourses, a linguistic site where creative language practices are evident and rapidly evolving (Seargeant & Tagg 2011).



2.5. Towards recent sociolinguistic theorizing

In light of the debates provoked by the ever changing multilingual practices and theoretical approaches being used to explore this phenomenon, there has been an emergence of metaterminology with which to explain language practices in late modern settings (Orman 2012a). In this regard, scholars such as Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) have used the term metrolingualism. They argue that this concept provides ways of going beyond common frameworks of language, providing insights into contemporary, urban language practices that would provide room for both fixity and fluidity in its approach to language use. They further contend that studies in multilingualism have shifted in the recent past from a focus on how distinct codes are switched or mixed towards an interest in how boundaries and distinctions are the result of particular language ideologies (cf. Makoni & Pennycook 2007). In addition, they look at how interlocutors manipulate the multilingual resources available to them (cf. Heller

2007). For Otsuji and Pennycook (2010), the term metrolingualism helps to describe the ways in which people of different backgrounds use, play with and negotiate identities through language. They further point out that the term's focus is not on language systems but on languages as emergent from contexts of interactions. While this may reflect the nature of language practices in Africa more generally, their choice of "metro" might be misconstrued to imply that multilingualism or language diversity is just an urban phenomenon. It may not be helpful to assume that rural Africans are basically monolingual as some rural areas are often made up of people speaking different related and so-not-related dialects (cf. Banda 2009). Moreover, as Banda (2009) notes, colonialism also ensured that English or one of the colonial languages was taught even in rural schools which entails that English is spoken widely in Zambia but in varying degrees depending on education level one attains. Banda's (2009) study provides some useful insights for this work which goes beyond looking at how sets of languages in multilingual contexts are used as a single communicative system to how interlocutors manipulate their linguistic resources to communicate, enact identities, negotiate in-group and out-group membership, and so on. This entailed an investigation into how the linguistic repertoire is localized in the urban contexts of Lusaka.



García (2009), Blackledge and Creese (2010), Møller Jørgensen (2009) Jørgensen, Karrebæk, Madsen, and Møller (2011) have coined the notion of translanguaging or its cognate terms, translingualism and polylingualism to describe urban language practices in postmodern settings. The term translanguaging which is essentially a translation from the Welsh word "trawsieithu" was initially formulated by Cen Williams, a Welsh educationist in 1980s to name a pedagogical practice which deliberately switches the language mode of input and output in bilingual classrooms (Jørgensen *et al.* 2011). Thus, translanguaging meant that "you receive information through the medium of one language (e.g. English) and use it yourself through the medium of the other language (e.g. Welsh)" (Williams 1996:64). The term has later been extended beyond pedagogical settings by scholars such as García (2009), Blackledge and Creese (2010) to include language practices by speakers assumed to use more than two "languages" outside the classroom settings (Jørgensen *et al.* 2011). As clearly noted from the definition of the term as well as its methodological and theoretical base, the term seems problematic because it is founded on

monolingual norms where "languages" are seen as separate and bounded entities which in a way appear to be at odds with recent sociolinguistic theorizing (see Makoni 2012). This is evident in Williams' (2002:40) words that translanguaging: "entails using one language to reinforce the other in order to increase understanding...in both languages".

Furthermore, Baker (2011:288) has defined translanguaging as "the process of making meaning, shaping experiences, gaining understanding and knowledge through the use of two languages". From these two definitions it is evident that there seem not to be much difference with the theoretical underpinning of code switching which itself has been found wanting. Although Garcíá (2012) states that translanguaging goes beyond code switching in that it refers to a new languaging reality independent of the 'codes' and that it represents a new way of being, acting and languaging in a different global reality, they do not show how this notion abandons the deep rooted monolingual ideologies to language. This is so because, these terms, translanguaging and code switching appear to have a common premise in that they both view language as separate bounded entities. For example, they further assume that two 'languages' are used together to 'reinforce' each other's meaning. As pointed out above, whilst attempting to abandon terminologies built around monolingual ideologies, the term retains the same contestable norms (see Orman 2012, 2013; Makoni 2012). In fact, code switching has been linked to translanguaging by scholars such as Kamwangamalu (2010) in which pupils and teachers are said to use two languages in the same sentence in classroom discourses. Moreover, even though scholars such as Garcíá (2009) and Blackledge and Creese (2010) and (Jørgensen *et al.* 2011) have extended this term to include language practices outside the classroom, their application of theory is not any different from Williams (1996, 2002) theorizing as they too retain the monolingual ideology about language (I elaborate on this in chapter nine).

2.6. Summary of chapter

This chapter set out to review literature that provides insights into how language has been studied and how it has since evolved in terms of its conceptualization. Thus, the first part of the chapter focused on some sociolinguistic studies on Zambia. The literature confirms that multilingualism in Zambia has been the norm from time immemorial although what has changed is its intensity due to complex societies brought about by intensified intermingling of people, their mobility and new (mobile) technologies. Even if these studies in Zambia help situate the current study, most of them focus on linguistic variations and distribution of languages across different domains. In particular, they compare the local varieties with the so called centre norms of the English language. In these studies, language tends to be viewed as a system with a fixed structure.

The chapter also briefly provided paradigmatic contrasts between structuralist and poststructuralist views of language. Thus, the chapter showed major contrasts between the two paradigms, in that the latter view language as a system whereas the former views it in terms of social function. It is from the former that the current sociolinguistic theorizing draws its inspiration.

Furthermore, the chapter focused on recent sociolinguistic theorizing in which language and multilingualism are conceived as social practice. This conceptualization is a radical shift away from language as an autonomous and bounded system to language as an activity or as doing. In this view, speakers are central actors in the creation of language and thus, central to analysis too. The chapter concluded with a brief account on emergent metaterminology/theorizing that have been developed to account for language practices in multilingual late modern settings. The following chapter is a continuation of the literature review and focuses on language and identity.

CHAPTER THREE

LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL IDENTITY

3.0. Introduction

This chapter discusses the notion of social identity as it relates to language. Firstly, the chapter introduces the concept and provides the perspective taken in understanding it within the broader context of language. Secondly, the chapter traces the history of social identity studies from the earliest times to the present and also presents the different theoretical aspects that have arisen from such studies. Thirdly, the chapter outlines some current perspectives on social identity and language. It further considers some general approaches to negotiation of identities in multilingual settings that include the process of negotiation of identities.



3.1. Social identity

The notion of social identity has been the centre of scholarly attention in various fields. Stemming from social psychology, the concept straddles many fields which include sociology, politics, gender studies, anthropology and linguistics, to name just a few. Given the many fields that explore it, there are several ways of understanding the notion of social identity. However, a universal way and perhaps the beginning point in understanding how humans deal with other humans is by categorizing them (Blackledge & Creese 2010; Hall 2011; Johnstone 2008; Tajfel 1974;) and it is from these categorizations that identities are said to emerge. These categories may include, sex, nationality, ethnicity, social class and so forth. On the basis of these, people may partly decide on how to relate to others, for example, people may deal with “men” differently from “women”, “foreigners” differently from “fellow citizens”. According to Johnstone (2008), people tend to act as if identities are natural and predictable, as if gender “man” and “woman” are a result of biological sex (male vs female), as if nationality were a result of place of birth, as if ethnicity could be judged on the premise of skin colour or genealogy.

Furthermore, Johnstone (2008) argues that there are no categorization schemes which are really natural. This because social identities are multiple and keep on shifting (Hall 2011; Romaine 2010; Pennycook 2010) as people range on a spectrum of cultural gender; for example, some opt for gender identifications that do not correlate with their biological sex and sex orientations do not fit well with the biological sexes, and a South African may not necessarily be anyone born in South Africa (Johnstone 2008). Moreover, ethnic categorization and racial ones do not correlate directly to identity. Thus the assumption that people possess easily, stable, predictable social identities does not make sense for people with mixed backgrounds or social identities. Besides the manner in which identities shifts over time and from context to context especially in the modern times characterized by globalization and integration of people from different backgrounds (Blackledge & Creese 2010; Pennycook 2010; Romaine 2010; Johnstone 2008;;;). According to Johnstone (2008:151),“it is important...not to let predefined categories such as nationality, sex, and so on dictate how they divide up people or texts, or what questions to ask...it is important to try to let analytical categories emerge in the analysis”. This, however, does not mean that social class is not important but rather that it may be relevant in one context but not in another (cf. Hall 2011). For that reason conversational analysts such as Antaki and Widdicombe (1998) argue that social categorizations should emerge in interactions and thus none of the participants or people who study interactions needs to have any knowledge of what social categorizations conventionally mean about people(cf. Banda 2009).

In most cases people may socialize themselves to the ways they are categorized by others and to the ways others categorize themselves and are categorized. In addition, people create, claim and express these perceptions (orientations) through discourse (Johnstone 2008; Hall 2011). Therefore, discourse analysts have found the idea of performance relevant in trying to explain how social categories are connected to discourse. In this vein, daily interactions are said to require “performances” (Johnstone 2008) of selves which are strategically positioned to meet the interactional demands at hand. It is from this understanding that the term identity has been used to explain these performances (Gumperz 1982; Bucholtz & Hall 2004). Therefore, identity in this regard refers to “outcome of processes by which people index their similarity to and difference from others, sometimes self-consciously and strategically and sometimes as a matter of habit”

(Johnstone 2008:151). In this way, identities are actively negotiated in discursive acts (Hall 2011; Pennycook 2010; Blackledge & Creese 2010).

Johnstone (2008) contends that there has been much research on social identities relating to race, gender, ethnicity and nationality as if identities only arise from these aspects of social life. Conversely, identities emerge from other sources, for example, identities can be associated with discourse participant roles like “author” or “over hearer”, temporary situational roles like teacher or categorization schemes that emerge from certain local contexts, like social cliques in some schools (Hall 2011).

According to Johnstone (2008), discursive performances are said to play various roles and have numerous effects. Such performances may be consciously and carefully planned and executed. She cites an example in which women in the Southern US use what they may refer to as “turning on the Southern charm” as a sexually charged way of manipulating a man and the use of linguistic performances of regional identity such as adoption or showing off of local sounding ways of talking which may express resistance to cultural homogenization as people become more mobile and interconnected. Thus Johnstone (2008:153) concludes by stating that to:

[t]hink of identity as performance is to adopt a humanistic, rhetorical perspective on a set of issues which linguists have taken a social scientific and deterministic perspective...that this highlights the ways in which people decide who to be and how to act and the extent to which they are responsible for the consequences of such decisions.

The current study takes this view which sees identity as a phenomenon actively performed and negotiated for through discursive acts. This perspective enables the researcher to unravel different ways in which social identities in late modern Lusaka are discursively enacted in various social aspects of the city such as popular music, conversations, online discourses, radio talk and advertisements. It also enables the researcher understand the roles these identities are

serving. Besides, the study finds this conceptualization of social identity significant as it seeks to understand how social identities are realized through participant social roles or structure (cf. Banda 2009). This kind of understanding can only be achieved when identity is viewed as a performed act.

It follows that if identity is to be viewed as a performed act, understandably it should be multiple and dynamic (Dyer 2007; De Fina 2007; De Fina, Schiffrin & Bamberg 2006) as it keeps shifting from one context to another. On this basis, individual agency is placed at the centre of understanding social identity (Johnstone 2008). This perspective to language and identity further challenges the traditional “linguistic applied” perception in which social identity is seen as a set of essential characteristics unique to individuals, independent of language, and unchanging across contexts, and in which language users can display their identities but cannot affect them in anyway. Identity from this (traditional) perspective is singular and fixed (Hall 2011).

However, as pointed out above, given the different fields that explore the notion of social identity and language, various ways of understanding the notion have been advanced and these have largely been influenced by the perspectives that each field emphasizes. It follows that understanding the diverse meanings of social identity advanced by different scholars requires an understanding of the theoretical basis upon which the notion has been established. Therefore, the diverse meanings of social identity as explored by different scholars would only be understood in light of the different fields and the theoretical emphasis advanced therein, although it should be stated that there are more agreements than are differences in defining the notion. The section that follows, presents a brief historical account on studies on social identity and language.

3.2. Social identity and language: a brief historical account

3.2.1. Early studies on social identity

The notion of social identity has been the primary focus of the well-known theory in social psychology rooted in Tajfel (1974) and Tajfel and Turner's (1979) basic works. Tajfel (1974) argued that social identity is emanates from an individual's group membership within some social structures. He thus defined social identity as “the individual’s knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of group membership” (Tajfel 1974:31). Tajfel’s definition of social identity relates to his notion of social identification which sees social identity as emanating from the process of social categorization in which the social world is divided into distinct classes or categories (Tajfel 1974). Thus social identification refers to a process in which a person locates him- or herself “within a system of social categorizations or as a noun, to any social categorizations used by a person to define him- or herself and others” (Turner 1982:17). Social categorization defines a person by systematically including them within some category and excluding them from other related categories. They also state what a person is and is not. Thus the notions of social identities based on gender, age, class, status, and so forth (cf. Johnstone 2008; Romaine 2010; Hall 2011).

Tajfel (1979) accentuates the significance of group membership on one’s perceptions and behaviors. This implies that group membership determines how an individual sees the world around him and how he or she relates to it and in turn provides the individual an identity. Thus, Tajfel continues, being accepted as a group member one feels a sense of belonging and that each person might have multiple affiliations with various social groups. The importance of group membership determines the level of the sense of belonging as opposed to contextual needs, that is, what the most salient identity the situation mediates one to act. The commitment of group membership varies from situation to situation (Tajfel 1979).

In addition, Tajfel (1974) maintains that since individuals' identities stem from in-group membership, individuals have options to change group membership if their present one does not fully meet the elements of social identities they consider as positive. However, he contends, changing group membership and thus social identity may not be always possible and this leaves individuals with limited options, either changing their interpretations of their characteristics of their present in-group membership in order to view them in more positive light or participating in social action to change the scenario.

3.2.2. Later studies on social identity

Tajfel's theory of social identity provided sufficient ground for the development of the ethnolinguistic theory by Giles and Johnson (1981, 1987) in the field of language and sociolinguistics in particular. The ethnolinguistic theory as a child to social identity theory focuses on language as a salient marker of group membership. The theory further states that individuals attempt to make their social group distinct from others in order to achieve positive social identity. In cases where their group is negatively portrayed, a member may have an option of shifting to another social group so as to achieve a more positive group identity. As a result, this theory assumes social identity to be directly associated to ethnicity of social groups which are in turn manifest in its members (Giles and Johnson 1987).

Gumperz (1970, 1982) and Heller (1982a, b, 1987, 1988) as interactional sociolinguists also focus on language and social identity. They believed that social identity and ethnicity were largely established and maintained through language. For example, Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz's (1982) study focused on specific speech events in which they explored the relationship between speakers' choices of linguistic categories such as phonology, morphology syntax and lexis and the social situation. In this study, they particularly focused on code switching instances either between languages or between varieties of the same language to find out in what situations and with what interactants' code switching occurs as "linguistic alternates

within the repertoire to symbolize the differing social identities which members assume” (Blom & Gumperz 1972:421).

From this perspective, the minority group’s language is considered the in-group “we code” language whereas the majority as the out-group or “they code” language and code switching may symbolize various group memberships and identities (Gumperz 1982:66). According to Gumperz (1970:9) a microlevel analysis reveals that code switching serves “definite and clearly understandable communicative ends and that it is meaningful when analysed in terms of the conversational context”. In their study on code switching in a small town of Hermnsberget in Norway, Blom and Gumperz (1972) found that most of the members of the community spoke at least two varieties of Norwegian, the local dialect, Ranamal and one of the two national dialects, Bokmal. As the local variety carried more prestige and the as “a person’s native is regarded as an integral part of his local identity” (p.411) residents of Hemnsbergret used that dialect in their interactions with other residents in order to mark their in-group identity. However, when interacting with other members of the communities and with foreigners, the residents used the standard dialect until the participants’ identity became clearly known to them. In addition, speakers were reported to have been switching codes depending on when they interacted within the community and their use was not always consistent. Students were found to switch to the standard dialect each time they discussed academic work even if they were all native speakers of the local dialect. They further argue that as education was conducted using the standard dialect, students may have felt they had switched to it in order to mark their identity as students. This kind of conceptualization of social identity provided some insights to the study as it explored how interactants switched codes to index certain social identities.

Heller (1982a) also views language and ethnicity as interacting in several ways. In particular, ethnicity may be seen as limiting someone’s ability to take part in some social situations and networks and may also signal a shared ethnic background, which is enhanced by a sort of behavior, values, language and lifestyles. In this sense languages “symbolize group identity and become emblems of that identity, especially when there is a contact with other groups whose

ways of being are different” (Heller 1982a:3). Heller’s view is similar to Gumperz’s (1982) notions of “we code” and “they code” that signal in-group and out-group membership and identity, respectively, and at the same time reflects Giles and Johnson’s (1981, 1987) ethnolinguistic identity theory in which language is a salient marker of group membership and identity. The current study borrowed some theoretical insights from the ethnolinguistic theory in which language is viewed as a critical index of social identity but not as a fixed entity.

It is noteworthy pointing out that rather than focusing on options between groups in terms of identification due to positive and negative associations with in-group and out-group membership as Giles and Johnson do, Heller (1982b) focuses on language choice and actual language use in specific situations. She distinguishes between the two notions of language choice and language use. Language choice is seen as the choice of code whereas language use as “the manipulation of conventionally-defined ways of saying things” (p.4) with the chosen code. These choices are said to display relationships based on shared or unshared group memberships and thus helps to construct social identities in particular situations (see Hall 2011).



The current study draws some insights from the ethnolinguistic theory in explaining in-group and out-group membership affiliation in the process of constructing and negotiating of identities. At the same time, it emphasizes the multiplicity and dynamic nature of identities and the individual’s affordances in shifting them through constructing and negotiating new ones in different contexts. This is based on the premise that individuals do not belong to the traditional fixed social structures (see Johnstone 2008).

3.3. A critique on “traditional” social identity theories

Hansen and Liu (1997) have argued that the early theories of social identity and its relationship to language have helped to the understanding of social identity. However, they observe a number

of concerns. For example, they argue that Tajfel's (1974, 1981) position on social identity which views it as dynamic, does not take into account multiple group memberships which is contrary to current situations in which most people across the world do not only belong to gender and ethnicity but to several groups based on other characteristics such as personal beliefs and economic circumstances. In addition, individuals may also belong to several ethnic groups which may be defined by language. They further argue that rather than an individual choosing to belong to one group or the other, he or she may wish to identify with a certain group in specific contexts (cf. Pennycook 2010), that is, speak different languages in different situations. Hansen and Liu (1997) criticize Tajfel's position as he fails to explain how this is done.

Furthermore, Chen (2008) points out that while the social identity theory offers some contribution to our understanding of identity construction from an inter-group perspective, it lacks in some way as it fails to explain human behaviors and group patterns in a world that keeps on evolving especially in view of globalization factors (see Romaine 2010; Pennycook 2010; Blackledge & Creese 2010). Chen (2008) criticizes the theory on the basis that it suggests a static view which sees social groups as already formed which implies that group affiliations are fixed (cf. Johnstone 2008). Moreover, Chen (2008) contends that the social theory fails to acknowledge the fact that social groups are constantly shaped and reshaped due to the ever evolving micro and macro socio-cultural environment (see Blackledge & Creese 2010; Pennycook 2010).

The social identity theory assumes that people willingly take part in social groups and maintain the membership in order to enhance their self-esteem. This view has been criticized against on grounds that people may be categorized against their will and they may thus feel discriminated against when categorized in this manner). Additionally, the fact that speakers are viewed as agentless in the process of shaping their identities has been a further area of criticism (Dyer 2007).

However, Dyer (2007) argues that this type of research was useful particularly to variationist sociolinguists. This is because it revealed the range of variations in a community as well as the types of people who used particular variants in their interactions. In these variationist studies, perhaps because of the Tajfel's influence, individuals were viewed as occupying certain social identities throughout their lives by virtue of their position in the social structure. As stated above, this implied that a speakers' identity viewed through language was seen as fixed and as a product of certain social factors. Thus, speakers were seen as agentless, viewed as products of a particular social structure, which they in turn, would reproduce as their language.

Giles and Johnson's (1981, 1987) theory of ethnolinguistic identity has also been criticized by Hansen and Liu (1997) on account that it does not take into consideration different social characteristics among groups and between individuals (that is, ethnicity, language, appearance and personality). They argue that individuals do not only differ in behavior, languages and manifestation of identity but individuals also differ with each other in each of these elements. They further contend that although ethnolinguistic theory as developed by Giles and Johnson attempts to consider individual variations, their versions are described as "...too rigid and attempt to cast the diverse people into narrow categories of ethnolinguistic identity" (Hansen & Liu 1997:6). In as much as this argument reflects the dynamic nature of identity which in effect challenges the process of categorizing individuals into some forms of groups, ethnolinguistic theory of identity offers some explanation to the tendency of speakers to claim certain identities associated with particular groups through language in specific contexts (De Fina 2007).

Hansen and Liu (1997) further criticize Tajfel (1974, 1981) methodologies in establishing the theories of social identity which they argue, were based on research on a few individuals whose behaviors were taken to represent other individuals in their respective groups. They state that social identity is "individual and developing a hypothesis of social identity that categorizes an individual's behavior into groups, and the groups into determined categories denies the individual and the dynamic nature of social identity" (Hansen & Liu 1997:7). This criticism has

been shared by other scholars in the area of identity and language (for example, Pennycook 2010; Blackledge & Creese 2010; Dyer 2007; De Fina 2007).

The later theories of social identity, including Tajfel himself, conceived identity as dynamic. However, the contention that Hansen and Liu (1997) raise against such researchers on social identity is that the methods some have used, for example, questionnaires, observations, interviews, to mention just a few, do not permit for dynamism as they are often one time occurrences. For instance, they single out studies conducted by social psychologists as having been confined to questionnaires and surveys which lack the depth in exploring the complex nature of identity. They argue that understanding language and social identity as a dynamic phenomenon requires longitudinal studies. In this vein, they give credit to interactional sociolinguists such as Gumperz (1982) and Heller (1982b) who conducted longitudinal studies on both speech and individuals within those communities with a view to explore social identity and language. For example, Heller used observations, conversational analysis and interviews in various Anglophone and Francophone communities. Hansen and Liu (1997) add that because social identity is a dynamic phenomenon, it should be explored using a methodology that is dynamic both in philosophy and in practice. It follows then that the current study adopted a methodology designed to explore the dynamic nature of social identity in different socio-linguistic contexts.

In addition, the problem that critiques of earlier social identity theory had with this kind of theorizing was its failure to recognize individual agency in the shaping and reshaping of social identity. Furthermore, the conceptualization of social structures as natural and fixed was found problematic too. Moreover, the methodologies used in the collection and analysis of data have been criticized against as they have failed to account for other pertinent factors that influence social identity.

3.4. Current perspectives on language and social identity

3.4.1. Speech accommodation theory and acts of identity

In subsequent years, Giles (1977) Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT) in social psychology, and the work of Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) on Acts of identity became highly influential in shaping later views of identity in sociolinguistics. On one hand, the idea that speakers were active in changing their identities while in interactions in order to associate or distance themselves from interlocutors was the basis of Giles' (1977) SAT, and on the other hand, the work of Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) on creole languages has been crucially significant in providing a premise for theories on identity in sociolinguistic studies. The strength of their work lay in that fact that it acknowledges that neither of speakers' voices nor their social position in society are passive, but that they sometimes consciously decide as how to speak (see Banda 2009; Blackledge & Creese 2010 & Pennycook 2010). In this regard, García (2010:524) contends that multilingual speakers "...decide who they want to be and choose their language practices accordingly". Thus, according to Dyer (2007:104), speakers in this model are seen as "actively exploiting linguistic resources available to them in order to project differing identities for different contexts". This type of a choice represents an act of identity (Johnstone 2008). This conceptualization on language and identity also provided insights to the study as the researcher sought to find out how interlocutors used their linguistic repertoires in projecting multiple identities in modern Lusaka.

In as much as Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) studies may be considered obsolete, their emphasis on the individual agency in social identity construction has been carried forward in most recent models on language and identity (see Banda 2009; Johnstone 2008; Pennycook 2010; Blackledge & Creese 2010; Hall 2011). The main argument of Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) research is that by exploiting the linguistic resources in their repertoire, speakers are not simply products of a social structure reproducing the same social structure, but rather they can create the identity they wish to project in an interaction. In this case, identities are regarded as dynamic and not as fixed phenomenon (cf. Johnstone 2008; Pennycook 2010;

Blackledge & Creese 2010). It is from this understanding that Banda (2009) argues that social structures should not be assigned a priori but rather they should be left to emerge from social interactions.

3.4.2. Identity and practice

As stated, it follows that much of the sociolinguistic work from the late 1980s to date are in tandem with the theoretical insights of Giles (1977) and Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985), especially with regard to the prominent role that has been assigned to identity. In the recent times social constructionist paradigm has been central to studies on identity in sociolinguistics and discourse analytic research (cf. De Fina, Schiffrin & Bamberg 2006). This paradigm is based on the significance of interactants local construction of social reality, on the centrality assigned to the notion of practice and on the close observation of social behavior in real contexts of interaction (cf. Pennycook 2010). Thus, De Fina (2007) argues that participants in social activities do identity work and align or distance themselves from social categories or belonging depending on the local context of interaction and its insertion in the wider social world (cf. Hall 2011). Her argument sees identity claims and displays as embedded in social practices and pliant to the complex interplay of local and global factors and thus researchers ought not to assign a priori that interactants would identify with categories related to their social profile (cf. Banda 2009). Antaki and Widdicombe (1998) have demonstrated how, for example, speakers often times construct allegiances with social groups that are not owned by them. That they go beyond traditionally established boundaries between categories by claiming new non-normative identities such as transsexual ones, and that they enact subtle identity differences with groups and communities that are socially constructed as homogenous (Bailey 2007; De Fina 2003). These studies have demonstrated that neither identity categories nor social meaning can be taken for granted, and that scholars have to learn a lot about the kinds of identities that are relevant to people in different social contexts and about the strategies that they put in place in order to claim them (De Fina 2007).

Gender studies and discursive psychology have further contributed to our understanding of identity by rejecting the anti-essentialist vision of the ‘self’. They have rejected the notion of ‘self’ as something that people have and represents the core essence of a person. Gender studies in particular have shown that people can display “polyphonous” identities, that is, simultaneously assume voices that are associated with different identity categories, and “that they can “perform” identities (Johnstone 2008), that is, represent themselves as different from what their personal “visible” characteristics would suggest” (De Fina *et al.* 2006:15). This argument implies that there is nothing given or natural about being part of a social category and that social identities are dynamic.

3.4.3. Identity and the notion of indexicality

The notion of indexicality of language refers to the process by which language comes to be linked to specific locally or contextually significant social characteristics (Dyer 2007). This notion is important in discussing language and identity as language or a mere linguistic form can become an index or a marker to an individual’s social identity as well as to traditional activities of that individual (Milroy 2000; Johnstone 2008; Bucholtz & Hall 2005). In this regard Dyer (2007) states that indexicality implies an association of a language or a linguistic form with some kind of socially meaningful characteristics. She further adds that this is often times observed in code switching where speakers shift between different languages that may carry different social meanings in their community. Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouk (2005:199) argue that “indexicality forces us to look at social processes as culturalized, that is, as turned into complexes of meaningful and understandable (indexical) items that offer semiotic potential to people”. This perspective was used in the current study to examine different aspects of social life to see a variety of indexicalities for hybrid discourse practices involving English and local languages, including contestations of meanings within the same spaces of social life (Higgins 2009).

Johnstone (2008) and Dyer (2007) argue that social identities can be indexed by styles of discourse. For example, an individual would adopt a certain way of talking associated with a particular group, if he or she wants to identify with that category and others may use a person's speech style in categorizing him or her in gender terms. Johnstone (2008) argues that people can adopt certain characteristics associated with groups with which others would likely associate them and that people may also adopt features associated with identities with which others may not normally associate them. The current study looks at how Lusaka interactants index their social identities by styles of discourse they adopt.

Dyer (2007) argues that the indexicality of language may however work against an individual where the speaker's dialect is perceived and evaluated negatively by interlocutors. For example, a listener may ascribe certain social characteristics that the speaker might want to resist. She contends that where speakers have access to different languages or dialects, language can also be used to resist other imposed identities. On this account, she argues, identity can be seen as a function of both "self and other ascriptions" (Dyer 2007:102).



3.4.4. Identity as a contact phenomenon

In later years, researchers within the variationist school of thought began searching for explanations of variation that go beyond a view of identity defined by social category. This attempt was seen in methodologies applied in data collection, analysis and interpretation in order to understand in detail how variation may be more locally situated (Dyer 2007). This entailed employing ethnographic methods that allowed researchers to immerse themselves in the communities in order to have insider's perspectives of the speakers (Dyer 2007). In this approach, social and geographical mobility in terms of who a speaker mixes and identifies with, as well as macro social factors, were shown to be important in understanding variation. Individual speaker's variation could be explained in terms of the speakers' social network connections. In this regard, Dyer acknowledges the Milroy (1980) study which credited contact

with others as being highly important in terms of the influences on the speaker's linguistic identity (see Blackledge & Creese 2010). Therefore the network theory acknowledges the importance of contact in language variation and has been used to explain individuals' behaviors of various kinds which could not be accounted for in terms of corporate group membership (Milroy 1980).

This kind of approach has allowed for exciting results in understanding social identity as a process speakers engage with in negotiating and (re)construction of identities (cf. Bucholtz & Hall 2005). I find this kind of approach important for the current study as it shares similar theoretical orientations with current perspectives on identity and language. Therefore, the current study drew some insights from it.

From this current scholarly positions, on language and identity, sociolinguist have adopted the reconceptualization of identity in other fields most notably sociology, (e.g. Bucholtz 1999 & Norton 2000). In this vein, sociolinguists have begun to view a speaker as more than just a product of his or her social context, and rather as more of an agent with the ability to select linguistic resources available to him or her in the community repertoire (see Hall 2011; Johnstone 2008; Pennycook 2010; Blackledge & Creese 2010; Bucholtz & Hall 2005). This post-structuralist approach to identity accentuates the individual as an active agent in shaping his identities and less on the community and views identity as “complex, contradictory, multifaceted and dynamic across time and place” (Dyer 2007:105). This partly the approach that has informed the current study on identity and language as the study sought to understand how multilinguals exploited their linguistic repertoires in negotiating, performing and constructing their multiple identities.

3.5. Multilingualism and negotiation of identity

According to Romaine (2010), the 21st century has witnessed an upsurge in migration and transnational diasporic populations which has brought about burgeoning linguistic and cultural

diversity to most parts of the world along with new traditional associations between languages and identities (see Makoni & Pennycook 2007). In multilingual settings, the use of language(s) brings about hybrid identities in and among interlocutors. To understand the complexity of identity in multilingual settings, a number of studies on multilingualism have used different types of approaches in understanding how people negotiate and construct new identities in multilingual contexts. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) identify four paradigms or approaches that have been used to account for the relationship between language and identity in multilingual contexts. These approaches are discussed below. It should be mentioned that some of the approaches discussed have similar or the same theoretical orientations with some social identity theories discussed above.

3.5.1. Socio-psychological and interactional approaches

These approaches can be described as traditional models that examine negotiation of identities in multilingual settings. They comprise a number of inter-group approaches which are inspired by theories of social identity and theory of acculturation to explain language contact results through group affiliations (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004). These models assume a one to one correspondence between language and ethnic identity and accomplishes this by examining ethnolinguistic groups and measures their ethnolinguistic vitality where ethnic identity means a “subjective feeling” of belonging to a particular ethnic group (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004:4). On the other hand, negotiation is conceived as “a transactional interaction process” (p. 4) in which individuals try to “evoke, assert, define, modify, challenge and/or support their own and others’ desired self-images in particular ethnic identity” (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004:4). The theory of ethnolinguistic identity views language as a key marker of ethnic identity and group membership were the minority with weak in-group identification, low in-group vitality, open in-group boundaries and strong identification with other groups, assimilate to the second language. However, this theory has been criticized for its monolingual and monocultural bias, which views people as members of homogenous, uniform and bounded ethnolinguistic communities and blurs

hybrid identities and complex linguistic repertoires of bi- and multilingual speakers living in the present world (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004).

Additionally, ethnolinguistic research in multilingual settings challenge the homogenous perspective of minority communities and indicate major in-group differences in patterns of language and social organization. The other criticism relates to the assumption that there is always direct correspondence between identity and aspects of social reality, that is to say, there are real groups that make up structures or nations (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). This concept has been described as essentialist as it takes identity to be a property of individuals or society.

Scholars have further criticized this approach for its adoption of categories such as acculturation and ethnolinguistic vitality where they have been over-simplified and far removed from the real life situations. Consequently, they reduce complex sociopolitical, socioeconomic and sociocultural factors which shape interlocutors between various groups in multilingual contexts. In this regard, critics argue that intergroup approaches to language and identity are weak theoretically as they lack a coherent premise of language and power relations and are based on social identity theory which also needs a sociological base (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004). Critics further argue that such approaches prevent scholars from seeing multiple ways in which social context constrain or prevent individuals from accessing linguistic resources or adopting new identities (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004). However, as Pavlenko & Blackledge (2004) note, credit has been given to the approaches for breaking ground to important questions and agendas in the study of language contact between minority and majority groups although their theoretical base highlighted above make them less useful for exploring complex sociopolitical and socioeconomic issues in the shaping and negotiation of multilingual identities. This study moves away from such approaches to negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts as it does not look at identity as something that is owned or is in anyway related to ethnicity but rather as negotiated in different social contexts by individuals themselves.

3.5.2. Interactional sociolinguistic approaches

The interactional sociolinguistics approaches initiated the beginning of the shift from the socio-psychological approaches whose focus was on identities in second language learning and language use. Interactional sociolinguistics examined negotiation of identities in code switching and language choice. These approaches found feet in Gumperz's collection on language and social identity and Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's ethnographic studies on language use. These approaches conceive of social identities as fluid and constructed in linguistic and social interaction. Gumperz's work inspired by Fishman (1965) views code switching as yet another resource through which speakers express social and rhetorical meanings and index ethnic identities. For Gumperz (1982), code-switching and language choice are the focal point of identity negotiation (cf. Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Other studies such as those conducted by Heller (1982b) in which she examined negotiations of language choice and Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) study of complex West Indian communities illustrate "that multilingual speakers move around in multidimensional social spaces and that each act of speaking or silence constitute for them an 'act of identity'" Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004:8). The most notable sociolinguistic model of negotiation of identities through code switching is the markedness model by Myers-Scotton (1983, 1988). This model views talk as a negotiation of rights and obligations between speaker and addressee and assumes that speakers have an implied knowledge of indexicality, that is, of marked and unmarked language choices in a particular interaction. According to Myers-Scotton, speakers opt for a language that would symbolize the rights and obligations they wish to enforce in the exchange in question and index the appropriate identities. She goes on to state that when speakers make unmarked choice, they identify the status quo as the premise for the speech event. In contrast, when they make a marked choice, they indicate an attempt to negotiate a different balance of rights and obligations. If such choice is indexical of solidarity, it can narrow the social distance between interlocutors. In turn, "if it is used to index the power differential, anger, or resistance, it could serve to increase the social distance" (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004:9).

In addition, people may choose marked options to encode deference and also because of the inability to use the unmarked choice. According to Pavlenko & Blackledge (2004), this approach is criticized by critical sociolinguists that the essentialist links between language and specific national and regional groups blurs the fact that individuals may also construct particular identities through linguistic resources of groups to which they do not straightforwardly belong. Pavlenko & Blackledge (2004) points out that many speech events are not tied to a particular language. Furthermore, many scholars agree that there are many factors that influence identity and that code switching is just one of them and that in many contexts the alteration and mixing of the two languages are best explained through other means, including the linguistic competencies of the speakers (Auer 1999; Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004).

3.5.3. Social constructionist approaches

Social constructionists focus on how languages are appropriated to legitimize, challenge, and negotiate particular identities. They consider new identity options for oppressed and subjugated groups and individuals (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004). As a departure from interactional sociolinguists, social constructionists conceptualize identities as an interactional accomplishment produced and negotiated in discourse (cf. Reisigl & Wodak 2001; Bucholtz & Hall 2005). According to Antaki and Widdicombe (1998), social constructionists show that identities are linked to discourses and power relations by conceptualizing how individual identities are socially produced by means of available resources. In line with this assertion, Norton (2006) adds that as language users negotiate identities, they might seek new social and linguistic resources available to them that enable them to resist identities that portray them in undesirable ways, thus produce new identities and encode optional meanings to the links between identities and linguistic varieties. This constructionist view is very instrumental as it has contributed to poststructuralist approaches to concepts of identity and individual-social relations. The current study draws some of the insights from this approach by exploring how multilingual discourses relate to social identities and power relations.

3.5.4. Poststructuralist approaches

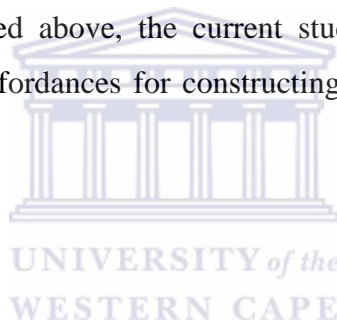
The poststructuralist approaches explain how languages are appropriated in the construction and negotiation of particular identities. They recognize the socio-historically shaped, contestable, unstable, and mutability of ways in which language ideologies and identities are linked to relations of power and political arrangements in communities and societies (cf. Hall 2011). They “consider language choices in multilingual contexts as embedded in larger social political, economic and cultural systems” (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004:10). Their conceptualization of notions of language and power are inspired by French Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. Thus, poststructuralist approaches conceive linguistic practices as a form of “symbolic capital convertible into economic and social capital and distributed unequally within any given speech community” (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004:3). The major contribution of the poststructuralist approaches is that they bring into the spotlight the “hybrid, transgendered, and multiracial identities that have been ignored by pointing to the splits and fissures in categories which were previously seen as bounded or dichotomous” (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004:13). The current study draws from these approaches in examining how the linguistic repertoire is socially practiced, distributed and structured to give rise to hybrid and multiple identities in late modern settings of Lusaka.

3.6. The process of negotiation of identities

According to Blackledge and Creese (2010), the process of negotiating identities may occur between individuals, majority and minority groups/or institutions and those they are supposed to serve. Blackledge and Creese (2010:37) further conceptualize identities as “produced and legitimized in discourse and social interaction, and as multiple, dynamic and subject to change”. They add that multiplicity refers to the fact that identities are socially and discursively constructed in relation to variables such as age, race, class, ethnicity, gender, generation, sexual orientation and social status (cf. Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004; Johnstone 2008; Hall 2011). They accentuate that identities are constructed and validated through linguistic practices available or

indeed at times unavailable to individuals at a particular point in time and space (cf. Pennycook 2010). Because ideologies of identity that are associated with particular linguistic practices ‘valorize’ and ‘legitimize’ these positions in a number of ways, individuals may occupy certain positions without difficulties while they may resist some positioning and aspire or claim others.

In their discussion of negotiation of identities, Blackledge and Creese (2010) distinguish between imposed identities (which are for one reason or another non-negotiable) and negotiable identities (which are contested, bargained for by groups and individuals). They state that: “Assumed identities options that are negotiated by one group or individuals may become a battleground for another group that approaches them as negotiable” (p.38), while imposed or non-negotiable identities are said to be those identities and subject positions that individuals cannot contest at a given point in time. As mentioned above, the current study also focuses on how linguistic resources provide multilinguals affordances for constructing and/or negotiating different social identities as they interact.



3.7. Summary of chapter

This chapter has highlighted some historical and current perspectives on social identity and language. It has shown how social identity has been a focus of study in different fields and how this has shaped its meaning as currently understood in sociolinguistics. The chapter has emphasized that in as much as people have a tendency to orient towards social categories ascribed by different membership groups that they find themselves in from which they realize their social structures (identities), identity is not singular and fixed but rather it is a multiple, dynamic and performed phenomenon realized through discursive acts. The chapter emphasized the agency of individuals in exploiting particular linguistic resources to index varied identities. This is a perspective that partly informs the current study. In the next chapter, a presentation of the theoretical and analytical framework that informed the study is given.



CHAPTER FOUR

THEORETICAL AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

4.0. Introduction

This chapter explains the theoretical and analytical framework used in the thesis. As pointed out in chapter one, the study addresses itself to analyzing language practices in different social settings of late modern Lusaka. In this regard, the study focuses on four aspects of social life in which hybrid discourse practices are apparent, namely casual/formal conversations, popular music, advertisements and online discourses. From these sites of discourse practices, the study seeks to explore the deployment, mobility, transformation and localization of language across different modalities and modes in multilingual contexts and practices of modern Lusaka. In this respect, the study focuses on how interactants engage with the linguistic repertoire in creating meaningful discourses and stylize identities in casual/formal encounters (conversations), popular music, advertisements and in written online discourses from internet news blogs. The idea is to see how languages (and other semiotics) work together as one in the social lives of urban speakers as they make meanings, stylize identities and how these semiotics circulate across modes and modalities.

Against this backdrop, in order to adequately analyse how urban speakers exploit language as localized social practice in their daily social intercourse, the study specifically adopts an eclectic analytical approach. Thus, it draws upon a wide array of analytical and conceptual tools that include concepts from multimodal discourse analysis (henceforth MDA), resemiotization and semiotic remediation (henceforth SRM). Other sister notions discussed includes multivocality, intertextuality and recontextualization. In addition, the study also draws on aspects of conversation analysis (CA) and facework negotiation theory. Following Higgins (2009) on which this study is partially modeled, the choice of the analytical framework has been necessitated by the different social aspects of discourse practices and the different modes and modalities explored in the study.

4.1. Towards a multimodal discourse analysis

This section traces the origins of MDA as an emerging paradigm in discourse analysis which has stretched the study of language to include the study of language in combination with other resources such as images, scientific symbolism, gestures, action, music and sound (Kress 2010; Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006; O'Halloran 2011, 2004; Iedema 2003).

From the outset, it is important to clarify how terminology will be used in this thesis as the field is particularly new. In this regard, I adopt O'Halloran's (2011) use of terminology in which he illustrates that in the multimodal discourse analysis model, language and other resources which combine to create meaning in 'multimodal' or 'multisemiotic' phenomena, for example, sound, music, print material, daily events, videos, and so on, are variously referred to as 'semiotic resources', 'modes' and 'modalities'. While MDA itself is called 'multimodality', 'modal analysis', 'multimodal semiotics' and multimodal studies'.

4.1.1. From discourse analysis to multimodal discourse analysis

In the recent years, the conceptualization of language as the only element in meaning making in any communication event has been questioned on the basis of the complex nature of communication being witnessed today (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006). In light of this, a new generation of scholars on communication theory and linguistics has emerged with a fairly strong stance that there be a paradigm shift in which language is no longer theorized as the only meaning making tool (Martin & Rose 2003; Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006; Iedema 2001, 2003; Jewitt 2009; Levine & Scollon 2004; Scollon & Scollon 2003; O'Halloran 2011) but rather that it should be considered in relation to other semiotic resources. This is in view of the new realities in the semiotic landscape of most societies of the late postmodern era brought about by social, economic and cultural factors as aptly stated below:

Intensification of linguistic and cultural diversity within the boundaries of nation-states; by the weakening of these boundaries within societies due to multiculturalism, electronic media of communication, technologies of transport and global economic developments. Global flows of capital and information of all kinds, of commodities and people, dissolve not only cultural and political boundaries but also semiotic boundaries (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006:36).

It is such realities that have influenced the burgeoning of the field of MDA in linguistics and other interdisciplinary areas. MDA as an offshoot of discourse analysis demonstrates that the field of discourse analysis in linguistics has undergone a number of fundamental transformations. In its early stages, the focus of discourse analysis was on the study of language use above the sentence and it specifically concerned itself on talk and interaction (cf. Sinclair and Coulthard 1992; Schiffrin 1994; Coulthard 1977; Hymes 1972a, 1972b). In later years, discourse analysis further concerned itself with cohesion in longer written texts under the umbrella of text grammar drawn from Halliday and Hasan (1985), Van Dijk (1977) and De Beaugrande and Dresser (1981). The two analytical perspectives found their way in critical linguistics group at East Anglia (Fowler, Hodge, Kress & Trew 1979 and Hodge, Kress & Jones 1979).

