CODE-SWITCHING IN RADIO BROADCASTING : A STUDY OF SOCIO-POLITICAL DEBATES ON RTNK AND IRIBA FM RADIO STATIONS IN THE CITY OF BUKAVU, D.R.CONGO

Ampire ESPOIR
Institut Supérieur Pédagogique de Bukavu, Congo
ampireespoir@gmail.com
&
Patrick BUHAHANO LWABOSHI
Institut Supérieur Pédagogique de Bukavu, Congo
patrickbuhahano@gmail.com

Abstract : This study is an investigation into the recurrent cases of code-switching used during weekly socio-political debates in Kiswahili on **Radio *RTNK*** and ***RADIO IRIBA FM*** in the city of Bukavu. The objective of the paper is to identify, illustrate and analyze the cases of code-switching used in order to understand the reasons behind this socio-linguistic trend. Data was collected thanks to recording and transcription of three shows for about 10 minutes each (2 shows on IRIBA FM and 1 on RTNK radio station). The shows were recorded in July 2020. In total, a sample of 23 excerpts was selected from a corpus of around 102. A close analysis of data was done to determine the types of code-switching used and the functions and/or reasons behind it. The results from this study show that debaters and journalists on both radio stations use all the types of code-switching documented so far in the literature except intra-word switching: tag-switching (1.41 %), inter-sentential switching (1.41%) and intra-sentential switching (97.16 %). It was found also that reasons behind the use of code-switching are diversified. Debaters and journalists code-switch because of lexical need (56.02%). Others use French words during discussions in Kiswahili to adapt to the topic (29.07%). Other functions and/or reasons include the use of interjection (8.51%), to qualify a message (4.25%), to reiterate or clarify a message (0.70%) or to address a specific person (1.77%).

Key words : Code-switching, Radio, debaters, IRIBA and RTNK

LA COMMUTATION DES CODES EN RADIO : ETUDE DES DEBATS SOCIO-POLITIQUES SUR LES STATIONS DE RADIO FM RTNK ET IRIBA DANS LA VILLE DE BUKAVU, R.D. DU CONGO

Résumé : Cette étude est une enquête sur les cas récurrents d'alternance codique utilisés lors des débats sociopolitiques hebdomadaires en Kiswahili sur la Radio RTNK et la RADIO IRIBA FM dans la ville de Bukavu. L'objectif de cet article est d'identifier, d'illustrer et d'analyser les cas d'alternance codique utilisés afin de comprendre les raisons de cette tendance sociolinguistique. Les données ont été collectées grâce à l'enregistrement puis à la transcription de trois émissions d'environ 10 minutes

chacune (2 émissions sur IRIBA FM et 1 sur RTNK). Ces émissions ont été enregistrées en juillet 2020. Au total, un echantillon de 23 extraits a selectionné dans un corpus de 102. Une analyse minutieuse des données a été effectuée afin de déterminer les types d'alternance codique utilisés et les fonctions et/ou raisons qui les sous-tendent. Les résultats de cette étude montrent que les débatteurs et les journalistes des deux stations de radio utilisent tous les types d'alternance codique documentés jusqu'à présent dans la littérature, à l'exception de l'alternance intra-mot. Les types d'alternance utilizes lors de ces debats sont notamment le tag switching(1,41 %), alternance inter-phrase (1,41 %) et alternance intra-phrase (97,16 %). Il a également été constaté que les raisons de l'utilisation de l'alternance codique sont diverses. Les débatteurs et les journalistes utilisent l'alternance codique pour des raisons lexicales (56,02%). D'autres utilisent des mots français pendant les discussions en kiswahili pour s'adapter au sujet du débat (29,07%). D'autres fonctions et/ou raisons incluent l'utilisation de l'interjection (8,51%), pour qualifier un message (4,25%), pour réitérer ou clarifier un message (0,70%) ou pour s'adresser à une personne spécifique (1,77%).

Mots clés: Alternance codique, Radio, débateurs , IRIBA et RTNK

Introduction

It is quite commonplace for bilingual speakers to use two or more languages, dialects or varieties in the same conversation, without any apparent effort. This phenomenon, which is known as code-switching, and which has become a major focus of attention in linguistics (Gardner-Chloros, P. 2009), is followed by speakers from Bukavu, a multilingual city in the east of the D.R.Congo.