Critical linguistics viewed Halliday's systemic functional grammar as a way with which to base its critique with close attention to the grammar of language (Hodge & Kress 1993). This grounding was possible due to Halliday's four significant linguistic insights. These included Halliday's famous metafunctions of language that realize meaning (as ideational, interpersonal and textual). The second was taken from Morris' original "tri-stratal" conceptualization of meaning making (as co-articulation of phonology, lexicogrammar and semantics where Halliday described each level as realizing the next (Morris 1946; Halliday 1973). Thirdly, Halliday (1985) viewed the metafunctional units of language as giving rise to related units of context such that what constituted language (linguistic ideation) was not arbitrary related to any kind of context, but would reflect a specific context's fields and that on the other side of the coin, how the language was used positioned people (linguistic interpersonality) would reflect a context's tenor and how the language unfolded as structured ritual (textuality) would reflect a context's mode (Iedema 2003). Effectively, Halliday's work shifted linguistics from focusing on the sentence (as opposed to the Chomskyan tradition) towards a focus on 'text' (Iedema 2003). According to

Iedema, text was to be seen as comprising a mode of social action rather than purely an analytical object.

From the above perspective, it is clear to note that Halliday's (1969, 1970a, 1970b, 1975) work made it possible to analyse a language as social semiotics by going beyond applying syntactic criteria to structures above the sentence. On the basis of the metafunctional hypothesis, the stratification hypothesis, the link between text and context and the focus on "whole social processes as texts rather than on isolated sentences, analytical methods were devised which did justice to texts' socially meaningful role" (Iedema 2003:31). With Martin's synthesis work in the area of what he called discourse semantics (Martin 1992), discourse analysis had gone beyond the initial idea of text as "re-exploiting sentence or clause resources at paragraph and multi-paragraph level" (Iedema 2003: 31). Later, Fairclough (1995), helped establish a link between Hallidayan discourse analysis and Russian literary analyst (Bakhtin 1981, 1986). In addition to this, Lemke (1989, 1990) was instrumental in establishing the emerging new field of discourse analysis in the communicative theories of Bateson (1973).

In the 1980s, the Hallidayan discourse analysis began to concern itself more with meaning making other than language. This marked the link between a clear systemic-relational approach to meaning making and the analysis of semiosis other than language was emerging. The initial works were on intonational aspects of linguistic speech by Van Leeuwen (1984) and his application of systemic functional notions to sound and music (Van Leeuwen 1999). Similar work inspired by systemic-functional framework moved in the direction of analyzing visual representation (Hodge & Kress 1988) and of visual art, sculpture and architecture (O'Toole 1990, 1994).

From the foregoing, it is clear that the theoretical development of MDA has been a collective task involving many scholars (others not mentioned here) and continues to remain so. However, Kress and Van Leeuwen's works have been credited with shaping the definitive approaches to text analysis and meaning making. It is from this angle that the discourse analytical term 'multimodality' or MDA has originated (Jewitt 2009; Iedema 2003).

4.1.2. The importance of multimodal discourse analysis

The term multimodality or MDA has been used to describe approaches that seek to explain communication and representation as being more than language and which addresses a wide range of communicational forms that people engage in during their interaction, for example, gaze, posture, sound and their relatedness (Jewitt 2009; Iedema 2003; Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006). In this respect, Iedema (2003) argues that the concept of multimodality was introduced in order to demonstrate the importance of taking into account semiotics other than language-in-use, such as image, music, gesture and so on. One of the factors attributed to the birth of multimodality is technology mediated communication which has enhanced the multisemiotic complexity of representations around us. The phenomenon has been made complex by sound and image that are now taking over the roles associated with language (Iedema 2003). In fact, all discourse is said to be multimodal in nature, that is to say, language in use, whether it be in the form of spoken or text, is always constructed across multiple modes of communication. This would include speech and gesture in spoken language and contextual phenomena as in the use of physical spaces in which we carry out our discursive actions or the design, papers and typography of documents within which our texts are presented (Levine & Scollon 2004).

Moreover, Jewitt (2009) argues that one of the assumptions that underpin multimodality is that language is part of multimodal organization. This assumption stipulates that in as much as language is considered to be a fundamental mode of communication, especially in areas such as education, communication and representation often draws on a multiplicity of modes (see Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006; Iedema 2003). These modes all play an important role or have equal potential in contributing to meaning making. This implies that multimodality considers all modes as important aspects in the process of constructing meaning. Consequently, the primary assumption of multimodality is that meanings are made and distributed, received, interpreted and remade in interpretation through many representational and communicational modes (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006; Van Leeuwen 2008; Prior & Hengst 2010). On this account, all interactions are said to be multimodal. Accordingly, multimodality tends to move away from the assumption that language always plays a key role in interaction while acknowledging the fact it often does.

Thus, multimodal research focuses on analyzing and describing the “full repertoire of meaning-making resources which people use to communicate and represent and how these are organized to make meaning” (Jewitt 2009:15). This means that, from a multimodal point of view, language is just one mode among a multimodal organization of modes (cf. O’Halloran 2004; Kress & Van Leeuwen 2001; Martin & Rose 2003). This theory is important in the analysis of data in this study as it considers many aspects of communication in which language is just one of the modes of communication in the process of meaning making.

Multimodality is different from studies that consider non-verbal modes as it does not view language as the beginning point or as providing a “prototypical model of all modes of communication” (Jewitt 2009:15). This implies that language is no longer providing the conceptual tools, framework or processes for describing all other aspects of communication. In this vein, multimodality offers new ways and methods for understanding language and communication in general.

Jewitt (2009:15) further adds that the other assumption of multimodality is that each mode in a multimodal organization is understood as accomplishing different roles of communicative work. Multimodality assumes that “all modes, like language, have been shaped through their cultural, historical and social uses to realize social functions” (cf. Iedema 2003). Multimodality considers all communicational acts as inclusive of and through the social. Image and other non-linguistic modes take on particular roles at a given time and at a particular moment. Iedema (2003) argues that these roles are not fixed but articulated and situated.

From the foregoing, it follows then that MDA as a growing theory in discourse studies does not only focus on language in isolation but in combination with other resources such as images, scientific symbolism, genre, action, music and sound. This study finds this theoretical position particularly important to the study given the nature of the data analysed.

Therefore, MDA enables different modalities that constitute any multimodal text to be analyzed textually. This in turn means an all-encompassing interpretation of texts as sums of communication events rather than interpreting on mode in isolation (Iedema 2003; Martin &

Rose 2003). In short, the various texts which constitute the material resources for the study are analyzed through what Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006, 2001) call 'the grammar of visual design' to distinguish it from grammar as it is understood in general linguistics. This design helps us to understand how different modes are used for particular events and as well as being a tool for interpreting and analysis of "semiotic resources and semantic expansions which occur as semiotic choices combine in multimodal phenomena" O'Halloran (2011:2).

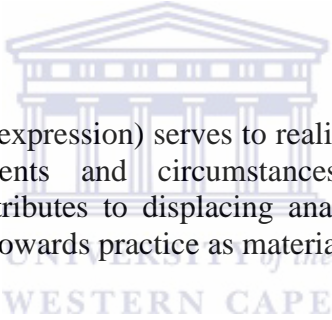
Generally, the trend toward multimodal appreciation of meaning making centres around two issues: the first involves the de-centering of language as favored meaning making and the second, the revisiting and blurring of the traditional boundaries between and roles allocated to language, image, page layout, dominant design and so on (Iedema 2003; O'Halloran 2004).

In addition, Iedema (2003:39) emphasizes that multimodality is about appreciating that language is not "at all the centre of communication". Thus, multimodality further aims to highlight that the meaning work that people do always exploits various semiotics, of which language is a part or may not be. He demonstrates how in talk, we "mobilize language as sounded speech, and we further 'mean' through gestures, postures, facial expression, and other embodied resources such as physical distance, stance, movement..." (Iedema 2003:39). By considering all these, multimodality aims to demonstrate how gesture and talk co-occur, how language and image work together or image, language and sound are coordinated. Thus MDA "most excitingly... will enable us to talk about how 'design' principles re-appear across different semiotics and how they traverse radically different domains of social life." (Iedema 2003:39). MDA therefore adequately accounts for the various occurrences of multimodal semiotic resources in multilingual discourse practices of Lusaka which this study focuses on.

4.2. Extending the work of MDA through resemiotization

As stated, the notion of multimodality is about the multi-semiotic complexity of a construct or practice in the process of meaning making. However, Iedema (2003:40) does not focus on the

multi-semiotic complexities of particular representations, but rather engages with "the origin or dynamic emergence of those representations". He thus aims at historicizing meaning by contextualizing complex multi-semiotic representation within the practices, social rules, resource availabilities that bear on how we are able to mean and on how our meaning makings unfold. His perspective also endeavors to ask how, why and which meanings become recontextualised. He also argues that the resources used in a social practice manifest a logical relationship as to where a practice is up to. Consequently, (Iedema 2003) uses the notion of resemiotization to ground his argument. By resemiotization he implies "how meaning making shifts from context to context or from practice to practice, or from one stage of practice to the next" (Iedema 2003:41). Thus, resemiotization provides the analytical tools for: (1) tracing how semiotics are translated from one into the other as social processes unfold; (2) asking why these semiotics (rather than others) are mobilized to do certain things at certain times. Therefore the concern of resemiotization is to crucially focus on:



...how materiality (expression) serves to realize the social, cultural and historical structures, investments and circumstances of our time. In this way, resemiotization contributes to displacing analytical attention from discourse as structured meaning towards practice as material affordance (Iedema 2003:50).

Hence, in a similar way that multimodality re-emphasizes the multi-semiotic nature of representation, resemiotization endeavors to emphasize the material and historicized dimensions of representation. Therefore, the two analytical notions constitute a powerful tool for doing a socially relevant multi-semiotic discourse analysis. If meaning making is considered as constituting the construction of social reality, then resemiotization thinks not so much in "textual representation as in social construction" (Iedema 2003:49). I find the notion of resemiotization another useful tool in analyzing the mobility of languages across modes and modalities and how they get transformed in the process. Related to the notion of resemiotization, is the concept of semiotic remediation which is discussed below.

4.3. Semiotic remediation

As mentioned above, the notion of Semiotic Remediation (SRM) is related to Iedema's notion of resemiotization (Iedema 2000, 2001, 2003). Coined by Bolter and Grusin (2000), and popularized by Prior and Hengst (2010), the notion has largely been influenced by systemic functional linguistics. Remediation refers to how an activity is (re)-mediated not mediated anew in each act by using the resources at hand, putting them to present use and thereby producing transformed conditions for future action (Prior & Hengst 2010). SRM as a practice, draws attention to "the diverse ways that humans' and non-humans' semiotic performances (historical or imagined) are represented and reused across modes, media, and chains of activity" (Prior, Hengst, Roozen & Shipka, 2006:734). In this regard, SRM foregrounds the recycling, repurposing and recontextualization of resources across different modes. From this perspective, SRM can be described as related to Iedema's (2003) notion of resemiotization.

The concerns of SRM can aptly be stated as follows: how we routinely report and re-voice other's words in talk. It also relates to how people, producers/directors and actors in movies and advertisements routinely re-perform other's gestures and actions, repurpose objects, represent ideas in different media/modes, and re-make their world and themselves in the process (Prior & Hengst 2010). SRM emphasizes on chains of media and chains of mediation in social practices and contexts. These social practices and context are critical to meaning making. Thus it incorporates notions of intertextuality and resemiotization. SRM as a practice is important as it enables us to understand the work of culture and the shifting of meanings across different modes. In this vein, Prior and Hengst (2010:6-7) state:

Semiotic remediation argues for an approach that is grounded in a dialogic understanding of semiosis, that focuses on situated and mediated character of activity, and that recognizes the deep integration of semiotic mediation with the practices of everyday socio-cultural life.

It follows then that SRM is about understanding texts in relation to everyday socio-cultural contexts. Therefore, this makes it a relevant tool to this study which is looking at how multilingual speakers make meaning in their socio-cultural contexts as they interact with

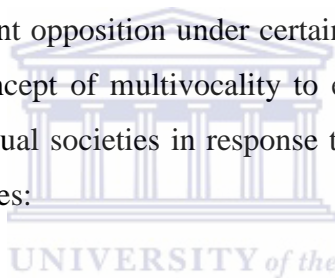
different discourses and semiosis. It is particularly relevant to the study as it is used to show the process of meaning making in popular music and advertisements - how other's words are repurposed and remediated anew to create new texts with different meaning(s). I find this theorizing very helpful in analyzing music and print advertisements because it enables one to see how musicians and advertisers alike repurpose or remediate ideas and objects in different social cultural contexts to realise new meanings. Also related to this is the Bakhtinian (1981, 1986) notion of multivocality and dialogism which are discussed below.

4.4. Multivocality and dialogism

In multilingual practices, stretches of speech carry a multiplicity of meanings or voices based on social contexts in which they are used. Bakhtinian notions of dialogism and multivocality/double voicing (Bakhtin 1981, 1986) are used to capture such phenomena. Bakhtin as a literary theorist was principally concerned with issues of language and language use. He particularly examined how novelists like Dickens and Dostoevsky employed different voices as they developed their fictional works. Later, his analysis was extended to all uses of language. Bakhtin's works are described as fundamental as they reflect a radical shift in the current perspectives on the nature of language and knowledge in general. The notion of dialogism is used to capture the relational nature of all texts. It shares two roots with the most commonly used term dialogue (Greek *dia* for through and *logos* for word). It concerns the ways in which dialogue occurs within and in particular utterances. Bakhtin illustrated how the voices of others become blended with what we write and think. This notion can be used to capture the property of all texts, spoken, written or otherwise performed. Bakhtin used the notions of polyphony and multivocality in order to explore texts in which multiple voices can be discerned. The notion of polyphony is one way in which single utterances can be perceived and analysed as dialogic (Koschmann 1999; Higgins 2009).

Higgins who also draws insights from Bakhtin uses the term multivocality in two interrelated ways that correlate roughly to an interlinked micro level and macro level sociolinguistic analysis. In the first place, multivocality is said to refer to the different voices or polyphone that single

utterances can yield due to their syncretic nature. Creative language forms are produced when speakers mix the languages and language varieties circulating in their daily lives. The outcomes of this multilingual practice are varied and can take the form of assimilation into a language, that is borrowing; language mixing (the use of two or more languages that produce no pragmatic effect), and code switching, (the use of two or more languages that does carry a pragmatic effect). She continues to state that another “possibility is that language mixing can result in a type of syncretism that retains the multivocal quality of the utterance and conveys all possible meanings simultaneously” (Higgins 2009:7). Furthermore, Higgins (2009:7) argues that “bivalent forms allow speakers to remain in the interstices of multivocality, rather than having to choose one code or another”. She points out that the notion of multivocality seems useful for studies of language in multilingual settings but acknowledges the fact that multivocality can also be apparent in utterances from single "codes" as a result of language’s syncretic characteristics, that is, the suppression of a relevant opposition under certain determined conditions. At a more macro level, Higgins uses the concept of multivocality to explore how various languages are voiced (and censored) in multilingual societies in response to centripetal forces and centrifugal forces. As Bakhtin (1981:272) writes:



Every concrete utterance of a speaking subject serves as a point where centrifugal as well as centripetal forces are brought to bear. The processes of centralization and decentralization, or unification and disunification, intersect in the utterance.

The notion of multivocality and double voicing as used by Higgins (2009) demonstrates how the co-existence of persistent and recently developed forms of linguistic and cultural imperialism can be analysed alongside appropriations and localization and to explore how multilinguals make sense of linguistic heteroglossia and the multiple meanings that surround them. She posits that the notion of multivocality refers to the several simultaneities that English can index in post-colonial and multilingual societies including the dual nature of English as an imperialist language and English as a language that has been reappropriated for its local contexts. According to her “given its historical and contemporary status as the world’s most hegemonic language, we need to know how ideologies regarding English emerge and adapt through hybrid language practices, and how they relate to current theories of global English” (Higgins 2009:6).

This study adopts the notion of multivocality or double voicing as used by Higgins to describe and analyse how multilinguals in Lusaka make sense of the new linguistic forms that develop as they interact in various social activities and as the linguistic resources circulate across different modalities and social contexts. I focus on how they are appropriating English and local languages in hybrid language use for their local contexts. Particularly, the analysis looks at how the English and Zambian languages have been localized (cf. Pennycook 2010; Makoni & Pennycook 2007). I also use the notion to explore how Zambian musicians and advertisers make use of multivocality involving English in their music in a creative and witty manner. I explore the form of meanings that are projected in such popular music compositions and ads and how performance adds meaning to their lyrics and ads, respectively.

Higgins (2009) argues that in East Africa as the case may be in other many African states, centralizing centripetal forces emanating from the power of globalization and internationalization enhance ‘standardization’ and ‘compartmentalization’ of language, while on the other hand, decentralizing, centrifugal forces continue to construct linguistic forms of localness by drawing on global resource of English, leading into interesting form of hybridity. She goes on to state that Bakhtin’s discussion of centripetal and centrifugal forces resonate well to the frameworks of research on English as a global language and that the constant tension produced as a result of these competing forces demonstrate the significance in including both dimensions in studies on multilingualism involving English. In this respect, this study finds the notion of multivocality as used by Higgins relevant in exploring how speakers in Lusaka respond to the centripetal and centrifugal forces of both globalization and localization as they interact with English and the local languages.

4.5. Intertextuality

The notion of intertextuality can be said to have a long history embedded in literary criticism, linguistics and biblical research (Shuart-Farris & Bloome 2004; Taylor & Willis 1999). However, Shuart-Farris and Bloome (2004) acknowledge that some reviews attribute the origin of the

notion to Plato and Aristotle or Saussurian linguistics and Bakhtinian literary criticism. Nevertheless, in as much as the concept of intertextuality has a long historical past, the actual term is said to have been first used by Julia Kristeva between 1966 and 1974 as the term *intertextualité* in her essays on Mikhail Bakhtin. Specifically, Kristeva (1986) introduced the term intertextuality in her essay titled “word, dialogue and novel” in which the term was used to describe the interdependence of literary texts, in that each text is “a mosaic of quotations” (O’Donohoe 1997:1). Ever since, the term has been developed and transformed several times. In this respect, the notion has mainly been used in literary criticism (Julian 2008; Shaurt-Farris & Bloome 2004; O’Donohoe 1997). However, the term has found its way in many areas that include education (in the teaching of English and language arts and composition studies) (Shuart-Farris & Bloome 2004), media discourses (O’Donohoe 1997), political philosophy and psychoanalysis (Worton & Still 1990). In this study, the notion of intertextuality has been used to analyse media texts such as advertisements and music.

4.5.1. The meaning of intertextuality

One of the obvious views of intertextuality is the presence of actual elements of other texts within a text, for example, quotations (Fairclough 2003; Moody 2007). However, the inherent semantic properties of the term intertextuality relates to how texts are built out of fragments of other texts or how texts borrow from prior text. Thus the notion is about how the meaning of one text is continually shaped by other texts. The notion of intertextuality has aptly been defined by Shuart-Farris and Bloome (2004:3) who state that: “...Every text, the discourse of every occasion, makes its social meanings against the background of other texts, and the discourses of other occasions”. This means that no text is independent of other texts. Every text lives by other texts and consequently, there is no ‘original’ text in the true sense of the word (Fairclough 2003). It is thus fundamental that in order to interpret a given text, one has to appreciate the plurality from which that text has been made. From this point of view, intertextuality makes a text not a “reproduction” but “productivity” (Barthes 1977).

The ideal text is said to be made up of various codes interacting without one being superior to the rest. Each code is a voice and the text is woven or braided from the convergence of codes.

Barthes (1977) thus calls upon a critic to read a text not only as a first reading but also as a re-reading. In this vein, Thibault (1991) argues that intertextuality draws attention to the dependence of text upon society and history in the form of resource made available within the order of discourses (genre, discourses, and so on). Intertextuality thus demonstrates that any text depends on the existence of other texts. A text has an identity but that identity is always “relational to other texts” (Webster 1990:98).

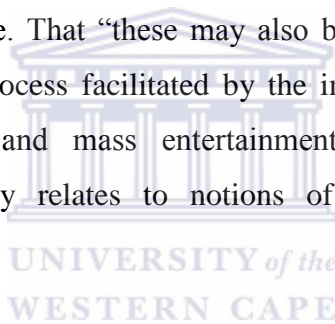
The term has also been used to refer to an author’s borrowing and transformation of prior text or the reader’s referencing one text in reading another. In such instances, there is attribution of people who wrote or thought the ideas. However, there are situations when elements of other texts may be incorporated without necessarily attributing them to anyone (Fairclough 2003) and this is more so in media texts such as advertisements and popular music (lyrics and videos) that the study analyses. Therefore, intertextuality is a notion that has become relevant in recent times when exploring media texts. In this regard, the notion becomes relevant to the study which analyses some media texts. Much of the increased use of the notion are influenced by theories of postmodernism in thinking about and analyzing modern media products (Taylor & Willis 1999). However, not all approaches that use the notion of intertextuality are founded within the framework of postmodernism.

Fiske’s (1987) views on intertextuality relate closely to the field of semiotics and attribute it as key contributor to the ways in which media texts make meanings culturally. His main argument is that texts relate to other texts which are both similar and different and in the process make meanings for audiences. Thus, he views intertextuality as operating on two levels, namely horizontal and vertical.

On the horizontal level, intertextuality operates through factors such as genre, character and content. In this type of intertextuality, the link between texts is clear or explicit. For example, an audiences’ understanding of a given product will relate to their knowledge and understanding of other products of a similar type.

Fiske second level of intertextuality is the vertical one. Vertical intertextuality refers to the ways in which texts refer specifically to other texts. He places the notion of intertextuality in an economic context by arguing that vertical intertextuality is most clearly present when the text explicitly promotes another, for example, the publicity of material that surrounds the release of a new music album. In this case, secondary texts such as advertisements, posters and journalistic reviews work to mobilize and promote the preferred meaning of the preferred text.

Furthermore, Fiske (1989a, 1989b) argues that popular culture is especially intertextual. He describes texts as having “leaking boundaries”, flowing into each other and everyday life and incapable of being understood without this context. It is in this regard, that ads and other popular texts do not stand alone (Wernick 1991). He continues by arguing that in ads and other genres such as music, signs, conventions and values are drawn from a common pool which exists in society at particular points in time. That “these may also be reworked by advertising and fed back in other cultural forms, a process facilitated by the increasing institutional ties between advertising, commercial media and mass entertainment” (Wernick 1991:3). From this perspective, intertextuality closely relates to notions of resemiotization and remediation (discussed above).



4.5.2. Intertextuality and advertising

The notion of intertextuality within the media is clearly seen in advertisements, especially in postmodern times. Advertising campaigns in the postmodern era make reference to films and other forms of popular culture such as music and television. As advertising become more pervasive, it is gets recognized as a point of cultural reference in its own right (Wernick 1991). That is, it allows ads to draw on and make explicit reference to other ads (and social experiences) so that their meanings become interdependent among themselves, and thus the process of communication in advertising becomes self-conscious and self-referencing. Due to this privileged process of “intertextual inbreeding”, advertisers may choose to attack the signs associated with their competitors rather than their products or services (Goldman & Papson 1994). In this vein, Cook (1992) distinguishes between intra and inter-discoursal allusion in advertising, in that ads frequently assume knowledge of other discourse types and films. This

notion therefore, as expounded from a postmodern point of view becomes relevant to the study in the analysis of media texts.

Additionally, apart from seeking to sell a product, ads seek to entertain in an intertextual manner. Intertextuality of advertising campaigns offers audiences enormous pleasure because they allow them to celebrate and share their cultural knowledge (Taylor & Willis 1999). They further state that whatever the cultural source of intertextuality present in many ads, it undoubtedly offers a wide range of pleasures, and in doing so create meaning in a number of ways.

Referencing other texts is not the only way in which contemporary advertisements may be thought as intertextual. It is possible to have ads building on and using the audience's knowledge not only of the product being advertised but also of previous products, ideas or campaigns employed to promote it. In such campaigns characters or ideas reappear and events unfold across a number of linked ads (Taylor & Willis 1999). I find this useful in analyzing Zambian advertisements.

It is also possible to argue that the ability of an audience to read intertextuality is a prerequisite to understanding of these types of campaigns, and pays a testament to the sophistication of the contemporary consumer's ability to operate across Fiske's horizontal dimension when reading advertisements (Taylor & Willis 1999).

4.5.3. Intertextuality and popular music

As pointed out, postmodern media images may be considered intertextual because they continually reference other texts and images. Taylor and Willis (1999) argue that meaning does not only reside within the sound of a piece of popular music. It also creates meaning through the forms in which recorded music is distributed (LP, CD, and MP3. DVD), the television, and magazine images that help promote it and the references to other music and media that performers include in their work. It is thus the increasing level of reference to other performers and texts, its intertextuality, that other critics have concluded that the contemporary music scene is postmodern. This is supported by the fact that so much of the promotional work undertaken in

the music industry pays homage to earlier popular cultural images. Popular cultural references are thus common and can be found in many other popular videos by different artists. Thus, they argue, that all postmodern texts do is superficially reproduce earlier images and ideas.

Therefore, intertextuality is an important feature of the way people use language in social communities. The meanings that people make and the way they make them is always dependent on the currency in their communities of other texts they recognize as having certain definite kinds of relationships with one another. People can make relations through the relations between two texts; meanings that cannot be realized with any single text (Shuart-Farris & Bloome 2004). This study uses intertextuality as an analytical tool to understand how meanings are made. In particular, I use it to trace the intertextual references made in the texts and further demonstrate how they create new meanings in the process. Thus intertextuality affords the researcher a necessary analytical tool to unravel the meanings embedded in media texts such as ads and music genres that are a 'blend' of other semiotics.

Likewise, in analyzing linguistic choices speakers make during their daily encounters to negotiate meaning and enact different social roles and role structure, conversation analysis henceforth CA, and face negotiation theory are discussed below.

4.6. Conversation analysis (CA)

In every human interaction, conversation plays a central role in organizing social activities and maintaining order. As people take turns in any interaction, they negotiate meaning about what they think is going on in the world, how they feel about it and how they feel about the people they interact with (Hapsari 2011). This process of exchanging meaning is functionally motivated. People interact with each other in order to accomplish a wide range of tasks. In most cases people talk for the sake of talking. For example, chatting over a cup of coffee with friends or dinner, it is such informal interactions that are referred to as casual conversations (Wetherel 1998; Hapsari 2011). Casual conversations are types of conversations which are less conscious and unmonitored, that is, interactants feel free to use language in any way they feel so without

being worried about who is listening to them (see Eggins & Slade 1997; Van Dijk 1997; Hapsari 2011). Although casual conversations appear to be insignificant, they are a highly structured, functionally motivated, semantic activity (see Hapsari 2011; Bailey 2007a). In this regard, casual conversations are a critical linguistic site for the negotiation of important dimensions of social identity such as gender, locations sexuality social class, membership, ethnicity and sub-cultural and group affiliations. It is through casual conversations that joint construction of social reality takes place (Hapsari 2011). Even if causal conversations appear in informal settings, some of its features are also present in dialogues or conversations found in professional or institutional encounters such as meetings (Van Dijk 1997). The current study thus considers both types of conversations, that is, casual and formal ones in order to determine the nature of language practices across domains and how interactants in these domains construct social identities and social relations.

In conversations, language users actively engage in text and talk not only as speakers, writers, listeners or readers but also as belonging to particular social categories such as groups, professions, organizations, communities, societies or cultures. Thus, they interact as members of these categories which are however enacted through talk (Van Dijk 1997; Banda 2009). In this vein, identity is not assumed a priori but seen to emerge from speakers' interactions (see Banda 2009; 2005).

Given the nature of conversations as discussed above, in order to examine how interactants construct social identities, enact role structures and social relationships in conversations, CA is an important analytical tool that enables a researcher to unpack these issues. In this regard, CA is an approach to the study of natural conversations, especially with a view to determining the following:

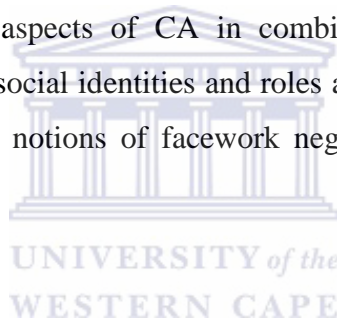
- (a) Participants' methods of turn taking, constructing sequences of utterances across turns, identifying and repairing problems, and employ gaze and movement;
- (b) How conversation works in different settings e.g. in interviews, telephone conversations, court hearings, and so on (Hapsari 2011).

However, only aspects of (b) are considered in this study due to the fact that the nature of study does not permit for a full CA given the fact that several other tools are used to explain what is happening in the data. In this regard, conversation analysis (CA) generally attempts to describe the orderliness, structure and sequential patterns of interaction whether institutional (in schools, court, etc.) or in casual conversations (Hapsari 2011). Therefore, CA would be defined as the study of recorded naturally occurring talk-in-interactions. The main reason for studying such interactions is to discover how participants understand and respond to one another in their turns at talk, with a central focus on how sequences of action are generated (Hutchby & Wooffitt 2008). CA explores social action with a focus on participants' understanding of one another's conduct. Through their messages, participants accomplish actions and display their understanding of one another's actions and these actions can stand in a particular relation to one another (Van Dijk 1997; Hapsari 2011). As earlier noted, conversations enables speakers to construct social identities and social relations as Eggins and Slade (1997:8) add: "we treat conversation as an exchange of meanings, as text, and recognise its privileged role in the construction of social identities and interpersonal relations." In this regard, CA involves how language is used in different ways to construct social identities and how patterns of interactions reveal the social relations among interactants (Hapsari 2011; Eggins & Slade 1997; Psathas 1995; Bailey 2007). In CA, analysis proceeds from general observations that in talk participants display to each other their understanding of the settings and context and their grasp of emergent activities as they perform their contributions. Thus the focus of CA is on how participants reflect the accomplishments of conversations (Wetherel 1998). This take on CA is useful to the current study as the researcher first began by observing what was going on in the conversations in order to identify how participants constructed social reality.

In CA, the most used criterion for analysis is the grammatical patterns of the conversations; and the major grammatical aspect that offers clues to the different social roles and relations in interaction is mood. Mood is defined as patterns of clause types such as interrogative, declarative and imperative (Banda 2009; Eggins & Slade 1997; Hapsari 2011). Accordingly, the analysis of mood choices in conversations can reveal tensions and equality and difference as interactants enact and construct relations of power (Eggins & Slade 1997). The grammatical resources of language hence are used to construct and enact personal identity and interpersonal relationships.

In this study I identify how grammatical patterns that enact such social roles in conversations are deployed by interactants during their conversations.

Furthermore, grammatical patterns are revealed by studying the types of clause structures chosen by speakers and are displayed within each speaker's turns (Banda 2009; Hapsari 2011). The patterned choices are what indicate the different social roles being played by interactants and how such roles are constructed in our culture. At the clause level, the major patterns which enact roles and role relations are those of mood with its associated subsystems of polarity and modality (Eggins & Slade 1997). Following Eggins and Slade (1997:71), who argue that "clues to the different social roles can be found in the linguistic choices interactants make", this study does not specifically analyse mood in conversations but rather individual linguistic choices that speakers make within a clause or phrase to enact social identities, role structures and relations. Therefore, the study uses some aspects of CA in combination with other analytical tools highlighted above to explore how social identities and roles are negotiated in talk. In addition to CA, the study also applies a few notions of facework negotiation theory which is discussed below.



4.7. Facework negotiation theory

Facework negotiation theory argues that people in all cultures try to preserve and negotiate face in all communication situations to partly avoid being embarrassed (Ting-Toomey 1988, 2005; Cocroft & Ting-Toomey 1994; Oetzel & Ting-Toomey 2003; Ting-Toomey & Kurogi 1998). In a social encounter, embarrassment may result from deficiencies in one's presented self (Klass 1990; Modigliani 1968; Shott 1979). Furthermore, embarrassment, that is, self-conscious distress ensues when one is in a social context, as opposed to shame and guilt (Edelmann 1981) and is likely to be accompanied by blushing, smiling or feelings of foolishness (Buss 1980). During a face threatening context of embarrassment, a disturbance of assumptions people make about one another in social transitions could potentially occur (Gross & Stone 1964).

In face and face work, people try to present a respectable front to other individuals when managing different relationships (Merkin 2006). According to Goffman (1967:5), face is "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself [or herself] by the line others assume he [or she] has taken during a particular contact". Thus, face is similar to a negotiated identity (cf. Banda 2009; Eggins & Slade 1997; Hapsari 2011). Feelings are attached to one's self and one's self is expressed through face (Merkin 2006). Besides, facework consists of actions taken to support desires, to maintain or gain face (Merkin 2006).

In facework theory culture is important because it shapes how the context or situation is perceived in that it helps determine one's self and in turn, one's corresponding face (Hofstede 2001; Inkeles & Levinson 1997). In addition "even though the situation plays a part in the strategies people use to present their face, the range of strategies from which people chose is limited by their cultural values." (Merkin 2006:142). For Goffman (1955), facework refers to the rules that people follow in enacting their face. It is these rules that vary according to culture (Hofstede 1991; Oetzel & Ting-Toomey 2003).

The current study uses some aspects of facework theory in order to explain the social roles performed by some linguistic choices used by interactants in a given cultural context of a conversation. Therefore, in relation to the construction of social reality in conversations, facework would equally be considered as part of that reality (cf. Eggins & Slade 1997). Thus, in identifying certain linguistic choices interactants make within a conversation to enact social identities and social relations, the study also examines how interactants use facework to save their face. In this regard, the theorizing on face and facework is useful in analyzing some aspects of the conversations in which interactants appear to use facework strategies in order to avoid embarrassing moments or in order to show politeness (see Brown & Levinson 1978).

4.8. Summary of chapter

This chapter has outlined the main theoretical and conceptual framework within which the study has been analysed. The chapter focused on the eclectic nature of the analytical framework considering the domain-based approach taken. The analytical and conceptual tools discussed are drawn from MDA and its sister ‘tools’ which included resemiotization, semiotic remediation (SRM), dialogism/multivocality (double voicing), intertextuality and re-contextualization. The chapter has explained the relevance of each one of these notions as they are applied in the analysis of different aspects considered in the study. The chapter has shown that MDA is an overall framework within which data is analysed. This is so because MDA considers all aspects of semiotic resources involved in the process of meaning making. MDA does not privilege any resource over the other but considers all semiosis in their totality and therefore it has been suggested to be relevant to the study. In order to deal with each one of the various aspects of meaning making systems, resemiotization and SRM, has been suggested to individually account for how meaning shifts from context to context as it traverses different modes and modalities, and how it is recreated, repurposed and remediated anew from other’s words, respectively. The presence of double voices and identities in texts or discourses is dealt with by multivocality/double voicing.

Intertextuality (and dialogism) has been suggested by the chapter to account for local and global intertextual references present in different discourses, particularly music genres and advertisements which exploit borrowing from prior text in meaning making. In order to explore intertextuality in such texts or discourse practices, the chapter suggests the notion of re-contextualization as the relevant one. Thus the chapter has demonstrated how these notions are the most relevant in analyzing the multilingual discourses as social localized practice and the mobility of language and how it transforms meaning under different circumstances.

The study has also briefly discussed CA and facework negotiation theory as part of the analytical tools used in analyzing the data especially conversations. In particular, these are used in order to examine how interactants enact social identities and social relations in conversations. Besides, facework negotiation theory is used in order to investigate the facework strategies Lusaka

urbanites use in order to save face. In the next chapter, I present the research design and methodology used in the study.



CHAPTER FIVE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

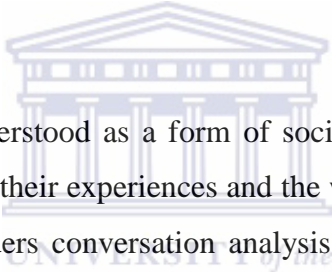
5.0. Introduction

The previous chapter highlighted the analytical and conceptual framework used in the thesis for the analysis of the data in line with the objectives of the study set out in chapter one. The current chapter provides the actual steps that were used in the process of executing the research which ultimately led to finding answers to the objectives of the study discussed in chapters six, seven, eight and nine. Therefore, informed by the objectives of the study, this chapter outlines the research design and methodology used in the thesis. It firstly explains the research design and further presents the methodology, that is, the methods and techniques used in data collection and analysis. Moreover, it discusses some ethical considerations taken in the process of data collection. Additionally, it outlines some limitations faced in the process of conducting the research.

5.1. Research design

Every ideal research study has a structure or frame which elaborately defines the steps to be pursued right from the beginning to the end in the process of executing the work. This structure or frame is outlined in a way that seeks to provide answers to the research questions set out in the study. This is what is known as “research design”. According to Kothari (2004:30) a research design “... is the conceptual structure within which research is conducted; it constitutes the blueprint for the collection, measurement and analysis of data”. This implies that design will include an outline of what the researcher will do from the formulation of the research problem to the final analysis of data (cf. Maree 2007; Kumar 2005). In this regard, a research design in

general will specify the steps and stages followed in the process of data collection and analysis. It will further specify sources and types of information relevant to the research problem. In addition, a research design points out the approach to be used for gathering and analyzing the data. It also includes the scope of the study and its limits (Kothari 2004). In this vein, the research design used in this study was informed by the qualitative research approach. Therefore, the term qualitative research has been used not as a particular design or particular technique but as an overall approach that informed the entire process of gathering information and analyzing it. According to Van Maanen cited in Welman, Kruger and Mitchell (2005:188) the term is used as an “umbrella” phrase “covering an array of interpretive techniques which seek to describe, decode, translate, and otherwise come to terms with the meaning of naturally occurring phenomena in the social world.” Thus qualitative approach is also typically a descriptive form of research.



Qualitative research is further understood as a form of social inquiry that focuses on the way people interpret and make sense of their experiences and the world in which they live (Holloway 1997). However, when one considers conversation analysis, a researcher interest is not about what or how people interpret or make sense of their word but on how talk is organized although conversation analysis is a typical example of qualitative study (Flick 2007). In qualitative research, the focus is on exploring and understanding phenomena in natural contexts or real-world settings. In such an approach, generally, the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomena of interest. To put it differently, research is conducted in real-life situations, unlike in an experimental (test-retest) scenario (Maree 2007; Newman 2011). In this regard, in order to learn more about the phenomena, the researcher conducts interviews with participants asking them general questions, collects the detailed views of the participants in the form of words, images, and analyses the information for description of the themes and also makes observations. The researcher makes interpretations on this data about the meaning of the information drawing on personal reflections and past research. Thus qualitative studies accept researcher subjectivity as something that cannot be avoided and views the researcher as a “research instrument” in the data collection process (Creswell 2002; Maree 2007; Newman 2011). In addition to this, the researcher involvement and immersion in the changing, real-world situation is essential since the

qualitative researcher needs to record those changes in real-life settings (Maree 2007; Newman 2011).

Some scholars have questioned the validity and authenticity of data obtained using qualitative approaches. However, it is important to point out that qualitative data provide rich and sufficient ground for making important conclusions about natural phenomena. This is aptly put by Newman (2011:92-93) who states that:

Qualitative data is not as imprecise or deficient; the data are highly meaningful. Instead of converting social life into variables or numbers, we borrow ideas from people we study and place them within the context of natural setting. We examine motifs, themes, distinctions, and ideas instead of variables, and we adapt the inductive approach of grounded theory...qualitative data document real events. They are recordings of what people say (with words, gestures, and tone), observations of specific behaviors, studies of written documents, or examination of visual images. These are all concrete aspects of the world.

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It is clear from Newman's words that qualitative research provides data that can be trusted and that can be used to understand real life situations in which people find themselves. Qualitative research is therefore about social life and how this is interpreted for meaning. It is in light of this that the study found the approach useful in terms of data collection and analysis. In this regard, the study followed a descriptive research design largely informed by a qualitative approach to both data collection and analysis. In view of the above, qualitative research focuses on interpretations, that is, how people make or create social understandings and meanings in specific settings. In qualitative (descriptive) research designs, the researcher tries to see social life from multiple points of view and explain how people construct identities. In this case, variables or testing of hypotheses are rarely used. In qualitative approaches to social research, we see social life as being intrinsically qualitative (Newman 2011).

In the case of this research, the focus was on the ways in which people use their linguistic repertoires in multilingual natural settings of modern Lusaka during communication. Therefore, in order to gather required data about how people use their linguistic repertoires as they make meaning and enact social identities in natural settings as well as in written/print documents/audio-visual materials, the study did two things as part of the overall descriptive research design: surveyed the population for the needed participants and analysed contents of written and printed documents.

According to Hofstee (2006) a survey elicits information from a limited number of people who are presumed to have the information the researcher is looking for, are able and willing to communicate and who are (nearly at all times) intended to be representative of a larger group. In this case, the researcher used a limited number of individuals who were considered representative to some extent of Lusaka urban speakers in eliciting data using focus group discussions and unstructured in-depth interviews. It is however important to note that the concern of qualitative studies is not about representation but rather about understanding natural phenomena (Flick 2007).



However, surveys are considered an excellent way of finding/getting the required people for data. They are also important ways of finding out about people's opinions, desires, attitudes and generally understanding how they interact and make meanings out of those interactions. Thus this makes them an exceptional and powerful research tool when such information is required. Thus, I found it to be a necessary tool in locating research participants and gathering information on people's opinions on the languages they use and how they use them in formal and informal settings of postmodern Lusaka. It was equally useful in identifying musicians for in-depth unstructured interviews. However, any researcher using this research design has to be very careful in the selection of individuals for information gathering as any slight mistake might lead to distorted results (Hofstee 2006).

5.2. Research Methodology

Research methodology considers and explains the motivation behind research methods and techniques used; it thus has a wider scope than research methods which in turn are wider in scope than research techniques (Welman *et al.* 2005; Kumar 2005). Methodology is an important tool for research that determines how the conclusions and findings of the study are reached. It further specifies the precise stages, guidelines and parameters through which objectivity can be achieved in a research. In this vein, the credibility of any research is judged on the strengths of the methodologies applied (Mheta 2011).

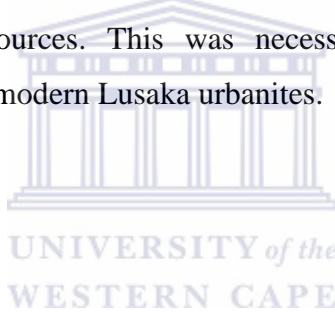
As pointed out above, this research study was largely informed by qualitative research approach, similarly, the research methods and techniques discussed are influenced by the approach taken in the study. The methods of data collection applied in the study are; Focus Group Discussions (FDGs), Follow-up Key Informant Interviews (KIIs), Participant Observation and Document Analysis. However, before discussing each one of them in turn, it is important to discuss the notions of population and sample/sampling being critical aspects of methodology.

5.2.1. Population and Sample

When research is conducted to investigate a research question, data is collected from the respondents of the enquiry in order to solve the problem concerned. The results obtained should therefore provide an insight of the nature of the problem and should further give an idea as to whether to reject or accept the conclusions (Welman *et al.* 2005; Kumar 2005). In any study, within the research design, there is need to specify the number of groups and participants to be used and whether these groups and individuals are to be drawn randomly from the population or not and what should be done with them (Welman *et al.* 2005; Kumar 2005). Therefore, there is need to define the terms “population” and “sample” before outlining the sampling procedure used in the study.

5.2.1.1. Population

According to Welman *et al.* (2005:52) population “is the study object and consists of individuals, groups, organizations, human products and events or the conditions to which they are exposed”. In this regard, a population becomes a critical aspect of any research study, that is, any research problem of a study will need to relate to a specific population and the population involves the total collection of all units of analysis from which the researcher draws specific conclusions (Welman *et al.* 2005; Cresswell 1998). Thus a population is the full set of cases from which a sample is taken. When we deal with sampling, the term “population” takes a new meaning different from the traditional sense that refers to people only. A population in research need not necessarily be people (Welman *et al.* 2005). From this perspective, the population from which a sample was drawn was Lusaka urban communities as well as from non-human sources such as written/print, and audio-visual sources. This was necessary as the study considered the multilingual language practices of modern Lusaka urbanites.

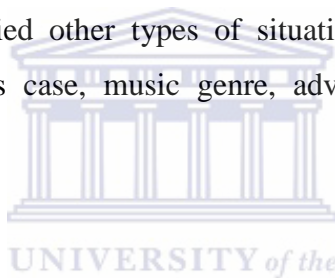


5.2.1.2. Sampling procedure

The notion of sampling is usually associated with selecting the ‘right’ cases from a known ‘pool’ of cases and that this can be done at one time. However, in the research practice of qualitative research it is often an iterative process (Flick 2007). This means that sampling in qualitative research is a continuous and repetitive process.

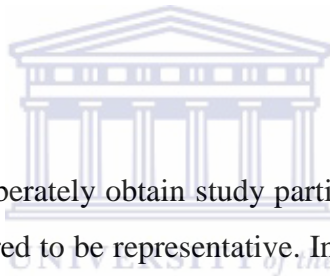
In qualitative research, sampling can be distinguished from a more formalized sampling to a more purposive and flexible ways of doing it. Qualitative sampling is flexible and may be determined by what a researcher is looking for. It can use the formal sampling or the purposive sampling (Flick 2007).

According to Flick (2007) the sampling process consists of several steps, for example, selection of site or type of site, situations relevant to issues being researched; selecting of concrete situations in which the issues being researched become more visible and finally identifying other types by which the issue being researched is influenced as well. He further argues that the selection of sites and situations is most relevant for ethnographic research and for studies of communication such as conversational analysis. In this vein, I found Flick's idea of the sampling stages important for the study. Thus, this study followed Flick's steps of sampling. In the first instance, I selected the site or situations which were relevant to the issues that were being researched. These sites or situations included public spaces such as markets, Men's Barbershops and Ladies' Hair Saloon and some workplaces where people were identified for the purposes of the study. These were sites that were relevant to the issues which the research was addressing. Secondly, I selected the concrete situations in which the issues that were being researched became visible. Finally, I identified other types of situations by which the issue is further influenced or concretized. In this case, music genre, advertisements and online data were identified.



Selection process of the sites and situations were largely informed by the research's objectives which sought to analyse how language as a localized social practice permeated different hybrid discourse practices. In this regard, sampling of this research constituted selecting people and situations. The selection of a sample is an important stage of any research and so is the sampling technique(s). A sample is selected from a population within a research site or source of information. As pointed out above, a population in this sense has been used to refer to a group of potential participants to whom results of the study were generalized. In this vein, care was taken in the process of selecting the sample as the results of the study can only be meaningful if the sample is representative of the entire population from which participants were drawn. By representative it is implied that the sample should have the exact or nearly exact characteristics of the population from which it was taken otherwise the results of the study may only apply to the individuals that actually participated in the study (Welman *et. al.* 2005).

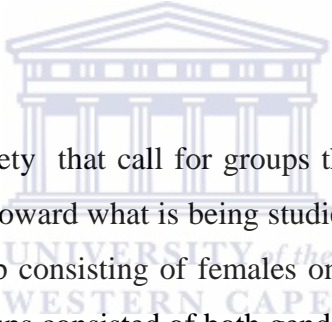
In order to come up with a sample thought to be adequate for the research, different techniques of sampling are used. They range from formalized random sampling or non-formalized non-probability sampling. These techniques are largely determined by the type of research questions and data to be collected and generally the research approach taken. In this study, I used purposive sampling. This was necessitated by the types of data that the study sought. Purposive sampling was used to select participants from a human population as well as from a non-human source to select written documents for analysis. Purposive sampling falls under the broader category of non-probability sampling. Non-probability sampling is a form of sampling which does not specify the inclusion of any respondent. Thus in some cases certain members or objects may have no chance at all of being included in such a sample. However, the advantage of non-probability samples is that they are less complicated and more economical with respect to time and financial expenses (Welman *et. al.* 2005). In view of this, I found them to be useful for the study.



Purposive sampling is used to deliberately obtain study participants or objects in such a manner that the sample selected is considered to be representative. In this regard, the researcher sampled the population that constituted the respondents and the sources of written documents for the study using purposive sampling. This was necessary in order to have a sizeable and manageable number of respondents that were easy to access within the stipulated timeframe and the resources available. It was equally conducive for the selection of parts of written documents that were easily accessible and available. The technique was thought to provide the best information that would achieve the objectives of the study (cf. Oketch 2006).

One of the key aims of a purposive sample is to serve a specific need or purpose. In line with this, the study had specific groups of people and sites where to find them for the purposes of collecting data that would precisely and conveniently answer the objectives of the study. Thus the technique of purposive sampling was used as it was ideal to locate the right people and sites where data that was thought to be correct or adequate to answer the objectives could easily be found.

According to Flick (2007) sampling in qualitative research can also take a third point of reference beyond people and situations. In focus groups, for example, it is often the group that is seen as a case and not individual participants. In line with this, finding the right cases implies having groups that include people with specific relation to what is studied and with the right mixture of people, opinions and attitudes. In the case of this study, focus groups were identified and treated as groups. This was necessary as it provided an environment in which people would freely discuss within a group set up. I ensured that the groups that were selected included the right mixture of people who could talk freely amongst themselves and with the researcher. The aim of FDGs was to collect conversations. Besides, FDGs as a method of data collection has been found to be one of the reliable purposive uses of interaction to generate data (Mc Lafferty 2004).



In order to ensure appropriate variety that call for groups that are different enough to cover a wide range of experiences with or toward what is being studied, I formed groups that constituted the same gender, that is, one group consisting of females only and the other males only (Flick 2007; Rapley 2007). The other groups consisted of both genders. This was done in order to make comparisons at the level of different groups, the contents discussed and how each group constructed the identity of the ‘other’ and of the ‘self’ and how the issue of membership affiliation could be realised. Constructing of groups can also lead to sampling and selecting for an interview study that addresses individuals as well and this was what was done (Flick 2007). From the groups that were constituted, I sampled one to two individuals for key informed interviews based on their ability to provide rich information in the group discussions.

Flick (2007) argues that if we go beyond asking or observing groups in qualitative research, the logic of sampling may change as well and this is what happened in the case of this study. He puts it this way:

When we address documents as data in research-either texts...or images...we often set up a collection of such documents – an archive or a corpus of materials, in such a case we do not make a selection of persons or situations in order to produce data by applying methods to study them, but we take existing materials, which we select in order to analyse them (p.10-11).

This means that the sequence of the sampling process is turned around; in the first place, we have the material, the selection, then the use of methods in place of first the selection, then the methods, and then the materials and the methods again. This was exactly the procedure followed in this study to come up with a corpus of documents and videos for analysis.

Flick (2007) contends that sampling in this case is about discovering the best ‘exemplars’ of these documents for answering the research question. He continues that this corpus can be set up at the beginning of the analysis and be redesigned during the process of the analysis and according to the gaps in the material or analysis so far. In view of this, at the initial stages of the analysis, I choose text messages as sent in on live TV shows but the corpus could not give rich data suitable for answering the research questions, I then decided to redesign the corpus by doing away with them and replacing them with online-based discourses which were more enriching than the latter.

Therefore, sampling in qualitative research has a wide range of meanings: to select people, groups, sites and situations for collecting data or to build a corpus of data for analysis. In each of these instances, sampling cases or materials is just the first step (Flick 2007). The sampling process continues as one would sample statements from the host of answers or from a discussion which directly addresses the issue of the study (cf. Heigham & Croker 2009). In this regard, I borrowed Flick’s idea of sampling statements or passages from the documents that were found relevant to answering my research questions. In this vein, Flick (2007:11) argues: “...sampling in qualitative research does not only mean sampling cases and materials, but also sampling inside materials and cases”. It follows then that the study found it necessary to select only those cases

or examples from the sample (the corpus) that were directly relevant to the research question and dealt with them in more detail.

Rubin and Rubin cited in Flick (2007) suggest that sampling in qualitative study should be iterative and flexible. This implies that a researcher should be ready to adapt to the conditions in the field and new insights resulting from data collection which may entail reshuffling the original sampling plan. This was exactly what happened in the case of this study. The researcher had to reshuffle the process of selecting data in order to get the data that would be appropriate to find answers to the objectives.

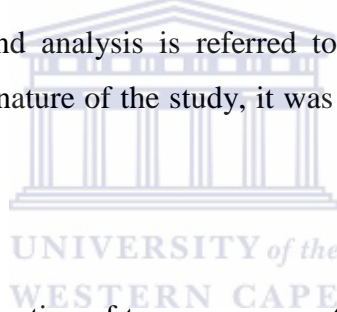
In order to get a wide and comprehensive perspective on language practices in urban Lusaka, the sample was taken from public spaces such as Gents' Barbershops, Ladies' Hair Saloons, market places, Boutiques, music groups and formal spaces of selected work places. The motivation behind this was that such places would provide a more representative sample as they constituted people from different parts of Lusaka and besides, popular music samples also provided some form of representation of language practices. This was found to be one of the ways that ensured a closely representative sample of the urban settings of Lusaka population. Considering the number of groups that were targeted, the sample comprised 80 participants drawn from the different locations highlighted above which were thought to represent sections of Lusaka urban population.

The study also purposefully sampled written and printed documents from local internet blogs, billboards placed in public spaces, advertisements as well as audio-video ads. Considering that it is impossible to collect and analyse all written documents that fall in the public domains, purposive sampling was used to select only those documents, videos, ads and music that provided the data needed in the study for further analysis. In this respect, I collected 50 internet-based discourses (from news blogs), 50 billboard print ads, 50 popular music videos and lyrics from Zambia based on the Top Ten TV show which features music videos on a weekly basis as

voted for by viewers. In addition, I recorded 8 conversations from focus groups, and also recorded 5 radio discourses, 5 formal meetings including a presidential briefing. Moreover, 8 KIIs from selected from the FDGs were conducted.

5.2.2. Mixed methods approach

Chapters one and three clearly demonstrate that this research touches on different aspects of hybrid discourse practices of urbanites in late modern Lusaka, for example, casual conversations, print advertisements and online discourses. In as much as these aspects are inter-related, gathering information from them required an array of data collection methods that would cancel out respective weaknesses of one or the other. Such a method of combining or mixing methods or strategies of data collection and analysis is referred to as triangulation or simply mixed methods approach. In view of the nature of the study, it was inevitable to use mixed methods to data collection (see Flick 2007).



Triangulation is said to be an application of two or more methods of data collection in the study of aspects of human behavior (Flick 2007). However, the notion of triangulation as used in research was (still is) originally used to combine quantitative and qualitative research approaches for interpretive validity purposes (Maree 2007; Welman *et. al.* 2005; Flick 2007). The idea of using triangulation methodology is to ensure quality of data and subsequent results of an investigation. However, in this study I use triangulation in terms of combining different qualitative research methods within the general qualitative research paradigm taken (Flick 2007). The combination of the research methods are diagrammatically represented in Figure 1 below:

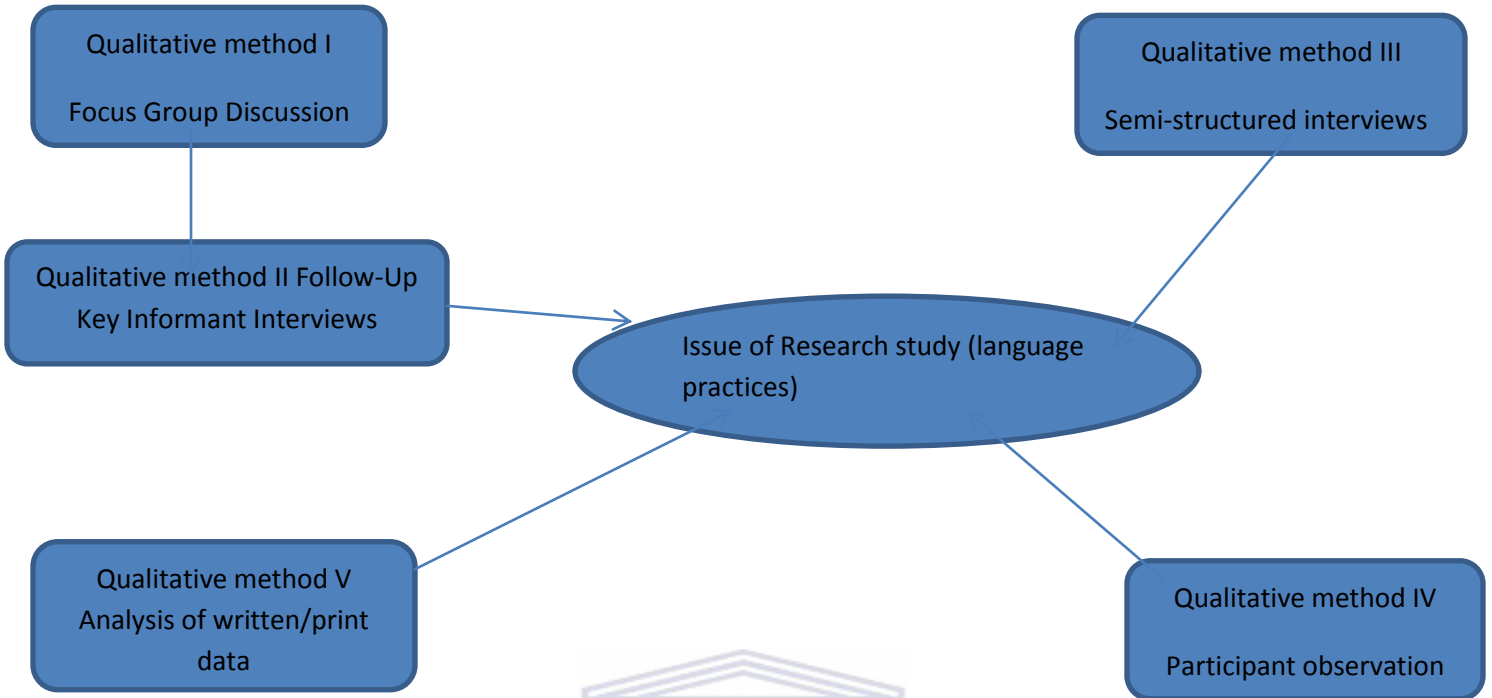


Figure 1: An illustration of different qualitative research methods (adapted from Barbour 2007)

The methods presented in Figure 1 above were chosen on account of their suitability in dealing with different sources of data that the study had targeted. These methods collectively addressed the research questions which ultimately addressed the research issue. In the section below, I explain in detail how each of the methods was applied in the process of data collection and the motivation behind their selection.

(a) ***Qualitative method I-Focus Group Discussion (FGD)***: Kitzinger and Barbour (1999) define focus groups as group discussions exploring a specific set of issues. They point out that they are ‘focused’ because they place a premium in achieving a collective goal through debating a set of different questions or topics. Focus groups are distinguished from group interviews in that they involve group interaction to generate data. In focus groups, the researcher provides stimulus materials in order to encourage participants’ interaction with one another. The researcher also pays attention to the composition of the group to ensure that discussions seem appropriate

(Barbour 2007). In so doing, from a linguist point of view, focus groups encourage natural talk. It is for this reason that I found them as one of the important methods of data collection in the study as the research sought to find naturally occurring talk. The idea was to get people together, provide a general contentious topic for discussion and encourage the talking and then generate the data. In as much as this could appear to be a controlled discussion, care was taken to avoid controlling the discussion as the objective was to get natural talk. In the first instances, the discussions began at a slow pace as participants were conscious they were being recorded. However, as time progressed, they had forgotten they were being recorded. In this case, naturally occurring data was generated. Therefore, the aim of the FDGs was to target natural occurring talk.

From the foregoing, a total of 8 focus groups were conducted. These focus groups were taken from the following sites: market place, Boutique, Gents' Barbershop, Ladies' Hair Saloon, 2 music groups and 1 from the workplace. The numbers of participants in the groups ranged between 5 and 8 participants. Since the study was designed to capture how people interact and use hybrid discourses in informal or casual conversations, some general question/s of topical nature were asked to stimulate discussions. Nonetheless, I included the workplaces to explore the mobility of language across the informal and formal spaces. Consent was sought from participants before recording them, although scholars such as Moody (1985) have observed that when interlocutors realize they are being recorded they pay much attention to how they use language hence making the setting unnatural. However, this is not always the case when the discussion is long as participants tend to forget they are being recorded. In this case, the researcher deliberately allowed the discussions to be longer. The idea was to ensure that respondents overcome their anxieties in order for them to provide natural conversations. I also tried to maintain the natural settings by conducting the focus group discussions within the places where I got the groups from. For example, I used the same markets and Barbershops to conduct the discussions from. This was particularly important in view of the type of data I was targeting. The topics of discussions varied from homosexuality to politics as these were at that time topics of debate nationwide. The choice of the topics was deliberate as the idea was to get everyone in the groups, including the introverts, participate. This method proved to be useful in two isolated

cases where two ladies, although they had consented to be part of the groups, had shown no interest in the beginning of the discussions but as others progressed, they also found themselves joining in and interestingly, did most of the talking.

(b) ***Qualitative method II-Follow up key informant interviews (KIIs)***: This method was used as a ‘within-method triangulation’ (see Flick 2007) to follow-up the FGDs. The KIIs were conducted with two selected participants from the groups mentioned in (a) above. The criterion for the selection was based on those that provided rich information as determined by the objectives of this study (see Creswell 2002). The KIIs were used in order to get further insights into the information provided by the participants. In particular, it was used to see whether the participant could shed light on the forms of language they unwittingly used during the FGDs. For example, whether they were able to associate particular linguistic resources they had used during the discussions to specific languages. Further, it was used to find out more about their home language, and other languages they used and how they use them. It was also used to find out general attitudes that they have on the languages they used in the FGDs.



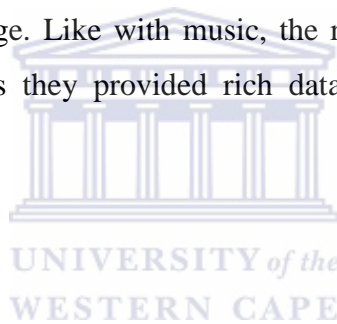
(c) ***Qualitative method III-semi-structured interviews***: Semi-structured interviews are commonly used in research projects to collaborate data emerging from other data sources. They seek to obtain the participants’ ideas and opinions on a given phenomenon. It rarely spans a long time and often requires the participant to answer predetermined questions. However, there is room for probing and clarification of answers (Nieuwenhuis 2007). This method was found to be necessary and a useful tool in obtaining ideas and opinions about multilingual language practices in formal and informal settings of urban Lusaka. Particularly, the method sought to find out what people’s opinions were about the hybrid discourse practices in various spheres of social life in Lusaka. That is, whether their opinions were in consonance with the dominant ideological views about language. This was important for the purposes of involving participants so they can have a say on their language practices which is a critical methodological issue in recent sociolinguistic theorizing that places speakers at the centre of language research (see Pennycook 2010; Heller 2007; Blackledge & Creese 2010). Thus, the method was used to collect data from purposefully

selected participants, one each from the focus groups, two random interviews from two professionals at a university and two street traders. The method was also used to solicit ideas and opinions from four musicians regarding the use of language in song lyrics. The questions in the interviews were predetermined.

(d) ***Qualitative method V Analysis of written/print/audio-visual data:*** The, first step involved under this method involved identifying the materials to be used in the study and then selecting the most relevant ones that ultimately constituted the corpus of documents and videos. This corpus included 50 web-based discourses (from news blogs and Facebook) accompanied by an extract of the article upon which each conversation was based; it also included 50 print ads and 50 music videos/song lyrics. The idea here was to establish how language and other semiotics are being localized in the process of meaning making and projection of identities by urban speakers. Secondly, having made a consolidated corpus of documents and videos, the researcher identified parts or sections from the corpus which were felt to be relevant in answering the research question. For example, from the music data base, the researcher settled for music lyrics and videos which had a bias toward one theme, that is, HIV/AIDS messages because this source revealed rich data in terms of the different semiotics used. Therefore, not all the corpus in their entirety were used for detailed analysis.

(e) ***Qualitative method IV-participant observation:*** The term ‘observation’ in research generally refers to the systematic process of recording the behavioral patterns of participants, objects and events without having to question or seeking to ask any questions (Nieuwenhuis 2007; Kothari 2004; Welman *et. al.* 2005; Heigham & Croker 2009). Thus participant observation is a type of research method in which the researcher actively participates in the activities of the people s/he is researching about. Therefore, a participant observer immerses or becomes part of the people being observed. The current researcher used the method of active participation in which he took part in the conversation during which time he observed and took notes of particular information pertinent to the study. The researcher also passively observed people’s interactions in order to see how they engaged their linguistic repertoire during their interactions to make meaning and

stylize identities. The limitation for using this method was that the recording of information using an audio recorder slightly interfered with the process of data collection as some participants viewed this with suspicion. However, the advantage of using this method was that it allowed the researcher to get an insight of actual language practices in places where FGDs could not be conducted such as on public buses, drinking places and busy workplaces. Therefore, the method was used to complement data collected using the methods highlighted above. This method was not only used in areas in which other research methods could not be used, but rather, it was also used in collaboration with other research methods, for example, the researcher used this method during the FGDs by observing the flow of the discussions and the common patterns of language use. The data collected using this method was recorded in a notebook as part of the research notes. In addition, a digital camera was used to capture print ads posted on billboards and other public areas. The idea was to choose only those ads which displayed the use of hybrid discourses or appropriated language. Like with music, the researcher also settled for print ads from mobile phone companies as they provided rich data that would yield answers to the objectives.



5.3. Data analysis

Nieuwenhuis (2007:99) states that “qualitative data analysis tends to be an on-going and iterative (non-linear) process”. This means that in qualitative research, data collection, processing and analysis are intertwined. In qualitative studies, researchers are encouraged and find it crucially significant to go back to the field notes and verify conclusions. They may also be required to verify it from research participants they had researched about. In this vein, data analysis in qualitative studies cannot be treated as a standalone stage. Data analysis in the case of this research started in the field during the process of data collection and continued throughout the process of the study. Below is Figure 2 as adopted from Seidel (1998) cited in Nieuwenhuis (2007:100) illustrating the process of data analysis used:

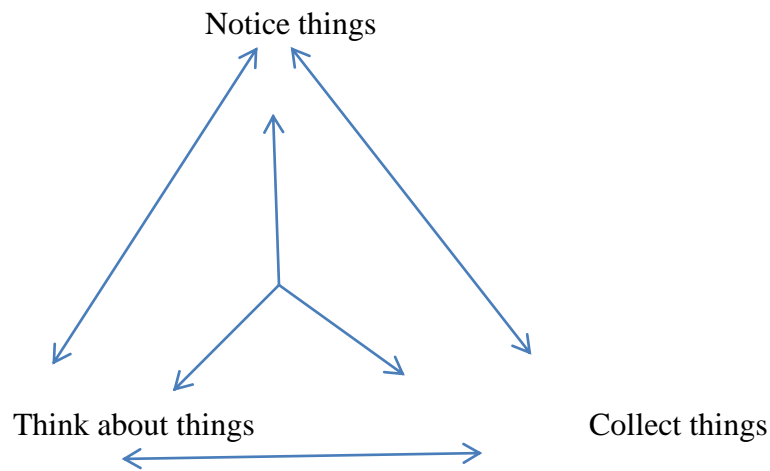


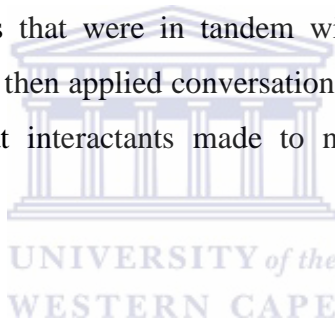
Figure 2: The data analysis process (adapted from Seidel, 1998)

The figure above illustrates the iterative process of qualitative data analysis developed by Seidel (1998). The figure demonstrates that data analysis process is cyclic in that each stage of research process has a bearing on data analysis. This implies that the researcher has to constantly and consistently refer back to them in the process of analysis. This is supported by Cresswell (1998:142) who states that:

To analyze data the researcher engages in the process of moving in analytical circles rather than using a fixed linear approach. One enters with data of text or images (e.g. photographs, videos) and exits with an account or narrative, in between, the researcher touches on several facts of analysis and circles round and round.

Considering the above, data analysis in this study began during data collection as some themes pertinent to the research questions began popping up. These were recorded on an audio recorder and in a research notebook. The data obtained from this source were later added to the generated knowledge from formal data analysis. As the research involved different data sets, that is, conversations, popular music/videos, print ads and online-based interactions, I began analyzing conversations first. This was necessary considering that conversations permeate different aspects

of discourse practices. Since conversations (from FGDs) were recorded and ranged between an hour and two hours in length, I first listened to them repeatedly with a view of identifying sections that were more relevant for analysis (see Heigham & Croker 2009). These were then extracted and transcribed for further analysis. This is what Gill (2000) refers to as coding. In this regard, the initial coding may involve going through the transcripts and highlighting or selecting out occasions that are in line with the questions. Therefore, guided by the research objectives, questions and the analytical framework, the initial analysis focused on selecting hybrid discourses used in the conversations and the contexts that determined but not entirely, their use. The second part of analysis, which Gill (2000) refer to as analysis proper focused on how these (hybrid discourses) were being used to negotiate role structures, social identity, and facework (Ting-Toomey 2005). As this was not an easy thing to do, it required a lot of attention and an iterative process to fully understand what was going on. The analysis also entailed paying attention to any emerging themes that were in tandem with the research questions and the literature reviewed. The researcher then applied conversational analysis (CA) in order to identify linguistic patterns or choices that interactants made to negotiate meaning, to enact social identities and relations.



The outlined pattern above was used to analyse other data sets but with a slight nuance toward multimodal discourse analysis. In this case, the second data set to be considered was the music videos/lyrics. The initial stage involved transcribing the lyrics from the videos and observing the interactions of images with words and actions. It was not possible to transcribe the videos except observing the activities of the participants in the videos and how these related to the print text. The idea was to see how these activities were blending with the hybrid discourses to make social meaning. In addition, the point was to identify any global and local intertextual references available. Furthermore, the analysis focused on how identities were being reconstituted or re-constructed in the music videos.

The observed activities were recorded in a research notebook and later interpreted for meaning. This process also entailed a careful and iterative process. The parts that were analysed were those

that were found relevant to the research questions and the analytical framework used. However, for the sake of a consolidated analysis, I use only three music videos to illustrate the point.

Analyzing the third data set was relatively easy because the corpus was already in the written form and therefore, it did not require to be transcribed down except providing English glosses were localized language forms were used; and, where possible, provide the meanings of English as appropriated in local contexts. The analysis began by reading and re-reading the corpus in order to identify themes and sections that were pertinent to the research (see Bauer & Gaskell 2000). After this was done, extracts of the corpus were taken for further analysis using CA. As pointed out above, the analysis was informed by the objectives and the literature reviewed. Similar aspects that were identified under conversations were also identified in this data set.

The fourth data set included data from interviews. Like in the case of conversations, these were first transcribed from digital recorder and thereafter, coding them, which involved reading and re-reading them to identify themes and relate these to the other findings in other data sets. Since interviews were a complementary source of data to other data, these were closely analysed within the same framework that was used in analyzing the rest.

Data containing advertisements were analysed using MDA. This was done first by identifying the images and relating them to the written text. Thereafter, assign meaning to the multimodal texts within the context of the culture and setting in which they were made and presented. In this regard, the researcher asked questions like: why did the advertiser or music producer use this image; and how does it relate to the other semiosis to make a unified meaning? After arriving at possible meanings of the multimodal texts, the researcher asked questions relating to identity, that is, how are these images and text constructing consumer or more generally social identities? Asking such questions helped to elaborately analyse print ads from an MDA and language as social practice perspective.

Having identified themes emerging from the study; the researcher applied content analysis. This is a technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying special characteristics of messages or data in general. The technique also involves interpretation. This entails assigning a coherent meaning or significance to something (Newman 2011). This stage was very important as it sought to give meaning or inferences to the knowledge generated in the different data sets. According to Newman (2011), in qualitative studies you give meaning by rearranging, examining and discussing the textual or visual data. This is done in order to convey an authentic voice and in a way, to remain true to the original understanding of the people being studied. In this study, interpretation of the information generated from the different data sets involved a repeated pattern of arranging, examining and discussing the data and in the process looking for meaning and attaching new ones to it. This process was constantly 'monitored' by the literature reviewed in chapters two, three and four as well as by the research objectives and questions. In this regard, MDA and CA were useful analytical tools. Additionally, I made interpretations based on my privileged status of a cultural insider of the people I was researching on. However, such interpretation was verified with another insider in order to prevent bias and thus enhance quality. The insiders were essentially two university lecturers who had some background knowledge in general linguistics. Therefore, conclusions were drawn based on such interpretations and literature reviewed.

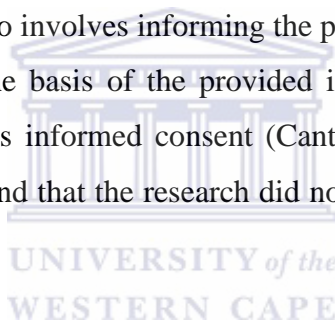
5.4. Ethical considerations

Ethical procedures are a critical component of any research. These are meant to protect the privacy and lives of the research participants. As per university regulation, every proposed research study must undergo an ethics clearance. It is in light of this that before the research was commenced; clearance was sought from the University of the Western Cape Research Ethics committee. Although the research did not pose any risks to the lives and/or health of the participants, the potential ethical issue concerned recordings of natural conversations. This

problem was resolved by engaging Focus group Discussions rather than recording people without their knowledge. The recordings were then stored safely.

Since some topics of discussion in the FDGs (for example, homosexuality and politics) were sensitive, care was taken not to offend other participants who might have been uncomfortable to discuss such topics. Fortunately, however, none of the participant in the FDGs felt uncomfortable or feared to discuss the topics highlighted above.

Every research study involving human participants follows a set of established ethical obligations. This includes informing the participants about the nature and benefits (if any) of the study prior to engaging them. It also involves informing the participants of any possible risks that the study might pose. It is on the basis of the provided information about the research that participants give what is known as informed consent (Cant 2003). In this regard, information about this research was provided and that the research did not, in any way, pose a threat to their privacy or health.



In short, I undertook the following:

- (1) Adhering to research protocol – that included indicating the purpose of the research and respecting the rights of participants.
- (2) Informing them that the data was solely to be used for academic purposes.
- (3) Informing participants that they had rights to withdraw from the research at any time within the course of interview or discussion; and that they had the right to know how their information would be used.

Before any data was collected from individuals, permission was sought and an informed consent form signed indicating that the participant had been informed about the nature of the study and that s/he had accepted to take part.

5.5. Limitations

The potential limitation of the study was that it partly used online-based data as part of the overall data collected for the study that may have included people that are not members of Lusaka urban communities. Considering the wide spread nature of the internet, some of the participants on web-based interactions could be from other towns other than Lusaka. This could be considered a limitation to the data in terms of scope because data drawn from this source might have included respondents that are not from urban Lusaka. However, this limitation did not pose serious problems as the linguistic data collected from this source presented more similarities with the data collected from other sources within Lusaka urban than initially thought.

The other limitation is that time could not allow to visit all urban communities in Lusaka to conduct FGDs or interviews as it is also not possible to accomplish considering the nature of study. This means that some hybrid discourse practices that are more 'localized' in a given community may not have been captured in the study. In addition, since some mobile network advertisements analysed target the audience beyond Lusaka, the data from this source might have a slight implication in the interpretation of data. This may also apply to data obtained from online sources.

5.6. Summary of chapter

This chapter has presented the research design used which spelt out the actual steps that were used in the process of executing the research. It has also presented the methodology used in the thesis that included the process of data collection and analysis. In this regard, it has provided specific methods and techniques used in data collection and analysis as well as the sampling techniques used. It went further to present some ethical considerations taken in the process of

data collection. It also outlined a few limitations to the data collected. The next chapters consider the findings and discussions of the data gathered in the research.



CHAPTER SIX

STYLIZATION OF IDENTITIES THROUGH URBAN DISCOURSES IN LUSAKA

6.0. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to show how speakers in informal casual face-to-face conversations in social settings of urban Lusaka stylize their multiple identities by dissolving traditional linguistic boundaries through use of an extended linguistic repertoire. Therefore, the chapter shows how speakers' linguistic choices permeate the language borders through the intermingling of morphemes and phrases from multiple sources into one. It furthermore, shows how standard and non-standard forms of language become conflated without necessarily observing the borders assumed to exist between languages. The chapter also demonstrates how speakers' language practices can be unpredictable in that in some cases, speakers would use forms of language close to the standard while in others they may combine both forms.

The chapter also considers speakers' own language conception as it is practiced in their social settings. This is particularly important as it is in line with recent sociolinguistic theorizing in which a speaker is placed at the centre of language research. The chapter also focuses on how, through the dissolution of language boundaries, speakers stylize different social identities ranging from urban to rural, modern to tradition, African to Christian as well as gendered identities. With regard to gendered identities, the chapter focuses on how such identities can be imposed and contested by speakers through language. The chapter also focuses on more localized Lusaka urban identities. The below provides a transcription guide for the conversations.

Table 3: Transcription key

Symbol	Meaning
[]	Researcher's translations
Bold	Words in English
//	Overlapping utterance
XXX	Inaudible words
(.)	Micro pause
Italics	Italics uses when a word or phrase is from a language other than English
...	Inaudible words
(())	Physical gesture accompanying speech

6.1. Dissolution of linguistic borders

The data shows how speakers in urban Lusaka draw on Nyanja, Bemba and English as communicative repertoire to communicate. Consider the following extract:

Extract 1

Turn speaker dialogue

1 **Jack:** *So benzebana nkala baganiza che ati tizakanyamula bwanji iyi, ni matons angati, ilema bwanji. Ndiyekwayenda ndlama, vimaconcrete vija ndipo zangena] very expensive XXX na equipment cabe XXX* [so they must have been planning how they would lift it (this refers to the marble tombstone) and they might also have considered how much tons it weighs. This is what has cost them money, such 'massive concrete' (marble tombstone) has cost a lot of money. These are very expensive...including the equipment itself.]

In the extract, it can be noticed that speakers are combining what Blommaert (2010) has referred to as bits of language as undifferentiated form to create meaning without observing their assumed boundaries between them. For example, the construction: *benzebana nkala baganiza*

che ati tizakanyamula bwanji iyi 'they might have sat down and planned about how they would lift it', can be analysed as a combination of different bits and pieces of language which include a Bemba prefix *ba-* functioning as a subject marker 'they' and the Nyanja tense marker *-enze* indicating past tense. These are all combined to form *benze* 'they had' where the vowel *a-* from the prefix *ba-* coalesces or fuses with the vowel *-e* from *-enze* as in *ba-enze* to form *benze*. Additionally, the Nyanja *a-* (in bold) for subject agreement as in *-enze anankala* also fuses with the vowel *a-* from the Bemba prefix *ba-* to read as *banankala* where *ba-* is indicating subject verb agreement, *-na-* another tense marker for the past and *-nkal-* a verbal root. Notice the presence of two tense markers indicating the same tense (past) as in *-enze* 'had' and *-na-* 'had' which is illustrative of the fact that speakers here are not using the bits and pieces of language as a system. However, others would argue that even the tense marker *-enze* is essentially from Ngoni and not Nyanja, as typical Nyanja would bear a single tense marker in its verbal construction and would read as *anakhala* 'they sat' without the addition of *-enze*, where *a-* is the subject marker, *-na-* tense marker (past) and *-khal-* verbal root for sit and *-a* final verbal ending.

Additionally, the prefix *ba-* would also be traced from other sources, which may include Chewa, Lamba, Kaonde and so on, which also use the prefix *ba-* for subject marking and subject verb agreement. Moreover, *baganiza* also follows a similar pattern as *benzebanankala* where again the prefix *ba-* for the subject is from Bemba and has been fused with the Nyanja *-a-* in *-aganiza* to form *baa-* but where the additional *-a* is deleted. This is also followed by *che* 'only' from Nyanja which is combined with Bemba *ati* 'that'. In *tizakanyamula bwanji iyi ni, ti-* 'we', the subject and *-za-* the future tense marker are Nyanja while *-ka-* another future tense marker is Bemba (notice the use of two future tense markers in this form to indicate the same tense as in the above instance). The form *-nyamula* 'lift' and *bwanji iyi* 'how this' are from Nyanja.

Furthermore, it can be seen that the combination of bits and pieces are not only limited to local languages but also involves pieces from English. For example, in the construction *matons*, the prefix *ma-* may either be from Nyanja or Bemba whereas *tons* is English. These pieces are combined with other Nyanja bits: *angati* 'how many' and *ndiye kwayenda ndalama*. In addition,

the bits *vima* (where *vi-* is a pejorative prefix for objects and *ma-* a prefix for plurals) are taken from Nyanja and attached to *concrete*. The two prefixes noted above have been fused together with *concrete* in order to ‘magnify’ how huge the concrete is. The part *vija* ‘those’- which is also from Nyanja has been used to show subject verb agreement. Besides, the parts: *ndipo* ‘indeed’ and *zangena* ‘was costly’ are from Nyanja. Additionally, the parts: *very expensive* follows and immediately after them is a Nyanja part: *na* ‘and’ which is also attached to *equipment* and with a Nyanja part *cabe* ‘only’. Notice that the term *zangena* is metaphorical in nature as it depicts the act of losing something valuable unnecessarily or due to carelessness through leakage or drainage. In this case, the act of buying an expensive casket is being likened to wasting money unnecessarily like one would carelessly allow a leakage of something valuable. The breakdown of linguistic boundaries is also noticeable at the level of morphemes from one language combining with lexemes from another. This is discussed below.

6.2. Bound morphemes and lexemes in combination

Contrary to perceptions that in contexts of language mixing, speakers draw on actual lexemes or words from one language and combine them with similar forms from another language to create meaning; it has emerged that such a view is not always true as speakers may also draw on bound morphemes from different languages as bits which they combine with lexemes from another language, particularly English, to make meaning. The case in point involves plural formation in Lusaka urban discourses as shown in the following data.

NB: In the data below, the grammatical forms for number are underlined in both instances and the English words are in bold for ease of reference and analysis.

(a) What I don’t like is that *mafarmers* are not being given a priority by the government (*ma* for plural marker in urban Bemba and urban Nyanja, and *-s* for number in English).

(b) Amadresses *nayanina* **because** *ya* **demand** *ku ma-customer-s*. 'The prices of dresses have gone up because of high demand from customers' (where *ma* and *ba* are being used for number (plural) and *-s* in English).

(c) Maministers *bakudya ndlama zatu*. 'Ministers are wasting our money'

(d) Macoffins 'coffins', *matons*, *maallowances*

(e) *Umuntu... mu macells*. 'a person in prison cells'

(f) *Matons niyangati?* 'How many tons are they?'

(g) *Mu Uniturtle muli macoffin*. 'There are nice coffins in Uniturtle'

In the data above, speakers are using plural forms from Zambian languages while still maintaining the English plural form resulting into some kind of double or echo plural. However, what is interesting to note is that the plural morphemes being drawn upon and attached to the English lexemes are mostly from Nyanja or Bemba even if the English morpheme for plural is still maintained; for example, in the data, the morpheme *ba-* which is either used for plural marking (and attached to nouns associated with human beings in Nyanja or Bemba) or used as an honorific prefix, and the morpheme *ma-* (and mostly attached to objects or borrowed nouns, for example, *maministers* 'minsters') are all used together with the English morpheme *-s* (note that the subject marker 'ba-' is found in many other Bantu languages including some Zambian languages and not just Bemba). However, in this context of usage, it can be said to be derived from Bemba based on the other accompanying vocabulary in the construction being from Bemba.

As stated, both plural forms of a noun in the different languages involved are used, for example, the prefix *ma-* from urban Nyanja and Bemba is attached at the beginning of the word *farmer* and *-s* (with the same meaning) is also attached to it in order to have *ma-farmers* 'famers'. However, there is a shift in the way the morpheme *ma-* has been used; in that, in normal

circumstances, in Bemba or Nyanja, it is attached to things and not people as the case is in the word *farmer*, a derived noun. This notwithstanding, the grammatical function, that is, of expressing number is still maintained. This form is consistent in (b), (c), (d), (e) and (f) above. It is from such examples that Chisanga (2002) has referred to as 'natural harmonization' of local 'languages' in urban Lusaka involving urban Nyanja and Bemba whose grammatical rules are crystalizing into a harmonized grammatical system. However, the examples highlighted in (a) to (f) above show that such harmonization is not restricted to urban Bemba and Nyanja but also includes English. Furthermore, it may not be a premise for suggesting that a new 'language' with its own 'fixed' system is emerging, this is so because, in Lusaka urban contexts of language use, such forms keep on changing as they emerge in the process of social interaction and thus, it is hard to predict which linguistic bits and pieces a speaker would prefer to use in different social contexts and how such bits would be used (cf. Orman 2012a, 2012b). For example, one would choose to use one plural morpheme as in *ma-minister* 'ministers' to mean the same thing as ministers or combine two morphemes with the same grammatical meaning as in *ma-minister-s* 'ministers' where *ma-* and *-s* are both indicating plurality or simply, one might use the English only lexeme with its word form *ministers* depending on the context in which it has been used.



Consider also the construction *vimaconcrete* from extract 7.1 in which the two different bound morphemes with independent meanings are attached to *concrete* to create not only a pejorative noun form with the morpheme *vi-*; but also to show the plural form of the word *concrete* with the morpheme *ma-*. It has to be pointed out that the data above is showing that only bound morphemes from local 'languages' such as Bemba or Nyanja seem to be attached to what one would consider free morphemes from English than bound morphemes from English being attached to lexemes in local languages. One argument that could be made here is that since all Bantu languages are agglutinative in nature, that is, to say, they tend to 'glue' (Miti 2006; Mambwe 2013); together morphemes to roots, it appears that free morphemes or lexemes from English are in this regard taken to act as 'roots' to which different bound morphemes from Zambian languages are attached. The opposite does not seem to hold. Furthermore, this appears to suggest that, speakers are drawing on these bits and pieces of language as simply linguistic resources to create various grammatical forms without regard to the prescribed grammatical

rules. In short, they are treating them as undifferentiated forms without a specified or fixed and predictable system. This is also evident in the manner in which standard and non-standard forms of language are treated. This is discussed below.

6.3. The conflation of standard and non-standard forms of language

The data also shows that Lusaka urban speakers may opt to use exclusively large chunks of standard or non-standard forms of language or combine bits and pieces of both standard and non-standard forms from either the same language or from different 'languages' in one and the same stretch of discourse. Thus, in one instance, a stretch of discourse might sound more standard and in another, it might sound non-standard but yet being used as undifferentiated forms by speakers as in the following sections.



6.3.1. Combination of standard and non-standard bits and pieces of language

In the data that follows, the speaker draws on standard and non-standard bits and pieces of Nyanja, Bemba and English to create meaning.

Extract 2

Turn	speaker	dialogue
------	---------	----------

- | | | |
|---|-----|--|
| 1 | SB: | <i>Muliche mudala? Munasobela kuti?</i> 'How are you big man? Where have you been?' |
| 2 | TK: | <i>Bwino bwanji? Long time ka?</i> 'Fine and how are you? It's a long time, isn't?' |
| 3 | MJ: | <i>Ndipo mwaina</i> 'you have really put on weight' |
| 4 | TK: | <i>hahahaha a little bit</i> (.) <i>sivioneka, had some small problem so I had to be away for a while and then went to the village mukudya mbewa from there.....</i> ,
'there is nothing to be happy about...I went to eat mice...' |

- 5 SB: **No no you don't have to explain every detail** (laughter)
6 MJ: **No ah ah XXX he wants to explain kaili** 'now'
7 SB: *Nichani naiwe?* 'What's your problem...you?'

In the extract, of note is that, SB begins the conversation with a greeting using non-standard bits from Nyanja *muliche mudala? munasobela kuti?* 'How are you big man? Where have you been?' Note that, in as much as the bits and pieces of Nyanja used by SB would be considered non-standard forms of greeting, they are in fact expressing some form of respect between the interactants in that the use of the word *mudala* is often associated with addressing someone older or someone of equal status, and mostly used in urban discourses that may also include Bemba. It should be pointed out that the nature of construction of the greeting in turn 1 by SB may not only be considered non-standard bits but also ungrammatically constructed since the normal greeting form would have started with *muli bwanji* 'how are you' than *muliche* but yet the person to whom the greeting has been directed is able to understand it and reply appropriately. Also, *munasobela kuti* has Bemba/Ngoni influence as the bilabial 'b' has replaced the glide 'w' in standard Nyanja. Standard Nyanja would be *munasowela kuti?* or *munali kuti?* In this case, context rather than grammatical form becomes critical in interpreting meaning. Furthermore, the *-che* in *muliche* appears to be slang obtained from the word *chabe* 'just' and recontextualised to mean 'just okay' as in *tilichabe* 'we are only' to mean 'we are okay' in non-standard Nyanja. In this case, it has been used to ask whether the friend was doing fine or not. In turn 2, TK responds by drawing on some standard bits from Nyanja *Bwino, bwanji?* 'Fine and how are you?' and combines them with bits from Standard English *long time* and ends with a non-standard bit from Nyanja *ka*, which is equivalent to 'isn't'. In this instance, one could have expected TK to respond to the greeting with the commonly used non-standard piece from Nyanja *nilice* 'I am okay' considering that SB began the conversation with non-standard bits of the language. On the contrary, TK responds with some standard bits and he does so because he does not seem to notice any difference between the forms SB has used and what he has chosen to use. In turn 3, MJ joins in the conversation by drawing on standard pieces from Nyanja *ndipo mwaina* 'you have gained weight' to mean that the person had enjoyed their vacation and as a result gained some weight. Her comment in this context is interpreted as a compliment rather than insulting as the case

might be in other cultural contexts, since gaining weight in this social context is taken to mean that someone is well-provided for or is well to do, and so can afford to eat well and put on weight. Notice that, in third world countries like Zambia, living well is in most cases equated to putting on weight because food is considered as one of the symbols of a 'better life'.