In a multilingual context like that of Bukavu, debaters and journalists have a wide range of language choices. They select the language that most closely conveys the meaning, the humor, the social purpose, etc. that is needed in the debate. They feel free to use the terms and expressions that best convey their ideas to the audience. On IRIBA FM and RTNK radio stations, code-switching is a social, cultural, linguistic tool that allows people to integrate their experiences of two or more languages into a cohesive whole. As a linguistic phenomenon, the use of code switching in Kiswahili socio political debates on Bukavu radio stations has become so much common.

This investigation was triggered by the fact that the Kiswahili spoken in Bukavu in general and on radio stations in particular is being impacted very much by French. On **RTNK** and **RADIO IRIBA FM,** journalists and debaters code-switch to French in shows where the discussion is supposed to be held in Kiswahili. It is very difficult for journalists and debaters to have a discussion exclusively in Kiswahili**.**

On the one hand, journalists are unable to ask questions by speaking only in Kiswahili. This situation is felt in the way journalists speak. They (journalists) hesitate and take some time to find the Kiswahili word(s) to use but in vain. It is clear that psychologically and consciously, they know, like all the educated Bukavians, that the Kiswahili they acquired is lacking certain words, expressions, etc. To exemplify this, this is what a journalist said as she was clarifying and commenting on a question she

asked a few minutes ago to a debater : "….**Au fait s'il vous plaît, ordonnances** za **Chef de l'état** hazina **pour objectif** ku **promouvoir** benye balikuwa **nommés. Nomination** hamuta sema kama mutu **même si** ana **mériter** bamuache. *(Translation : in fact, I'm sorry ,ordinances of the head of state do not aim at promoting those who have been appointed. An appointment, you cannot say that even if somebody deserves he can be left out.).* This utterance produced by a journalist is supposed to be in Kiswahili but it ends up being a mixture of both French and Kiswahili. It even contains more French words (19) than Kiswahili ones (11). This situation shows how hard it is to maintain an exclusiv Kiswahili discussion in a debate where a variety of topics, from different domains, are discussed.

On the other hand, debaters are incapable of arguing or giving answers in Kiswahili without using French words, phrases, sentences. For most of them, it seems to be a natural phenomenon and they cannot do otherwise. They fail to speak Kiswahili on certain subjects. Sometimes, they even give complete answers in French forgetting that the program is supposed to be in Kiswahili. It is felt that for some debaters, it is simply difficult to explain certain theories, ideas, etc. in Kiswahili. They resort to French even though they know that the show is to be in pure Kiswahili. Following is an excerpt of a debater's answer to a comment made by a journalist. It is all about the president who has recently promoted prosecutors because they contributed to the conviction and imprisonment of a former president's chief of staff: "**moi je vous montre** byenye biko ….**Donc** kwa kazi balifanya , **felicitation** kwa kazi balifanya , bali **promouvoir** Bakenga **comme president** wa **tribunal**, Kaluba anakuwa **membre** wa **cours constitutionnel**". *(Translation : I am showing you what happened ….. then for the job they did, congratulations for the job they did, they promoted Bakenga as the president of the court, Kaluba becomes member of the constitutional court).* In this utterance, it is noticed that the number of French words is almost equal to the Kiswahili ones.

It is clear that on RTNK and RADIO IRIBA FM radio stations, debaters and journalists feel more comfortable when they use French to talk about political, social, economic, etc. theories that cannot be well understood in Kiswahili. They have a lot of difficulties to express in Kiswahili technical expressions of the domain of Political science, International relations, administration, Sociology, Law, Medicine, Economics etc. For example, for some debaters, it is very hard to say the following French terms & expressions in Kiswahili of Bukavu : *promouvoir, ordonnance, competence, injustice, incursion, decentralization, institution, système, évaluer, subornation,etc.*

The present study aims at studying recurrent cases of code switching used by journalists and debaters during Kiswahili socio-political debates on *RTNK* and *RADIO IRIBA FM* in Bukavu. The study aims more specifically at (1) Pointing out the types of code-switching used by debaters and journalists (2) Determining the types, causes of and/or functions for code-switching. The above objectives will be achieved by answering the following questions:

o Why do debaters and journalists code-switch respectively to ask and answer questions during socio- political debates on RTNK and RADIO IRIBA FM radio stations ?

- *Debaters and journalists code-switch because (1) They ignore the Kiswahili word (s) (though it actually exists) that corresponds to the idea or concept they want to mention. (2) The Kiswahili words that correspond to the ideas or concepts they want to mention do not exist in their vocabulary. (3) They know the Kiswahili word to use but decide not to use it and use a French word instead because they think it may sound strange or less familiar.*

o What types of code-switching are mostly used by debaters and journalists during socio-political debates on RTNK and IRIBA FM radio stations ?

- *Inter-sentential, intra-sentential and tag switching are the types of code-switching mostly used by debaters and journalists.*

1. Literature review

1.1. Definition of code-switching

Over the last forty years, there was an explosion of interest in code-switching. Code-switching had remained more or less "invisible" in research on bilingualism until the work of Gumperz and his associates in the 1960s and early 1970s. Thereafter, the subject took off – and there has been no sign of a downturn – as people realized that code-switching was not an isolated, quirky phenomenon but a widespread way of speaking (Gardner-Chloros 2009 : 9). It is well-known that bilinguals mix languages, but it is not always regarded as a grammatical way of speaking. Often people rather consider it as an inability to separate the two languages when speaking (Cantone,K,F. 2007 :54).

Code switching is defined as 'the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems' (Gumperz 1982:59). This general assertion does not say anything about the frequency in which these *passages of speech* occur within a speech exchange. It also does not mention when and where code-switching occurs, for example, at which specific points within an utterance or a discourse. Further, it does not specify whether the two grammatical systems are respected or not (Cantone 2007: 55).

The idea of having one language in common is very important in a conversation where participants use code switching. In this perspective, Alvarez, R., Holcomb, P., & Grainger, J. (2003), clarifies that code-switching is an alternation of languages that occurs during bilingual conversations in which participants have at least one language in common.

It refers to the use of several languages or dialects in the same conversation or sentence by bilingual people. It affects practically everyone who is in contact with more than one language or dialect, to a greater or lesser extent (Gardner-Chloros 2009.). To

support this definition, she gives an example from a discussion between members of a French family who live in Alsace. Here below is an extract: "*At a family gathering in Strasbourg on New Year's Eve, a discussion starts regarding the poor quality of Alsatian butchers compared to those in the rest of France. One of the guests, Mr Eder, a jovial middle-aged man and a prolific talker, holds forth:* du bekommsch do e fätze … je sais pas dans quelle graisse

you get some sort of scraps … in goodness knows what sort of fat

… avec quoi: avec de de de was weiss denn de teiffel

… with what: with the the the the devil knows what".

Sapir (1929), states that through language, we express our reality and "no two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality" (p. 4). Therefore, when a bilingual speaker decides to code-switch, it is possible that her or his identity is exposed. Of course, there are many other explanations as to why code-switching occurs. For instance, these explanations may include: lack of vocabulary in their second language (L2), favoring mother tongue or first language (L1), and the proximity to life experiences in a speaker's L1 or L2. Regardless of the reason, because language use is often tied to a speaker's social reality, considering the relationship between code-switching and identity is crucial. However, first, it is important to understand what constitutes code-switching.

1.2.   *Types of code switching*

Most linguists, including Poplack cited by Romaine, S. (1989) agree that when it comes to categorizing codes-witching, there are four major types. These types are possible in most languages with some exceptions to be accounted for. In the literature on code-switching we differentiate between **inter-sentential switching** also called **"extrasentential" switching**, **Intra-sentential switching, Tag-switching and Intra-word switching.** **Inter-sentential** switching occurs *out of* a sentence or a clause (i.e. at sentence or clause boundaries). In a free French- Kiswahili conversation of Bukavu, one can hear sentences like : *S'il est innocent, batamufungula.* (if he is innocent, he will be freed.) – *Batu mingi banawaza kama John haiko president wa muzuri mais moi je pense qu'il lui faut plus de temps.* (Many people think that John is not a good president but i think he needs more time.). **Intra-sentential switching** occurs *within* a sentence or a clause. In a Kiswahili -French switching, it is common to hear sentences like : kulikuwa une forte mobilisation fasi zote (*There was a big mobilization everywhere*). **Tag switching** occurs when a bi or multilingual speaker uses a tag phrase or a word, or both, from one language to another. e.g. **Unajuwa**, Nous sommes entrain de perdre le temps. (*You know what?, we are wasting time*) – **Attention**, bale batu ni ba mwizi. (Be careful! Those people are thieves). **Intra-word switching** occurs within a word itself, such as at a morpheme boundary. This type of switching is rare in many languages. In Kiswahili for example, it is impossible to have such a type of switching. One cannot

say "*ku- fast andika, or ali well cheza*". It is ungrammatical and asemantical to add a word from another language between a verb prefix and its radical verb.