Different styles of combining the bits and pieces of language by individual speakers can also be noticed; for example, in turn 4, TK opts for different bits and pieces which he combines with the earlier ones. In particular, he draws on Standard bits from English *a little bit* and fuses them with non-standard Nyanja piece *sivioneka* 'there is nothing to enjoy' and continues with Standard bits from English '*I had some small problem so I had to be away for a while and then went to the village*'. At this point, he switches to Standard Nyanja *mkudya mbewa* and ends the construction with standard bits from English '*from there...*' In turn 5, SB interrupts TK with standard bits from English '*no you don't have to explain everything*' and MJ cuts in by drawing bits and pieces of language from standard English '*no...he wants to explain*' interspaced by non-standard Bemba *kaili* 'because' (in turn 6) which is essentially a slang word for *kabili*. SB responds by using non-standard bits from Nyanja *nichani naiwe* 'what about you?' in turn 7. Notice that the bits of language SB draws on are often times used by people who are close friends and may not be seen as disrespectful in this social context (cf. Brown & Levinson 1978). Furthermore, it should be noted that in most Zambian discourses, addressing someone who is older or of the opposite sex as *naiwe* 'and you' may carry negative connotations, that of, disrespect but its meaning may change depending on context of use and the nature of relationship between the interactants as the case is in turn 7. In this regard, it has been used between friends or people that share a lot in common.

Extract 3

Turn speaker dialogue

2. *Brown:* *Ija coffin niya kuno, sicoffin yakuntu kwinangu, ni yakwemene kuno, Uniturtile mudala ukayendeko muli macoffin ten million so ni coffin, waiona coffin, twenty million so ni coffin, and then manje bayende ku ordering 'a coffin ya three hundred million?*

[that coffin is locally made, it is not imported, if you may go to Uniturtile (referring to a casket shop) you will find nice coffins really worth coffins for 10million kwacha and when you look at a coffin for twenty million, it is a worthwhile coffin and then why should they decide to import a coffin for three million Kwacha (approximately US\$500,000)?]

In the extract above, we notice that within one stretch of discourse, a speaker draws on bits and pieces of language which, in this case could be viewed, on one hand, as standard forms from both Nyanja and English, and on the other, as non-standard forms from English and Nyanja, to create a single meaningful piece of discourse. For example, in turn 2 of the extract, Brown draws on, *ija coffin* 'that coffin' which is seen as a combination of a bit from standard Nyanja *ija* and a bit of Standard English *coffin*. The same pattern is seen in *sicoffin* 'it's not a coffin' where the *si* 'not' is a negation morpheme from standard Nyanja and is combined with *coffin* from Standard English. See also *macoffin*. Furthermore, within the same stretch, a combination of non-standard bits and pieces of Nyanja and Standard English are combined, for instance '*...mudala ukayendako kuli macoffin ten million so...*' where *mudala* and *ma* would be seen as pieces from non-standard Nyanja and *coffin ten million so* as pieces from Standard English. Moreover, the speaker draws on non-standard Nyanja *waiona* [standard form would be *onani*] 'you see it' and combines it with standard bits from English 'coffin, twenty million so' and continues with a non-standard Nyanja *ni* 'it is' [the standard form is *ndi*] and switches back into Standard English pieces, *coffin*, and then. He then continues with non-standard Nyanja bits *manje bayende ku* which he combines with non-standard English *ordering'a coffin* which is immediately followed by a standard piece *ya* from Nyanja and Standard bits from English 'three hundred million'. It is worth noting that the combination of these bits and pieces of language, in as much as some might seem standard, may be considered by one as an aberration of Standard English or Nyanja. Take for example, the construction *...coffin, ten million so....*, and *...coffin and then....* These would clearly be ungrammatical constructions in English but are still considered contextually meaningful by the speakers. This puts to question the notion of language as a system which is said to follow certain prescribed rules (I discuss this in chapter ten).

6.3.2. Standard bits and pieces of language in exclusive use

Consider also the following data in which large chunks of Standard language with very few or no non-standard bits have been used:

Extract 4 (Linked to extract 2)

Turn speaker dialogue

3 Jack: *Iyai even here we have got the same raw materials which we can use to make this type of a coffin* 'not at all/no'

In the above extract, Jack uses Standard bits of English throughout the utterance with the exception of the Nyanja bit *iyai* 'not at all/no' as in: *even here we have got the same raw materials which we can use to make this type of a coffin*. He does this as if everyone else including himself in the conversation had been using the same form and yet not. This suggests that speakers assume that even the hearer has a wide array of linguistic options from which they may choose to use bits and pieces of language in diverse ways in order to form meaningful discourses with which to communicate in different informal social contexts (cf. Banda 2005; 2009). Such patterns are pervasive in almost all informal social contexts of language use in Lusaka. For example, they can also be noticed in the following extract.

Extract 5 (Linked to extract 3)

Turn Speaker Dialogue

8 TK: *I am giving you (.) am giving you details*

9 MJ: *Oh oh (.) what are you giving?*

10 TK: *Details (laughter)*

11 SB: *You mean how you travelled?*

12 TK: *No...not every detail of course.*

In turns 8 to 12, TK, SB and MJ all draw on Standard bits from English to communicate with each other as if they have been using just one form of language but yet these have been used in the broader context of the discussion as in extract 3 in which a trend of combination of bits and pieces of language has been noted. This entails that, for speakers, the type or form of language to be used in informal contexts does not matter as all bits and pieces of language are treated as meaning making resources in their own right. However, it has to be pointed out that this exclusive use of standard bits of language only involved English bits in all the data considered, this could be attributed to the influence of formal English instruction as the sole medium of school instruction in the education sector in Zambia (see Moody 1985; Banda 1996). The data did not show exclusive use of standard bits and pieces from Bemba or Nyanja but instead these were mostly used as hybrid forms as in extracts 1, 2 and 3 in which different bits and pieces of language were combined as one. Nevertheless, what is emerging in the study is that the patterns of language use in the communication practices of Lusaka urbanites is highly unpredictable in terms of structural composition of the utterances and the positional occurrence of various bits and pieces of language available to speakers. As noted above, one stretch of discourse might have a combination of more different bits and pieces of language yet another might have few or indeed might use one standard form exclusively.

Even if the patterns of language use noticed above are seen to be unpredictable and may considerably vary from one individual to another, they are all meaningful to speakers in different contexts in which they occur. Such forms of language practices, in turn question the boundaries between standard and non-standard language forms which is discussed in chapter ten. In addition, questions were asked to a few participants from the focus group discussions on the nature of language they were using or had heard being used. See the comments from the extracts below.

Extract 6: [Interview with participant]

1. Question: *Brown where you aware that you were using two 'different languages' in our conversation?*
2. Informant: *What do you mean?*
3. Question: *I mean you used different languages in your conversation.*
4. Informant: *I was not aware until you mentioned them that there were two languages. For me I thought it was only Nyanja.*
5. Question: *But do you consider the following to be Nyanja only? So coffin yamene ndiye banacita import at 5 billion kwacha (approximately \$ 2million)?*
6. Informant: *Ah I feel its Nyanja.*
7. Question: *Why do you think so?*
8. Informant: *Because I know its Nyanja...oh I see there is some English word import, at, billion. Then I am not sure what to call this, may be a mixture.*
9. Question: *Will you then say you used two different languages at the same time?*
10. Informant: *No I can't say that.*
11. Question: *Why?*
12. Informant: *Because the common language was Nyanja. I can't use two different languages at the same time, but may be through mixing them.*

In the extract, Brown does not differentiate the languages being used in the conversation but rather sees it as simply Lusaka Nyanja in lines 4 and 6. However, he only realizes there is a combination of other languages when he is probed by the researcher in line 4. However, in as much as he succumbs to the researcher's probe, Brown denies the fact that he was using two languages at the same time which confirms that he sees these languages not as a system but as mere resources for making meaning. For him standard and non-standard, rural and urban forms of Bemba, Nyanja and English as used in the conversation are all considered as one. I should add that he does not only conceive them as such but also demonstrates it in his actual language practices.

Similar questions as those asked to Brown were asked to Teddy in order to see what he made of his language practices in the conversation above. Consider the extract below:

Extract 7: [Interview with participant]

1. Question: *Teddy where you are aware that you used 'different languages' in our conversation?*
2. Informant: *Ni ciNyanja camene nasebenzesa.* [I have used Nyanja]
3. Question: *But there were traces of English?*
4. Informant: *Siningakambe ati nicizungu camene nasebenzesa. Ok kukamba zooni ni ciNyanja cameneta sebenzesa. Because you can't say ni cizungu ici or ni ciBemba. Kapena may be for a few words ce.* [I can't say it is English I have used. Ok to be frank it is Nyanja we have used. You can't say this was English or Bemba. May be for some words one....]
5. Question: *so are you saying that this trend is only for the urban areas?*
6. Informant: *Hmmm let me think (about it)...aha iyai even in rural areas there may be a few words which are English monga phone so, fertilizer, and so on. Even ciNyanja has words from other languages so yavuta kansi.* [...let me think ...ah not really even in rural areas the language spoken there may have a few traces of English words too such as phone, fertilizer and so on. Even Nyanja has words from other languages so it is now complicated]

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Similar to Brown's responses, Teddy does not differentiate the languages drawn from his repertoire but sees them as simply Lusaka Nyanja. In this regard, Lusaka Nyanja is viewed as an amalgamated form constituting linguistic forms from multiple sources which are drawn upon in different contexts and in varying but unpredictable patterns.

In addition, extract 7 reveals something noteworthy, that, even when the questions were asked in one format, that is, English the interviewee opted to use what a linguist would view as a different format by drawing upon what is considered a different language in responding to the questions. This is so because for him, he does not see any difference between the language he is using and that of the interviewer as they are both conceived as part of the amalgamated form (cf. Moody 1985; Banda 2009).

Besides, in separate interviews with both Rick and Bob, similar sentiments as those expressed in extracts 9 and 10 by Teddy and Brown were given. They both contended that they did not see any difference between the languages used but rather saw them as Lusaka Nyanja although Teddy argued that such language mixing forms are a diluted form of Nyanja. However, his sentiment seems to be influenced by popular and dominant language ideologies in which 'pure' forms are the most preferred than the 'mixed' ones and yet the reality is the opposite. However, what is clear from the interviews is that Lusaka urban interactants are involved in the disinvention of languages as we know them through their actual language practices as well as their esoteric knowledge about language (cf. Makoni & Pennycook 2007). Moreover, interviews conducted with some musicians reveal similar results as below:

Extract 8: [Interview with musician A]

1. Question: *In what language was this song sang?* (Referring to a song produced and sang by the musician)
2. Response: *It was sung in Bemba* (urban).
3. Question: *But there are traces of Nyanja and English. Would you say this is still Bemba?*
4. Response: *yes this is Bemba. This is how we speak urban Bemba. We might combine it with other languages but it is still Bemba...may be town Bemba.*

In the interview with musician A, it is equally clear that what is called Bemba by the speakers is different from what a linguist would call Bemba. For a linguist this would be viewed as an aberration (see Bailey 2007) or as a combination of 'languages' and not Bemba or simply a diluted form of Bemba whereas for speakers this is a language. Consider also the interview below:

Extract: 9 [Interview with musician B]

1. Question: *In which language was this song sang?*
2. Response: *It was sang in ChiNyanja because that is the language I personally speak. I can't speak Bemba.*
3. Question: *Why do you call it ChiNyanja?*
4. Response: *Because that is the language commonly spoken in Lusaka. This is Nyanja.*
5. Question: *But I can notice words which are not Nyanja like ring, finger and so on. Would you say these are also Nyanja?*
6. Response: *oh oh no I didn't notice that. For me it was all Nyanja. Yes of course there may be some words like that but that is the nature of Lusaka ChiNyanja. Mupezeka ka Chi Nyanja Nyanja so na kazungu zungu so kapena na ka Bemba so but ni Chi Nyanja. [That is the nature of Lusaka Nyanja, there is a bit of Nyanja, a bit of English and may be a bit of Bemba but it is still Nyanja]*

In the extract, even if the song the researcher refers to could be said to have been sang in what a linguist would consider a combination of different languages and their respective varieties, that is, a combination of both rural and urban Nyanja and standard/non-standard English, the musician still views this as simply Lusaka Nyanja in lines 2, 4 and 6. Thus, like others before him, he does not seem to differentiate the languages being used together but rather he sees them as simply one, and he refers to the scenario as the 'nature' of language in urban Lusaka in line 6. The 'nature' being that Lusaka urbanites including, himself, use language as amalgamated forms and do not conceive them as separate entities as they are known by linguists. This clearly shows that Lusaka urbanites are reinventing language into something different from what has been understood to be language which Makoni and Pennycook (2007) have aptly referred to as the disinvention of language. I discuss the notion of disinvention and reinvention of language in chapter ten.

Of mention, from the interviews, there appears to be a problem in the naming practices of languages. This problem is influenced by the ways in which language has been ideologically explained, that, it is an enumerable entity that bears a particular name (cf. Makoni & Pennycook

2007). For example, even if the informants' responses clearly provide us with insights about the nature of language, their responses in which they named their language are influenced by popular language ideologies which are a result of colonial practices in which languages were given names according to the ethnic groups that spoke them (see Makoni & Pennycook 2007; Stroud 2007). This in turn questions the naming practices of languages today.

The data is also showing that Lusaka urban speakers unconsciously use the different bits and pieces of language for different purposes which include, among others, blurring the socio-cultural boundaries between the rural and the urban social spaces in which are revealed diverse shared social values and experiences. Besides, and most importantly, these bits and pieces of language are used to stylize multiple social identities. The following sections consider these phenomena.



6.4. Stylizing identities in Lusaka urban discourses

As pointed out above, the data shows that Lusaka urbanites actively, but unconsciously, exploit bits and pieces from an extended repertoire in a single stretch of discourse to stylize multiple identities in different social contexts as I show in the data below.

6.4.1. Constructing translocal identities

6.4.1.1. Hybrid identities: urban and rural

As Lusaka urbanites interact, social identities that reveal their value system and their identities alike are stylized. In the data that follows, speakers are revealing their membership and affiliations to multiple traditional African societies and to the urban ones (cf. Banda & Bellonjengele 2010) and in turn enacting and negotiating their hybrid identities clearly

demonstrating that the traditional approach linking a language to ethnic identity is untenable (cf. Heller 2007; Dyer 2007; Hall 2011; Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004).

Extract 10

Turn speaker dialogue

- 1 Teddy: *Hey inga uyu ni ndani avala ka mini? onani pofulama afulama ya so* (()) [hey who is that one dressed in a mini skirt? Look at her she can't even bend properly... she bends like this] (demonstrating the action of bending suggestively)]
- 2 Jack: *Bakashana babilingana bilingana na mini ku malilo mai awe bavalako citenje_ah kulibonesha.* (Bemba/Nyanja/English/Bemba/Nyanja)[these ladies are busy bodies how can one wear a mini-skirt at a funeral? A woman dresses a chitenge (wrapper) _that's pride]
- 3 Teddy: *Kumalilo avala so [po belama abelama ija ya* (()) *ah ni ma rubbish aya* [how can a woman dress like that at a funeral? This is rubbish.]

The extract reveals speakers' membership affiliation to the rural identities in their stand against what they feel is against their 'traditional' society and at the same time, negotiating and enacting their hybrid identities. In this extract, participants are watching a live TV broadcast in which selected mourners are shown laying wreaths on Chiluba's grave and in the process, one lady in a mini-skirt is seen laying a wreath. Since wearing of mini-skirts or short dress is rarely expected of a woman, not only at this type of ceremony, but more so in different social settings of Zambia, and more generally, traditional ones, a conversation on dress is evoked by Teddy who begins by asking who the lady laying a wreath and dressed in a mini-skirt was: *inga uyu nindani avala ka mini? onani pofulama afulama ya so* 'who is this one dressed in a mini-skirt? She can't even bend properly. She bends like this (while physically demonstrating the act of bending)'. This question indirectly reveals the shared common moral and social values that define traditional rural African societies, among men and women in Zambia, in which women are expected to conform to a certain dress code. Note that the conversation is happening in an urban setup but yet speakers are drawing on their rural and traditional experiences to construct what they feel are an ideal society. Note also the apparent contradiction that he is using 'modern' that is urban Nyanja to construct his traditional affiliation. Thus, Teddy's statement would be interpreted as

questioning the morality of the woman in a mini-skirt in the context of the traditional cultural value system of Zambia, while embracing ways of speaking and lifestyles. Furthermore, this questioning reveals that Teddy is imposing an identity on the woman, that of, a morally bankrupt and un-African or un-Zambian. Her moral bankruptcy is revealed in the way Teddy portrays her act of laying a wreath in the following statement: '*pofulama afulama ya so* 'when she bends, she is bending like this (while physically demonstrating the act of bending akin to a sexual posture)' (turn 1). In as much as this statement might be interpreted as sexist in nature, it is framed within a certain cultural context in which morality of a woman is partly judged by what she wears. Thus, dressing in a mini-skirt in public and at a funeral service for that matter, the woman is seen to portray herself as a misfit in society.

Within the discourse, Teddy does not only portray a rural and traditional value system but also stylizes his urban and modern identities by drawing on some bits of English such as 'mini' and 'so' as well as non-standard urban Nyanja and Bemba pieces such as: *ni ndani uyu* (urban Nyanja) and *pofulama afulama* (urban Nyanja/Bemba) (turn 1) and *kumalilo avala so* (urban Nyanja), *pobelama abelama ija ya so* (urban Bemba/Nyanja), *ni ma* (urban Nyanja), *rubbish* (English) and *aya* (rural/urban Nyanja). In these bits and pieces of language, Teddy negotiates his multiple identities that range from rural to urban and modern ones. For example, when he uses urban Bemba/Nyanja bits and pieces, he is projecting himself to be an urbanite as this is the way urban people seem to use language; furthermore, by incorporating some bits of language from English, he is projecting his modern identity and by affiliating himself to the traditional cultural value system, he stands out as a traditionalist closely linked to the rural. Note also that, in turn 2 Teddy uses a different bit from Bemba to refer to the act of bending as in *belama abelama ya so*. The meaning of these bits have in fact been recontextualised in the sense that – *belama-* in its usual usage implies taking cover reminiscent to a bending posture one takes when s/he is hiding. Furthermore, it appears to have been used for mocking the woman and at the same time performing an act of humor.

Additionally, to show that indeed, what Teddy is questioning is shared by others, Jack approves it in turn 2: *Bakashana babilingana bilingana na mini ku malilo, amai awe bavalako chitenje_ ah kuli bonesha* [these ladies are excited for nothing, why should a woman wear a mini-skirt at a funeral? No a mother dresses a *chitenge* (a type of cloth used by women in Zambia to cover themselves from the waist to the knees)... they are showing off]. For Jack, he sees the woman's dress as an act of pride '*kulibonesha*' but exhibited at a wrong place or function. For him a 'woman who is in this case supposed to be a mother 'amai' should always cover herself 'nicely' in a *chitenge* and not a mini-skirt. Like Teddy. Jack's stretch of discourse is made up of urban Bemba, English, rural Nyanja and rural Tonga as in *bakashana babilingana bilingana na* (urban Bemba), *mini* (English), *ku malilo, amai awe bavalako chitenge* (rural/urban Nyanja) and *kulibonesha* (Lenje) which he uses to simultaneously make meaning and enact his multiple identities, that is, rural, urban and modern ones at the same time. The position taken by Teddy and Jack show that they both affiliate their membership to different spaces, that is, rural and urban ones. This is also equally evident from interviews with two women who seem to hold the same sentiments. Note that the term 'kulibonesha' is a Lenje term that came in with President Mwanawasa when his Lenje relatives went for his swearing in ceremony and were shouting '*kulibonesha ta*'. It means priding in oneself. In this context of usage, it has been used to refer to the purported 'boastful' attitude the woman was portraying.

Extract 11 (interview with woman X)

3. Interviewer: *Manje ni mavalidwe bwanji yamene mungakambe ati ni yabwino?* [What kind of dress would you describe as being right?]

4. X : *Mkazi afunika kuzilemekeza. Akavala mini-skirt, ifunika kupita munkokola, nagti ni trousers ifunika yankala ikulu osati yogwila thupi. Mwana mkazi wazoona afunika kunkhala wolemekezeka.* [A woman should be honorable. When she dresses a mini-skirt, it should be below her knees, if she wears a pair of trousers, it should be loose and not tight. A real woman should respect body.]

Extract 12 (interview with second woman Z)

2. Interviewer: *muganizapo bwanji amai pakani yamavalidwe?* [What is your opinion on dressing madam?]

3. Z: *Mkazi ayenela kuvala citali cifukwa thupi yake ni yolemekezeka.* [a woman must be dressed in a long dress because her body is honorable]

In the two interview extracts, it is obvious that both women share the same traditional and cultural value system with Teddy and Jack in extract 10. They both show that they belong to a society that holds particular values and norms on women's dress, especially, the one seen to expose their 'private body parts'. In this regard, they argue that a woman's body is honorable as in: *mkazi wazoonza afunika kuzilemekeza, akavala mini ifunika kupita munkokola* 'a real woman should honour herself (in dress), when she puts on a mini-skirt, it should go beyond the knees' and *mkazi anale kuvala chitali chifukwa thupi yake niyolemekezeka* 'a woman must wear a long dress because her body is honourable'. From these comments, it is clear that a 'real woman' is portrayed as one who respects her body by not exposing it to the public (cf. Banda 2005). Effectively, the two women, like Teddy and Jack are imposing an identity of what should make one an African or Zambian. In this regard, one who wears short dresses that exposes what is understood in society to constitute 'private parts of her body' becomes a misfit. In light of these, society appears to be imposing or ascribing certain identities in talk that are predicated on its value and belief system at a given time and space. We notice from the interview, how, for example, an identity of 'real woman' is portrayed in this typically traditional but urbanized society. Thus, By agreeing with Teddy's statement in turn 1, Jack, Teddy and the two women are enacting for themselves a collective identity of African/Zambian and at the same time imposing an identity on the woman, that of a busy body or un-African.

6.4.2. Contesting imposed gendered identities

Urban discourses have not only become spaces for stylizing identities but also for contesting and assuming some identities seen to be undesirable by others as in the data below.

Extract 13

Turn speaker dialogue

- 1 James: *tulefwaya government ibikeko amalaws yakulesha abanakashi ukufwala ama trousers na ma mini.* [We want government to put in place a dress code for females in order to stop them from dressing pairs of trousers and mini-skirts.]
- 2 Thandi: *mmm ah awe, ayi sweetheart mvela, ayi ati ati XXX bakazi basazivala ma trowse, elo cizankala bwanji mu June?* [Sweetheart, listen, that women should not be allowed to dress in pairs of trousers? And what would happen in June (winter)?]
- 3 James: *mmmmh ah ah sitilisa ma trouser but kulima trousers olo ma mini ovala XXX not aya ya so...* (Pointing to a tight dress on Thandi) [We are not refusing dressing in pairs of trousers but not this type of pair of trousers (pointing at a tight pair of trousers Thandi was dressed in)].
- 4 Thandi: *elo ise benangu// it's not possible* [and for some of us]
- 5 Jane: *mmmm... manje muziba ati cani XXX cani, trousers iliko bwino kucila skirt, ningacite so mwaona ka nangu povala ine niziba ati nili free because niziba ati muntu sazanitambila. Manje skirt//* [do you know that a pair of trousers is better than a skirt as I can easily move about (demonstrating the act of movements) and when it comes to dressing it I feel so confident that no one will see my nakedness but for a skirt]
- 6 James: *awe it's not like that ninshi mulibe kupunzisiwa mankalidwe, ninshi muli careless?* [no it's not like that, have you not been initiated how you should conduct yourselves or you are just negligent?]
- 7 Jane: *iya iya sitili careless... do you know that na ba first lady bamavala ma trousers? Ndiye vilimu fashion manje.* [no no we are not careless ...do you know that even the first lady (referring to the wife of former president Rupiah Banda then) puts on a pair of trousers? This is what is fashionable now]

6.5.2.1. Male modern identities

It is evident from the extract above that male modern gendered identities are projected. First, it can be noted that James uses the plural Bemba pronoun *tu* 'we' as in *tulefwaya government ibikeko amalaws yakulesha abanakashi ukufwala ama trousers na ma mini* 'we want government to put in place a dress code for females in order to stop them from dressing in pairs of trousers and mini-skirts' in order to signal his membership affiliation to an African Zambian traditional society to which Teddy and others in extracts 10, 11 and 12 belong, thereby enacting for himself

a collective social identity. It is in this regard that he speaks with some kind of 'authority' as though he is representing everyone to request government to put in place a dress code that would be used to regulate women's dressing, something he feels his 'society' to which he affiliates stands for. Unlike Teddy and Jack in extract 10, James appears to have a slight difference in his view on dress as revealed in his statement: *sitilisa matrouser but kulima trousers olo ma mini ovala... not aya ya so* 'we are not rejecting pairs of trousers or mini-skirt to be worn but not this type'.

In the statement above, it is evident that James does not outrightly condemn such dresses but offers an option, that is, if women have to wear pairs of trousers, they must be loose enough as not to expose their bodies and that if they have to wear miniskirts, these must also be long enough to cover their 'important parts.' In this regard, he appears to contradict a modern identity with a traditional one which does not have room for modern types of clothes that are considered to expose some parts of the woman's body. However, in the same discourse, James capitalizes on the English bits to show contrasts and draw comparisons between his arguments. For example, he uses 'but' and not *koma* for style purposes to show contrast in the argument between the fact that he has no problem with miniskirts and pairs of trousers but rather he finds it difficult with dresses that expose a woman's body. He also uses *not* to show a contrast by comparing the undesired ('shorter' mini-skirts and 'tighter' pairs of trousers) from the desired (reasonably 'long' mini-skirts and 'loose' pairs of trousers). Moreover, he also uses these bits and pieces of English, Bemba and Nyanja in combination (see turn 1 and 3) to signal his multiple identities that include modern, urban and rural ones all at once. In this regard, he chooses what to become at any given time, as Garcíá (2010:524) puts it that: "multilingual speakers decide who they want to be and choose their language practices accordingly." Consider also the following data:

Extract 14 (Linked to extract 8)

Turn speaker dialogue

8. Terry: *Niku basiya che kaili ni modernity manje. Nintawu yakayena. Ine nilibe problem with such kind of dress.* [Just leave them alone, these are modern times. I have no problem with such kind of dress.]

The data above is revealing a complete difference in perception of female miniskirts and pairs of trousers. It can be noticed that Terry appears to 'breakaway' from the traditional value system that tends to prescribe dress for females in preference to a liberal modern society in which everyone is at liberty to do what they feel is right for them. Thus, his statement: *nikubasiya che kaili ni modernity manje* 'just leave them alone, these are modern times'. In stating this, Terry projects himself as a modern young man who understands the 'current times'. In another way, one would argue that Terry does not just project his modern identity but also ascribes the same to women that are seen to wear modern miniskirts and pairs of trousers. To show his modern identity, he concludes his statement in bits of urban Nyanja and English: *Ine nilibe* (I have no problem with such kind of dress (cf. Blackledge & Creese 2010).



It is clear then that some identities of some men in urban Lusaka which were initially thought to be fixed or a direct reflection of a traditional society they live in, are essentially dynamic and diverse (see Banda 2005, 2009; Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004; Hall 2011; Dyer 2007; Blackledge & Creese 2010; Garcíá 2012). In this regard, it has been noted how James and Terry's identities are slightly similar but different from each other and how the two tend to break away from the traditionally oriented identities.

6.5.2.2. Female modern identities

Moreover, modern female identities are projected from the discourse in which young women seem to challenge and contest the imposed 'traditional' or 'rural' identities for modern ones. This

is evident in turn 2 of extract 13, where Thandi scoffs at the idea of dress code and immediately invites her friend into the conversation about the subject: *awe, ayi sweetheart mvela, ayi ati ati...bakazi basazivala ma trouse, elo cizankala bwanji mu June?* 'No, sweetheart, imagine this, (they are saying) that women should not be allowed to dress in pairs of trousers? And what would happen in June (referring to the season of winter)?'. In this statement, Thandi signals her assertiveness in challenging the dominant position in society against modern dress and sees no reason why a woman should not be allowed such dress as it may be a necessary one for the winter season. Therefore, she presents herself as a modern woman whose world view is different from those belonging to a traditional kind of 'society' or those that adhere to a traditional value system. For her, dressing is not only for fashion but more so, something that should be seen in light of weather conditions. She therefore insinuates that the desire by some people to impose a dress code for women does not take into account the best interests of the females.

In turn 5, Jane supports Thandi's position by stating that a pair of trousers is better for her and other women than the ordinary skirts in that it makes her feel comfortable, mobile and secure. On this basis, In this regard, she also challenges the dominant notion that asserts that some modern female dresses expose their bodies. Hence, it is evident that, while Jane projects herself as a modern woman, at the same time, she retains the modesty that society requires of her. In this way, she simultaneously projects two identities of herself, that of a modern woman; and that of a Zambian 'modesty' young woman thereby defying notions of identity as fixed entities (cf. Banda & Bellonjegele 2010). In doing so, she is also reconstructing societal beliefs and values, that she can be a modern lady but still retain the identity of a Zambian. In support of Jane in turn 7, Thandi jokes about the fact that Jane loves a chair while demonstrating the posture she takes when seated on it, that of a modern woman in an office setting, which is illustrative of a modern society in which women have also taken up the once jobs for males. She thus argues that other types of dress might not allow her flexibility and comfort while seated in an office chair. Therefore, we notice that for the two ladies, dress is about what makes them comfortable and not what society prescribes. Consequently, they are projecting modern identities that contest the dominant imposed identities about a woman and at the same time reconstructing a new value system that comes with modernity.

6.4.3. Incorporating Christian identities

It is also evident that speakers draw from the Christian value system in order to covertly show their membership affiliation to the religion and thus enacting Christian identities. In this regard, it is hard to separate the African and Christian belief systems in Lusaka urban discourses (cf. Banda & Bellonjengele 2010) as they seem to occur closely together. This is clearly noted in discourses that are full of Christian quotations or draw on some teachings on particular subjects as I show below.

Extract 15

Turn	speaker	dialogue
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- | | | |
|---|-------|--|
| 2 | Jane: | <i>eh eh nangu umwana kuti mwamupanga shani? (.) pantu ngatwaupana kwishiba ati but apa ifi twapanga ing'anda palafuma cimo. Simwamene? So umwanakashi pa mwanakashi tete fi balanse.</i> [But then how do you make a child? (.) Because when we get married we are sure that each time we make love there must be something coming out of it. Is that not so? So then it is not possible to have a woman marrying another woman.] |
| 3 | John: | <i>Teti fi balanse?</i> (lit. how can that not balance up?) [How impossible is that?] |
| 4 | Jane: | <i>Awe teti ibalanse XXX ine kuti mwanteping'a naumfwika na pa radio (laughter). Zambia ni Christian nation tefyo?</i> 'No, it's impossible XXX as for me I am willing to be heard even on the radio (laughter). Isn't Zambia a Christian nation?' |
| 5 | Mary: | <i>Awe taibalansa that's why Lesa apanga umwanakashi nomwaume pakweba ati ile balansa [eh ehe Lesa alipanga</i> [No it cannot be (can't balance up) that is the reason why God created them male and female so that it is impossible (balance up).] |
| 6 | John: | <i>so ukubalansa shani? Pantu Lesa umwine ali landa mu Bible ififwaikwa mwanakashi nomwaume capwa</i> [How then should it be possible (balance up)? Because God has already stated in the Bible the requirements, it a woman and a man, period.] |
| 7 | Mary: | <i>hahaha (.) manje XXX mwe Lesa mwandi XXX mukazi azangenesa bwanji pali muzake XXX [hahaha (.)</i> [How XXX my God XXX how can woman penetrate another woman?] |

The discussion in the extract is on homosexuality, a topic which was hotly and publicly debated during the constitution making process in Zambia; the contention was about enacting rights of homosexuals in the republican constitution. The data in the extract reveals speakers' membership affiliation to the Christian belief system through their constant drawing on of Christian intertextual references to support their position on a particular topic of discussion; and effectively project Christian identities while at the same time enacting urbanized ones.

From the extract, it is evident that speakers seem to be basing their arguments on the Christian teachings and partly on African beliefs. Thus, in turn 2, by drawing from both Christian and African belief system in her discourse, Jane argues against homosexuality. Her argument is essentially based on the Christian and African teachings that view sexual intercourse as an act between two heterosexual beings whose purpose is procreation. Drawing from this background, Jane in turn 1 states: ... *nangu umwana kuti mwamupanga shani...pantu ngatwaupana kwishiba ati but apa ifi twapanga ing'anda palafuma cimo. Simwamene? So umwanakashi pa mwanakashi tete fi balanse* 'but then how do you make a child?' Because when we get married we are certain that each time we make love there must be something coming out of it [child]. Is that not so? So then it is not possible to have a woman marrying another woman, nothing can come out of it'. In stating this, Jane enacts her entrenched Christian and African beliefs about sexuality and in turn projects an hybrid identity involving Christian and the African identities (cf. Banda & Bellonjegele 2010), in which conjugal relationships are viewed as a means for procreation and not only for sexual pleasure. Based on this entrenched belief, Jane argues that it is impossible to have a woman marry another because procreation would not take place although she fails to acknowledge that there may be heterosexual couples who cannot have children. It can also be noted that, as she advances her argument, she slips from one form of identity to another by drawing linguistic choices from Bemba, for example, '*nangu umwana kuti mwamupanga shani?...pantu ngatwaupana kwishiba ati*', English '*but*' and '*so*' and from Nyanja, '*simwamene*' which portray her as an urbanized woman. In turn 3 John seeks clarification, although seemingly, agreeing with Jane by asking a question: 'is it impossible?' His affiliation to the Christian belief system is evident in turn 6 as in: *so ukubalansa shani? Pantu Lesa umwine ali landa mu Bible ififwaikwa mwanakashi nomwaume capwa* 'how then should it be possible

(referring to homosexuality), because God has already stated the requirements in the Bible, it's about a woman and a man, period'. In this statement, John also projects his belief system and so is his identity.

Moreover, we notice that in turn 4, Jane re-emphasizes her identity through her insistency that it was impossible to allow homosexuality. She again draws the attention of her listeners to the fact that Zambia was a Christian nation as in: *Zambia ni Christian nation tefyo* 'isn't Zambia a Christian nation?' which clearly shows her value orientation as well as identity.

The hybrid identity involving Christianity and urbanity is also noted in Mary's statement in turn 5: *Awe taibalansa that's why Lesa apanga umwanakashi nomwaume pakweba ati ile balansa...Lesalipanga* 'no it is impossible, that is the reason why God created them male and female so that it can be possible (to have sexual intercourse)' and in turn 5 and 7, respectively: *mwe Lesa mwandi ...mukazi azangenesa bwanji pali muzake?* 'How, my God, how can a woman penetrate another woman?' By quoting from biblical scripture, specifically, from the creation story in Genesis as well as by including the name *God* in her statement in turn 7, Mary is enacting and negotiating her identity as a Christian or simply as one that ascribes membership to this belief system. In addition, by combining bits and pieces of language, for instance, from urban Bemba *awe taibalansa* (turn 5), standard English, *that's why* (turn 5) and urban Nyanja *manje* and then switches to urban Bemba *mwe Lesa wandi* and moves back to urban Nyanja *mukazi azangenesa bwanji pali muzake* (turn 7), Mary equally negotiating her Lusaka urbanized identity. Furthermore, the use of the word *-balanse* has been phonologized from the English phrase 'to balance' but whose meaning has been recontextualised to mean a possibility or impossibility of something based on context of use. The form is highly associated with Lusaka urban discourses and a cue that identifies one as an urbanite.

6.4.4. Localized Lusaka urban identities

The study is further showing that some identities projected in talk are more localized to the urban set up than others; this is particularly evident in urban discourses similar to what Nkolola-Wakumelo (2010) has called language of 'call boys' and 'minibus drivers' to distinguish it from a language variety associated with ordinary Lusaka urbanities. I illustrate this point in the following data.

Extract 16

Turn	speaker	dialogue
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- | | | |
|---|-------|--|
| 1 | Bob: | <i>Bwanji boyi?</i> 'how are you my friend?' |
| 2 | Rick: | <i>Bwino bwanji? mahafu yatu, ma allowances ati bwanji?</i> 'Fine and how are you? What about our money, the allowances?' (Asking about the money his friend had got for his work') |
| 3 | Bob: | <i>hahahaha mahafu yanasila boi tina bongoshola nyumba yamudala. So manje anafaka foundation ikulu monga ni mu town na eve</i> (laughter). <i>Mudala so timulasila ka nyumba so we had to buy some building materials.</i> 'hahahaha the money is finished my friend, we had to bring down the big man's (father) house. So now he has put up a big foundation (for a house) as if he is the urban. So we are building him a house and so we had to buy some building materials' |
| 4 | Rick: | oh oh you mean buying some cement? XXX what? XXX |
| 5 | Bob: | <i>Tenzofaka slab, so that was ya slab so kubwela noshansha zonse ku slab. So the other money XXX_</i> 'we were putting up the foundation for the house, so that money was meant for that purpose and so we spent everything. So the other money XXX' |
| 6 | Rick: | Oh no no! That was horrible (laughter) |

In the extract, speakers are drawing on a repertoire closely associated to urban settings to communicate as well as to enact their Lusaka urban identities. It can be noted from the extract that the nature of identity for speakers (that is from their discourses) is highly hybrid and

localized. In this regard, speakers are slipping from one type of urban identity to another through the different bits and pieces of language they are drawing on in line with Blommaert (2006) who states that a switch in bits and pieces of language or 'varieties' may signal different identities; for example, it is evident that, in turn 1, Bob begins the dialogue by drawing on urban Nyanja '*bwanji*' and '*boyi*' where *boyi* is ideally a localized form of *boy* pronounced with a fricative or 'soft' /b/. Nevertheless, note here that the word has been reappropriated to mean *friend* and not as it is understood in other forms of English. For that reason, the two (*bwanji* and *boyi*) are blended together as one to form a greeting targeted at a close friend. In as much as the use of *boyi* appears to carry more affection and suggest how close the two participants are, than would be other bits such as *friend* or *mzanga* 'friend' (Nyanja) or *umunandi* 'friend' (Bemba), in essence, Bob is enacting for himself an urbanized identity. In turn 2, Rick also draws on similar bits and pieces of language that include, urban Nyanja and Standard English, for example, he responds to the greeting *bwino bwanji* which is urban Nyanja and blends it with an urban emerged discourse for money *mahafu* to also negotiate his urban identity. This is immediately followed by *ma allowances* in order to clarify what type of *mahafu* he is talking about. The word '*allowances*' is also preceded by a prefix *ma-* from urban Bemba which is clearly an urban way of using language. Additionally, Bob uses Standard English as in *foundation* and *town* which he blends with *mahafu*, he thus, simultaneously stylizes his modern and urban identities at once.

Moreover, Bob draws on urban Nyanja *timulasila* 'we are making/building for him', to express the performance of a good act towards his father and combines it with another urban emerged discourse *noshansha* 'finished' in turn 4, a word used to refer to being left empty handed or struggling socially or economically depending on context. In this case, the speaker uses *noshansha* to refer to being left without money after spending on a building. Again, in turn 4 Bob uses urban Nyanja *mudala* to refer to someone older, in this context his father. Within, the conversation, we notice the use of Standard English only by Rick in turns 4 and 6. Additionally, Rick uses urban Nyanja *kubongoshola* 'bringing down some structure' and is used here to imply the act of destroying a structure. Therefore, it is evident from the nature of the discourse, that Bob and Rick have used their urban repertoire as capital in creating meaningful chunks of discourse as well as using them to project their urban identities.

6.5. Summary of chapter

The purpose of the chapter was to show how speakers in informal face-to-face conversations in social settings of urban Lusaka stylize their multiple identities by dissolving the traditional linguistic boundaries through use of an extended linguistic repertoire. The chapter has demonstrated how speakers' linguistic choices are drawn from the extended linguistic repertoire and conflated into one. The chapter has also showed how speakers' would choose to use any form of language as they wish. For example, in one instance, a speaker would choose to use standard forms and yet in another he or she would choose to combine them altogether. Furthermore, the chapter also presented speakers' views about the nature of language and revealed that their view is different from that of a linguist. For a linguist, what speakers called language is an aberration as it does not follow the expected standard forms. Speakers' conception about language has further implication on how we conceive language. In other words, speakers' views and actual language practices are pointing to a disinvention of languages as we have known them.



In addition, the chapter focused on how speakers' linguistic choices stylized the translocal hybrid identities which included urban versus rural, modern versus traditional, African versus Christian. The chapter also demonstrated how identities can be imposed and how they can be contested by speakers through linguistic choices. In this regard, male and female modern and traditional identities were contested differently by speakers. In the process, some were accepted and others discarded, and all these stylized. Ultimately, the chapter clearly demonstrated that identity is dynamic, actively negotiated and multiple and that speakers chose who to become at any given time. The chapter concluded by discussing more localized Lusaka urban identities.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE COLONIZATION OF THE FORMAL SPACE IN URBAN LUSAKA

7.0. Introduction

This chapter focuses on formal face-to-face discourses from official meetings that include staff meetings, presidential briefing and radio discourses. By examining how speakers use localized forms of language to perform acts of humour, role play, negotiate identities and as meaning making resources, the chapter shows the speaker's language practices challenge the dominant structural-functionalist ideology about language as a bounded unit and system. Furthermore, the chapter illustrates how speakers use localized language forms as face saving acts in their interpersonal interactions; and also demonstrates how such forms are used for transforming traditions and modernity into hybrid scenarios which project them as either rural or urban, traditional or modern people. The ultimate goal of the chapter is to demonstrate the colonization by localized repertoires, and permeability of the formal domain in late modern urban settings of Zambia.

7.1. The permeability of the formal space

It has emerged from the study that speakers' language practices in contexts of multilingual settings do not always fit into the language-domain dichotomy in which language use is expected to be determined by the domains. This is in line with Heller's (2007:11) argument that: "The constant emergence of traces of different languages in the speech of individual bilinguals goes against the expectation that languages will neatly correspond to separate domains, and stay put where they are meant to stay put". Her argument directly counters the Foucauldian and Fishman's structuralist perspective of orders of discourse in which language practices are seen as largely determined or controlled and shaped by specific discursive regimes or social structures (Foucault

1971, 1972; Fishman 1965). I illustrate this point with the following data. [Note that I have selected a few turns from the meetings/events' deliberations for analysis purposes and so the data leaves out some other aspects of the deliberations].

Extract 17

Turn speaker dialogue

1. Chair: Good afternoon colleagues. This meeting has been called to consider three applications for promotion...May the applicants leave the room please? Our first application is from Mr. X. He is applying to be promoted from lecturer II to lecturer I. What are your comments?
2. M1: I feel there is need to rework the CV according to the format of the university; otherwise the applicant appears to have satisfied the conditions for promotion.
3. M2: I second Mr. Z (M1). I think the application is long overdue, although the CV needs some revision as Mr. Z has pointed out.
4. Chair: Point taken. *Ba* Secretary, hope you have noted those points? [*ba*=Mr]
5. MS: Yes *ba* Chair, I have.... [*ba*=Mr.]
6. Chair: Any other comments? (Chair waits for comments but there is none). Okay,okay, I will liaise with the applicant on the issues raised. I think we can make progress.
7. M3: *Yapasa*, you can call him back.... [*yapasa*=it has gone through]
8. M4: *Ndimwe ba* Chairman? [You are the chairman]
9. ALL: laughter
10. Chair: Alright, alright *bo* X (M3) will you call in Mr. Z (the applicant). The next applicant is Mr. T. [*bo*=Mr.]
11. M3: *Inga walimbikila bwanji ine?* (Laughter) [Why are you always picking on me?]
12. ALL: Laughter.
13. Chair: *Cifukwa ndiwe mfana.* (Laughter) [Because you are the youngest]

Clearly, the extract is coming from a formal meeting and as such one would expect 'standard' norms as well as 'pure' linguistic forms as the preferred modes for meaning making in this

particular context. From this point of view, Zambian languages are not expected to be present as they would be seen as distorting the norms. Accordingly, the meeting tends to follow the orders of discourse in that some standard norms of conducting business as well as the use of a preferred language (English) are noticed. This is evident in turns 1 to 3 in which the meeting begins with the normal procedure of greetings and introductions and the exclusive use of Standard English. However, even if the meeting seems to take a formalized pattern in terms of the organization of the conversation and the use of a preferred linguistic form, a drastic shift is noticed with an infusion of localized informal aspects of language in form of morphemes and phrases, as in the use of the honorific prefix *ba* from Bemba in turns 4 and 5 (I elaborate on the roles of such prefixes below), *yapasa* from urban Nyanja in turn 7, *ndimwe ba* from urban Nyanja in turn 8, *bo* from Lozi in turn 10, *inga mwalimbikila bwanji ine* from urban Nyanja in turn 11 and *cifukwa ndiwe mfana* from urban Nyanja in turn 13. It is thus clear that the infusion of such local language forms with Standard English in a formal domain leads to 'disorders' of discourse in that the conversation does not neatly fall into the expectations of a formal meeting (cf. Mba 2011; Heller 2007). In addition, localized forms of language being used side by side with Standard English forms appear to be performing different social roles. I discuss these in the following sections.