1.3. *Reasons for or functions of code switching*

In her thesis, Velasquez, M.C. (2010) referred to previous studies by Sankoff and Poplack (as cited in Becker, 1997) and stated that these authors arrived at the conclusion that code-switching "rather than being a result of imperfect competence in either of the two monolingual language systems, represented an integrated knowledge of the rules of both languages, including their similarities and differences".
Gumpers (1982) and Holmes (2013) explain in details the reasons for or functions of code-switching.

Participants, solidarity, status :   According to Holmes (2013 : 35), people sometimes switch code within a domain or social situation. When there is some obvious change in the situation, such as the arrival of a new person, it is easy to explain the switch. ………... A speaker may similarly switch to another language as a signal of group membership and shared ethnicity with an addressee. Even speakers who are not very proficient in a second language may use brief phrases and words for this purpose.

Interjection : In other cases the code serves to mark an interjection or sentence filler (Gumpers 1982 : 77). An interjection is a short sound, word or phrase spoken suddenly to express an motion (Hornby 2010). e.g. Oh, anapiga kabumbu inje. (Oh, he has kicked the ball out of the goal).

Affective function : To explain how code switching can be used for affective reasons, (Holmes 2013 : 38) gives the example of Jamaican children living in Britain. At school, for instance, Black children used Patois to their friends and standard English to their teachers.

Reiteration : Frequently a message in one code is repeated in the other code, either literally or in somewhat modified form. In some cases such repetition may serve to clarify what is said, but often they simply amplify or emphasize a message (Gumpers 1982:78).

Lexical borrowing : When speaking a second language, for instance, people will often use a term from their mother tongue because they don't know the appropriate word in their second language. These 'switches' are triggered by lack of vocabulary. People may also borrow words from another language to express a concept or describe an object for which there is no obvious word available in the language they are using (Holmes 2013 : 43).

Message qualification : Another large group of switches consist of qualifying constructions such as sentence and verb complements or predicated following a copula (Gumpers 1982 : 79) e.g. examples of such case abound in the Kiswahili-French switching in Bukavu. In the following example, the complement of the verb to be (Kiswahili) is in French.   e.g. Bahati haiko interessé par cette proposition. (Bahati is not interested by this proposal)

Lexical need: People often use technical or idiomatic speech from a foreign or non-primary language; code-switching occurs when translating such words or phrases could distort the precise meaning.

Personalization or objectivization : The code contrast here seems to relate to such things as : the distinction between talk about action and talk as action, the degree of the speaker involvement in, or distance from, a message, whether a statement reflects personal opinion or knowledge….. (Gumpers 1982 : 80)

Addressee specification : Here the switch serves to direct the message to one or several possible addressees (Gumpers 1982 : 77)

1.4. *Empirical research on code-switching in radio broadcasting*

There are umber of researchers who have conducted studies on code-switching in general and specifically with a focus on radio shows. **Pamela Kagendo Njeru (2015), Benedictus Prabandanu (2017) and Ahlijah Judith Candace (2017)** conducted studies on code-switching in radio shows.

Kagendo's aim was to study the types, motivations and causes of code-switching during radio shows on MUUGA Radio station in Kenya. She found that code-switching in the Muuga FM station's programmes is influenced by extra linguistic and social factors. Muuga FM anchors are found to use code-switching as a communicative strategy for effective communication between Muuga FM anchors and Muuga FM listeners. Prabandanu studied the types and functions of code-switching used by announcers' utterances in *Chatville* program of Istakalisa Radio. Ahlijah conducted a study on Ewe-English code-switching on Ghanaian Radio Talk Shows with a special focus on   politicians and traditional rulers. She found that the traditional ruler's switching is motivated by religion and as a face-saving measure and to index a position of power while the politicians' data showed instances of code-switching as an indication of anger in Ewe to assume a position of authority pertaining to cultural and traditional matters.