7.1.1. Localized language aspects as acts of relaxation and humour

It has emerged that the use of local languages in formal or official domains as in extract 17 contextualizes the situation in particular ways, namely, breaking down the monotony created by the nature of a formal context thereby providing some form of relaxation and humour to participants (cf. Higgins 2009; Pennycook 2010; Aarons 2012). For example, in turn 7 of extract 17, M3 draws on urban Bemba or Nyanja *yapasa* 'it has gone through', a form highly associated with informal contexts of language use, to simultaneously acknowledge his colleague's recommendation for promotion and in this way he manages to break the monotony created by the formal environment. Note also that the phrase *yapasa* is essentially an English phonologized phrase '*to pass*' which in this case refers to the recommendation of the candidate for promotion.

In turn 8, M4 draws on a phrase from urban Nyanja *ndimwe ba chairman?* 'are you the chairman?' in which he politely challenges M3's supposedly 'hijacked' role structure in turn 7 (last part)...*you can call him back*, in which M3 disregards his subordinate position to perform a role associated with the Chairperson (cf. Banda 2005). In as much as M4's comment may be seen as a point of order challenging M3's statement, his comment *ndimwe ba chairman* is not only seen as an act of humour but also serves as a face saving strategy since 'are you the Chairman' would be face threatening to the addressee, while the Nyanja version *ndimwe ba chairman* is not (see Merkin 2006; Oetzel & Ting-Toomey 2003; Brown & Levinson 1978). This is clearly seen in M3's sharing in the laughter in turn 12. Moreover, the comment is seen as humorous not only because it has been said in another language but the tone of voice used suggested so.

Furthermore, it can be noticed from extract 17 that, being the second time M3 is requested to perform some form of duty by the Chair which is clearly based on his subordinate position, he jokingly protests against the request by drawing on Nyanja in turn 11: *inga mwalimbikila bwanji ine* 'how come you keep picking on me?' which again is not only meant to act as a form of humour but also to act as a face saving strategy in that the English version 'how come you keep picking on me?' would be more face threatening or impolite than the Nyanja version (cf. Merkin 2006; Brown & Levinson 1978). In addition, in order to acknowledge his subordinate position, M3 obliges to the request. This, apparently, makes his comment be understood as an act of humour and not defiance (see Aarons 2012). This is evident when M3 obliges to the Chair's request and the rest of the house including him, break into laughter.

Besides, to show that M3's comment is indeed a mere joke, in turn 13, the Chair also reciprocates by drawing upon a Nyanja phrase *cifukwa ndiwe mfana* 'because you are the youngest' which is equally a face saving act in that the English version 'because you are the youngest' would be more inappropriate and face threatening than the localized version (see Ting-Toomey 2005; Merkin 2006). Thus, the chair manages to perform his superordinate role and signal his status but in a less threatening way. This too is also taken as a form of humour as age in this kind of social context would not matter considering that the person the Chair was requesting has the same

status with most of the other members. However, in as far as the entire exchange is taken as an act of humour; the Chair appears to evoke some form of cultural injunction which defines role structure and statuses based on age and social positions among interlocutors (see Banda 2005). In this way, the Chair is incorporating the African traditional cultural aspects in what is supposed to be an official Westernized type of context.

Consider also the following extract taken from president Michael Sata (MS) of Zambia while he was answering questions from members of the audience comprising Zambians living in the United Kingdom:

Extract 18

Line speaker

MS: 1. ...*so you find that at the moment we need people who can work hard, we need people XXX [like] the Chinese, they are very different from us, you can send them to rural areas, they are going to stay like people in rural areas.*

MS: 2...*But for XXX Zambians if you send a Mr. Banda to Kawambwa he will say kuno ukwabula amalaiti twalaikala shani.* [Laughter in the audience]...*But I understand your concerns....*

In the extract, MS uses Standard English with a few bits of Bemba to address his audience. In line 1, he uses Standard English only but later combines it with Bemba in line 2. Like in extract 17, the purpose for which he draws on Bemba is not only to emphasize meaning but more importantly to perform an act of humour as in: *but for...Zambians if you send a Mr. Banda to Kawambwa he will say: kuno ukwabula amalaiti twalaikala shani* 'this place has no electricity, how are we going to live here'. In this statement, the humour is carried by the Bemba phrase: *kuno ukwabula amalaiti twalaikala shani* which is reminiscent of discourses of urban dwellers that reject rural life and see it as backward. The fact that it is said by MS and in a formal setting, the statement is seen as humorous although understanding its real effect requires a shared social experience.

The data also shows that aspects of traditional cultural identity are still retained in form of a hybrid even if participants find themselves in a formal Western type of context. For example in extract 18, we notice that MS brings to the fore the 'tribal cousinship' affair that is enjoyed between people from different ethnic groups in Zambia. This 'tribal cousinship' has historical roots from the pre-colonial times when ethnic groups fought against each other for power and dominance. However, during the colonial times, such wars came to an end and this was followed by reconciliation in which groups that once fought each other, became 'tribal cousins' popularly known in Bemba as *icimbuya* or *umbuya* in Nyanja to mean 'tribal cousinship'. Therefore, ethnic groups involved in this kind of 'cousinship' tease or mock each other in a friendly and none offending way.

However, if one does not understand this cultural background, he or she may interpret it as offensive (cf. Merkin 2006; Brown & Levinson 1978). It is from such historical cultural background that MS draws from. The commonest 'tribal cousinship' in Zambia is that between the Bemba of Northern Zambia and the Ngoni/Chewa group of Eastern Zambia. Therefore, MS himself being a member of the Bemba group, chooses to pick on the name Banda since it is closely associated with some members of the Ngoni/Chewa group, effectively making one who bears it a 'tribal cousin' to MS, as 'one who could resist rural life'. Given the background, the MS' statement is seen as a form of humour. However, notice that MS attributes the Bemba words to a Mr. Banda instead of Nyanja which would easily be associated to Ngoni/Chewa. Nevertheless, he does this in order to show how urbanized a Mr. Banda would be since Bemba has historically been highly associated with urbanity even if Nyanja is equally one (see Kashoki 2009; Spitulnik 1999; Ohannessian & Kashoki 1978). Moreover, what is clear in this extract is that by drawing on such traditional cultural phenomenon as a resource for humour, MS is also projecting his collective identity as a member of the Bemba group and imposing one on a Mr. Banda (see Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004). He is depicting a more collective Zambian identity in which ethnic groups which were once enemies are now living as one united people, a

characteristic that partially describes Zambian people, particularly embedded in Kenneth Kaunda's ideology of one Zambia one Nation.

The data further shows that traditional wisdom found in proverbs and which is commonly part of rural discourses and heritage of most Zambians can also be used in a Western type of formal domain to simultaneously elicit humour and impart knowledge. Consider the extract below.

Extract 19

3...*if you want dual nationality, I am not ready to grant it to you, XXX you can't have it both ways...the choice is yours XXX we have people from everywhere...West Africa, Indians, and so on where I come from they say mumbwe ayitile impashi shaisa shamububa 'a hyena invited the red ants to crowd it'* [laughter in the audience].

In the extract, MS draws on a proverb in Bemba: *mumbwe ayitile impashi shaisa shamububa 'a hyena invited red ants to crowd it'*. Even if the proverb has a moral teaching, in that it refers to the fact that a lonely parent or King would chose who to stay with when his or her own people (children) abandon him, even if it means the invited ones are bad people, the proverb has humour in it since a hyena traditionally has never been portrayed in good light and secondly, the fact the red ants are known for their bitter stings, and thus, the trouble that the hyena would find itself in, makes the proverb humorous. The humour embedded in the proverb is clearly seen when it triggers laughter among the audience.

Consequently, what is emerging from the study is that the incorporation of rural and informal cultural aspects appears to be part of the entire urban linguistic repertoire from which speakers are selecting linguistic resources to form their discourses without being tied to the domain of language use. In the following sections I consolidate this claim.

7.1.2. Integrating cultural address forms and African sayings in formal domains

7.1.2.1. Cultural address forms

Social discourses among many Zambians, be it in rural or urban settings, are usually marked by the frequent use of honorific prefixes as address forms that tend to signal statuses and role structure among interlocutors in conversations (see Banda 2005). In this regard, it can be noted that speakers are attaching the honorific prefixes to English words and local ones alike to establish role structure and statuses. Conversely, the use of a formalized address form as in Mr in line 1 and 3 of extract 17 which is an expected form is noted. But an infusion of a localized address form in the use of the prefixes *ba* from Bemba/Ngoni/Nsenga in line 4 of extract 17 is also noted: *ba secretary*, line 5 *ba chair*, line 8 *ba chairman*, making the situation more localized than would have been if only *Mr.* was to be used. The use of such forms does not only localize the formal context but signal role structure and statuses among the interlocutors, that is, to show mutual cultural respect among themselves as adults with specific statuses and roles. In this way, the use of *ba-* signals social roles or statuses of staff-head relationship, on one hand, and colleague relationship on the other, in which the mutual cultural respect is enacted. Therefore, the use of such forms add a cultural, social and more intimate dimension to the conversation than would be the use of *Mr.* only. In addition, the honorific prefixes are also engendering a mood or sense of familiarity among interlocutors throughout the conversation than would be the use of *Mr.* that would signal some level of social distance between interlocutors. In this way, the address forms also contribute a sense of confidence and self-esteem among members in a supposedly formal domain.

In addition, from the extract, of interest is the use of the prefix *bo-* in *bo X* in line 10, a prefix from Lozi, a language which clearly contributes very few linguistic forms in Lusaka urban speakers' linguistic repertoire. In this vein, the Chair draws on the prefix *bo* from Lozi, in order to reciprocate the forms his subordinate has used. He uses this to politely request one of the members to call back the applicant into the meeting. In this way, despite the Chairperson recognizing his superordinate role and status (of Chair), he reciprocates in order to avoid a face

threatening act (cf. Banda 2009; Merkin 2006; Brown & Levison 1978; Ting-Toomey 2003) in that, the use of a Standard English form would project him as either being dictatorial or 'bossy' since none of the members in the meeting are officially assigned to play this role.

It has to be pointed out that in most Lusaka urban discourses; the Bemba/Ngoni/Nsenga honorific prefix *ba* is more frequently used than the Lozi prefix *bo-*. Nevertheless, this shift only goes to show how speakers continually recreate language by drawing different linguistic forms from their linguistic repertoire to form meaning. It also seeks to highlight the fact that the person, to whom the prefix was used, speaks Lozi which in turn signals his 'traditional' ethnic affiliation. It is further evident from the data that for speakers, the etymology of a linguistic form does not matter but rather how it is used and the meaning they intend to create (see Higgins 2009; Auer 1999). It is therefore, clear that the prefix *bo-* is essentially playing the same role as with the Bemba/Ngoni/Nsenga counterpart. Additionally, just like any other linguistic form used by speakers, the use of the Lozi prefix *bo-* indexes a particular group identity of the person the Chair is talking to since the member was known to be a first language speaker of Lozi. Consequently, it is evident that the use of such address forms are effectively dissolving the Westernized cultural aspects embedded in the orders of discourse associated with formal domains.

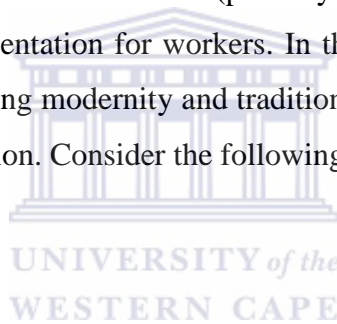
7.2.2. Transforming modernity and tradition in urban settings

In supporting my claim that the use of localized language forms in combination with Standard English forms in formal/official social contexts contextualize the situation in particular ways, consider the following data involving comments randomly selected from two separate staff general meetings held between a union executive and its members at the University of Zambia in which speakers are engaged in the stylization and transformation of modernity and cultural traditions.

Extract 20: Comment 1 (1st meeting):

Mr. Chair we are happy with your good work which has seen us receive a good pay but now... it's time to XXX for the union to refocus their attention on other important issues such as research funds....When you go to other institutions across Africa, you will appreciate what I am talking about, they say umwana ashenda atasha nyina ukunaya' [a child who does not visit places, praises the mother to be the best cook'].

From the extract above, we notice that the speaker juxtaposes particular formal aspects of English phrases with the Bemba proverb: *umwana ashenda atasha nyina ukunaya* 'a child who does not visit other places, only praises her mother to be the best cook' whose moral lies in the fact that the leadership needed to learn from others (possibly other similar organizations) in their attempt to improve on their representation for workers. In this way, he is localizing the formal domain by transforming or recreating modernity and tradition into a hybrid scenario which bears both traces of modernity and tradition. Consider the following data.



Extract 21: Comment 2 (1st meeting):

...we have noticed some form of divisions within the executive. What is really happening in this union? How do we expect to get what we want with such prevailing divisions? Yes we know, in every organization there are conflicts, they say imiti ipalamene taibula ukusunkana [neighboring trees can never avoid pushing each other]. What is important though is how these conflicts are resolved. There is no need of allowing these divisions to destroy this union.

Similarly, the above extract takes the structure of the argument in extract 20 in he also juxtaposes formal English sentences bearing the main argument and the Bemba proverb once again: *imiti ipalamene taibulauku sunkana* 'neighboring trees will always rub each other'. Like in in extract 20, even if the speaker's intention is to amplify his argument, one would still decipher the intended meaning contained in the English part but he chooses to use the Bemba proverb in order to add a cultural dimension which in turn makes informal the formal space (cf. Banda 2005).

Nevertheless, the moral of the proverb lies in resolving conflict among members in a manner akin to the harmony exhibited by two neighboring regardless of them 'pushing each other'; and thus this fits well in the argument the speaker was putting forward. In this context, the speaker localizes heritage knowledge in a formal domain in order to draw lessons of leadership. The same form is true in following data.

Extract 22: Comment 4 (2nd meeting)

I am wondering why management always excuses itself from giving us our gratuities on account of lack of financial resources and yet they keep buying themselves expensive and luxurious cars. When we speak out, they call us names. They say ati ciwamila galukuluma mbuzi, osati mbuzi kuluma galu' [it is better for a dog to bite a goat and not a goat biting a dog].

In the extract, like others before it, the structure remains the same, that is, the speaker develops the main argument is in Standard English and infuses a Nyanja adage: *ciwamila galu kuluma mbuzi, osati mbuzi kuluma galu* [it is better for a dog to bite a goat and not a goat biting a dog] This saying is equivalent to an English adage 'what is good for a goose must be good for a gander'. The Nyanja adage has been used to reinforce the idea of fairness between those leading and those being led. The question one would ask is why did the speaker opt for the Nyanja version in this context? The answer lies in the fact that speakers in such contexts opt for localized forms rather than formalized ones for stylistic effects as using the English version might not carry the same effect a localized one would. The use of proverbs also shows how entrenched traditional knowledge and practices have been in African societies.

Ultimately, what has emerged thus far from this section is that speakers are using traditional sayings and proverbs because these are part of their heritage and so in doing this, they are essentially recreating tradition by adding a modern social dimension to it. Furthermore, they are using proverbs in order to concurrently localize the English conversations and also signal their collective identity of African. In the process, a hybrid form of practices are emerging in which both modernity and traditional practices are recreated resulting into an enactment of hybrid

identities too (cf. Banda & Bellonjegele 2010). In addition, the similar practices observed above are seen used on radio stations. I discuss these below.

7.2. Localized hybrid discourses on ‘monolingual’ radio stations in Lusaka

In the past, it was rare to find local languages used on English-medium radio stations and vice versa. This perhaps explains the current practice where most radio stations have prescribed language(s) of transmission based on monologic notions of language. For example, the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC), the public media, has eight sections based on the eight regional lingua francas for transmission. Out of the eight, only English is enshrined in the Zambian constitution as an official language (Republic of Zambia Constitution) while the seven which include Bemba, Nyanja, Lozi, Tonga, Kaonde, Lunda and Luvale are regional official languages by proclamation (Simwinga 2006). In such radio stations; transmission is supposedly conducted in a chosen standard language. However, this study reveals that such prescriptive monologic approach to language do not reflect reality of actual language practices of the people (Makoni *et al.* 2010; Pennycook 2010). In the data that follow, it will be demonstrated how speakers deploy rural and urban forms of Nyanja/Nsenga, Bemba as well as Standard and non-standard English forms to perform different roles and statuses as well as project their multiple identities all at once Consider the following extract from an “English only” radio station.

Extract 23

Turn speaker dialogue

- 1 Host: *Good morning! Who I am speaking to?*
- 2 Caller: *Hello! Ndine Zulu*[I am Zulu]
- 3 Host: *Please, go ahead.*
- 4 Caller: *Ingankale Toyota RB yaku farm.* [It can be Toyota RB for the farm’ (referring to former president of Zambia, Rupiah Banda who came from retirement at his farm to become the country’s president)]

- 5 Host: *Ahah mwayambo nyonza manje mwaona ka?* [...you are now being teasing/offending, you see]
- 6 Caller: *awe tukamba* [no I am speaking' (meaning he is not teasing)]
- 7 Host: *Awe takamba kudala kuti Toyota RB niya bantu bobeuila in the beginning of the edition* [we have already stated that Toyota RB is for wealth people in the beginning of the edition]
- 8 Caller: *awe neo ndine farmer* [no I am a farmer]
- 9 Host: *Ok ndimwe bafarmer!* (Laughter) [Ok you are a farmer!]
- 10 Caller: *hahahahaha* (ends call)

The radio host begins the conversation with Standard English in turn 1: *good morning. Who am I speaking to?* and continues with the same in turn 3: *please go ahead*. But the caller chooses to use a hybrid form of language involving English and Nyanja in turn 2 as in *hello ndine Zulu* 'hello I am Zulu' and continues with the same type of language throughout the conversation. However, in turn 5, in order to be at par with the caller, the host switches from Standard English to Nyanja as: in *mwayambo nyonza manje mwaona ka* 'you see now, you have started teasing/mocking', while the caller continues using his hybrid language form, but this time involving Bemba and Nyanja as in turn 6: *awe tukamba* 'no we are speaking', where *awe* 'no' and *tu* 'we' (showing subject marker) are Bemba and *-kamba* 'speak' is Nyanja. In turn 7, the host follows suit by using hybrid language involving Bemba, Nyanja and Standard English as in: *awe takamba kudala kuti Toyota RB niya Bantu bobeuila in the beginning of the edition* 'no we have already stated in the beginning of the edition that Toyota RB is for wealth people', where *awe* is Bemba, *takamba kudala kuti Toyota RB niya bantu bobeuila* is Nyanja and the rest is in English. The conversation in turns 8 and 9 continues with hybrid language use and ends that way.

Clearly for the speakers, their language use is not constrained by domain neither are they constrained by language as a bounded unit or rigid system (cf. Orman 2012, 2013; Heller 2007; Pennycook 2010; Makoni & Pennycook 2007; Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004; Blackledge & Creese, 2010). Thus, even if the speakers appear to show some tendency in following the prescribed monologic form, they in actual fact draw on linguistic resources from multiple

sources. Additionally, as they use language in this manner, they are equally negotiating their multiple social identities which would not be possible if they used the monologic forms of language (cf. Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004; Blackledge & Creese 2010). I elaborate more on this below.

7.2.1. Hybrid language as an act of play in the formal domain

Similar to the acts of humour noticed in section 7.1.1, the extract above demonstrates how hybrid language forms can be used to perform different roles and statuses in the formal domain. For example, in the extract, the topic of discussion requires callers/listeners to attach names of their favorite (Zambian) politicians to any Toyota model of car in a way that creates a rhythmic or lyrical relation in between the name of a chosen politician and the name of Toyota. The program is purely meant to entertain the audience, supposedly in Standard English.

In as much as the extract above reveals how speakers can exploit localized linguistic resources for different purposes (Pennycook 2010), including play, as the case is in the context of the extract above, we also notice that RB which essentially includes initials for the former president of Zambia, Rupiah Banda, has become part of the urban discourses. This is obviously so considering the high status Rupiah Banda once held. The caller in turn 4 chooses to attach RB to the name Toyota and goes on to state that this type of Toyota model would be a *farm vehicle*. He deliberately chooses *farm* because Rupiah Banda was called from retirement at his farm to become vice president and subsequently president of Zambia following the death of Levy Mwanawasa. Due to Rupiah's social status, the host finds the caller's statement that 'Toyota RB' would be a *farm vehicle* offensive in as much as it was meant to play around with linguistic resources in making humour (Aarons 2012). The host sees the statement as an act of teasing the former head of state '*aaah awe mwayambonyoza mwaona katakamba kudala kuti Toyota RB niya bantu boboula*' '...no you are now teasing you see, we have already stated that Toyota RB is for rich people' (turn 5). In doing this, the host manages to challenge the caller's role but in a polite

way. He further signals his authority as the host responsible for filtering what comes in and what goes out in the program. Furthermore, in this utterance, we notice that the phrases: *niya bantu* 'it is for people' is urban Nyanja while *bobeula* 'rich people or those that have financially made it in life' is urban Nyanja/Bemba. This phrase is commonly used by urban youths and is an example of emerging discourse among Lusaka urbanites. In response, the caller justifies his choice of *farm* by claiming that he is also a farmer as in: *awe ndine farmer* 'no I am a farmer' (in turn 8).

7.2.2. Localized language forms in formal domains as acts of identity

The data in extract 23 evidently reveals that the speakers are also performing acts of identity through the deployment of hybrid language. For example, like in other extracts, it was noted that both the caller and the host deploy rural and urban forms of Nyanja/Chewa, Bemba as well as Standard and non-standard English forms to simultaneously project their multiple identities. In particular, the caller uses urban Nyanja in turn 2 *ndine Zulu* 'I am Zulu' and in turn 4, *ingankale* 'it can be called' and *yaku* 'for the' which are interspaced by Toyota RB and followed immediately by *farm* (Standard English) and *tukamba* 'we are speaking' in turn 6 which is seen as a combination of both urban Bemba and urban Nyanja, to signal his rural/urban identity. Moreover, in turn 8, he uses *neo* 'I' seen as Nsenga/Ngoni (rural)) and *awe* 'no' in turns 7 and 8, respectively, as urban Bemba which identified the speaker as both a rural/urban and modern person (cf. Banda 2005; Banda & Bellonjengele 2010). In turn 5, the host draws on a rural Nyanja phrase: *mwayambonyoza* 'teasing/offending' to project a rural identity. We also notice that the host uses Standard English linguistic forms that associate him with modernity in turns 1 *good morning*, turn 3 *please, go ahead* and turn 7 (last part of the construction) *in the beginning of the edition*. But we notice a contradiction when the same person moves on to portray an urban and rural identity through the deployment of other forms of language as in turn 5 urban Nyanja *mwaonaka* 'you see now' which is preceded by rural Nyanja *mwayambonyoza*. In addition, he draws on both urban Bemba *awe* 'no' and fuses it with urban Nyanja *takamba kudala kuti niya bantu bobeula* 'we have already stated that it is for wealth people' to signal rural and urban identities.

The data so far demonstrates that localization is not only limited to English but also to African languages. This is particularly evident too in the data below from radio stations/channels which are expected to transmit in a particular monologic language form. The following data taken from a 'Nyanja only' radio channel illustrates the point.

Extract 24

Turn speaker dialogue

1. Host: *Tikulandilani ku **program** yathu ya **police and you**. Ine ndine Mirriam Zulu. Muno mu **studio** ndili ndi aJere. A Jere patsani moni omvetsela.* [We welcome you all to our program, police and you. In the studios, I am with Mr. Jere. Mr. Jere greet the listeners].
2. Discussant [Jere]: *Ndiku patsani moni onse amene mvetsela kuwailesi. Ambuye amidalitseni....*[we greet everyone listening to the wireless radio. God bless you].
3. Host: *Lelo tifuna tichezelane pa njila dza utambwali kapena kuti u **conman**. Omvetsela tumani lamya pa **number** iyi 251681. A Jere kansi **uconman** ndiye kuti bwanji?* [Alright. Today we want to discuss modern theft or con. Listeners the number to call us on is 251681. Mr. Jere what is the act of con?].

The extract above presents a scenario of a formal context on a radio station in which the host is conducting a live discussion with an open phone line which listeners could use to call. The format of the discussion takes after the formal orders of discourses in which the host first introduces the program, herself and her guest and later gives her guest an opportunity to greet the audience. This kind of pattern of conversation partially observes the orders of discourse in which certain strict procedures and the use of a preferred language are followed. This is also clear in some instances in which the host and interviewee tends to use monologic forms of standard Nyanja. Nonetheless, we notice an infusion of bits from English which in this case would be considered as distorting the order of the discussion. For example, in turn 1, the presenter uses forms of Standard Nyanja with a few English words as in: *Tikulandilani ku **program** yathu ya **police and you**. Muno mustudio ndili na aJere. A Jere patsani moni omvetsela* 'we welcome you

all to our program, police and you. In the studios, I am with Mr. Jere. Mr. Jere greet the listeners', where the words *program*, *number* and *studios* as well as the phrase *police and you* (the name of the program), are English. However, their presence here does not seem to play any specific roles as the case was with local languages blending with Standard English forms in a formal domain. Evidently, the English words as they occur in this context are simply being used as part of the speakers' communicative repertoire from which they draw on linguistic resources in their quest to create meaning; and as such are not regarded as different from the Standard Nyanja. However, following my argument in chapter 6, in which it was stated that linguistic forms used in combination signify speakers' identities, among others, such English words blended with Nyanja are equally signaling speakers multiple identities (see chapter 6).

In turn 2, the discussant appears to stick to Standard Nyanja: *ndikupatsani moni onse amene mvetsela kuwailesi yakanema. Ambuye amdalitseni....*'I greet everyone listening to the 'wireless' radio. God bless you'. Note that the discussant uses an old fashioned word for radio and closely associated with rural Nyanja, that is, *wireless* which is phonologized into *wailesi*. Noticeably the language that the discussant/speaker uses here identifies him as either rural or urban while at the same time depicts him with a modern identity in turn 4 of extract 25 below:

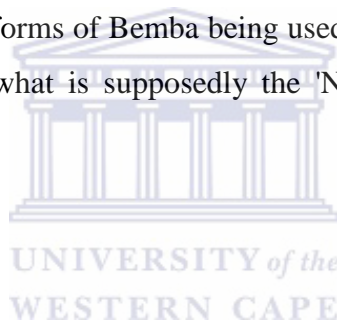
Extract 25

Turn speaker dialogue

4. Discussant [Jere]: *dzikomo amai pafuntso. Uconman niukawalala woipistisangako ndiye wabwele manje mu Lusaka....uconman niukawala wakubazintu kapenandlama kupitlila mu njila dza utambwali olo kapena tikambe kuti theft by false pretenses...kunamidwa pokumbelani. [Thank you madam for the question. Conning is a very bad type of modern theft which has become common in Lusaka. It is theft through crooked ways or theft of property or money through trickery or false pretenses] [Phone rings]*

In this extract, a few English words appear, for example, *conman*, *or* (phonologized as *olo*), and the phrase *theft by false pretenses*. But note that the word *uconman* bearing the Nyanja prefix *u-* as used in this context refers to the state of being a conman. Note that the discussant uses all these English forms as resources to develop his response to the question. Nevertheless, just like the Nyanja forms noticed above, the English forms are also signaling for him a modern identity, particularly, the use of the phrase *theft by false pretenses*, which essentially would depict someone with a certain level of education as English in Zambia is mistakenly associated with being educated while the English phonologized word *or* for *olo* depicts a rural identity. But ultimately, the speaker uses these linguistic forms for meaning making (cf. Heller 2007).

In addition, it is clear that the opening up of the phone line to the public intensifies the use of hybrid language in that we notice forms of Bemba being used side by side with Standard Nyanja and English by the speakers on what is supposedly the 'Nyanja only' radio channel. This is illustrated in the extract below.



Extract 26

Turn speaker dialogue

5. Host: *Conde A Jere tiyanke phone. Hello, muli kumvestela ku police and you...Culani dzinalanu nakwamene mtumila?* [Please Mr. Jere, let us answer this phone call. Hello you are listening to *police and you*. Tell us your name and the place you are calling from?]

6. Caller: *Ndine Bwalya kuMatero. Mulishani baJere.*[I am Bwalya from Matero. How are you Mr. Jere?].

7. Discussant [Jere]. *Ndili bwino a Bwalya.Muli Bwanji...kuli bwanji kumatero?* [I am alright Mr. Bwalya. How are you and how is Matero?]

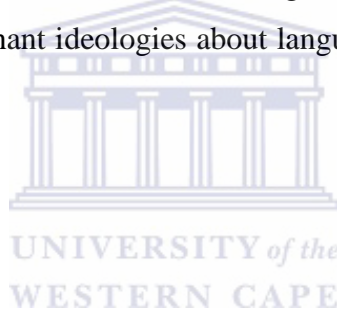
8. Caller: *Ndifye bwino mukwai. Ku Matero kulifye bwino. Ba Jere ilyo lyashi mwaleta lilisana important pantu ubu bu conman nabuchilamo sana .Ine I encountered bu conman one day lintuna lefwaya in'ganda....* [I am alright thank you. Matero is fine. Mr. Jere the topic you have brought today is very important because conning has become very rampant. I encountered it one day when I was looking for a house....]

In the extract, it can be noted that the host continues her pattern of blending Standard Nyanja with few English words as in turn 5: *Chonde a Jere tityanke foni. Hello, muli kumvestela ku police and you...Chulani dzinalanu nakwamene mtumila*, where the words *phone, hello* and the phrase *police and you* are English and the rest is Standard Nyanja. However, in turn 6, we see a new pattern of blending in which the caller combines Nyanja: *Ndine Bwalya kuMatero* 'I am Bwalya from Matero' with Bemba: *Mulishani ba Jere?* 'How are you Mr. Jere?' And in turn 7, Jere responds to the greeting in Standard Nyanja: *ndili bwino aBwalya. Mulibwanji...kulibwanji ku Matero?* 'I am well Mr. Bwalya. How are you... how is Matero? The caller responds in Bemba and switches to English as in turn 7: *ndifye bwino mukwai. Ku Matero kulifye bwino. Ba Jere ilyo lyashi mwaleta lilisana important pantu ubu buconman nabuchilamo sana. I encountered bu conman one day lintu nalefwaya in'ganda....*, where the words *important, I, encountered, conman* and the phrase: *one day* is all English and the rest is Bemba.

However, what is interesting to note is that all the speakers are able to understand one another regardless of the purported different language forms being use. This is evidently showing that speakers are not treating these forms as undifferentiated forms but rather they are treating them as simply resources for making meaning. In this vein, Heller's (2007:1) argues against the position that, "languages are objectively speaking whole bounded, systems, and for the notion that speakers draw on linguistic resources which are organised in ways that make sense under specific social conditions". Evidently, Heller's (2007) counter argument is supported by the findings of this study. Thus, it would be confidently stated that the traditional notions of language domains as determining how speakers should use language may be untenable as they fail to account for the ways in which speakers in diverse linguistic contexts such as urban Lusaka, use language. This in turn calls for a revisiting of the structural-functionalist notions of language and domains. Nonetheless, this does not mean that speakers in such contexts would always combine different forms of language in the communication practices but rather explains the true nature of language use among people with diverse linguistic backgrounds. For example, at one point, a speaker might prefer particular linguistic choices over others and at another he or she might combine different linguistic options from multiple sources in their communication practice.

7.3. Summary of chapter

This chapter has focused on language practices in selected formal contexts which included official meetings and radio discourses in postmodern Lusaka. The chapter has demonstrated how Lusaka urban speakers use localized language forms to colonize the formal spaces thereby challenging the dominant ideologies about language as a fixed, impermeable and bounded system. In particular, the chapter has shown how speakers' use localized language forms in formal spaces to perform acts of humour, role play, face saving, identity and for meaning enhancement. In the process of doing this, the chapter has further shown how speakers transform traditions and modernity into a hybrid space which identifies them as having multiple identities all at once. The chapter has revealed the active role speakers play in recreating language as well as their own social spaces as they interact. These findings in this chapter, like others before it, have further implications on dominant ideologies about language which are discussed in chapter ten.

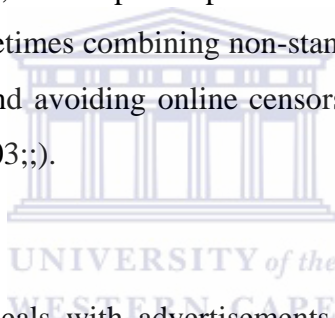


CHAPTER EIGHT

LOCALIZATION OF LANGUAGE IN ONLINE DISCOURSES AND ADVERTISEMENTS

8.0. Introduction

This chapter focuses on language practices in some written discourses from online sources and selected advertisements. In this vein, the chapter deals with two sections. The first considers language practices from online sources, namely, Facebook and Zambian based news blogs. Given the nature of language practices in written discourses in which the writing system is the critical medium of communication, the chapter explores how writers play with orthography by deviating from the norms and sometimes combining non-standard and standard forms in creating meaning, constructing identities and avoiding online censorship through the written words (cf. Seargeant & Tagg 2011; Sebba 2003;:).



The second part of the chapter deals with advertisements from mobile phone companies in Zambia. The choice of mobile phone ads was based on them providing interesting data. This section of the chapter shows how advertisers appropriate and localize semiotic resources by exploiting their dialogic characteristics (Bakhtin 1981, 1983) in forging new meanings which would not be possible if only the cultural capital of monologic language forms, or indeed a different form of semiosis, were to be used (cf. Higgins 2009). It also illustrates the restrictions involved in meaning making between print and audio/TV ads. In addition, the section shows how localized and appropriated semiosis in advertisements re-construct particular consumer identities (Piller 2001; Higgins 2009; Kasanga 2010' Pétery 2011).

8.1. Flouting the standard in Computer Mediated Discourses

Milroy and Milroy (1999:51) have argued that "one of the functions of written language and the writing system (its conventions of spellings, grammar and word-choice) is to enforce or maintain standardization". At first sight, their argument appears to apply to all forms of written language, however, the emerging findings of the study indicate that writers in online sources, like in speech, may choose to deviate from the norm, maintain it or even combine both standard and non-standard aspects of written language in their mediated communication practices. I illustrate this point with data in form of comments posted on a Facebook profile photo of a selected Facebook member.

Extract 27

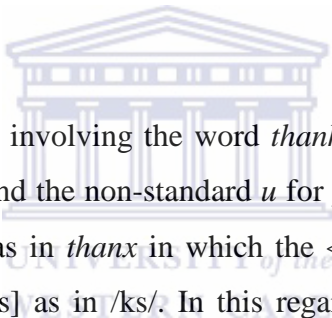
Line	comment
------	---------

- | | |
|----|--|
| 1. | <i>Wow!!!...u luk sexy gal</i> |
| 2. | <i>U luk gud</i> |
| 3. | <i>I rilly cnt wait mwandi [for sure (used for emphasis)].</i> |
| 4. | <i>U look good no offence meant</i> |
| 5. | <i>Thank u.</i> |
| 6. | <i>Gud Luks n gud pic...nice one sis</i> |
| 7. | <i>Thanx bro.</i> |



Clearly, the data above shows some deviations in the manner writers are representing English words [note also the short format of the discourses typical of such computer-mediated discourses]. For example, in some cases, they seem to be following or 'enforcing' the standard spelling norms of English words, while in some other cases, they are flouting the norms in such a way that the graphemes of words correspond to actual phonetic sounds based on how writers would pronounce them. Take for example, the word <you> which is phonetically realized as [ju].

This is written as <u> in line 1, 2, 4 and 5 and in some other data, the same is written as <yu> which is in fact a much closer phonetic alternative than the <u>. Similarly, the words *good* and *look* which are also phonetically transcribed as [gud] and [luk] are written as <gud> and <luk> in lines 1, 2 and 6, respectively. However, notice the variations of the same in line 4 where *good* and *look* have been written in conformity to the standard English spelling while in the same line, the writer uses the non-standard form for <you> as in <u> (I elaborate more on such variations below). Moreover, *rilly* for *really* and *cnt can't* in line 3, respectively, are both phonetically induced and do not conform to the norm. Typical of Lusaka urban discourses, the writer in line 3 uses hybrid language involving English and Bemba/Nyanja in the word *mwandi* whose meaning indicates some form of affection. Effectively, the writer stylizes his multiple identities which include modern and urban ones (see Banda & Bellonjengele 2010; Dyer 2007; De Fina 2007; De Fina, Schiffrin & Bamberg 2006).



In addition, consider the variations involving the word *thank you* in line 5, in which the writer combines the standard part *thank* and the non-standard *u* for *you*, while in line 7, the writer uses the non-standard form for *thanks* as in *thanx* in which the <x> has been used to represent the phonetic combination of [k] and [s] as in /ks/. In this regard, the writer seems to have taken advantage of the homophonic relationship between the grapheme <x> and the phones [ks] to write down what she wants to represent. It is evident that the use of these forms has its influences from text messaging especially the form associated with the youths. Effectively, such spelling forms are projecting modern mediated youth identities.

In the same extract 27, it be noted that writers are using what one would consider 'misspellings' of words to create meaningful texts but whose content expresses some form of symbolic value (cf. Sebba 2003). For example, the unconventional spellings used in the extract do not only index particular identities but also indicate social distance between the writers. To illustrate this point, the use of the words *...u luk sexy gal* in line 1, in which *gal* is slang associated with youth urban discourses, does not only index a youthful mediated identity but rather the entire comment shows that the person commenting shares a close relationship (which could even be intimate) with the

owner of the photo. This in turn privileges him to write in this way in which social 'closeness' is noticed.

On the contrary, consider line 4 of extract 27 comment: *u look good no offence meant* in which the user chooses to use more standard spellings in his writing with the exception of <u>. In this way, he tends to distance himself from the owner of the photo while still maintaining a sense of friendship or familiarity (see Ting-Tommey 2005). This is clearly seen from one part of the comment reading: *no offence meant*, which is evidently a politeness strategy since it can potentially be misunderstood as sexually suggestive.

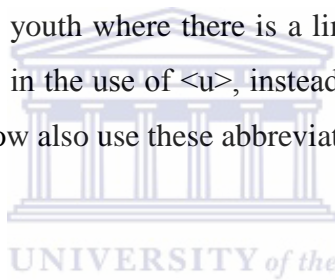
Moreover, the form of writing which seems to incorporate some formality might entail that the two are siblings that is, a brother and a sister or simply share a platonic friendship that limits the kind of words each would write/say to the other. This exchange tends to draw from a traditional cultural practice in which a brother or sister is not expected to say words that might have sexual connotations as such would be interpreted as socially unacceptable. However, the writer still uses the non-standard form for *you* as in <u> which still shows some level of familiarity between the two or one would argue such writing now becoming a norm though non-standard (I elaborate on this idea in subsequent sections).

However, it can be noticed some similar constructions in line 6: *gud luks n gud pic...nice one sis* to that of line 1. In this line (6), the writer uses slightly intimate words in order to define the social distance between the two. Unlike in line 5, in this line, the writer chooses words that are more expressive, for example, *gud luks* which can be used by someone much closer to the owner of the photo than everybody else. Nevertheless, the phrase *nice one sis*, where *sis* for *sister* is usually used in speech between two females who are either 'blood' siblings or mere friends who are as close to each other as 'blood' sisters, has been used to reinforce the closeness of the relationship (friendship) between the two. Thus, in these words, there seems to be a different level of relationship and social distance between the two. In this vein, based on the words used, it

can be seen that the two might have a much closer relationship to each other than the previous writer in line 5. For example, the reply in line 7: *thanx bro* where *bro* if for *brother* has been used in order to maintain the interpersonal cultural barrier between the two (see Merkin 2006).

[Note that the use of *sis* for *sister* and *bro* for *brother* are not necessarily used by people that share the same parents but rather they are frequently used by females and males alike to define or limit their level of familiarity. In this regard, aspects of African cultural traditions are seen incorporated into modern discourses].

In addition, the abbreviated forms are used to save time, space and money as Facebook is usually accessed on mobile phones for the youth where there is a limit of space, time and need to save airtime. A clear example for this is in the use of <u>, instead of ‘you’. It is also the case that, in fact, a lot of the adult population now also use these abbreviations for the same purpose.



8.1.1. Spelling deviations as a strategy to avoid censorship

It has emerged that writers in online related discourses can manipulate the orthography in order to creatively resist or counter social norms (see Seargeant & Tagg 2011). In this regard, motivated by the need to fully express their emotions in the manner they deem fit, it has emerged that writers deliberately deviate from standard spellings when insulting in order to avoid censorship. In this vein, they adapt spellings of insults by working around the graphemes to counter online censorship system which would otherwise automatically delete them. Consider the data from news blogs in the table below.

Table 4: A combination of data from different news blogs

1. These are *i.d.i.o.t.s* paid by Kambwili and GBM. Who told them that Kabimba makes all these decisions alone?....
2. ...you should have known that Bembas are always tribalist... you *foo.l* – why cry now?
3. I dont understand why these *fuulz* cant see between the lines.
4. just enjoy yourself – it seems it gives you pleasure that every time you read about Kabimba being condemned you go and *w.a.n.k* yourself!!
5. pliz stop being malicious *fcuk u*.
6. ...But i blame sata, the *mother faka* will go as Zambia's waste president in zed dust bin, boza,wenye,buhata,bufi ulabeja, what wasted 5 years....
7. Go and *f.u.c.k* yoself...
8. pipo dat think HH will be president are *s.t.u.p.i.d*.
9. *Baficolor* aba...bonse Lit. 'you the dicks" and I mean all of them, *fitooole* fyaabooo! Lit. 'their balls' opposition mp`s included. Shameless *matha fuckers!*
10. Libongani *chi know chakwe* Lit.'her vagina' should be arrested once there is a new govt. as she is a well known PF cadre. Nonsense. Zambia is for all Zambians, and not for PF lunatics only.

In the data above, it is evident that writers are deviating from the standard spellings in different ways in order to avoid censorship of words considered unpalatable for public consumption. From the data, one of the common ways writers are playing with orthography is to separate graphemes in words using dots, which in this case, distort the standard spelling which is sensitive to censorship but contextually still retaining the actual meaning. For example, the word *idiots* has been written as *i.d.i.o.t.s* in line 1 to refer to the Patriotic Front cadres who were purported to have been causing confusion around the city of Lusaka; the word fool has been written as *foo.l* in line 2 to refer to another blogger who had an opposing idea. In addition, notice that such deviations also apply to slang words such as *wank* written as *w.a.n.k*, a word used to refer to the act of masturbating but in this case used to tell off someone to go and perform the act which is a form of an insult. The word *fuck* has been written as *f.u.c.k* in line 4 and 7, respectively.

Moreover, writers would avoid censorship through orthographic play in which one or two graphemes within a word is jumbled around in order to distort its original form but while still bearing the meaning of the word, for example, *fcuk* for *fuck* in line 5 (see Seargeant & Tagg 2011). In some other cases, writers would simply exploit the homophonic relationship between a word and its corresponding phonetic sounds as in line 3 *fuulz* for *fools* and line 6 *mother faka* for *mother fucker* or *matha fuckers* in line 9. Notice that the writer uses this word to insult the president, a serious offence under the Zambian constitution and warrants a jail sentence. However, the distorted word itself may be used as a scapegoat for one to get away with although in most cases, writers on such blogs hide their real identities by adopting pseudo names which makes it difficult to track them down for prosecution. Nevertheless, even if other words could equally meet their goals, it is clear that writers are using such words for self-expression. Likewise, such words are equally being used to concurrently challenge social norms in modern societies in which insults in the public domain are socially unacceptable and at the same time they are also indexing youth identities as such are highly associated with youth urban language. Nonetheless, even if this seems localized to the Zambian scenario, the practice of orthographic play with words enlisted for censorship in social media is becoming a universal practice as this was observed in other similar discourses across the globe.

Nevertheless, in cases where online censor software has categorized insulting words from some African languages such as Bemba and Nyanja, for censorship, writers are using a similar strategy but more localized to the Zambian scenario in which they combine orthographic aspects of an African language with those of English in order to counter the system. For example in line 9 in the table above, a writer has played around with the orthography of Bemba and English to insult as in: *baficolor* 'the dicks' in which the morphemes *ba-* 'for plural' and *fi-* for pejorative morpheme (typically used to form insults aimed at a group of people) are from Bemba orthography while *color* is an adaptation of English orthography into Bemba where the writer has taken advantage of the homophonic relationship between the graphemes in this word to the sounds [kala] which is the equivalent of the graphemes in the Bemba word /bafikala/ (cf. Tagg & Seargeant 2011). Conversely, in the same line, the writer merely exaggerates the vowels of the word <fitole> to <fitooole> in order to 'conceal' the word from censorship whilst still retaining

the meaning. It has to be pointed out that there are fewer female insults noted from the data. However, in cases where such appeared; the common one was <chinyo> which is a vulgar way of referring to the vagina. In this word, writers equally played with the orthography by either adding an extra vowel or consonant as in <chiinyo> or exploiting some English related spellings as in line 10 <chi know>. Nonetheless, even if the word <know> may not have a direct equivalence to the Bemba sounds [njo], the idea of the meaning of the insult is still retained.

Other strategies included the use of dots as in *chi.ka.la* or mere play with graphemes as in *chicala* or *chicolor*. In such cases, like in the English counterparts, writers have simply played around the graphemes by distorting the standard forms yet maintaining their meaning. Note that in most African languages, the mention of a private part is considered a 'big' insult. As pointed out above, it is evident that writers are involved in a 'silent' rebellion not only to the standard spelling norms but also to societal norms in which insults in the public domain are hardly heard unless in situations where youths are found engaging in violent or playful acts. Besides the above, the notion of standard orthography is being challenged differently. The sections that follow consider some of the ways in which writers (speakers) are challenging standard orthography of both English and African languages (see Banda 2012).

8.1.2. The English <c> in some urban written discourses

In the past and according to popular writing practices, when the English grapheme <c> was borrowed into Zambian languages, depending on the context of the word in which it is used, it would normally be orthographically represented by <s> as in *selo* for *cell* in Bemba/Nyanja or <k> in *kala* for colour in most Zambian languages. Nonetheless, what is emerging from the data is that sometimes writers would not differentiate between the English grapheme <c> which represents the phonetic sound [k] from the <k> in a Zambian language. Consider the following data.

Extract 28

Line comment

1. *hahahaha Sata anakangiwa kuba contolola ma cadaz ...* [Sata failed to control the cadres]

2. *anapya milomo mu guyz, muzisebenzesako ka condomu* [the guy has burnt lips, you should be using a condom]

In the extract above, the sentences are formed in a hybrid language involving English and Nyanja in which the first comment is referring to Mr. Sata as having failed to control his cadres since they were reported to have been causing confusion in the city of Lusaka. This comment was a reaction to an article in which Patriotic Front's (ruling party in Zambia) members were reported in the media to have gone on rampage destroying public property in Lusaka. In line 1, the sentence begins with Nyanja *anakangiwa kuba contolola* 'he failed to control them', where the word *contolola* has been adapted from the word *control* and later phonologized in order to fit into the structure of Nyanja with the exception of the grapheme <c>. Normally, one would have expected the grapheme <c> to change to <k> which is the equivalent in Nyanja and should thus read as <kontrolola>. We notice that the rest of the graphemes have slightly been altered with the exception of the <n> and <l>. For example, the <r> in *control* [kəntroʊl] has been realized as a liquid [l] and [o] inserted in between the consonants [t] and [l] and added at word final position. The vowel [ə] has been realised as the Bantu vowel [o] while the diphthong [əʊ] has also been realised as [o] while the Bantu verbal extension *-la* has been added in the final word position.

To further illustrate the fact that such spelling deviations are becoming a 'norm' in some urban written discourses, the word *contolola* 'be in control' has been used by a music group called *Zone Fam* of Zambia to name their hit song in their 2013 album and MTN Zambia to promote their new tariff plan *contolola*. Compare also the word *cadaz* in which the word has been phonologized into Bantu language structure except for the grapheme <c> and the non-addition of the vowel <i> at the end of the word to have something like <kadazi>.

Likewise, it can be seen that a similar use of hybrid language in line 2 in which Nyanja and adapted forms of English words have been used. For example, we notice the use of the word *condom* unconventionally written as <condomu> where again, the grapheme <c> represents the sound [k] contrary to the norm for loanwords in Zambian languages (MOE 1977). The comment *anapya milomo muguyz muzisebenzesako ka condomu* 'the guy has burnt lips, you should be using a condom' was in reference to a photo of an ailing politician which appeared in an article posted on *Zambian Watchdog* online news blog in which he is seen with 'red lips' believed to be one of the symptoms of 'full blown' AIDS. The fact that his lips were red and he was reportedly ailing, suggested to the audience that he was HIV positive although that might not have been the case. However, this comment only goes to show some entrenched HIV/AIDS stereotypes found in urban discourses. Besides, notice the use of <z> in <guyz> which is essentially a representation of the English plural <s> but in this context, it is meaningless in that it does not show number as the case might have been. This appears to have been influenced by the use of the Nyanja prefix <mu> for singular as in <mu guyz> (one).

Thus, it seems, some distorted spelling forms are for mere style as some parts lose their linguistic meaning once they move from one form to another. Compare this with <ma guyz> (more than two) where the prefix *ma* shows plural and so is <z> which is represented by the grapheme <s> in English. The use of these linguistic forms is, in turn, indexing particular Lusaka urban youth identities observed above, in the process of flouting the orthographic norms. In addition, since English is often times associated with modernity, it appears then that maintaining the grapheme <c> in an English loanword in an African language is modernizing Nyanja thereby making it appeal to the audience and in the process stylizing modern mediated identities.

8.2. Crystallization of the non-standard into a 'norm'

The data from Facebook and news blog's writings reveal, to some extent, that even though in education, seven different orthographies are prescribed for the seven official regional Zambian

languages, in practice, speakers write the same way (Banda 2012) or tend to conform to some 'norm' (cf. Mirloy & Mirloy 1999; Sebba 2003). In most cases, the seven orthographies seem to conflate into one, but without the diacritics and phonetic symbols as prescribed for most Zambian languages such as Bemba and Nyanja (Banda 2012). I illustrate this in the sections below.

8.2.1. The grapheme <ch> and <c> in Bemba and Nyanja

According to the Zambian orthography, particularly for Bemba and Nyanja, the sound [tʃ] is represented by the grapheme/s <ch> when a word is a proper noun or <c> when it appears elsewhere (MOE 1977). However, the data shows that writers deviate from this prescription and tend to write the same way as illustrated in online contributions below.

Extract 29

Context of contributions: The three are discussing an article in which the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) had written a letter of complaint to the Electoral Commission of Zambia to stop the ruling Patriotic Front party from campaigning before the allowed time was announced.

Line Contributions

1. Luapula Premier: *Ba pastor muleisebanyefye. MMD in luapula died with **Chiluba**.* [Pastor you are only embarrassing yourself (in reference to Nevers Mumba, MMD party president)]
2. Mwansa: *Kwena Luapula Premier **ulichikopo**, ngata mukwete ifyakulanda kwikala fyetondolo **ukuchila** ukuibikapo ati tumone ati naimwe mulalanda.* [Luapula Premier you are indeed dull, if you don't have anything to say, it is better for you to remain silent than trying to show off to the people that you can also talk]
3. *Muntu: Nga **chakukalipa** [Mwansa] kahikulike **kuchimuti chamfungo**. pf for life.* [If it has pained you, go and hang on a *mufungo* tree. PF is for life (a type of wild tree that produces wild fruits known as *mfungo* in Bemba)]

In the extract, like in other forms of discourses noticed in urban Lusaka, it is evident that speakers are using both rural and urban forms of Bemba and formal and non-formal English at the same time. The first contribution is a hybrid form which combines urban Bemba and English. The second contribution is made up of urban Bemba only. In this contribution, the writer uses <ch> as in *ulichikopo* 'you are dull' and *ukuchila* 'than', contrary to the Zambian (Bemba) orthography in which <ch> in Bemba can only be used in proper nouns and in word initial position like in the name *Chiluba* in line 1 and in other words/positions, <ci> must be used (MOE 1977). Similarly, in the third contribution, the writer uses the same <chi> as in *chakukalipa kahikulike kuchimuti chamfungo* 'if it has pained you, go and hang yourself on a wild tree' in reference to the opposing sentiments expressed in contribution two. The underlined are written as <ch> instead of <ca>, <ci> and <ca>, respectively. Notice the spelling for the word *kahikulike* instead of *kaikulike* without /h/ whose influence seems to be from English. The final contribution is Standard English only. Besides, consider the following extract too in which the contributor was part of a group discussing an article which reported that most towns of Zambia had run out of petrol.



Extract 30

Line comment

Luka: *Very interesting state of affairs...so even in PF we can run out of petrol? i thought this was only happening in MMD? Sata...chaona muzako lelo chapita mawa chili paliwe.* [Someone's experiences of today may be your experiences tomorrow.] (In reference to the opposition the current president used to provide to the former president on similar fuel problems).

In this contribution, the speaker combines Standard English and standard Nyanja in which he localizes the Nyanja in order to provide some form of lesson to leaders. Like in the preceding extract, the writer also writes <ch> in the same way as the Bemba writer. For example, in *chaona muzako lelo chapita mawa chili pali iwe* the underlined are written unconventionally. This

practice is consistent to the writing patterns found in other many Zambian languages too. However, there are some cases in which some writers still observe the norm. See the comments below posted on Facebook on a Bemba group.

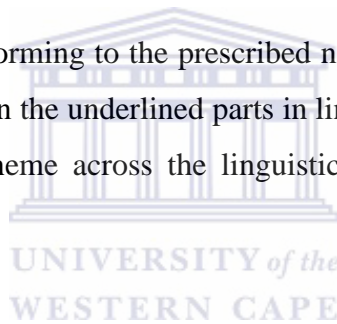
Extract 31

Line comment

1. *Bushe mwe nsaka ciliica yana ukupela icilangamulilo naamatebeto pamopene...? Intambi shili pi, mwebene lubemba....!!!* [To the group, is it in order to have an initiation rite together with a tradition banquet? Where is the custom here, Bemba people?].

2. *Bushe insoselo sha cibemba shonse sha cinshika?* [Are all Bemba sayings factual?].

In the extract, the writers are conforming to the prescribed norm for representing the sound [tʃ] using <ci> as opposed to <ch> as in the underlined parts in lines 1 and 2. However, the <ch> still appears to be the preferred grapheme across the linguistic divide among the seven regional languages.



8.2.2. The use of single vowels in place of long ones

The data shows that writers in online sources tend to use single vowels instead of the prescribed double vowels in some orthography (see MOE 1977). For example, the words *yana* 'fine' and *ukupela* 'to give' have been written with single vowels but pronounced with double vowels as in /yaana/ and /ukupeela/ in line 1 of extract 31. The same is true for *insoselo* and *cishinka* (line 2 of extract 31) which are pronounced and written as such: /insooselo/ and /cishiinka/, respectively, according to orthography. In this regard, writing words with single vowels does not seem to affect readability and comprehension as readers are able to decipher the meaning of the words from the context of use (cf. Banda 2012).

8.2.3. The grapheme <ñ> and <ŋ> in Bemba and Lozi

The official orthography of Zambia prescribes the grapheme [ñ] for the palatal nasal in Lozi, and the grapheme [ŋ] for the palatal nasal in Bemba for words other than proper nouns (cf. MOE 1977), but the practice is, as can be seen in online contributions, writers prefer using the letters [ny] and [ng’], respectively. For instance, the Lozi names are written as *Nyambe* (not *ñambe*); *Mwananyanda* (not *Mwanananda*), and so on in most documents. The same can be said with Bemba associated words such as *ing’anda* and *ing’wena* written with the ng’ instead of the velar nasal /ŋ/. There may be cases where some proper names in languages such as Lozi may be written with phonetic symbols as in Iñutu. But the point is that such symbols are hardly used due to their inconspicuousness on modern gadgets and for that reason, writers devise a way of going around this for communication purposes. The following is an extract from a Facebook account supporting this claim.



Extract 32

Line comment

1...*kwena nangula batila ing’anda ushilaala mo baikumbwa mutenge kwena ing’anda yalubemba imo iyacindama monse mukati na kunse...*[they say you only admire a roof of a house you don’t live in but as for the Bemba house, it is admired both inside and outside]

2. *Wipontela ing’wena ninshi amatako yachili mumenshi.* [Don’t insult the crocodile while your back is still in water]

The data above is in tandem with Banda's (2012) argument that the language practices in most written sources, especially online ones, in Zambian languages is to avoid phonetic symbols such as [ŋ] and [ñ] as is prescribed in Bemba and Lozi, respectively which points to crystallization of the writing system into one. Banda (2012) further argues that such symbols are only found in the bible and schoolbooks prepared by the government’s Curriculum Development Centre (charged by the Zambian government with the responsibility of ensuring quality control of material used in primary and secondary schools). This practices, seems to be influenced by the presence of

computers and other similar gadgets which do not have such symbols on their keyboards but have to be searched for from the system which takes time and has cost implications. Moreover, the tendency by writers to conform to some non-standard 'norms' is evident in a few selected English words in the table below. I have chosen English words for illustrative purposes only.

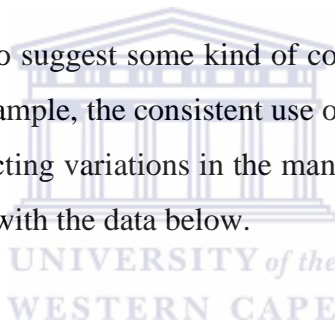
Table 5: Some common non-standard spellings culminating into a norm in English

non-standard	standard
<i>n</i>	and
<i>u, yu</i>	you
<i>u r</i>	u are
@	at
<i>coz, cos, bcos</i>	because
<i>wot</i>	what
<i>dat</i>	that
<i>r</i>	are
<i>cnt</i>	can't
<i>esp</i>	especially
<i>msg/s</i>	message/s
<i>y</i>	why

The above spelling deviations which seem to have become a norm in English online discourses can be understood by Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) notion of focussing which explains how language can be at once norm related and yet non-standard. In this case, writers appear to be decentering the standard orthographies (see Banda 2012) while recreating their own through the use of certain symbols to represent particular words (cf. Sebba 2003). Nevertheless, there are still observable spelling invariances in the manner writers use written language in some online sources. This is particularly the case in less restricted orthographic regimes (see Sebba 2003; Mirloy & Mirloy 1999) where writers are not bound by the rules. I discuss this below.

8.3. Invariant phonetic contradictions in words

Even if the data in table 5 seems to suggest some kind of conformity in the writing practices of writers in online discourses, for example, the consistent use of *u* to represent *you*, or *ur* for *your*, there are some noticeable contradicting variations in the manner some spellings are realized (see Sebba 2003). I illustrate this point with the data below.



Extract 33

Line comment

1. *Kip it up sis I evn mic u more mwe.*
2. *Miss u too sis dec is near will c u.*

Evidently, the word *mic* if read out of context, might imply a clipped word for microphone or anything closer but in this context it has been used to represent the word *miss* as in missing someone. Notice that in English spelling norms as well as phonetic rules, the occurrence of the grapheme <c> in *mic* can only represent the phonetic sound [k] since it precedes [i] and occurs in the final word position (see Teschner & Whitley 2004). Compare *pic* for *picture* in line 6 of extract 27. However, this rule has been flouted as the <c> in *mic* contextually represents [si] in

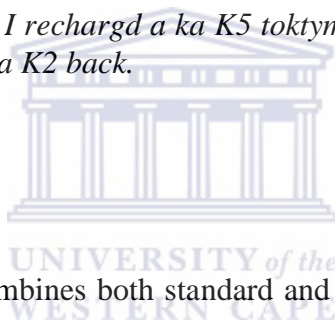
mic u in as much as it may be seen to be phonetically induced. Furthermore, notice the use of *dec* for *December* and <c> for see as in *c u in dec*, respectively, in which the <c> is phonetically realised as [si] and not as [k] according to English spelling norm. What happening is that these spellings, in as much as they may be seen as word clips, their meanings are partially motivated by phonetic homophonic correspondences between graphemes and sounds and partially induced by context of use. It can also be seen that a further contradiction in line 1 in which miss has been written as per norm but not in line 2 in which it has been flouted. Consider also the following data.

Extract 34

Line comment

1. *U guys sto my airtym yesterday, I rechargd a ka K5 toktym nd purchasd 4 bundles only 2 find da o K5 gon...instead of K3.i nid ma K2 back.*

2. *I don't know y u deduct a 10%.*



In the extract above, the writer combines both standard and non-standard forms of English and Nyanja. For example, in line 1, he uses *u* for *you*, *sto* for *store* and *tym* for *time* in *airtym* and *toktym* and numbers *4* and *2* for *for* and *to*, in *4 bundles* and *2 find*, respectively. Notice the use of *da* for *the*, which seems to be the most preferred spelling than *the* in computer mediated communication and text messaging. Therefore, what is emerging from the study is that writers in computer mediated discourse practices are not bound by any standard orthographic prescriptions but rather, they, just like in speech, choose what and how to write a given word especially in unrestricted orthographic regimes such as in various forms of social media, informal letters, and so on (see Sebba 2003; Crystal 2001). Thus, in one case the writer might use very standard spellings with correct punctuation and yet in another he or she might combine both standard and non-standard spellings. In the process of doing this, writers stylize their multiple identities which include mediated youthful, modern and urban identities altogether (see Garcíá 2010; Johnstone 2008; Dyer 2007; De Fina 2007; Bucholtz & Hall 2005). It is also clear that in the process of interactions, writers develop new conventions which, however, keep on evolving as they interact

and so are their identities. However, there are certain orthographic regimes that impose strict adherence to norms, for example, academic writing in schools, official documents such as reports, newspaper articles and so on in which writers have limited freedom to manipulate the system in their own way (see Sebba 2003).

The above language practices noticed in online discourses are also seen in print advertisements. The sections that follow, addresses some of the selected print advertisements. In particular, the sections focuses on how some localized aspects of language (from online discourses as well) in combination with other semiotics including visual ones are used to simultaneously create meaning and construct particular consumer identities. In illustrating this point, I also draw on some examples of motion images and audio data.

8.4. Appropriating and localization of semiotics in advertisements

8.4.1. Localizing semiotics



The study has revealed how some mobile phone companies in Zambia re-localize and appropriate not only words from daily utterances in advertisements but also visual semiotics in order to creatively sale their products and services (cf. Higgins 2009; Kasanga 2010). The creative nature in which advertisers combine social semiotics from people's daily experiences fit well with Bakhtin's notion of dialogism in which we notice doubled meanings emerging from such print advertisements (Bakhtin 1981, 1986). The same also fits Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2006) model of multimodality in which a text is seen as a combination of not only language resources but other meaning making semiotics which include visual ones (see also Kress 2010; O'Halloran 2004, 2011; Iedema 2003; Jewitt 2009; Levine & Scollon 2004; Scollon & Scollon 2003). Thus, the view of language as dialogic becomes critical in making sense of identity construction (cf. Higgins, 2009; Piller 2001) just as the viewing of language in combination with other semiotics is significant in interpreting meaning. Consider the following MTN print advertisement from Zambia.



Figure 3: An MTN print advertisement in Lusaka promoting a tariff plan Talk4Eva

*(Note the reading in small font: “To join MTN Talk 4eva dial *325* and Talk 4eva and eva eva”)*

In the above advertisement, text-messaging language or the use of phonological spellings in the phrase and word such as *Talk4Eva* for *talk for ever* and *eva forever*, have been appropriated into the advertisement and combined with standard forms of English in order to construct a youth consumer identity which is likely to associate this kind of language (cf. Pétery 2011; Piller 2001). Like in the preceding sections, in this phrase, the number 4 has been used in place of its homophone *for* to reflect the common usage of this non-standard 'linguistic' form in youth mediated discourses. Notice that the words *talk* and *eva* in *MTN Talk4Eva* have been deliberately written in upper case letters for style and also to make it salient so as to capture the attention of the target audience. Furthermore, notice that *eva* has been used in place of *ever* in which the /er/ has been replaced by the more phonetically plausible /a/. The word *talk* has been combined with the number 4 and the word *eva* to create a non-standard phrase *talk4eva* which is essentially the focus of the advert. The fact that the word is more salient than the rest of the text in that it is in bold and red colour, gives it prominence (see Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006; Kress 2010; Jewitt 2009) which in turn symbolizes the targeted audience. Moreover, the phrase constructs the readers as being able to decipher the meaning as it relates to their mediated daily discourses.

Likewise, the reduplication of the word *eva* as in: *talk for eva and eva*, *eva* is associated with spoken language and has been used to emphasize the benefits consumers would accrue by using the new tariff, which is, talking for longer minutes at a lower price. However, in order to realize

the full meaning of the advertisement, one has to consider the visual semiotics with which the phrase *Talk4Eva* and its accompanying text, which reinforces the meaning and message of the ad. Thus, in the visual images, we notice a couple supposedly talking to each other on phone. The different postures the couple takes and the same clothes shown in the four clips, suggests that the couple might have been spending endless hours chatting on the same day. Thus, this should be read as part of the multimodal text because it reinforces the message in the phrase: *Talk4Eva*. The other text below *Talk4Eva* and adjacent to the visual images, provides details on how one would qualify to 'Talk4Eva' on the MTN network.

8.4.2. Remediating semiotic resources in advertisements

The study reveals further that some mobile phone advertisements remediate or repurpose linguistic semiotic resources from urban daily discourses and combine them with visual semiotics in creating new meanings (see Hengst & Prior 2010). In such advertisements, terms known for particular meanings are repurposed for something different but yet retaining nuances of their original meaning in a different context. As they do so, they are equally constructing particular consumer identities of the target audience they intend to reach out (cf. Kasanga 2010; Piller 2001). Advertisements are thus "forms of discourses which make a powerful contribution to how we construct our identities" (Goddard 2002:4). I illustrate this point with an advertisement from MTN-Zambia in which the company promoted their tariff plan called *Xtra Time*.



Figure 4: MTN advertisement promoting *Xtra time* tariff plan in Zambia

Following Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2006) framework of analyzing multimodal texts, the advertisement would be read as a combination of different semiotic resources that include visual images, colour and text. However, the advertisement does not neatly fall within the analytical dimensions suggested by Kress and Van Leeuwen that is, given, new, ideal and real. This notwithstanding, the idea behind the framework can still be applied here. In this regard, from the left side of the ad, we notice visual images of a bear-foot man in a tree talking on phone while a lion is shown lying under the tree potentially posing a threat to him. However, in order to carry out a multimodal analysis of the visual images and the accompanying text, contextual background information is critical. In Zambia, like most developing countries, the services of mobile phone companies in most remote rural areas are poor. Thus, phone signals or networks are in most cases intermittent and difficult to access by most rural dwellers. Such intermittent network availability forces rural people with cellphones to risk their lives in search of good network reception. In some cases, they might climb high heights such as trees and hills in order to catch the best network reception.

Drawing from the background information above, a man shown talking on phone in a tree, in some supposedly isolated area, and a lion lying under the tree, constructs this consumer as a rural dweller who is perhaps in search of a network signal. Moreover, the man is shown bear-foot reinforcing his rural identity as pairs of shoes in most parts of rural Zambia are a luxury for many

people, although one would argue that, the man was bear since it is not possible to climb a tree with pairs of shoes on. The presence of the lion which would hardly be found in an urban setting also foregrounds the idea of a rural setting and effectively constructing rural consumer identities (see Piller 2001). However, notice a contradiction in the visual images in which the lawn is depicted as well cut contrary to what one would find in a typical Zambian rural area. Conversely, the same might signal the presence of people in the surrounding areas of the forest, which is quite true in some remote parts of Zambia, especially those that share borders with gazetted game reserves. In this vein, animals such as lions would be spotted in surrounding areas of villages.

In addition, it is expected that after the man had ended his call and perhaps exhausting his airtime that would enable him call for help, he would have no way out since there is pending danger posed by a lion. This kind of visual organization creates a particular meaning that projects a sense of danger and desperation in the consumer and therefore the need for help. Having created this kind of meaning, the right hand side of the ad creates another form of meaning that offers a solution to the man's predicament. In short, the visual images create a sense of a problem while the information contained in the text on the right hand side of the ad offers a solution in the name of *MTN xtra time*. Moreover, the impression created by the advertisement is that there is nothing to worry about when one is on MTN's network since *xtra time* allows you to deal with danger.

Besides, it has to be noted that the large and salient text of the of the ad reading: *MTN Xtra Time* is a notion adapted from football jargon which refers to additional time given after the normal regulation time of a match has been exhausted without one team emerging as winner. Extra time is regarded as important minutes in any football match especially when teams playing are in desperate need of a win. In the context of the ad, the phrase *xtra time* has been repurposed to refer to airtime credited to one's mobile phone in order to enable him/her make a call in desperate moments. This reading seems to make sense in the realm of mobile phone use as it refers to the idea that consumers receive airtime on their phones when it is desperately needed and this is reinforced by the visual images in which a man appears to be stuck in a tree while there is a lion

under him. In such a desperate moment, *xtra time* as a phone product becomes an important option to enable a consumer purchase air time on credit and be able to reach out for help. Moreover, in the phrase *MTN xtra time*, the word *extra* has been unconventionally written as *xtra* in order to construct youth identities as they are the ones seen to be practicing this form of written discourse. Thus, the advertisers are able to appeal to youth consumers more generally and rural dwellers in particular.

The analysis of some advertisements have revealed some differences among them in terms of meaning potential and affordances that particular advertisements in certain modes may have in relation to others. For example, it has been noted that the meaning potential of certain semiosis in print advertisements is restrictive and less attractive to audiences compared to that used in audio and TV advertisements in which advertisers have a wide array of semiosis from which to choose in creating multiple and attractive meanings. The absence of sound and motion images in print ads limits the meanings that such advertisements might express. This is evident in the manner in which similar themes as those in print advertisements have been expressed in audio and TV advertisement. I illustrate this point using the theme of *xtra time* from MTN Zambia.

(a) MTN *Xtra Time* in a television commercial

The intertextual association of *xtra time* with football as hinted to above become evident in a television commercial. In this advertisement, we notice some differences in terms of the circulation of semiotic resources due to the nature of the mode and modality used compared to print ads. For instance, in as much as the advertisement is created in standard monologic forms of English, the tariff plan *xtra time* is promoted through the use of popular soccer figures such as ex-Zambia's national soccer team coach, Herve Renard, Chintu Kampamba, a football player as well as a referee holding a ball and a whistle, reminiscent to the readiness a referee shows when he is about to officiate a football match. Although the social context in which the notion has been used might be seen as 'fake', the idea has been built around football in order to re-contextualize

the notion of extra time and maximize the meaning potential embedded in it. I provide some selected screen shots from the MTN TV commercial.

In this vein, the football player is shown confirming a date with his fiancé on phone (scene 1) and being occasionally interrupted by his coach and the referee, although the fiancé is not seen, she is implied in the conversation (scene 2). We only get to see her in the final scenes (:



Figure 5: Football player making a phone call (scene 1)



Figure 6: Player being interrupted by the coach and referee (scene 2)

In Figure 7, the coach and referee are shown accompanying the player to meet his fiancé. Meanwhile, the referee keeps his eyes close to his watch. This scene further enhances the notion of time which is the main focus of the advertisement.



Figure 7: Coach and referee accompanying the player (scene 3)

The depiction above in which a coach and referee who are in this case, seemingly older than the player, draws from a traditional system in which a young man is supposed to be accompanied by adults when he is going to meet his would be wife. In this regard, the coach would be seen as the traditional marriage counselor popularly known as *shibukombe* in Bemba, whereas the referee as the officiating officer even if the marriage in this context was not taking place immediately. This scene distorts the idea of traditional marriages though one would argue that the referee might represent the western cultural system in which a marriage officer is one of the most important individuals in a marriage arrangement of two individuals.

Notice that in all the scenes, the coach and the player are shown in semi-formal clothes while the referee is shown in his usual referee jersey. Even if this might be seen as a contradiction, the casual clothes the coach and the player are wearing reinforce the idea of a date while the referee's jersey also reinforces the idea of football. Furthermore, the presence of a referee is critical because it is only him who has power to award *xtra time* from a football perspective. In this vein, he is constructed as the authority thereby representing the company's position to award free airtime minutes. On the other hand, the coach and the player are constructed as consumers thereby representing the target audience.

In scene 4 and 5, the coach, player and the referee arrive at the venue. The coach and his player are shown panicking due as they are running out of airtime for communication. The referee keeps his eyes on the watch to suggest that the running out of time. In the process of communicating to his fiancé on phone, the player's airtime finally runs out. This causes desperation in both the coach and the player as they might miss the meeting with the person they have come for. See the coach and the player's reaction in Figure 8.

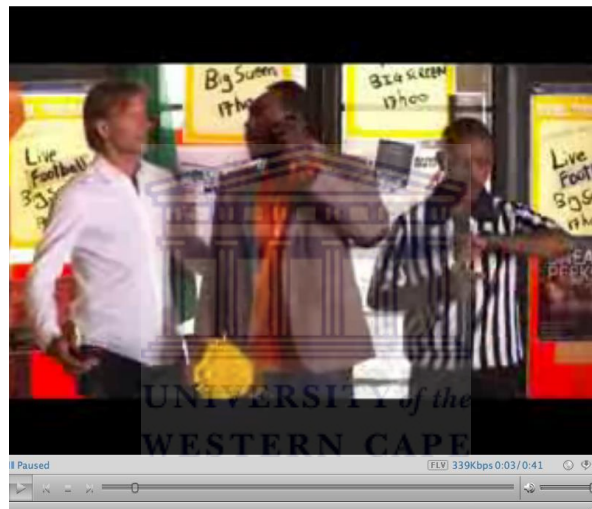


Figure 8: Coach and player in desperation of airtime while referee looks at his watch (scene 4)

Seemingly looking at the referee for 'xtra time', the coach tells the player that what they needed most at that point in time was MTN's 'xtra time'. See Figure 9 (Scene 4).



Figure 9: Coach requesting for 'xtra time' from the referee (scene 5)

The referee takes note of their desperation (Figure 10 (scene 6)). He responds by blowing the whistle to signal that time was over.



Figure 10: Referee blows the whistle (scene 6)

The referee later awards 15 minutes 'xtra time' (Figure 11 (scene 7)) amidst a cheering crowd (in the background) akin of excited soccer fans at a football stadium. The cheering crowd in the background in turn represents consumer satisfaction in the product MTN is advertising. It further

foregrounds the idea of soccer which is being recontextualised in creating new meaning. In this way, the advertisement does not only promote the product but also makes the company competitive.



Figure 11: Referee awards 15 minutes 'xtra time' (scene 7)

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The award of 15 *xtra time* minutes by the referee (which is usually not the case in football), projects the company in good light and thereby promoting the product as the best in comparison to other competitors. Note that the accompanying text on TV, including the phrase *extra time* (scene 12) and the voiceovers are all in Standard English. In this regard, the advertisement appears to construct a particular class of consumers, that is, middle class.

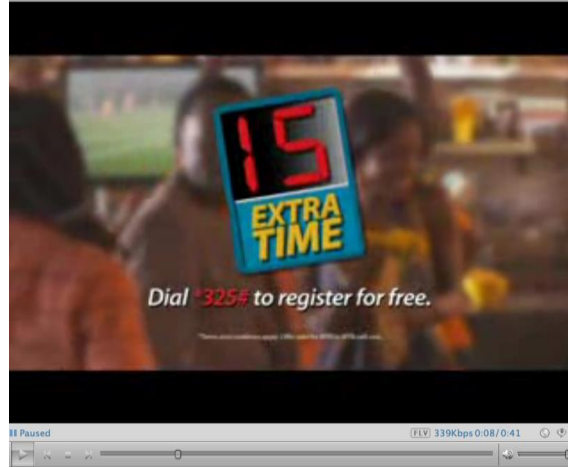


Figure 12: Accompanying text on TV screen and the player meeting the lady (scene 8)

Notice that Figure 12 and 13 also shows the player meeting the lady on time and as arranged, all because of MTN 'xtra time' - the main message of the advertisement.



Figure 13: Other accompanying text on TV screen (scene 9)

Moreover, the TV commercial ends with MTN brand colour, that is, yellow and their company logo. This is done in order to reinforce the source of the message, thereby promoting the company further.

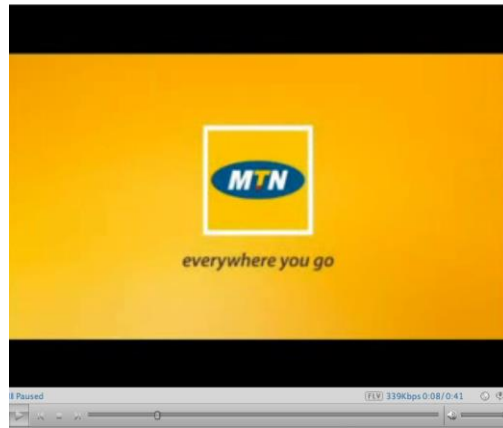


Figure 14: MTN brand colour and logo (scene 10)

The above TV advertisement has demonstrated how different semiotics, including motion images and sound can be exploited for meaning making. In this respect, the advertisers take advantage of the meaning potentials that such semiotics have to creatively form meaning and attract the attention of the target audience. This has particularly been noticed how each stage (shots) in the TV advertisement produces particular effects on the consumer even if some scenes are clearly 'fake' contexts. In such TV advertisements, the motion pictures and particular colour schemes are foregrounded as they are thought to contribute most of the meaning of the message than any other semiotics. However, this does not suggest that other semiotics are less important but rather that they all combine or work together in achieving the intended goal (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006). Of interest in this advertisement is that, unlike in the print advert, the consumer identities portrayed are mostly urban ones. This is so because in some parts of Zambia, TV still is seen as a luxury.

Considering the different modes used to transmit the same idea of behind the message above, there is a slight difference between TV and audio advertisements, particularly due to the absence of motion images. For example, in audio advertisements, there is a restriction on the types of semiotics one would use because of its nature. In this mode, sound is the most preferred semiotics in making meaning given the nature of the mode, whereas in a TV commercial, there are limitless semiotic options to draw from, such as colour schemes as in Figure 14, different

settings, gaze/posture of actors, sound, and so on. I illustrate this difference between the two modes in which the same message of *xtra time* was transmitted.

(b) MTN *Xtra Time* on a radio commercial

The same advertisement promoting *xtra time* is formulated differently in a radio commercial, mostly due to the absence of other semiosis as noted above. In this radio advertisement, voice and other accompanying sound effects which include an MTN jingle and a cheering crowd (which is also used in a TV commercial) are more prominent than in the TV advertisement. In this regard, there are four different types of voiceovers heard in the audio commercial and each one representing different actors as follows: the coach, player, crowd (of fans) and the main voiceover which provides detailed information about the core message of the advertisement, represent the company. Thus, in order to reinforce the idea of *extra time* as it relates to football, a cheering crowd of fans is repeatedly heard in the background throughout the commercial. In addition, amid the coach's voiceover, the blowing of a whistle is heard and another voiceover announcing the award of 15 minutes *xtra time* is also heard to the delight of a cheering crowd in the background. Furthermore, the prominence of a cheering crowd reinforces the notion of football and its associated act of *extra time*. This juxtaposition of semiotics, equally constructs particular consumer identities.

In addition, the radio advertisement uses the same football figures as those in the TV advert, in order to help the audience easily associate the notion of extra time to football while at the same time enabling them to appreciate the recontextualised meaning created as a result of this combination of semiotics. It has been noticed that in place of MTN colours seen in both print and TV advertisements, the MTN jingle is prominent throughout the commercial in order to reinforce the brand name and the company behind the advertisement. In this case, the producer creatively mixes the voiceovers, the cheers of the crowd all at varied frequencies and thus giving it particular effects in the process of creating a multimodal, meaningful text. Therefore, what is

clear is that different modes and modalities bear different meaning making potentials and affordances due to either an absence or presence of one or the other semiosis or a combination of all at the same time. Thus, the circulation of semiosis is differently accomplished while still maintaining the intended meanings of the advertisements.

Besides, the differences noted in the circulation of semiosis and the multiple meaning potentials that such may have, it is emerging from the study that the same idea of awarding free minutes is framed differently by different mobile phone companies or indeed the same company recreating the same idea in a different way. Compare the product *MTN xtra time* which is designed to meet the needs of customers in desperate times to that of Airtel's (a name of another mobile phone company) *siliza rescue plan* equally designed for the same purpose.



Figure 15: Airtel's advertisement promoting *siliza* rescue plan

Clearly, the two advertisements in Figures 4 and 5 are built around the same idea of enabling their respective customers purchase airtime when they are in desperate need of it. Nonetheless, in 4 the idea has been creatively formed by repurposing soccer related discourse in combination with other semiotics to convey a message while in Figure 9.3 the same has been framed around the notion of security or safety (presumably coming from the commonly used word rescue plan

in security terminologies). Accordingly, the word rescue has been combined with a Nyanja word *siliza* which refers to the act of exhausting something in this context, airtime. Furthermore, the advertisement in 4 has appropriated a rural setting combined with English words in the creation of meaning while the advertisement in 5 has appropriated an urban setting with hybrid language involving Nyanja and English. In this basis, the two advertisements are different in the manner in which they have appropriated semiotic resources. Note that the hybrid language involving Nyanja *silica* 'finish' the word has been unconventionally written as the standard Nyanja one be *tsiliza*). This has been combined with: *airtime rescue stay in touch, get airtime when you need it the most*. Here, the use of hybrid language reflects daily urban discourses in Lusaka and thus projects identities of Lusaka dwellers (see Banda & Bellonjegele 2010). Like many advertisements that combine different semiosis to create meaning, this advertisement should also be read as a multimodal text in which the notion of rescue as used here can only be understood in the broader context of other surrounding semiosis, text and visual alike (see O'Halloran 2004; 2011; Kress 2010; Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006; Levine & Scollon 2004). In this regard, the word *siliza airtime* 'finish airtime' can only be read together with the word rescue whose actual meaning can only be interpreted in combination with the following: *stay in touch, get airtime when you need it the most*. The meaning of this text has further been consolidated by the visual images in which a woman is shown to be stranded with a car bonnet open in the background suggesting a breakdown. Besides, she is depicted as trying to reach out for help on phone with the right hand touching her waist to foreground a sense of desperation and a need for 'rescue'. In such situations, making a phone call becomes necessary but to do that, airtime which is the considered life blood for cellphones is needed.

In addition, the fact that it is a woman 'stuck' with a car stereotypically makes the situation most desperate. Thus, advertisers unwittingly re-construct a particular gender related consumer identity based on people's social experiences (cf. Dyer 2007; Piller 2001). Ultimately, advertisers manage to create a unitary meaning from combining different semiotic resources available to them, that is, by drawing in intertextual references from both people's daily utterances and social experiences thereby making it easier for the target audience to interpret meaning (see (Shuart-Farris & Bloome 2004; Taylor & Willis 1999).

Evidently, the two ads formulated around the idea of desperation demonstrate a recreation of social traditional practices in which a mobile phone was once seen as a want rather than a necessity. Through such ads, consumers are made to believe that they cannot live without a mobile phone and most importantly without a particular phone network.

8.4.3. Appropriating localized language varieties in advertisements

The study further reveals that some advertisements incorporate hybrid language involving English and urban varieties of local languages to create specified new meanings which would not be achieved by the cultural capital of monologic forms of either English or Nyanja/Bemba (cf. Higgins 2009; Piller 2001; Pétery 2011; Kasanga 2010). This practice was found to be common on billboards; radio ads, newspapers and Television commercials of mobile phone companies in which varieties of Standard English and Nyanja or Bemba were used to create new meanings by exploiting the dialogic and syncretic nature of language (see Piller 2001; Higgins 2009; Bakhtin 1981, 1983). The practice of combining different semiotic resources in ads further demands particular knowledge from consumers in understanding such forms (cf. Higgins 2009; Stuart-Farris & Bloome 2004). I illustrate this below.

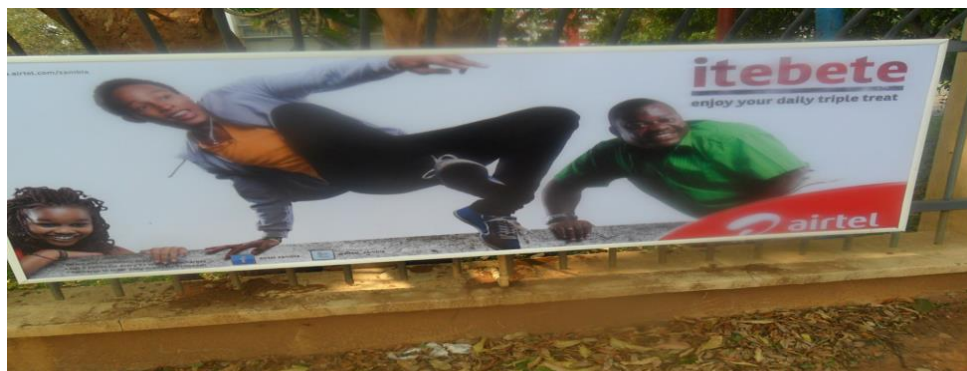


Figure 16: Airtel's advertisement promoting *itebete*

The Airtel advertisement above was circulated around Zambia in order to promote their new recharge based service. The promotion allowed customers to receive bonus on voice and data usage upon recharging their daily specified targets. The promotion also gave customers an opportunity to stand a chance of winning cash prizes on a daily basis. The advertisement has appropriated and localized the concept of *itebete*, which is a Bemba term in order to create specified meaning closer to their target audience. For the purposes of analysis, I provide some background information about the notion of *itebete* which should help the audience interpret its use in the context of the advertisement. As noted, the term *itebete* is from Bemba and is a noun derived from the infinitive verb *ukutebeta* which literally means to offer a gift of a banquet. Thus, *itebete* is a name for a traditional cultural practice which refers to a traditional banquet including traditional delicacies and drinks/beer that parents-in-law would prepare for their new son-in-law as a way of welcoming him into the family. This traditional banquet in most rural and even urban settings of Zambia is every young Zambian man's dream. Based on its associated social benefits, advertisers have remediated or repurposed this cultural practice of *itebete* by exploiting its dialogic characteristic (see Bakhtin 1981, 1983) in creating new multilayered meanings which can only be understood by people that have knowledge about this cultural practice (Hengst & Prior 2010). For example, for one to appreciate the meaning of *itebete* as used in the advertisement, one would have to have knowledge and experiences about the Bemba traditional cultural practice with which it is associated. Thus, by localizing and appropriating the notion, advertisers are equally constructing the targeted consumers as having this particular knowledge about the practice which in turn is assumed to provide them with a basis for interpreting the meaning behind the advertisement.

Likewise, in order to reinforce the meaning of *itebete* as a traditional banquet but whose meaning has been repurposed, advertisers juxtapose the word *itebete* with the phrase *enjoy your daily triple treat*. This in turn highlights as well as projects the multiple benefits one gets from the service being advertised. The benefits being similar to enjoying the tradition banquet awash with

different types of delicacies, (although the use of triple means three items). In doing so, advertisers are essentially recreating this traditional cultural practice of *itebete* or *ukutebeta* as well as repurposing it altogether in that *itebete* is a banquet prepared for a particular person and traditionally happens once someone has married, whereas the modern *itebete* as used in the advertisement is not a once off activity but rather something to enjoy on a 'daily basis'. The idea of *itebete* as an ideal mobile phone service product being offered to consumers is reinforced by visual images in which two young men and a woman are shown in excitement at the sight of *itebete*. However, the meaning of the visual images appears vague in reinforcing the full repurposed meaning of *itebete* because the connotation of the word as used in the advertisement cannot easily be associated to the images. For example, the meaning of images of people is not clear as to whether they have been depicted as celebrating or as merely looking at something. One would assume they are athletes. This is seen in the nature of their gaze as well as the postures taken. One would have expected to see images that clearly enhance the meaning created by the juxtaposition of the images and the text in the advertisement. That notwithstanding, it is evident that advertisers in the above advertisement are localizing urban discourses through repurposing of ideas or a cultural practice (Prior & Hengst 2010) into something new in their quest to create meanings and sell their products and services as well as construct consumers in particular ways (see Higgins 2009; Goddard 2002; Cook 1992).