1.5. *Linguistic theories in codeswitching*

Two of the most popular models on code switching were developed by Carol Myers-Scotton (1983,1993, 1998), namely the Matrix Language Framework model and the Markedness Model. The MLF model posits that there is a Matrix Language (ML) and

an Embedded Language (EL). In this case, elements of the Embedded Language are inserted into the the morpho-syntactic frame of the Matrix Language. The hypotheses are as follows (Myers-Scotton 1993b: 7). The ML, hence builds a frame in which elements from the EL are switched into, ending up with a mixed utterance (Cantone 2007:68).

In addition to those theories, Poplack (1980 : 586) cited by Cantone (2007:62) discusses two major constraints on code switching : The *free-morpheme constraint(FMC) and* The *equivalence constraint (EC). According to* Poplack (1980:586), the FMC predicts that no word-internal switches are allowed. www.codeswitching.wikipedia.com explains this in another way that code-switching cannot occur between a lexical stem and bound morphemes. Essentially, this constraint distinguishes code-switching from borrowing. Generally, borrowing occurs in the lexicon, while code-switching occurs at either the syntax level or the utterance-construction level. Hence, the following example from Poplack (1980:586) is considered as ill-formed: *Juan está eatiendo. (*John is eating).

In his writing on the The Equivalence Constraint, Poplack (1980:586) wrote that code-switches will tend to occur at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language, that is, at points around which the surface structure of the two languages map onto each other. On www.codeswitching.wikipedia.com, it is explained that code switching can only occur between sentence elements that are normally ordered in the same way by each individual grammar. Several studies have not corroborated these two constraints (e.g., Myers-Scotton 1993, Jake, Myers-Scotton & Gross 2002, Chan 2003).

2. Methodology
2.1. Research design

This study is both qualitative and quantitative research in the sense that it seeks to know why journalists and debaters code-switch from French to Kiswahili during debates. Also, it points out the number of times these switches are produced. It is based on an analysis of excerpts of almost 1 hour of recorded shows that have been collected in a period of 4 weeks.

2.2. Radio stations and programs

In the case of the present study, RTNK and IRIBA FM radio stations were selected. The motivation for the choice of radio broadcasting as an area of research was due to the fact that radio (and TV) stations reflect the social, economic, religious, traditional and above all the linguistic realities of a given community. These two radio stations were selected because they broadcast a weekly debate in Kiswahili where politicians, civil society figures, independent analysts, experts opinion makers, etc. discuss freely about socio political, educational, developmental, environmental, economic, medical, etc. topics that are making headlines on the local, national and international levels. The programs that were the focus of this research are "Demokrasia na Siasa" (Democracy

and politics) on IRIBA FM and "Uchambuzi wa Siasa" (A discussion on political issues) on RTNK radio station.
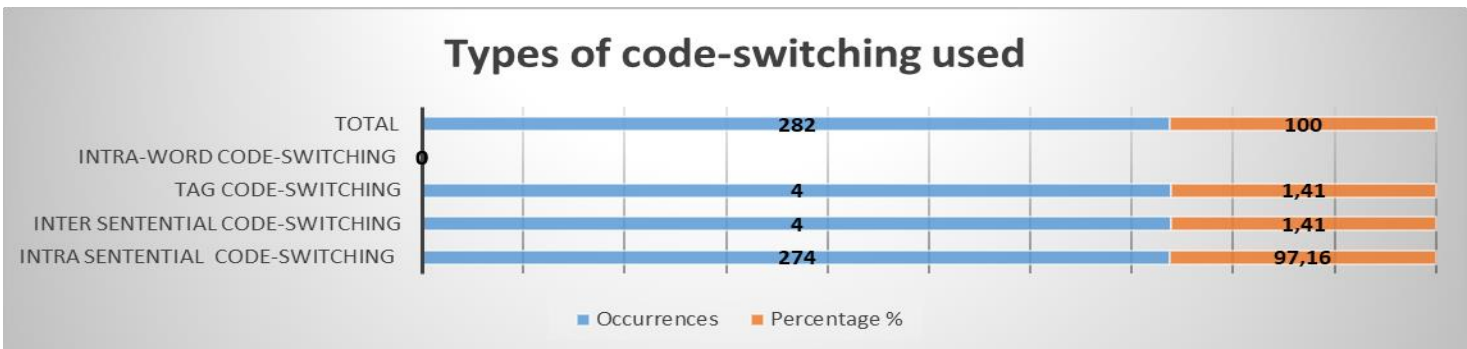
2.3. Data collection and analysis

Nowadays with the development of technology and easy access to recording devices, researchers record naturalistic data in a variety of settings. Although the recording of naturalistic data method has a number of drawbacks related to costs, accountability and inherent limitations, it is still the most reliable way of getting data on code-switching. (Marianne Gullberg et alii. 2009 : 23).

In order to collect data (audio materials) from the two radio stations mentioned above, I used the listening, recording and transcription technique. In total, 102 utterances were copied amongst which a random sample of 23 utterances were selected for a close analysis. Data analysis was done by studying closely each utterance in order to find out the total number of code switching cases made, the number of each type of code-switching and the functions and reasons for this.

3. Analysis of the types of code-switching used

The code-switches observed in the radio programs recorded are intra-sentential, inter-sentential and tag switching. The following table gives a summary of the frequencies of each of the above mentioned types :

Types of code-switching used

	Occurrences	Percentage %
TOTAL	282	100
INTRA-WORD CODE-SWITCHING	0	
TAG CODE-SWITCHING	4	1,41
INTER SENTENTIAL CODE-SWITCHING	4	1,41
INTRA SENTENTIAL CODE-SWITCHING	274	97,16

Source : Sampled corpus 2020

The above above shows that a great majority (96.80 %) of the switches used in the debates are intra sentential. Only 1.77% of the cases are inter-sentential and 1.41 % is made up of tag switches. The predominance of intra-sentential code-switches over the other types is due to the fact that all the debaters are good at speaking both French and Kiswahili. They feel very much at ease in using both languages without ungrammaticalities. They are naturally able to insert French words within Kiswahili sentences and vice versa without any problems; It is so natural for them that it has

become a common way of speaking . They can play freely with French and English words, consciously or unconsciously, by sounding intelligible for the listeners and the debaters in the show.

It is worth saying that in the analyses below, the original mixed utterances are in normal font type while the translation is in italics with the French words in bold and the Kiswahili ones in normal font.

Each utterance (in mixed Kiswahili and French) is followed immediately by its English translation and put in italics and into parentheses. The text in bold represents the switched part (in French) and the non-bold words represent the matrix language (Kiswahili).

3.1. *Intra-sentential code-switching*

Only 5 utterances with the highest number of French code-switches were analyzed and discussed for this particular case. The first four utterances turn around a debate about a powerful political leader who has just been arrested on charges of corruption and embezzlement of public money. The fifth utterance is a discussion on whether the president has the legal power to appoint new senior officials without consulting his prime minister, in the first place.

> **(1)** ……**non non** ali**recevoir** ndiyo ni za inchi **mais** mu ma **attributions** zake alipashwa kufanya ali **recevoir** azo na akafanya kazi. Sasa kamerhe naye ali **recevoir** ngapi ? Makosa yake ilikuwa gani ? hakuna. **Aucune part de responsabilité** penale ya vk **parce que** na **gouverneur** wa **banque central** haku **citer** VK. **Ministre** wa **finance** haku **citer** Kamehe**.** Kamerhe iko **innocent**. (*…..**No no he received it** yes it belongs to the country, **but in his attributions** what he should have done, he **received** it and he used it for that purpose. How much did Kamerhe also **receive?** what was his fault ? none**. There is not any penal responsibility** of VK, **because even the governor of the central bank** did not **mention** VK, **the minister** of **finance** did not **mention** VK. Kamerhe is **innocent**).

The above utterance is the answer of a debater who is defending the innocence of a political leader. Intra-sentential code-switching is attested in the above utterance as French words and/or expressions, phrases like: ***non, recevoir, mais, ministre, citer, innocent, aucune part de responsabilité, banque central, parce que gouverneur,*** etc. are used in the middle of sentences or clauses. There is not a single example of inter-sentential switching in the utterance. All the words and expressions are intelligently inserted within sentences in a way that hinders neither the grammaticality nor the semantics of the latter.

Instead of using an entire French sentence to show that the minister of finance did not mention the name of Kamerhe or a complete clause to justify why Kamerhe is not responsible for what he is being accused of, the debater prefers to mix both French and Kiswahili word and/or expressions. Intrasententiality is shown in (1) as French and Kiswahili words follow and precede each other in a coherent and meaningful way.