Like in the MTN TV and radio advertisements, the producers in these adverts also take advantage of the motion and sound semiosis which they either foreground or background to create richer and meaningful messages than the one in the print advertisement. For example, in the TV advert involving the same theme or idea, advertisers take advantage of different colour schemes to promote the company brand as well as the actual product being advertised. It can also be noted that the number of characters shown in the TV advert is more than what is in the print advert. This is one of the biggest affordances that this mode of communication offers to producers of advertisements and other similar visual communication activities. In addition, the idea of celebration is more foregrounded and clearer in the TV advert than it is in the print one. Conversely, in the radio advertisement, the sound effects, including the company's jingle, are more foregrounded than other semiosis due to the absence of motion images. In this advert, the

jingle and the voiceovers are the main semiosis that the producers exploit for meaning making with variation in the frequencies of sound effects used. For example, when the voiceover is on to provide detailed information about the product, the jingle is played at low frequency for the clarity of the message being transmitted. In this way, messages that are critical or the focus of the advertisement are made prominent through the manipulation of sound effects.

The idea of repurposing discourses associated with the 'enjoyment of food' to refer to a particular service or campaign a given company is advancing is also evident in another advertisement by Zamtel, a different mobile phone company in Zambia, as illustrated below.



Figure 17: Zamtel's advertisement promoting double tobela competition

The focus of the advertisement above is to promote a competition dubbed: *double tobela* whose phrase is essentially a hybrid form involving a Bemba phrase *tobela* 'to dip a piece of pap or *nsima* into some soup' and the word *double*. The two form a hybrid phrase. This phrase is commonly used by urbanites to refer to the act by which a person enjoys two or more dishes of food at the same time. It has to be pointed out that in Zambia, like many other third world countries, where lack of food is usually a big problem for most families, having more than two dishes for lunch or dinner is regarded as a symbol of 'good life' and hence something that every ordinary Zambian looks forward to. In this vein, advertisers have remediated the idea of *double tobela* to creativity realize a different meaning (see Prior & Hengst 2010). However, in order to

understand or interpret the full meaning behind the phrase, it has to be read in the broader context of a multimodal text, that is, with its accompanying semiosis. In this regard, the notion of *double* is clearly captured by the two bowls on both left and right hand side of the image of a man in which he is captured to be dipping both of his hands into the respective bowls reminiscent of the idea of the act of dipping a piece of *nsima* or pap into a dish of a soup. However, the act here has been repurposed to refer to two types of things. Firstly, it refers to prizes a consumer would win in a national competition (see written text on the bowl on left hand side) upon qualifying for it based on his/her frequent purchases of airtime and its subsequent use. Secondly, it refers to enjoying the benefits of a regional network (see written text on the bowl on your right hand side). Therefore, the incorporation of *tobela* which literally refers to the act of dipping a piece of *nsima* or pap (a type of thick paste made from maize meal) into a dish of soup, in this case, two dishes, reinforces the benefits one gets by belonging to the network with low rates as well as participating in the competition which accords one with an opportunity to win prizes. But most importantly, the appealing nature of the message in the ad is meant to attract more customers to the network and thereby realizing its intended goal. In addition, in the process of doing this, advertisers recreate this cultural practice into something new, which effectively constructs particular consumer urban identities. Consider also Airtel's advertisement in which trendy language, mostly used by urbanites to describe a person who has become wealthy or the act of becoming wealthy is used.



Figure 18: Airtel's advertisement promoting *beula nafuti*

In the advertisement, *beula nafuti* refers to making it again financially or simply becoming rich more time. However, this phrase, though still bearing its original sense, has also been repurposed so as to develop a new meaning. In order to understand the meaning of this localized form, the phrase like others before, has to be read as part of a multimodal text as well (see Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006; Van Leuween 2008; Jewitt 2009; O'Halloran 2011). Firstly, the term *beula* is frequently used by youth urbanites to describe wealth or rich people or simply those that own gadgets that symbolize modern life. *Nafuti* means 'again', thus, *beula nafuti* refers to urging someone to make it again financially or materially. Thus, in order to reinforce the meaning of the phrase *beula nafuti*, advertisers juxtapose the English phrase below it: *answer and win cash daily and other prizes, sms win to...* which contain the main message of the advertisement.

The meaning of the advertisement is further reinforced by the visual semiotics in which are shown cash notes, television set, motor bike, phones and *ipads*. These items in turn have symbolic value which relates to the phrase *beula*. In a third world country, these objects are partly what define wealth or riches. Therefore, the idea of *beula nafuti* which apparently was another similar promotion run by Airtel urges consumers to try again and win prizes which would change their lives. In this regard, the notion of *beula* which essentially comes with hard work has been repurposed for a competition which does not need one to work hard for but simply answer questions on the network advertised. The fact that the advertisement localizes youth urban language to advertise their product clearly shows who the target group is, that is, the youth. In effect, the advertisement, indexes a youth consumer identity. Furthermore, notice that the visual images of gadgets are juxtaposed with images of young ladies. This kind of organization of images constructs consumer gender identity based on society's stereotyping practices in which women are associated with materiality. Thus, the advertisement tends to appeal more to the female folk (see Piller 2001). In addition, the creative use of urban discourses can also be noticed in the use of the urban word *mbasela* 'something extra given in addition to what has been purchased' in the MTN advertisement below.

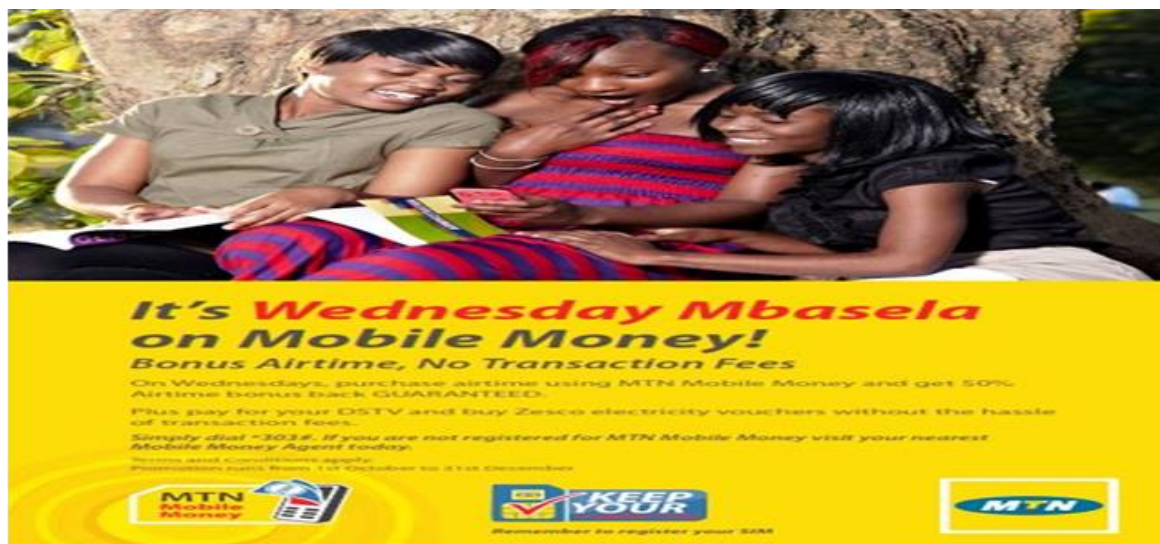


Figure 19: MTN *mbasela* advertisement

From the advertisement, the word *mbasela* has its origins from the Nguni languages of South Africa in which the original word is *mpasela*. This word is commonly used by either traders in informal businesses to lure customers for an extra item on every purchase made or it is used by customers to negotiate for an extra item for every purchase made. Whereas *mbasela* in informal businesses has no specific day nor does it refer to the use of a service, in this ad, the word has been remediated to refer to the use of a service offered by the company called *MTN mobile money* which enables consumers to pay for selected services through a mobile phone in the comfort of their homes thereby qualifying them to receive bonus minutes on a specific day, that is, every Wednesday of each week. The service further exempts consumers from paying a transaction fee on that given day. In this way, the meaning of the word *mbasela* has been repurposed in order to meet the advertisers' goal in promoting their service. Additionally, in using this localized form, advertisers are constructing or assuming particular knowledge of such a linguistic form in their consumers thereby reconstructing particular consumer identities in the targeted audience (cf. Higgins 2009; Dyer 2007; Kasanga 2010; Johnstone 2008; Piller 2001). Moreso, notice the visual images of young ladies, two of whom (in red and grey) are seen holding textbooks in their hands, which evidently suggests that the three are possibly students. Thus, the fact that they are students, who may have difficulties with money for airtime,

Wednesday mbasela, a product that affords them free airtime minutes appeals to this category of consumers and thereby constructing this particular consumer identity.

Additionally, we also notice the localization of rural varieties of language placed together with standard forms of English in some advertisement promoting their brands. I illustrate this with an advertisement from Airtel Zambia in which a Tonga phrase which could also be read as Nyanja (let it be marked) has been used side by side with English in promoting Airtel's services.



Figure 20: Airtel's advertisement promoting their general services

In the advertisement above, the word *ichongedwe* may either be regarded as a Tonga phrase which means 'it is marked' and is often times associated with rural appropriated discourses to refer to anything that people have approved or liked, or the phrase may be associated with Nyanja which may read as 'let it be marked'. In the context of the advertisement, the phrase has been used to refer to the particular services that Airtel offers such as call, data and sms services that are here presented as 'approved by consumers' from all walks of life as being the best. This is foregrounded by a crowd of people holding hands in an apparent unity of approval. Being phrase which may be associated with rural discourses and having the advertisement placed in urban

settings of Lusaka, conveys a sense of the rural consumers as being part of the general clientele that has approved the network's services and by using the phrase with standard English, the advertisement further incorporates urban consumers as part of their overall clientele for the network that has approved the services offered by the company

Furthermore, by looking closely at the visuals, we notice that the first man is carrying a Zambian national flag which symbolizes national unity but in this regard, a remediated national unity, in that it refers to the fact that consumers nationally belong to the network and are happy with the services such as *call, sms, internet data bundles*, where the text: **+plus** represents other services the company offers. In addition, we notice images that show different people in different types of outfits, that is, from casual to formal (e.g. the first man in red versus man in a black suit) and from rural to modern (e.g. lady in a yellowish dress and a black headband versus the lady following her in a mini-skirt and black top). These images collectively represent different social statuses of consumers on the network who all have come together in commending or belonging to the network. Thus, the advertisement equally constructs a national collective consumer identity.

[Note that in all the print advertisements presented in this section are characterized by particular colour schemes. These colours represent the different company brands. For example, yellow for MTN, green for ZAMTEL and red for Airtel].

8.5. Summary of chapter

This chapter has focused on language practices from online discourses and selected print advertisements. By drawing data from Facebook and Zambian based news blogs, the chapter has demonstrated how writers (speakers) flout the writing system, that is, the orthography in creating meaning and projecting identities. Furthermore, the chapter has shown how some spelling deviations are used as a strategy to avoid censorship of words considered insults and thus not suitable for public consumption. By doing this, the chapter has illustrated how people continue to

decenter the standard in their computer mediated communication practices in similar ways as in speech (Pennycook 2010). In addition, the chapter has revealed that such practices are highly influenced by new technologies that continue to affect the way people interact amongst themselves. In this regard, the chapter has also shown how the non-standard language forms become norm related as people continue to interact. However, the chapter has demonstrated that such tendency of non-standard forms to crystalize into a norm is equally challenged by invariant contradictions noted in the data as well as by the fact that new conventions and ways of writing keep on evolving as technology advances.

The chapter has also revealed how advertisers exploit localized aspects of language and other semiosis in creating new meanings and constructing particular consumer identities. Using data from mobile phone companies in Zambia and a combination of semiotic remediation and multimodality as analytical frameworks, the chapter has shown how advertisers are able to localize and appropriate semiotic resources through remediation and repurposing of ideas and objects from people's daily interactions in their quest to form meaning and sell their products and services. In the process of doing this, the chapter has shown how advertisers manage to construct consumer identities of their target groups, ranging from rural, urban, modern, gendered and youthful ones. In addition, the chapter has demonstrated how different semiotic resources circulate across modes and modalities and in the process creating different meanings. In this way, the chapter has shown that print advertisements have more restrictions in the manner in which meanings are formulated; and that they are also less attractive to the audience due to the absence of motion images and sound that have more meaning potential than still images. In this regard, it was seen how communication deriving from too many modes and localized gets accomplished. The next chapter is quite slight in comparison to the current one especially with regard to the type of data considered as well as part of the theme explored.

CHAPTER NINE

A MULTIMODAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF HIV/AIDS MESSAGES IN POPULAR ZAMBIAN MUSIC

9.0. Introduction

This chapter focuses on language practices in popular Zambian music with a bias to music lyrics and videos whose main theme is HIV/AIDS. This was deliberately chosen for two reasons. Firstly, the lyrics and videos with HIV/AIDS messages presented rich ways in which speakers played with language to create meaning and secondly, the theme was chosen in order to focus analysis. Therefore, this does not imply that such language practices were not found in other forms of discourses. In this vein, the chapter explores how HIV/AIDS education messages are transmitted through popular Zambian music lyrics and videos. The focus of the chapter is on the recontextualization of lived experiences and Zambian cultural practices in the fight against HIV/AIDS. Using multimodal discourse analysis, the chapter uses Zambian popular music lyrics and videos to show how Zambian musicians and video producers deliberately blend languages, cultural artefacts, different sound bites, imagery and dance into a hybrid of 'infotainment' in the fight against HIV/AIDS.

The chapter argues that although male dominance is still prevalent, choices regarding sex and discussions on sexual matters are no longer a preserve for the men, and that musicians are able to use language to reframe dominant cultural practices and taboos in the process of disseminating HIV/AIDS messages. This has produced altered social conditions, which sometimes distort the intended messages, but allow musicians and video producers to operate without fear of government censorship boards or running afoul of cultural taboos. Therefore, the chapter

primarily aims to show how lyrics, instrumentation, artifacts, images and dance in Zambian music and videos are blended into a hybrid of HIV/AIDS edutainment.

9.1. Appropriation of lived socio-cultural experiences and beliefs

Oral communication is still the most widespread mode in Zambia. Music and dance have historically accompanied oral communication, and these have been used to rebuke and discipline the personal and social behavior of citizens. This historical trend has been extended into the present where popular music is being used to address serious issues of life including HIV/AIDS. Musicians have played an important social role in educating and capturing the present social realities and experiences of its people. Through the lyrics, musicians express lived experiences and social discourses. In JK's song *Poison*, the title itself alludes to the devastating effects of HIV/AIDS as 'poison' to humanity. The title fits well with the shared sad experiences of society which include loss of loved ones and the social and economic difficulties that HIV/AIDS brings upon society. In the first verse of the lyrics, the singer alludes to the common myth that HIV was created by someone with a view to wipe out people.

Extract 35

Verse 1:

Why banafaka poison pacakudya? 'Why did they poison the 'food'?'

Ndaba cimanibaba vamene ni wona. Nimakangiwa kukamba ungalakwe weo.

'I am saddened by what I see. I'm lost for words; I fear I might say the wrong things'

In the above verse, he expresses his powerlessness over the devastation that the pandemic is causing, as well as the mystery behind the origins of HIV/AIDS. Although he sees the impact of the disease, there is nothing he can do about it as he does not even know its origins. For this reason he turns to the scriptures to try to find answers. In verse 2 he quotes the Christian

teachings about the origin of evil by referring to the first man and woman, Adam and Eve who ‘spoiled’ the special gift God gave them, that of enjoying the beauty of the garden which has in turn affected humanity by causing death. He relates it to the harm that HIV has brought upon humanity. This intertextual referencing of evangelical quotation is part of the belief system of many Zambians. The declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation in 1991 has not only led to unprecedented growth in evangelism and churches, but also quoting from scriptures in normal conversation has become a linguistic dispensation for many Zambians (Banda & Bellonjegele 2010). In the second verse, the intertextual reference to Biblical scripture is not a coincidence. It is based on the belief by Christians about the inherent sinful nature of man, thus the reference to Adam and Eve, the first human beings to have eaten ‘the forbidden fruit’. In this context, he repurposes the ‘food’ to imply sexual intercourse, a God given gift for procreation. This is qualified in the third line of verse 2 in which he alludes to the fact that God created people for procreation. However, because of man’s evil deeds, he disturbed the order by poisoning his own ‘food’ in reference to the pleasures of sexual intercourse. The word poison has been repurposed for the HIV/AIDS virus given its devastating effects on humanity.

Verse 2:

Cinayambila kuli Adam na Eva banadya cisepo muja mu garden weo

'It all started with Adam and Eve in that garden (Eden) when they ate the forbidden fruit'

Mulungu mwine anatipanga ati endani pacalo mukapange anzanu

'God in his wisdom created us to inhabit the earth and reproduce (enjoy)'

Koma kuipa kwamuntu afaka poison pacakudya camene afunika adye why why why?

'But because of the evil nature of man, he poisoned the food he is supposed to eat'

JK’s song further refers to the 'good old days' of the older generation who lived in a world free of HIV/AIDS. In the third verse below, he expresses admiration of the older generation as they enjoyed life, that is, sexual encounters with multiple partners without fear of contracting HIV.

Verse 3:

Nikumbwila bakudala mwamene benzekunkhalila

'I admire how the older generation used to live'

Benzekudya cinanazi ninshi mupapa bashuba, manje ise anzanga inazanda kudala

Lit. 'They enjoyed a peeled pineapple fruit (enjoyed sex without a condom on), but that is not the case for us today, things have been spoilt (referring to HIV)'. Actual meaning: 'they enjoyed sex without having to worry about HIV/AIDS as the case is today'

Osaibala pokudya cinanazi nikudya namupapa

Lit. 'Do not forget to eat the pineapple with its peels on (do not forget to have a condom on before sex)'. Actual meaning: 'never forget to protect yourself with a condom before sex'

In this verse, he draws on the Zambian lived experiences, which in this case has placed cultural taboo on certain words and phrases related to sex and sexuality. He navigates around the taboo through resemiotization by using a metaphor of 'eating a pineapple with its peels.' Having done that, he is able to refer to the 'good old days' of free unencumbered sex without upsetting socio-cultural sanctions placed on the topic. In other words, the use of metaphorical (or euphemistic) languages enables him to transform the socially unpalatable word 'condom' and social taboos around the topic of sex into an enjoyable pineapple (sex). In this sense, he draws on the social experiences and realities of Zambia to create as well as to transmit HIV/AIDS messages in a non-threatening manner.

On the other hand, JK contradicts himself at several points. Firstly, he reduces the HIV/AIDS problem to unmarried partners when in fact it affects everyone including children. Secondly, in verse 2, contradicts the HIV/AIDS prevention message. He misdirects himself when he confuses procreation with having multiple sexual partners. He assumes that if it was not for HIV/AIDS, it would be fine to have multiple sexual partners. He also misinterprets the Bible by appearing to condone what Adam and Eve did by defying God's command. In addition, his admiration for the

older generation that had multiple sexual partners and did not use condoms contradicts the heart of the HIV/AIDS prevention message, which is having a single partner and using protective measures such as condoms.

Baska and Sunga's *Pembela nsokele* employs a similar resemiotization strategy to caution the targeted audience on the dangers of HIV/AIDS. They use *nsokele*, a Bemba war jargon meaning to 'gear up' against a firearm but in this case it is to 'gear up' against HIV/AIDS. In the first verse, they resemiotise a condom as 'raincoat' and having sex while being protected by a condom as eating a sweet with a wrapper on. In particular, they caution against the misplaced views of those people who say having sex without a condom is like 'eating sweets' with its wrapper and those that say it is like having a bath with a 'raincoat on'. They contend that such casual attitudes to HIV have led to deaths of many people from HIV/AIDS. Through the phonologisation and subsequent localization of the English phrase 'live wire' (live electric cable) into *walai*, they further warn that people should never at any given time think of unprotected sex. The word *walai* was coined by Danny [Kaya], another musician who is discussed below. Baska and Sunga give credit to him for the 'creation' of this word in the song. The message continues in the fourth line of verse 2 in which they implore the listeners to resist *walai*, but rather suggest *condomisation* to avoid regrets one would get after a one night's stand if he or she had not used condoms. They urge the youth that such experiences are not worth the risk. I would like to note that in some cases the literary (Lit.) translation is given in an attempt to preserve the meaning.

Verse 1:

Ifintu fyalichinja, not ilya iyakale iyakwingilamofye ukwabula nee coat

'The world has changed; it's not the same as it used to be in the past when one could go in without a raincoat (condom)'.

Bambi batila teti ndye sweet muchipepa, elo bambi nabo ati teti nsambe nee coat

'Others say they cannot eat a sweet with its papers on, and others say they cannot bath with a raincoat on'.

Bengi bafwilamo mumalyashi yama walai

Lit. 'Many have died because of such attitudes on *live issues* (unprotected sex)'. Actual meaning: 'many people have died due to unsafe sex practices'

Verse 2:

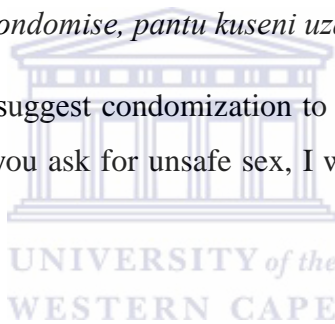
....

Bashi Niza balimba ati tekvesha walai

Lit. Father to Niza (referring to another musician Danny whose child is called Niza) has sung never try live (unprotected sex). Actual meaning: Father to Niza has spoken out against unsafe sex'

Ukakamba walai, nizakuuza let's condomise, pantu kuseni uzacita realise eflyo wacitile

Lit. 'When you say live (sex), I'll suggest condomization to avoid regretting your actions in the morning'. Actual meaning: 'when you ask for unsafe sex, I will instead insist on condom use in order to avoid regrets after the act'

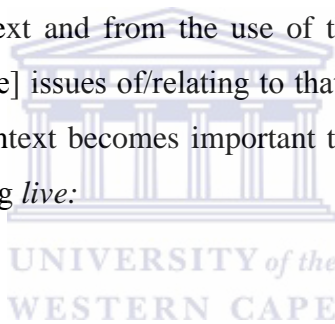


It is interesting that they do not talk about abstinence or being faithful to a single partner. Like in JK's song, it is as if there was no HIV/AIDS, then it would fine to have unprotected sex and to have multiple sexual partners.

In spite of the contradictions in the lyrics, it is clear so far that Zambian musicians see the condom as a very important line of defense against HIV/AIDS, and as a result the device has been reframed in different ways in popular Zambian music in order to make it culturally acceptable in the African public sphere. Thus other objects and ideas are deployed to replace 'condom' leading to a multi-meaning indexical field, whose actual meaning in place is determined by shared knowledge of language as social semiotics in contexts. Evidently, the

metaphors of 'helmet' and 'live wire' are amongst the most enduring in the fight against HIV/AIDS.

Danny (2011) whose name came up in the lyrics of Baska and Sunga uses the metaphor *live* to imply unsafe sex or sex without protection. In his song entitled *live*, Danny expresses concern about people that take a casual attitude towards HIV/AIDS. He contends that regardless of adequate information on HIV/AIDS today, people still disregard the known preventive measures such as the use of condoms against HIV infection. In this song he uses the phrase *kudya live* 'lit. eating live' (having unprotected sex)' to mean having sex without a condom on. The metaphor *kudya* 'to eat' has also been used by JK to mean the act of sex. It could be argued that the verb phrase *to eat* has been used to suggest the pleasure one gets after a meal and so is sex. The word condom is implied from the context and from the use of the word *live*. Danny also uses the euphemism *kuja kunkani* lit. '[those] issues of/relating to that story' but in this case to mean the act of sexual intercourse. Here context becomes important to be able to decipher the meaning. Below is an extract of Danny's song *live*:



Lyrics: *Live*:

Verse 1:

Why why why wayoo, but why nawina azadya live lelo, nawina anadya live mailo nawina anadya live mazo mwebantu what's going?

Lit. 'Why is it that another one will have unprotected sex today, another one did the same thing yesterday and the day before and another one will do the same tomorrow. What is wrong with people?' Actual meaning: 'information about the dangers of HIV/AIDS is everywhere and yet people continue to get infected due to carelessness'

Verse 2:

Muntu mwandi adabwisana pa TV lyonse bamatiuza osayesa kucita vopusa kupanda condom.

Man is so amazing, every day the TV is awash with HIV awareness information telling us not to try 'foolish things' (unsafe sex).

Upeza weka wagula CD ati yo uzing'a kuja kunkani kufika kuli gelo kuja vintu vacinja kuona cabe mwe yaswetela mafiga...

Lit. 'You find that a person willingly buys CDs (condoms) for use 'to those issues' (during sex), but upon seeing a woman's nice body, he changes his mind and forgets to use the condom'. Actual meaning: 'people know about the need to use condoms to protect themselves against HIV but they still fail to use them because they get misled by beauty'

Kulangana maziba mutima wayamba kucaya monga utaya nthawi cakuti utekenye.

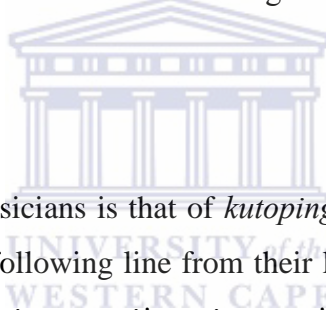
Lit. 'At the sight of a woman's breasts, the heart begins palpitating as though it's time wasting'. Actual meaning: 'the sight of a woman's beauty, one gets confused' ...*upeza weka wayamba kusumbila kulibe nakuvala waicita overtake G-string ninshi waigwila namumanja condom big mistake. Wati society nacakuti olobakambe bwanji sitimamvela*

[Lit. '...you overtake the G-string whilst holding a CD (condom) in your hands, that is a big mistake'. Actual meaning: 'at this point, what society says (about HIV) does not matter'.

In the lyrics of the song above, the word sex has not been explicitly mentioned. It is implied from the context through metaphor and euphemistic language. For example, the singer uses the phrase *vintu vopusa* 'foolish things' to mean casual sex among unmarried couples. He also uses the phrase *kuja kunkani* '[to] those issues' to mean sex. However, this kind of language can mean different things in different contexts. Danny Kaya is deliberately using obscure language to avoid censorship and censure from authorities and the public respectively. Danny manipulates language to leave an escape route through which he could always say that is not what he meant if confronted about using explicit language in describing sex and sexual acts. He further uses the phrase *waicita overtake G-string* 'you over-take the G-string', to mean the act of unsafe penetrative sex. In this way, the lyricist is imploring the listeners, especially the youth, to avoid casual approach to sex in the face of HIV/AIDS. Like most English words used in combination

with the local languages, the word *live* and *over-take* have been appropriated for their local meanings that can only be understood by people with a shared experience. They may therefore be meaningless to other speakers of English (See Banda & Bellonjengele 2010).

Dalisoul and Petersen use the word *cimpompo* ‘helmet’ for a condom. The choice of *cimpompo*, like *mupapa* ‘[pineapple] peel’ and ‘raincoat’ or ‘wrapped sweet’ discussed above are not random; these are steeped in Zambian experiences, but are being repurposed for the fight against HIV/AIDS. Dalisoul and Petersen draw on common knowledge based on Zambia being a copper mining giant in Africa; a *cimpompo* ‘helmet’ is closely associated with miners’ safety. It is known to be the only safety gear that is worn to protect the head from falling rocks in underground mines. The singers relate the purpose for which the helmet was meant to play to the purpose of a condom, that is, to offer protection against risk sexual behaviour. In this regard, the singers repurpose *cimpompo* ‘helmet’ to mean something for which it is not known for and in the process reframing the condom.



Another metaphor favoured by musicians is that of *kutoping'a*, that is, ‘topping up’. Baska and Dalisoul use this metaphor in the following line from their lyrics: *osadwala navima story vamu mu saloon nama barbershop ati cite a topi'ng cite atop'ing. Naimwe mutop'ing yakabisila. Nikutop'ing cabe palibe vuto*. 'never be troubled with gossip from the salons or barbershops about your 'topping up' (act of taking antiretroviral therapy). The rumour monger might also be 'topping up'. Just top up, there is no problem with that' and General Kanene also uses the word in his lyrics: *pano pamene nikamba akumwa mankwala, atoping'a notoping'a* 'as I speak she is taking anti-AIDS drugs'. The phrase *atoping'a* ‘topping up’ as used in these lyrics, has been appropriated from the English phrase 'to top up', a phrase commonly associated with recharging a mobile phone with airtime. Thus the meaning of this phrase has been reconstituted to refer to the act of taking anti-HIV/AIDS drugs akin to recharging one’s life as happens to a mobile phone when recharged with airtime. It is also meant to encourage the affected to adhere to them if one has to have life. The moral of the message is to urge people living with HIV/AIDS to adhere to anti-AIDS drugs as well as discouraging others from stigmatising those taking them.

From the analysis of the objects used in the lyrics by different singers, it is clear that musicians exploit the semantic values of the given objects to reframe the condom and other socio-cultural artifacts to make them more acceptable and less embarrassing to talk about to the audience. In this way, they are using the objects as social semiotics to recreate social meaning. The recreation of social meaning does not stop at topics related to sex; musicians also remodel cultural beliefs on sexuality through music and dance styles in videos.

9.2. Remodelling traditional culture

Dalisoul and Petersen's (2010) music video entitled *Nalila condom* demonstrates how lyrics, sound and images combine not only to sell music CDs and videos, but also to generate meaning in the fight against HIV/AIDS.

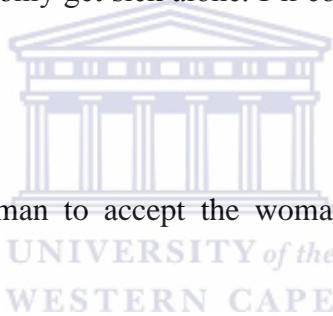
The music video takes the form of a movie. The use of the movie structure is a clever gimmick by producers to capture the audience's attention, who would otherwise lose interest if the more traditional documentary format was followed. The video begins with scene 1 involving two young ladies chatting to each other on the need for protecting themselves by using condoms each time they have sex. A woman talking about sex is significant as it breaks traditional taboo where women are not supposed to talk about sex, even among themselves (Banda 2005). Later, the video moves on to scene 2 where one of them meets her lover. The woman refuses to have sex without a condom and sends the man to a nearby shop to buy some condoms. In scene 3 the man finds a saleslady, and because of cultural taboo that forbids men and women from talking about sex, the man is tongue-tied and buys eggs instead. It is noteworthy that the buying of 'eggs' is significant as it rhymes with the phonologisation of 'AIDS' in Zambian contexts. We shall return to this point in due course. In scene 4 the man returns crestfallen with a number of eggs. In scene 5 the woman produces some condoms and the man joyfully accepts without questions. In terms of the developing 'story' Scene 5 is the climax which culminates in the woman taking control, which is role reversal, by producing the condom to enable them to make

love. Scene 6 is a resolution and a general one that integrates all the scenes and portrays music dancers in their traditional dancing dress. The title of the song *Nalila Condom* (Lit.: 'I cry for a condom') is designed to be a cry for the powerless women who have no say in sexual matters especially regarding protecting themselves against STIs and HIV/AIDS. The song asks the women to take charge as in the following lines: *Nalila asayope condom uyo, muvalike nimwamuna wako*

Lit. 'I am crying out, let him not avoid a condom, put it on him, he is your man'.

Cikashana iwe! umoyo ni weka, uzing'a osaleka, vikule osameka, kuvoka sinizaleka, ukadwala niweka, nakamba vamveka.

'Hey young lady! Choice to life is yours to make, continue using it (condom), never stop, buy them (condoms) don't be shy, you only get sick alone. I'll continue speaking out. I have spoken, it is loud and clear'.



There is also a warning for the man to accept the woman as an equal partner and for the consequences of unprotected sex:

Wemunandi iwe, osacita manyanzi pa umoyo wako iwe,..uh uh botolo imankala na kapendelo kumutu, pali umoyo palibe nakumeka.

Lit. 'My friend never be shy, this is life, a bottle also carries with it a top on its head, matters of life should not be taken lightly'. Actual meaning: 'never shy away from using a condom as it safeguards your health'

kuti me uzayonda weka cikanga shimaini amacita kuvala cimpompo, ati ni cimozi mozi na kusamba na raincoat.

'...you will become emaciated, look at a miner, he puts on a helmet for protection but you say it is the same as bathing with a raincoat on'.

Following a multimodal discourse analysis framework (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006) adopted even as the musicians are singing the words, the sounds, instruments, images and dance styles are deployed to enhance particular meanings. In their video, Dalisoul and Petersen remodel the dominant Zambian culture in which a woman is not expected to refuse sex to her lover and worse still to insist that he uses a condom, into a culture that is liberal -a culture that sees a woman as an equal partner in decision making in matters of sex. In the process of deconstructing this dominant cultural practice, the singers are not only constructing and transmitting HIV/AIDS messages designed to influence behavior change but more so, empowering women as equal partners in the fight against the pandemic. Furthermore, the woman is recreated as a powerful individual and a man as an equal partner, thereby recreating society in which gender inequalities and male dominance are no longer factors in issues of HIV/AIDS.

The video can also be interpreted as depicting two contradictory cultures and role structures. One represents a new culture (as well as a modern role structure) in which a woman has a say on sex and therefore can decide and insist on protecting herself against HIV/AIDS, and the other represents the traditional culture (and traditional roles) in Africa in which a woman has no say on sex and thus not expected to suggest condom use to her partner. It can also be directed to men and women who are HIV positive to be responsible and not transmit the virus to others. The ‘enlightened one’ advises her friend that they are living in a different time in which women should take charge of their destiny and insist on condom use, implicitly referring to the changing culture influenced by HIV/AIDS in which women have to assert themselves in decision making that benefit them. The meaning of the scene is made clear when it is combined with the lyrics in the chorus of the song where the singers state: *“let him not avoid a condom, put it on him, he is your man”* and in verse 2 in which they state: *“Hey young lady! Choice to life is yours to make, continue using it (condom), never stop, just buy them (condoms) don’t be shy, you get sick alone....”* This statement counters the dominant sociocultural practices in which a woman is socialized to be the silent one in matters of sex and condom use. In this way, the musicians/video producers have remodeled culture in which women and men are equal partners in decision making.

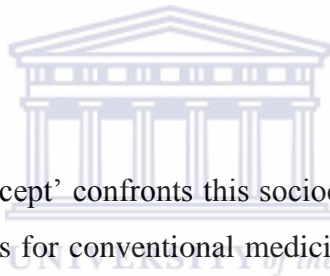
The songwriters/video creators further exploit the sound ‘eggs’ to draw a phonic relation with the local Zambian word for AIDS *egdzi* which is simply a phonologisation of the term ‘AIDS’. This is used to illustrate what one might get from casual sex without the use of condoms. That it is a woman selling goods including condoms is symbolic of the fact that the woman also has power to dispense condoms, hence, has a say over sexual matters. Thus, the message in scene 3 is designed to break the cultural taboo that a man should not talk about sexual matters with women. This message is made clear in verse one of the lyrics in which the singers are urging the man not to be shy as in: “*My friend never be shy... matters of life should not be taken lightly*”, implying that life is so important that it becomes illogical to risk one’s life on account of shyness or taboos associated with the buying a condom from a woman and later using it.

The embarrassment or taboo associated with condoms is embedded in the prolonged controversy in which Christianity and African cultures find something in common, that is that condoms are a sign of promiscuity and immorality. In this vein, the church has been fighting against the promotion of condom use, an approach which has been seen as counter-productive in the fight against HIV/AIDS. It is from this background that buying condoms in public space, especially when the opposite sex is involved in the transaction, is found to be more embarrassing for fear of being associated with immorality at the expense of life. Therefore, the song further finds grounds to remodel this sociocultural and religious practice by comparing a condom to any commodity such as food that one buys in a shop (in verse 3).

9.3. Reframing the practice of traditional healing

Consulting traditional healers or witchdoctors is a common sociocultural practice which continues to exist in most African nations. Ndulo, Faxelid and Krantz (2001:2) argue that: “...the traditional health care system has always been an inseparable part of the history and culture of the people and traditional healers maintain the same beliefs as the clients who consult them”. In

Zambia, traditional healers or witchdoctors, locally known as *ng'anga* are constantly consulted for healing. The emergence of HIV/AIDS and high cost of healthcare at government and private clinics have made the traditional practice even more rampant and lucrative as it is believed to be cheaper. Ndulo, Faxelid, and Krantz (2001) estimate that 80% of people in some nations in Africa visit traditional healers before going into the biomedical health care systems. They further contend that in Zambia there is an indication of widespread use of the traditional health care systems by people who have Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDS) as the first line of treatment. In as much as the positive role traditional healers play in the health care system of the country is acknowledged, some of the cultural practices have been seen to aggravate the conditions of people infected with HIV/AIDS and thereby compromising the efforts that government has put in place to mitigate the impact of the pandemic. Such cultural practices have been criticized by government and other stakeholders as it delays treatment to patients that can easily be helped with modern conventional drugs.



Dalisoul's (2011) song *Vomela* 'accept' confronts this sociocultural practice by encouraging the infected to visit the modern doctors for conventional medicines. In his music video, which also takes a movie format, he portrays and juxtaposes two separate systems, the traditional one which uses divination to detect illness and the conventional health system that uses modern facilities to detect illnesses. Below is a presentation of the scenes and lyrics found in the video:

Video scenes:



Figure 21: Children playing football (scene 1)



Figure 22: Couple helping a sick man his way to consult a witchdoctor

In Figure 23, the couple is seen paying a consultation fee to the healer, after which, the healer begins to perform some rituals.



Figure 23: Couple paying consultation fee to the witchdoctor

In Figure 24, the patient is at a hospital surrounded by two medical doctors and a nurse in their white coats while performing their duties.



Figure 24: Patient being attended to by conventional doctors

The singer is seen scavenging a pile of garbage in Figure 25. This scene figuratively represents the witchdoctor's actions comparable to a scavenger who is everywhere looking for something to feed himself on. However, this portrayal of traditional healers might be disparaging and exaggerated as some traditional healers are professional in their conduct.

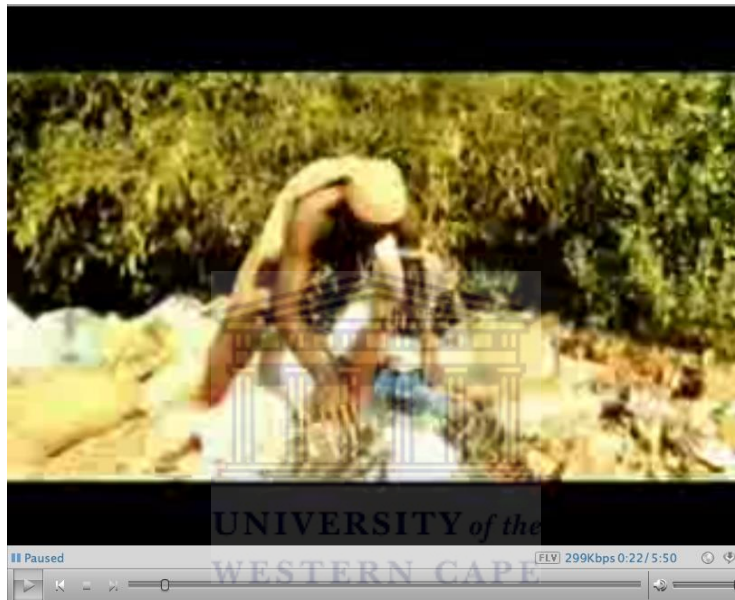


Figure 25: Singer seen scavenging on garbage

Lyrics: *Vomela*:

Chorus:

Vomela... sikuti ukadwala ninshi mailo umwalila, malinga upema uzisamele weka. Matenda angankale malaria olo kapena diarrhea olo gonorrhoea.

Lit. 'Accept it [your status], it does not mean when you get ill that's the end of life. What matters most is life and taking care of yourself. The illness might just be malaria, or diarrhea or gonorrhoea'.

Verse 1:

Trickster, trickster, trickster...coughs. These days ukadwala mankhwala cabe ni kuvomela ka. Kambeba kansonni kanafela kumugodi. Lit. 'These days when you get infected (with HIV), the only treatment is accepting your status. A shy mouse died in its hole'.

Verse 2:

Uzivuta kuyenda ku ng'anga, kopimisila pali ponse ponse

Lit. 'You are wasting your time by consulting witchdoctors when places you can get tested are everywhere'

Uononga ndalama zambili kupimisa kweve ni mahala

'You are wasting a lot of money when testing is free'

Bakugong'a na mankwala aboza, azoona kucipatala aliko.

'You are tricked with fake medicines, when real medicines are available at the hospital'.

Verse 3:

Osadwala navima story vamu mu salon na nama barbershop ati cite a topi'ng cite atop'ing Lit. 'Never be troubled with gossip in Hair Salons/Barbershops that you are topping up (taking HIV drugs) and that the other one is also topping up'.

Naimwe mutop'ing yakabisila. Nikutop'ing cabe palibe vuto.

'You may also be topping up secretly. Just keep on topping up, there is no problem at all'.



From the lyrics and the video scenes presented above, two arguments are worth making. First, the sociocultural practice of consulting witchdoctors as an impediment to the fight against HIV/AIDS is evident. This is seen in scene 2 and 3 where a patient is accompanied to a witchdoctor for consultation. In these scenes, the singer remediates the cultural practices in the process of creating social meaning. He uses images that are easier to relate to but in combination with lyrics in verse 1 and 2 in which the witchdoctor is depicted as a trickster operating in a squalor environment an indication that he is more interested in making money than helping the patients. The meaning of the scenes is only made clear in combination with the lyrics. He also uses scenes 3 and 4 in which a modern health facility is shown with modern health workers attending to the same patient seen in scenes 1 and 2, who could not be helped by the traditional healer, to demonstrate a change in cultural practices. It could also be taken to mean that he sees the traditional health care system as being a waste of one's time and resources. This overgeneralizes the limitations of the traditional health system in the context in which many

Africans still believe it (Ndulo *et al.* 2001). The traditional health system can play a significant role in the fight against HIV/AIDS if nurtured.

There is however no denying the commitment of musicians and video producers who deploy all kinds of semiosis in the fight against HIV/AIDS. The clever use of language as a semiotic system in the employment of a proverb: *kambewa kansonni kanafela kumugodi* ‘a shy mouse died in its habitat’ to remediate the message. This is meant to encourage people infected with HIV to accept their status and live with it, and not to stop taking drugs on account of stigmatisation. Furthermore, there are dancers wearing colourful gear, the dance styles and instrumentation all contribute to edutainment for the purposes of catching the attention of the target audience. The music and dance are blended with different scenes. For example, scene 1 in which boys are seen playing football, in isolation, does not relate to HIV practices and so are the dances in scene 6. However, in combination with other semiotic resources used, these scenes are a critical component to the creation of the social meaning. As Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) argue, in every multimodal ensemble, every element plays a role in the process of meaning making. Therefore, the role of scenes 1 and 6 are to keep the audience entertained with a view to make them listen to the messages which they would not have otherwise paid attention to if they were spoken out without any entertaining elements. In this way, the hybrid blends of HIV/AIDS messages, instrumentation and dances become a critical strategy of reaching out to masses highly vulnerable to the pandemic.

9.4. Remediation of traditional artefacts and social practices

It is also interesting to note how traditional artifacts of traditional military dress and dance are remediated to recreate social meaning regarding the nature and urgency of the fight against HIV/AIDS pandemic. In the music video *Nalila condom*, dancers are presented dressed in traditional military dress, as well as performing a traditional dance known as *ngoma* ‘drum’ in ciNgoni. The Ngonis of Zambia, Tanzania and Malawi are descendants of King Shaka’s *impis*

(soldiers) under Zwangendaba who after falling out with Shaka went north conquering tribes on the way. King Shaka is credited for creating the first regiments and standing army in Africa, and ‘modern’ war tactics and military discipline which he used to conquer other tribes. The multi-coloured head gear, and leopard skin vests, a short stabbing spear (Shaka’s renovation in which a soldier does not throw away his weapon), knobkerries and different coloured shields to distinguish the different regiments, are still accessories for Ngoni dancers during cultural celebrations. [These days fake leopard and other animal skins are used because of government legislation which protects endangered wild life]. However, the music video recontextualizes the traditional military dress, dance and song to suggest that HIV/AIDS is an enemy to society and therefore the need to wage a war against it. Furthermore, the traditional dance, which is only performed by a troupe, has been recontextualised to mean unity required in the fight against HIV/AIDS. Additionally, the traditional dance which involves thumping of the feet to the ground in unison has been adapted through the dancers arm motions to demonstrate the act of ‘putting on’ a condom. It can further be argued that the military dress in this regard has been recontextualised to symbolize the condom which is regarded as a protective device against HIV infection. The lyrics, together with the traditional artifacts, that is, traditional war gear and dance multimodally and multi-semiotically create social meaning regarding the nature and urgency of the fight against HIV/AIDS pandemic.