(2) njo tunasema kwa sasa **peuple congolais** inataka que atoke. **Parce que arrestation** ya kamerhe ina **créer crise politique généralisée au point que** kunakuwa **dysfonctionnent** ya ma **institutions publiques**. Na **tant que** kamerhe hayatoka mu **prison madame** iyi inchi itabakiya ivi ivi **parce que** alikuwa **interlocuteur valable** ya **population** na ni yeye njo alikuwa nateteya raiya. **Voilà,** leo aujourd'hui **population** iko **abandonner à leur triste sort.** *(That is why for now **Congolese people** want him to resign. Because the arrest of Kamerhe **created a generalized political crisis to the extent that** there is **malfunction of public institutions**. **And as long as** K has not left the **prison madam**, this country will remain the way it is **because** he was an appropriate **interlocutor** of **the population** and it is he who was speaking for people, **now you see** today the population is abandoned to **its sad fate.).*

In example (2), a debater is trying hard to explain that the imprisonment of his leader will cause malfunctioning of political institutions. Intra-sentential code-switches are at the beginning, in the middle and the end of sentences. 13 code switches are used by the speaker : " *arrestation", "institutions publiques", "abandonner à leur triste sort*", "*tant que* ", "*prison madame* ", "*interlocuteur valable*", "*population*", etc. are used inter-sententially. In utterance (2) above, the sentence "aujourd'hui **population** iko **abandonner à leur triste sort.** " could have been a case of inter-sentential code-switching if the debater did not use the Kiswahili " iko" = " he is ". The French conjuction of subordination " Parceque" = "Because" is used twice in the utterance although its Kiswahili translation is also commonly used in Bukavu.

(3) **C'est-à-dire par rapport** ya **constitution** yetu ya congo, sai **président de la république** hana **prérogative** yaku **nommer** ba **hauts fonctionnaires sur son propre gré**, haaana . Tukuwe tunaambiyana kweli …**Sauf** ile ku **investir** ba **gouverneurs de province**, Ile ku **nommer premier ministre** , na ingine. **Il ya 4 articles mu constitution** yenye banasema hapashwe **contre signer**. Zingine **actes** zote **c'est sur proposition du premier minitre.** Haiko **gré** yake. *(This means that according to our **constitution** of Congo, now **the president of the republic** does not have the **prerogative to appoint senior officials** just because he wishes to do it. He does not. We should tell each other the truth. **Except investing governors of provinces**. The fact of **appointing the prime minister,** etc;; **There are 4 articles in the constitution** that they say he cannot **co-sign.** For all the other **acts, it is with the prime minister's proposal**. It is not **personal decision**)*

Utterance 3 is an answer to a different question and topic. Here, the discussion turns around whether the president has the legal power to appoint new senior officials without consulting his prime minister in the first place.

The debater uses intra-sentential switches by resorting to legally technical terms to make himself understand. **"prerogative", "act", "constitution", "co-sign", "article",** etc. are used in French instead of the Kiswahili counterparts that the debater seems to ignore or simply decide not to use.

In the second and third line of this utterance, the speaker fails to say "to invest" in Kiswahili and prefers to continue the following words in French, although those words "governor", "province", "to appoint" and "prime minister" are commonly used in the Kiswahili spoken in Bukavu. The speaker chooses to continue the rest of the argument

with mostly French words because it sounds better and clearer to say, for instance, **''investir** ba **gouverneurs de province**, ku **nommer premier ministre** ''** instead of saying in Kiswahili '' kupana madaraka kwa ma liwali wa jimbo , kutaja waziri mukuu''.

3.2. Intersentential code switching

In total, 3 cases of inter-sentential switching from the corpus were analyzed. All the switches concern complete sentences. Debaters do not use words or phrases at clause or sentence boundary.

> **(4) Par rapport** yaku **nommer président de la république , il y a des questions qu'on peut se poser. Est –ce –qu'il est en train de voler dans sa propre marmite ?** (*In relation* to *the appointment of the president of the republic, there are questions we can ask . Is he stealing in his own cooking pot ?)*

In the above utterance, all the words are part of an inter sentential code switch except 'yaku '= 'to'. The debater chooses to use a complete sentence placed at a clause boundary followed by a question which is at a sentence boundary.