9.5. Summary of chapter

The study has revealed that with the advent of HIV/AIDS, choices regarding sex including discussions on sexual matters are no longer a preserve for the men. However, male dominance is still prevalent and this can be seen in the lyrics and videos in which females are still portrayed as objects of sex. There is nevertheless increasing evidence that the roles normally associated with men are being taken up by females so that it is not uncommon for female singers to talk about sexual matters and desires. This indicates that just as males, females are also able to express sexual desires and fantasies, and that both males and females are responsible for preventing the transmission of HIV/AIDS.

Furthermore, the study has revealed that musicians tend to place more emphasis on male condoms as the main weapon in the fight against HIV/AIDS than other prevention strategies such as abstinence and being faithful to one partner. In fact, for some musicians abstinence and being faithful are their least concern and yet these are also critical in the fight against the scourge. The emphasis on male rather than female condoms appear to suggest that males are the ones that should be protected from women which in turn incorrectly accuses the latter as being responsible for spreading the pandemic. Thus, it has emerged that musicians often contradict themselves in the process of transmitting HIV/AIDS education messages and thereby sending mixed information to targeted consumers. Such information is likely to be counterproductive in the fight against HIV/AIDS.

Lastly, the chapter has shown how different social semiotics such as language, images, dance and other artifacts are transformed to create social meaning in the process of transmitting HIV/AIDS education messages. It has shown how *Zambian* musicians and producers deliberately blend language, cultural artefacts, different sound bites, imagery and dance styles into a hybrid of infotainment in the fight against HIV/AIDS. This means that message consumption is not a function of isolated semiotic resource but a combination of semiotic material drawn from semiotics that people are familiar with. It was also shown that musicians take advantage of lived experiences and cultural practices which they recontextualize to come up with novel meaningful messages pertaining to HIV/AIDS. In the process of reframing available semiotic resources, musicians and producers reframe dominant cultural practices, which in turn help to maintain and alter the social lives of people concerned. Recontextualization also creates altered social conditions in which musicians and video producers operate without fear of government censorship boards or running afoul of cultural taboos. In this regard, it has shown how discourses on sensitive topics such as sex are de-tabooed using metaphors and euphemisms. Therefore, music, dance and song have become an important vehicle through which HIV/AIDS messages are transmitted and consumed.

CHAPTER TEN

TOWARDS A PARADIGM SHIFT IN SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDIES

10.0. Introduction

This chapter discusses some implications of the study on some selected current sociolinguistic theorizing. In this regard, the chapter shows how the findings of the study are consistent with the sociolinguistic theorizing of eminent scholars such Heller (2007), Makoni and Pennycook (2007), Pennycook (2010), Blommaert (2010), Creese and Blackledge (2010), Pavlenko and Blackledge (2010), Banda (2010; 2005), Bailey (2007), Møller and Jørgensen (2009), Otsuji and Pennycook (2010), and Orman (2012, 2013), who have elaborately argued for a paradigm shift regarding the nature of language in postmodern settings. Their argument counters popular structuralist-functional and nation-state ideologies of language in which language is conceived as an autonomous, discrete and bounded system (see Hymes 1974; Leech 1983). In this vein, the chapter begins by reviewing the conventional conception of language which is based on popular formalist ideologies in which language is viewed as something that pre-exists its environment, a 'thing' (cf. Pennycook 2010; Canagarajah 2013).

Secondly, the chapter presents the implications on some of the code-based notions of language which include bilingualism, multilingualism, the notions of community and identity; and language domains. Lastly, the chapter considers recent sociolinguistic theorizing and these include: metrolinguism, languaging and translanguaging or polylinguaging. The ultimate goal of this chapter is to analyse notions built around traditional language ideologies and recent sociolinguistic theories in light of the discussions presented in the preceding chapters. Thus, the chapter argues for a paradigm shift in our understanding of language in late modern Lusaka.

10.1. Contesting language as autonomous and bounded system

Going by the preceding chapters in which it has been noted how speakers in linguistically diverse settings of late modern Lusaka draw on amalgams of language as undifferentiated forms to create meaning without necessarily observing their assumed boundaries, it is evident that language as traditionally conceptualized offers little account in understanding its nature in recent times. For example, it was noted in extract 7.1 that speakers draw on morphemes and phrases from say Nyanja/Bemba or English and combine them together in ways that clearly blurs the boundaries assumed to exist between these languages. The study shows that speakers could not distinguish forms of languages they used, a clear demonstration that Bemba and Nyanja are not differentiated at all in their language practices. In addition, speakers were not even aware of the different etymologies of given words (see extract 7.10).

Moreover, it has been noted how speakers use language in unpredictable patterns, that is, in ways that clearly shows the instability of language form contrary to popular language ideologies in which language is assumed to have a stable form (see Baily 2007). For example, in Chapter 7 section 7.3 (extracts 7.4 and 75) it was noted how speakers could sometimes use 'standard' linguistic forms (extract 7.4) in very unpredictable manner while in some other cases they could use non-standard forms or combine all of them together (extract 7.5). Thus, in one case, the language would appear very standard and in another it would appear non-standard with varying degrees, for example, more of English and few localized forms or vice versa. In some other cases, we noted how speakers appropriated linguistic forms through remediation and repurposing of ideas and objects and in the process giving them new meanings they are not known for (see Chapter 9 sections 9.1. and Chapter 8 sections 8.3). Clearly in such cases, language or words thought to have denotative forms, that is, one word for one meaning, cannot account for such language practices (see Bailey 2007).

Furthermore, it was noted how speakers would attach bound morpheme to form plural forms to lexemes that already have the plural forms but in ways that does not distort the meaning. In such contexts, it was noted that the so called 'bound' morphemes are in fact unbound as they can be moved to and from one lexeme to another with or without bearing their actual meanings. For example, see section 7.2 in Chapter 7 in which speakers add a Bemba bound morpheme 'ma-' to '-ministers' which already bears the plural form to give rise to *maministers*, where the meaning of the plural form by a speaker would lie mostly in the prefix *ma-* than in *-s* or in both; and in some cases, a speaker would only use *ma-* as in *maminister* for *ministers*. This example challenges the conception of language as an autonomous system as it fails to explain this kind of linguistic phenomenon.

In addition, it was also observed in Chapter 9 that meaning does not only reside in linguistic forms but also in other semiotic resources that speakers are able to appropriate and combine with text to create unitary meaning in form of a multimodal text (see Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006; Jewitt 2009). For example, in section (9.4), it was noted how advertisers appropriated visual images and combined them with other semiosis to create multimodal texts. In this vein, Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) have argued against structuralist approaches to language of 1960's Paris school in which language is seen as the only embodiment of meaning and in which linguistic forms are assumed to be used in an arbitrary, non-mediated manner to express meaning. It was revealed in preceding chapters that speakers freely choose what linguistic resources to use from their extended linguistic repertoires in order to express meaning. In this vein, Heller's (2007:1-2) has argued for a social approach to language that views it as:

[a] set of resources which circulate in unequal ways in social networks and discursive spaces and whose meaning and value are socially constructed within the constraints of social organizational processes under specific historical conditions.

From the data analysed, it is evident that speakers are active agents in the process of creating language. Therefore, Heller's view of language privileges speakers as social actors involved in the reinvention of language as they interact (see Makoni 2012; Makoni & Pennycook 2007; Pennycook 2010; Heller 2007). In this regard, the study has shown how language is not a thing or an object that exists out there but embedded within speakers' social and political activities (Heller 2007; Pennycook 2010). This viewpoint challenges language ideologies that see it as an autonomous system and speakers' social activities having no effect on its nature. Indeed language from this perspective is best seen as a social construct as Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006:5) argue:

...the unity of languages is a social construct, a product of theory and of social and cultural histories. When the borders of (a) language are not policed by academies, and when languages are not homogenized by education systems and mass media, people quite freely combine elements from the languages they know to make themselves understood.

This is evident in contexts of late modern settings of Lusaka, in which speakers deploy their communicative repertoires in any manner they deem fit. Neither the nation-state ideology of language nor the formalist perspectives hold speakers back to use language resources in any way they wish to use them. For example, in chapter 9, section 9.1.1 and extract 9.2 it was noted how speakers creatively played with standard language orthographies to counter or challenge certain dominant ways of writing as well as established social norms. In this way, it was noted how speakers actively recreate language by playing around with the 'norms'.

In addition, it is evident from the findings that language is being reinvented as we know it, not only in terms of the actual ground level language practices of speakers, but also in terms of what speakers regard as language. For example, the instances of language practices presented in Chapters 7 or 8 would be regarded by a linguist an aberration or as a mixture of 'impure' linguistic forms or instances of code switching. However, interviewees considered what they spoke as simply Lusaka Nyanja which essentially could be seen as consisting of different

'languages' by a linguist. This difference in conception about language between a linguist and speakers calls for a rethinking about the nature of. Perhaps taking a position that accounts for both people's language practices as they relate to linguistic forms would be the best way to understand language in modern settings of Lusaka. It is in this regard that Orman (2013:91) argues that "...if they are any linguistic facts to be established, it is the province of the participants in a communicational act to do so, not that of a linguistic theorist...." This statement holds some truth in that considering what people involved in the communication practice think or say about language and what they do with it becomes critical towards a paradigm shift in understanding the modern language practices (cf. Makoni 2012). However, it should be pointed out that Orman's view may not be the best approach since he appears to discard the aspects of structuralist-functional linguistics which for now provides us a base for conducting analysis of speakers' language practices. Therefore, a balance between the two should be made. For example, it is clear that, though, structuralist-functional perspectives have their own weaknesses in the manner they conceive of language in that they neither do not account for the social factors that influence the nature of language nor the role of speakers as social actors in shaping language, but they in fact provide tools with which to analyse what is happening in speakers' language practices. For example, it would be impractical to analyse current language practices without involving tools involved in morpheme and syntactic analysis (see Chapter 6 section 6.2) or analyse graphemes versus sound relationships without recourse to structural accounts to language. In this regard, Orman's (2012, 2013) argument in which he outrightly discards some of the important aspects that structural linguistics has offered us in order to be able to analyse sociolinguistic data may not be the best way to go especially that he does not offer clear alternative ways in which data such as that presented in this study would be analysed without using some aspects of formal linguistics. However, it is very evident from the findings that language is not being practiced as a thing with a definitive form but rather as a social practice (Pennycook 2010; Makoni & Pennycook 2007; Heller 2007) (I elaborate on this below). Consequently, notions built around the structuralist and nation-state ideologies of language equally become questioned. I discuss this below.

It should be emphasized here, that, it seems the problem with structuralist ideologies about language lies in the failure of its methodological and analytical approaches to acknowledge people's conceptions about language and a lack of interest with what people do with language in their social practices thereof. This is clearly seen in what speakers have regarded as language and how they have actually practiced it. In this vein Bailey (2007:261) has argued that "in taking a formal or synchronic approach to language, formal linguists thus neglect the relationship between linguistic forms and the social and political worlds that are described and negotiated through those forms." Heller (2007:13) further adds that:

Structural accounts have to take into consideration the messiness of actual usage, and interactional accounts, in order to arrive at useful explanations, have to take into consideration the situation of speakers in space and time.

From the foregoing statements, and in light of the findings of the study, it is clear that in order to successfully conduct an analysis of language practices of speakers in multilingual contexts it is important to take into account the relationships between linguistic forms and their socially and politically situated meanings and the role that speakers have in influencing this relationship.

In the preceding chapters the role of speakers in reinventing language has clearly been demonstrated. This in turn challenges dominant notions of language that depict language to be an autonomous system independent from its users. It has been noted how people manipulate language as they mingle with one another and so as they wish and in the process giving rise to new conventions and ways of speaking that keep on evolving as they interact. For example, it was noted how musicians (in Chapter 9) and advertisers (in Chapter 8) create meaning through repurposing of semiotic resources and in the process giving rise to new ways of speaking; and how the circulation of semiosis across modes and modalities provide different meaning affordances to producers. Furthermore, it was noted how new words emerge as speakers interact in urban settings (see Chapter 6 section 6.3), for instance, the emergence of words such as

mahafu 'money' and *kushansha* 'left without/in trouble' and *kulasila* 'to make for', *kubeula* 'to be rich' are some good instances that point to the role speakers take in creating language. However, note that these words are not used arbitrarily but rather their meanings are socially situated and keep on changing as speakers interact (cf. Harris 2007; Otsuji & Pennycook 2010; Heller 2007; Pennycook 2010; Canagarajah 2013). Such a view to language effectively puts to question Myer-Scotton's notion of code switching which states that speakers in multilingual settings of language use, switch between codes for a variety of reasons. My argument is that language is not a code with a stable form or system as the data has shown.

10.2. Deconstructing language borders

The findings are consistent with observations made by Auer (2007:320) that "bilingual talk blurs the line between language A and language B, but also between langue and parole, between linguistic systems and their usage, between knowledge and practice." In this regard, it was noted in Chapters 7, 8 and 9 that speakers do not use different linguistic resources as if they belonged to different language groups but instead they use them as free variants (Banda 2012) or as an amalgam (Higgins 2009; Makoni & Pennycook 2007) that destabilize the assumed borders between languages. For example, it was noted how speakers would easily select resources from their communicative repertoires and combine them in various ways to create meaning without being constrained by structural expectations of standard forms of language. Besides, it was noted how speakers interviewed did not differentiate the linguistic forms they used even if they seemed to a linguist to be coming from multiple sources. Speakers saw them as simply a language.

Based on Lusaka urbanites' language practices, it becomes clear that speakers and/or interlocutors defy the assumed traditional language boundaries by freely engaging their extended linguistic repertoire for communication purposes and stylistic effects. Such practices further indicate the seamlessness of language which was also made clear in the blends involving different linguistic forms from rural and urban varieties of either Nyanja or Bemba and a few

linguistic forms from Lozi, Tonga, Nsenga and Lamba. Likewise, the blends involving standard and non-standard forms of English demonstrated how such language practices among urban interlocutors dissolve the purported differences between 'language varieties' and standard and non-standard 'forms'. For instance, in extracts 7.2 and 7.3 in section 7.3.1, it was noted how speakers deployed linguistic resources from rural and urban varieties of Nyanja and Bemba and blended them with options from standard and non-standard forms of English. The same practice was noted in chapters 6, 8 and 9 where speakers made use of their extended linguistic repertoires to form meaning. In this way, the assumed fixed linguistic borders between 'languages' and between rural and urban 'varieties' as well as the notion of language purity becomes untenable in understanding the nature of language in late modern Zambia.

10.3. Re-assessing the concepts of bilingualism and multilingualism

Since the study findings suggest the blurring of borders between languages (cf. Auer 2007), it becomes obvious that notions that conceive language to be an autonomous system become untenable in accounting for language practices in late modern Lusaka. Consequently, the study problematizes notions of bilingualism and multilingualism due to the fact that these notions clearly conceive the relationship between languages in an additive manner which assumes that one language is added on top of the other to form what Canagarajah (2013) has called 'multilingual competence'. If we assume that speakers in urban Lusaka do not use language as a bounded system which can be counted, as such, we cannot regard language as being independent from one another (cf. Makoni 2012). This has been proved by the way speakers have been using language in social contexts of Lusaka. Besides, the notions of bilingualism and multilingualism fall off since they were clearly and specifically coined to account for the co-existence of separate homogenous 'languages' within a given space. In this regard, the notions of bi-/multilingualism are based on the pluralization of fixed linguistic categories which is not congruent to the study findings on local language practices in urban Lusaka (cf. Makoni 2012; Orman 2012, 2013). On this premise, Heller (2007:1) has since called for a new approach that seeks to understand the

meaning of bilingualism today in the context of social change. She aptly proposes to move the field of bilingualism studies:

[a]way from 'common-sense', but in fact highly ideologized view of bilingualism as the coexistence of two [or more (mine)] linguistic systems, and develop a critical perspective which allows for a better grasp on the ways in which language practices are socially and politically embedded.

It then appears that for now the notions of bilingualism and multilingualism would only be useful in so far as they are understood as not being used in an additive sense. However, it still remains problematic to use them since they are entrenched in the dominant ideologies of language. Additionally, the adjectives derived from notions of bilingualism and multilingualism which describe the phenomenon of such complex language practices at both individual and societal level have to be used with caution as they equally seem to suggest language as a count. For example, at individual level, a speaker would be described as bilingual or multilingual in the sense of possessing distinct cognitive parts that occupy distinct 'languages' with distinct types of competence for each one (Canagarajah 2013). Evidently, given what has been noted about the nature of language practices of speakers in this study, the classification of individual speakers as being bilingual or multilingual may not render a true representation or description of individuals as they implicitly suggest that such speakers possess full competence in the grammatical systems of the languages they are assumed to speak which is contrary to the study findings. For example, even if some speakers could use some English words in combination with local languages, that did not mean they could speak English to the level of a native speaker. The same was true with a speaker who occasionally incorporated some rural Nyanja or Bemba with English. Moreover, the study has shown that speakers in actuality do not use languages as separate units but as bits of language which are creatively combined into larger chunks of phrases or clauses in order to communicate and stylize identities.

Moreover, the blurring of linguistic borders noted in Chapter 7, which are often times used as a basis for grouping 'languages' as separate entities has further implications on the notion of language groups at societal level. For example, the term bilingual or multilingual has connotations of different language groups, occupying their own positions in separation from others. Nonetheless, it is evident from the findings of the study that such language groups are at best social constructs as they do not exist in late modern settings of Lusaka (Makoni 2012). It is also evident from the study that notions of bilingual and multilingual may not account for the dynamic nature of social interactions among speakers in Lusaka and the effects such interactions have on language practices as well as the ever evolving modern societies of Lusaka (cf. Canagarajah 2013). The blurred linguistic borders have further implications on the notion of language domains which I discuss below.

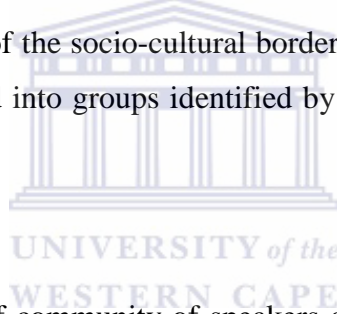
10.4. Reviewing the notion of language domains

In Chapter 7 of the thesis, the colonization by localized repertoires, and permeability of the formal domain in late modern urban settings of Zambia was noted. These findings effectively challenge Fishman's notion of domains in which language use is said to be largely constrained by social settings in which speakers find themselves (Fishman 1965, 1972). The findings also challenge Foucault's assumption that language use is determined by discursive regimes or social structures (see Mondanda 2007). For example, it was noted how speakers used localized aspects of language in what was thought to be a formal domain and effectively an area in which a particular 'pure' and standard form of language was to be exclusively observed. Conversely, in chapter eight it was noted how standard forms of language permeate the so-called informal domains of language use, making it difficult to a large extent to exclusively use the notion of domain as a determinant of language use. It is therefore evident from the findings that in late modern settings of Lusaka, speakers' language practices are not constrained by domain but rather speakers are free to use any linguistic resources they wish to use regardless of the domain they find themselves (cf. Auer 2007; Bailey 2007). However, there are few contexts in which speakers' language practices appear to be constrained by such contexts, but these contexts could

be described as artificial at their best at least in late modern settings of Lusaka. Given the fact that domains are inadequate to account for language practices in late modern settings of Lusaka, there is need to reassess notions of community of speakers and identity which I discuss below.

10.5. Re-examining the notions of community of speakers and identity

It has been noted in the study that speakers in late modern settings of Lusaka do not neatly fit into social categories based on languages they speak (cf. Heller 2007). This is due to the fact that the assumed linguistic borders between languages which are often times used as benchmarks to compartmentalize language speakers into fixed communities, from a nation-state ideological viewpoint, have become blurred. It follows then that this blurring of linguistic borders between languages means the dissolution of the socio-cultural borders between communities of speakers as they can no longer be classified into groups identified by a specific language they speak (cf. Auer 1999; Makoni 2012).



This being the case, the notions of community of speakers and identity which assume a one to one correlation between language and a community of speakers may no longer be tenable in explaining or describing modern Lusaka urban speakers. Besides, it has been noted that identity is not static or a corelerate of language as it has been alleged by dominant views to language but rather it is dynamic, performed and actively negotiated (cf. Bucholtz & Hall 2005). For example, it was noted in the preceding chapters, particularly Chapter 6, in which speakers' hybrid language practices simultaneously indexed them as rural or urban, modern or traditional. In such contexts, the idea of language as denoting a fixed an identity to a speaker does not arise since identities in Lusaka are actively negotiated for and contested (cf. Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004; Dyer 2007; Creese & Blackledge 2010; Higgins 2009; Banda 2005; Banda & Bellonjengele 2010).

Consequently, it is clear from the findings that the current language practices in late modern Lusaka have engendered a new global reality in which speakers can no longer be classified into particular groupings and assigned particular dominant labels such as a Bemba or a Ngoni, or a Lozi, and so on or indeed assigned particular languages which in effect identifies them as such due to multiple identities an individual would take at any given time (cf. Makoni 2012). In this regard, it becomes difficult to conceive of the notion of communities of speakers as they have been conceived in traditional sociolinguistic terms but rather to see them as dynamic entities in which speakers are constantly redefining themselves and the environment in which they find themselves (cf. Heller 2007). The findings of the study further relate well to Aronin and Singleton's (2008) argument that communities can no longer be seen to be organized units of speakers of particular languages, because speakers in modern societies are highly capable of transforming (linguistically and otherwise) to the demands of the situation. Accordingly, what has emerged from the language practices of speakers in late modern settings of Lusaka is that communities can no longer be viewed as stratified social structures (cf. Aronin & Singleton 2012) but rather they should be viewed as complex, translocal sites and language as simply a repertoire and a mobile resource for making meaning. To put it the other way, the study emphasizes the fact that language should be viewed as emerging from speakers' daily interactions rather than from community, as a social practice, rather than a thing that remains put where it is put (Banda 2013; Pennycook 2010; Otsuji & Pennycook 2010; Heller 2007; Makoni & Pennycook 2007). In addition, contrary to Aronin and Singleton's (2008) position that such language phenomena as presented in the study are a recent happening, the findings are showing that this has been a norm except for increased intensity due to factors such as easy mobility of populations and technological advancements.

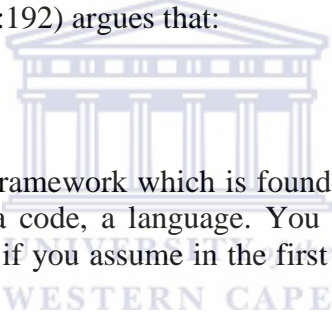
The question that arises then is: how should complex linguistic scenarios revealed in the study be described and accounted for? In an attempt to best explain and account for the modern language practices in such urban settings of Lusaka, recent sociolinguistic theorizing has seen a surge of metaterminologies and theories aimed at describing language practices in modern settings. In this vein, the following sections, discusses a selected number of descriptors/theories within the context of the findings of the study.

10.6. Metrolingualism versus Lusaka urban language practices

For Otsuji and Pennycook (2010), the language practices noted in the foregoing chapters present a situation of metrolingualism. To some extent, their theorizing could hold since it captures "creative linguistic conditions across space and borders of culture, history and politics, as a way to move beyond current terms such as multilingualism and multiculturalism" (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010:244). Such characteristics are largely in consonance with the findings of the study. For example, the study has noted how urban speakers in Lusaka keep on evolving unique ways of communication in which language is creatively exploited as a resource in making meaning and stylizing of identities (see Chapter 6 on how speakers stylize their identities through language; Chapter 7 on how meaning is created through remediation and repurposing of objects and ideas in popular Zambian music, and Chapter 8 on how speakers appropriate language forms to create meaning that further index identities. Therefore the notion of metrolingualism seems to account for the complex ways through which urbanities from diverse backgrounds conduct their daily interactions in the communication practice of Lusaka. In addition, the theory also attempts to describe how urbanites negotiate social identities which are equally a feature of language practices in Lusaka. Moreover, the notion of metrolingualism appears to be in line with the study findings in that it does not assume a direct relationship between language, on one hand, with culture, ethnicity, nationality or a particular group, on the other. For example, the study has noted the dynamic and performative nature of identity and the role speakers take in stylizing these identities through language use. However, in as much as the term may seem to offer some insight in understanding the linguistic dispensation in late modern Lusaka as far as language practices are concerned, the use of the prefix *metro-* is somewhat problematic. This is because the meaning of the term tends to limit such language phenomena to urban spaces even when this may also be found in rural spaces. Such language practices are equally a norm in rural spaces except that the degree of intensity is what may be different partly because of people's limited interactions with the outside world which is one of the factors influencing current trends in language practices.

10.7. Is it languaging, translanguaging or polylinguaging?

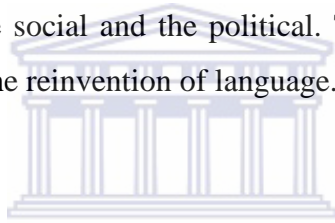
The language practices noted in Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9, for Canagarajah (2011), Møller and Jørgensen (2009), Garciá (2009; 2012), Creese and Blackledge (2010), Blackledge and Creese (2010), Hornberger and Link (2012), Jørgensen *et al.* (2011), Williams (1996, 2002) and Baker (2011) would present a situation of languaging or translanguaging or polylinguaging in which speakers, to use Banda's (2013:18) words, are assumed to 'shuttle between languages or draw features from linguistic systems'. Even if this kind of theorizing as argued by modern linguists adds insights to our general understanding of the nature of language practices in urban settings of any society, they do not offer a radical shift from notions of language as an autonomous system or code. In this vein, Makoni (2012:192) argues that:



The weakness of a framework which is founded on languaging is that it does not escape the idea of a code, a language. You can only translanguage, perform a form of languaging, if you assume in the first instance that there are codes called languages.

From Makoni's argument, it is evident that, recent sociolinguists' take on languaging, translanguaging or polylinguaging may be seen as somewhat inconsistent with the findings of this study owing to the fact that speakers do not only seem to distinguish the linguistic features as emanating from different languages or linguistic systems but they also do not use them as codes (cf. Banda 2013; Auer 1999). Therefore, the biggest problem with this theorizing lies in the tendency to orient toward a code-based account to language which is clearly a position they are trying to abandon (cf. Makoni 2012; Orman 2012, 2013). For example, their tendency to use prefixes such as *trans-* and *poly-*clearly suggest that their take is code-based as the prefixes imply a movement between two or more things which is counter-productive to the need for a radical paradigm shift in recent sociolinguistic studies.

It follows therefore, that even if such theorizing and terminologies offer insights in understanding the nature of language today, they are not entirely helpful to precisely account for language practices in late modern settings of Zambia in which a hybrid linguistic dispensation is clearly a social practice (cf. Pennycook 2010; Makoni & Pennycook 2007; Heller 2007; Banda 2013). In this regard, the findings of the study consolidate calls by post-modern sociolinguists for a paradigm shift to the study of language in society. However, the study has shown that this paradigm shift requires a balance between current sociolinguistic school of thought in which language is conceived as social practice and the structuralist-functional approach in which terminologies needed to explain recent linguistic phenomena can be drawn. For example, the current school of thought argues against language as an autonomous and bounded system for language as social practice while the structural-functionalist approach provides us with terminology as well as analytical tools to be able to explain how the social relates to the form and how the form is influenced by the social and the political. This paradigm should privilege the social as playing a critical role in the reinvention of language.



10.8. The impact of the study findings on language policies in education

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In most African nations, Zambia inclusive, many language policies have been predicated on traditional structuralism and the notions of language as separate bounded entities. This has engendered a situation that disadvantages certain groups of learners as they are restricted to use other linguistic resources available in their repertoires which in turn may affect their effective learning. The findings of this study suggest that if language has to be seen as a resource and not as something that can be owned or something that pre-exists its environment, there is need for language policies in most African nations to consider people's ground level language practices in which language is clearly not used as a coded system but rather as an amalgam of linguistic resources from multiple sources (see Makoni *et al.* 2010). In this regard, language policies should allow for the use of sets of languages found in the repertoire of learners for effective and meaningful education. The study findings suggest that it is problematic to name languages as medium of instruction as this conflicts with what people do with language. It is something one

cannot easily place a name tag on. It is simply a resource emerging as it is from people's social interactions with one another and with their environment.

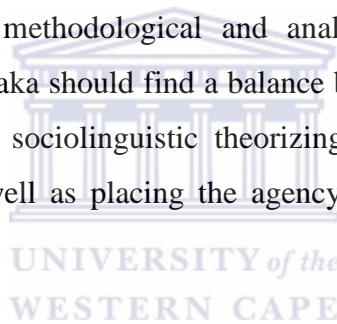
10.9. Summary of chapter

The purpose of this chapter was to highlight some of the implications of the study to theory. In this regard, the chapter reviewed the notion of language as it has been conceptualized from both a structuralist-functional and nation-state point of view. The chapter noted that based on the findings of the study, the notion of language as popularly understood, that is, as an autonomous and bounded system, a code, needs to be reassessed owing to the diverse ways in which speakers use language. The main contention was that language should be viewed as a social practice by which social actors (speakers) communicate amongst themselves. The chapter also noted that speakers play a principle role in creating language and thus, language should not be viewed as a separate thing from speakers but rather as emanating from their social activities. In this regard, the chapter questioned the idea of language or linguistic borders which tend to separate languages into fixed units. The assumption made was that if language is not a thing then the idea of borders that are assumed to divide language A from B effectively become untenable. The chapter has illustrated that we cannot talk about borders between languages based on the permeability and seamlessness of language. This argument is directly linked to the notions of bilingualism and multilingualism which view language in an additive manner, that is, as a count. Similarly, the chapter also questioned the notion of language domains due to the fact that domains, like, borders, are also used on the premise that certain social structures of language use are impermeable. On the contrary, the chapter linked the findings of the study in which localized aspects of language were found used in formal domains highly considered exclusive.

In addition, the chapter reviewed the notion of metrolingualism, a notion that was developed to account for language practices in urban and linguistically diverse contexts. It was pointed out that even if the notion clearly captures creative ways in which urban speakers use language to

communicate and index their identities, the notion appears to lack because it assumes that such phenomena is limited to urban settings only when in actual fact, one would still find such language practices in rural settings although the intensity is what might vary.

Furthermore, the chapter reviewed the theorizing behind notions of languaging, translanguaging polylinguaging which are all founded on the same principle of language as a code except for their difference in terminology. However, the theorizing in these notions to some extent may account for language practices in late modern settings. Nonetheless, their orientation toward code-based approach in which they seem to assume that speakers 'shuttle' between languages, in their communication practices may not be helpful in understanding current language practices. The chapter concluded by supporting a paradigm shift to language and sociolinguistic studies in particular, in which theoretical, methodological and analytical approaches to language in contemporary settings such as Lusaka should find a balance between aspects of the structuralist-functional approaches and recent sociolinguistic theorizing about the nature of language in today's ever changing world as well as placing the agency of a social actor at the centre of language research.

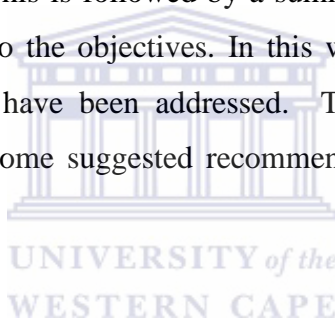


CHAPTER ELEVEN

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

11.0. Introduction

This chapter is a summary of the study on the *Mobility, Identity and Localization of Language in Multilingual Contexts of Urban Lusaka*. Therefore, the chapter highlights the key issues that have arisen from the findings of the research. In this regard, the chapter is organized in such a way that the first section of the chapter highlights the aim, objectives and research questions that the study had set out to address. This is followed by a summary of the central issues that have emerged in the study in relation to the objectives. In this way, the chapter seeks to show the extent to which these objectives have been addressed. This is followed by a brief of the implications of the findings and some suggested recommendations. The chapter then presents some limitations of the study.



11.1. The research aim and objectives

In chapter one, the aim and research objectives were provided. The main aim being that the study was to explore how urban speakers use language as a social practice in Lusaka and the specific objectives were to:

- i. Assess how speakers use language as localized social practice to create social meaning in late modern settings of Lusaka in their daily social encounters;
- ii. Investigate ways in which speakers use their extended linguistic repertoires to stylize modern identities by dissolving linguistic boundaries;
- iii. Examine the nature of language in late modern settings of Lusaka;

iv. Establish the extent to which language practices in late modern Lusaka affect dominant language ideologies.

The above objectives are examined from the perspective of the following:

- (a) Music lyrics;
- (b) Spontaneous conversations;
- (c) Online discourses from local internet blogs;
- (d) Selected print advertisements;

The section that follows provides the summary of research findings that directly addresses the aim and the objectives of the study. Since the findings of the study have a common theme tying them together, that is, in one way or the other, they all show how speakers/producers creatively use language and/or other semiotics as localized social practice to create social meaning and stylize identities; the summary combines some chapters that closely deal with a similar theme. Therefore, the summary is dealt with in such a way that reference is made from any of the findings and analysis chapters.

11.2. Summary of research findings

In Chapters 6, 7 and 8, objectives (i), (ii) and (iii) are addressed. Firstly, Chapter 6 and 7 directly address objectives (i) and (ii) and show that factors that generally determine language as a social practice in urban Lusaka include mobility, transformation and localization of linguistic resources by speakers in their attempt to communicate. In the process of these phenomena, different identities are projected and negotiated for. In particular, it was noted how speakers create social

meaning by drawing on sets of linguistic resources and other para-linguistic semiotics to communicate.

In particular, in addressing objective (i), Chapter 6 has shown how speakers use their extended linguistic repertoires by drawing on specific linguistic choices to create social meaning. Most significantly, the chapter has shown how interactants in modern settings of Lusaka stylize their multiple identities by dissolving the traditional linguistic boundaries through the use of the extended linguistic repertoires available to them. In this respect, the study has demonstrated that social identity is a dynamic aspect of social life which is actively negotiated and performed through speakers' linguistic choices (cf. Bucholtz & Hall 2005; Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004; Banda 2005, 2009, 2010; Dyer 2007; De Fina 2007; De Fina *et. al.* 2006; Johnstone 2008). On this basis, the study demonstrated how speakers' linguistic choices simultaneously stylize translocal hybrid identities which include urban versus rural, modern versus traditional, African versus Christian as well as gendered ones. Hence, social identity should not be assigned a priori but rather it should be seen as emerging from speakers' language practices (cf. Bucholtz & Hall 2005; Banda 2009).



In addressing objective (ii), Chapter 7 also demonstrated how language practices can be a site of identity contestation. For example, it was noted how certain imposed social identities are contested by some speakers through the use of their linguistic repertoires. Accordingly, male and female; modern and traditional identities were all seen to be contested differently by speakers in which some identities were favored than others. Thus, assigning particular identities to individuals based on the social structures they affiliate to is untenable in such social contexts. In this vein, notions of language as equating ethnicity and community of speakers should be seen as social constructs (cf. Heller 2007; Stroud 2007; Makoni & Pennycook 2007; Makoni 2012). Therefore, in regard to objective (ii), the study has not only illustrated how speakers' identities are stylized through their linguistic options but it has also shown that linguistic borders assumed to exist between languages are permeable. It has been seen how speakers may choose to use linguistic resources which are closer to the standard in an informal setting and how they would

choose to combine both sets of languages, that is, standard and non-standard in a stretch of speech in varying and unpredictable patterns.

The idea of permeability of language borders and domains became particularly noticeable in Chapter 7. In this chapter, objective (iii) was addressed. The chapter demonstrated how Lusaka urban speakers use local and informal language forms to colonize the formal spaces thereby challenging the dominant ideologies about language as a fixed, impermeable and bounded system (cf. Heller 2007; Banda 2013). In the process of colonizing formal spaces using local language forms, the study showed how speakers perform acts of humour, role play, face saving, identity and meaning enhancement. In turn, these localized repertoires are drawn upon as resources to accomplish different tasks which would not be accomplished if only a 'single' language were to be used. On this account, language would be described as a resource that transcends the role of meaning making.

In addition, Chapter 7 showed how, through the use of localized repertoires in formal spaces, speakers transform traditions and modernity into a hybrid space which identifies them as having multiple identities. This demonstrates that speakers in such late modern settings do not only use language to communicate but they also use it as a resource to accomplish several things at once. The chapter also addresses objective (iv) in which it shows the agency of speakers as social actors play in recreating language in different ways. Thus, the chapter has shown that Heller's (2007) and Pennycook's (2010) idea of linguistic resources and language as social practice are better placed theoretical premises that would account for language practices in late modern settings. This chapter has thus demonstrated that language borders and domains are artificial or social constructs at best (cf. Heller 2007; Makoni & Pennycook 2007; Makoni 2012) as they do not always offer a comprehensive account for the nature of language in late modern settings of Zambia.

Furthermore, it should be pointed out that objective (iii) of the study has also been addressed either directly or indirectly in all the chapters of the findings. For example, through the different types of discourses examined, the study has demonstrated that language is not something that pre-exists its environment but that it is brought to bear through speakers' daily social interactions (cf. Heller 2007; Pennycook 2010; Makoni & Pennycook 2007; Blackledge & Creese 2010). As a result, the study has shown the active role speakers play in recreating or disinvention of language through their language practices. For instance, in Chapter 7 and 8, it was noticed how speakers creatively use language as localized social practice to form social meaning by appropriating different semiotic resources available to them. The theme of disinvention of language was also clearly demonstrated in Chapter 8. In this chapter, the study demonstrated how speakers challenge established systems by defying the writing systems. This was particularly clear in the manner in which speakers played with the orthography to counter specific social norms as well as to challenge the established orthographic systems. For the speakers, what mattered most was the meaning they derived from the signs they chose and not the norms that determined how they ought to use or combine them. In this way, the study has illustrated that speakers are principle social actors with regard to recreating language and reconstituting it to something different from what we have known language to be, that is, as single coded system. Therefore, the study has questioned the idea of rules that we impose on speakers since speakers themselves keep on altering them in whatever ways they deem fit. Ultimately, the study has shown that speakers in late modern settings of Lusaka do not use language as bounded and autonomous system but rather that they use languages as an amalgamated communicative repertoire.

Chapters 8 and 9 addressed objective (iv). These chapters show that language, though important, is not the only mode available to speakers for creating social meaning but rather that people use different social semiotics that include language itself, images, dance and other artifacts and transform them in various ways to create social meaning (cf. Kress 2010; Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006). Ultimately, the chapters have shown that message consumption is not a function of isolated semiotic resources but a combination of semiotic material drawn from semiotics that people are familiar with. Thus, social meaning is steeped into social and cultural experiences of

the speakers. Consequently, any study of language practices in such contexts should take into account the multifaceted nature of human communication. Furthermore, given the advancements in communication technology and mobility of semiotic resources across modes which have largely contributed to a reconceptualization of the nature of human language, any study of language in social contexts ought to account for other meaning making semiosis in both methodological approaches and analysis of data. The chapters also showed how identities can be constructed in the process of appropriating different semiotics.

The study also revealed that the findings as presented in Chapter 6 to 9 have further implications on how language is conceptualized in general and in particular the popular and formalist ideologies upon which sociolinguistic studies have been built. In this vein, addresses objective (v). In this respect, although this theme was indirectly dealt with in the entire thesis, Chapter 10 focused on the overall implications of the study findings on some selected sociolinguistic notions. Therefore, Chapter 10 observed that the findings of the study generally affects or challenges the conceptualization of language as an autonomous system. These findings of the study are consolidating recent sociolinguistic theorizing in which language is to be seen as a social practice and speakers as social actors. The findings also question some of the recent sociolinguistic theorizing which, on one hand, appear to radically divorce the traditional accounts to language whilst, on the other hand, they still retain them in both methodological and analytical approaches to language (see Orman 2012, 2013). However, it is contention of the current researcher that for as long as we are still searching for appropriate metaterminologies which would describe language as used in late modern settings of Zambia and other like areas, there is need to harmonize certain aspects from both traditional and functional oriented approaches to language so that weaknesses of either approaches are cancelled out by their strengths.

With regard to objective (v), the chapter concludes that language should not be analysed as a fixed thing with a bounded system but rather as social practice embedded in speakers' daily social interactions (cf. Pennycook 2010). In line with this, the chapter has shown that popular ideologies to language effectively become questionable; this includes its cognate notions that are

formulated on code-based ideologies. For example, the notion of code-switching, bilingualism, multilingualism and the more recent ones such as languaging/polylanguaging, translanguaging, metrolingualism, to name but a few. Furthermore, the chapter noted that we can no longer assign identity to an individual or group of people based on the language they speak. In this vein, notions of language and ethnicity, language and community of speakers were reviewed in light of the findings of the study.

In a nutshell, the aim and objectives of the study have largely been addressed. However, this does not imply that the study has exhausted all there is in the building of momentum in recent sociolinguistic theorizing toward a paradigm shift from traditionally oriented notions of language to language as social practice. There is more to be established including the development of terminologies with which to describe current language practices.

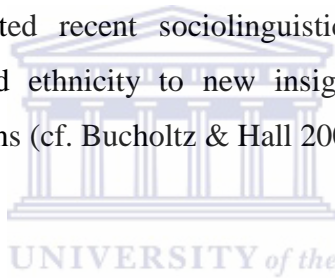
11.3. Contribution to the field of study

The contributions of the study to the general sociolinguistic body of knowledge can be reviewed from the perspective of the aim and objectives of the study. In this vein, in chapter one, it was noted that the study was motivated by the way in which Lusaka urbanites creatively used language as localized social practice to form social meaning and stylize identities. Based on the findings of the study, one of the contributions of the study is that new knowledge on how speakers use the localized repertoires to create meaning and stylize identities has certainly emerged adding on to the existing one. In this way, the study has added on new insights to recent theorizing of language as social practice with data from a slightly different setting thereby consolidating the position of a paradigm shift in linguistic studies.

The other major contribution of the study to the subject area is in its methodological and analytical approach taken. For example, the study would be seen as the first of its kind from

Zambia and across the globe to have sampled data from different discourse types which included visual, spoken and online discourses all at once in demonstrating the status of language as social practice in late modern settings. Furthermore, the analytical approach taken in the study where data was analysed based on face-value, adds a different dimension to analyzing sociolinguistic data from late modern settings of Africa in general and Zambia in particular, especially at a time when sociolinguists are faced with the reality of inadequacy of terminologies to account for ever changing language practices.

The other contribution to the study lies in the deconstruction of dominant ideologies of language; in which language is normally equated to ethnic identity which in most cases has the potential to foment social and political divisions among most African nations (cf. Posner 2005). In this regard, the study has consolidated recent sociolinguistic knowledge that challenges the correlation between language and ethnicity to new insights that conceptualize identity as emergent from linguistic interactions (cf. Bucholtz & Hall 2005; Blommaert 2009).



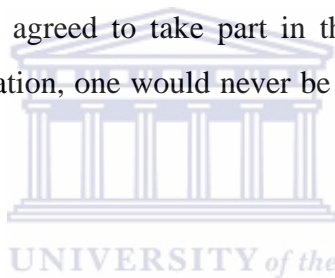
The study has also contributed knowledge towards a language paradigm shift in sociolinguistic studies in which language is now being conceptualized as social practice rather than something that pre-exists its environment, a thing that is independent from people to social action. In this regard, the study has re-emphasized the principle role that speakers as social agents play in recreating language. This in turn, also adds to recent sociolinguistic knowledge in which a speaker is placed at the centre of linguistic analysis rather than language as a system.

11.4. Limitations of the study

Firstly, the process of organizing interviews with musicians who are in most cases elusive, was a major challenge to the study as the researcher could not collect data from the targeted respondents. Five group interviews with popular Zambian musicians were on several times

cancelled at short notice due to the musicians having what they considered important activities to attend to than giving an hour of their time to a researcher without monetary benefits. From the five scheduled interviews, only three were successful. This in turn meant that the number of interviews initially planned had to be cut short to three. This might have affected the nature of data initially thought would be enough basis for drawing some generalizations.

Secondly, the researcher encountered challenges that involved potential participants rejecting to take part in the study due to the fact that they had been 'over researched' without them seeing the benefits of research. This was especially the case in market places. However, the researcher managed to form some focus group discussions by introducing interesting topical issues at the time which was irresistible to the target group. The other limitation involved participants asking for monetary benefits before they agreed to take part in the study. In cases, where they got convinced in volunteering participation, one would never be entirely certain as to the trustworthiness of data provided.



The other limitation of the study was that, the study used online-based data as part of the overall data collected for the study that may have included people that are not members of Lusaka urban communities. Considering the wide spread nature of the internet, some of the participants on web-based interactions could be from other towns other than Lusaka. This could be considered a limitation to the data. However, this limitation did not pose serious problems as the data collected from this source had a lot of similarities with the data collected from other sources within Lusaka urban.

In terms of analysis, the major limitation included transcribing visual images from videos as well as longer conversations. This process was extremely tedious and time consuming. Additionally, the fact that the study collected different types of data from different sources, it was a challenge

to make sure that all the types were given equal attention and space in terms of analysis and discussions. In this regard, it may not have been possible to give fuller and equal analysis to all the types of data considered in the study.



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