> **(5) C'est sur proposition du gouvernement. Lui il peut faire la lettre** na anabebeya **président de la république** anamuambiya : **je le revoque**. (*It is on government's proposal. He can write a letter* and bring it to *the president of the republic* and he tells him : *I dismiss him.*

The French sentences ': **C'est sur proposition du gouvernement**' and '**Je le révoque**' are cases of inter-sentential code-switching used at sentence boundaries by the debater when talking about a president's possibility to dismiss of a member of government.

3.3. Tag switching

In the corpus of this study, there are very few cases of tag switching. Only four tag words and expressions are used, namely (1) the exclamation word "bon" = "well". The exclamation word "bon" is used in French to express approval/ acceptance of an idea. In utterance 6 below it is used as a evidence of a tag switching to agree with the next idea. (2) The French words to say thank you very much= "Merci beaucoup" is used in utterance too in the form of a tag switching. (3) Also, in utterance 7, "voilà" = "now you see" is used to designate things mentioned before or to sustain an idea. (4) The French adverb "O.K" is a tag word used in utterance 9 at the beginning of a sentence to mean "all right".
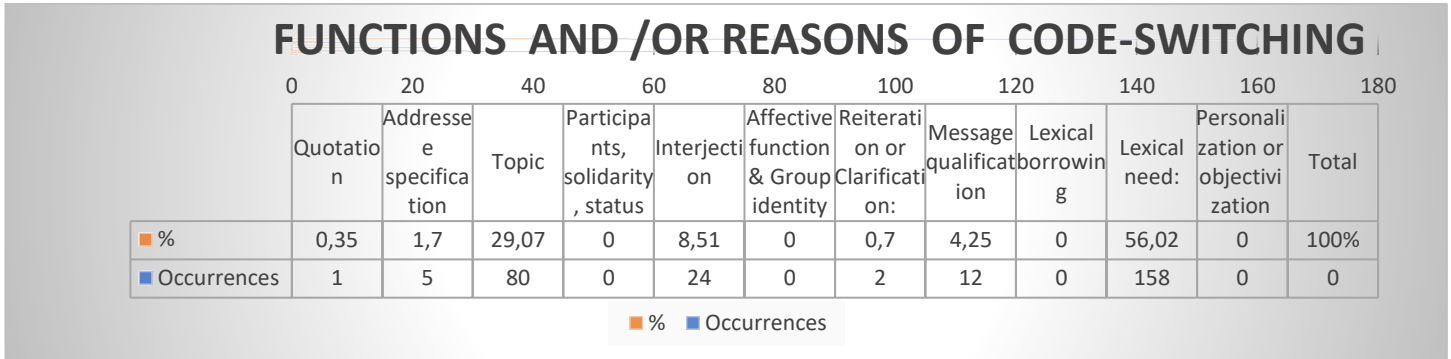
> (6) : **bon,** nyipeke mulisema **changement** ni ile kuto **instrumentaliser justice**. (*Well ,* you said yourself that *change* is not to *instrumentalize justice.)*

> (7) **merci beaucoup**, Unaona **arrestation** ya kamerhe inatuma bana **promouvoir** bale batu balimu **condamner**.(*Thank you very much*. Look at Kamerhe's *arrest* has triggered *the promotion* of the people who *condemned* him.)

> (8)**Voilà,** leo aujourd'hui **population** iko **abandonner à leur triste sort**. (*now you see* today the population is abandoned to *its sad fate.)*

(9) O.K. , Mais aussi je vais chuter en disant par rapport ya kale ka **mot**. (*Ok, I would like to finish by saying something in relation* to that *word.*).

4. Functions and /or reasons of code-switching

FUNCTIONS AND /OR REASONS OF CODE-SWITCHING

	Quotation	Addressee specification	Topic	Participants, solidarity, status	Interjection	Affective function & Group identity	Reiteration or Clarification:	Message qualification	Lexical borrowing	Lexical need:	Personalization or objectivization	Total
■ %	0,35	1,7	29,07	0	8,51	0	0,7	4,25	0	56,02	0	100%
■ Occurrences	1	5	80	0	24	0	2	12	0	158	0	0

■ % ■ Occurrences

Source : *Sampled corpus 2020*

The graph above is a summarized presentation of the functions and/or reasons for code switching during socio political debates on radio IRIBA FM and RTNK. As can be seen, journalists and debaters code-switch from Kiswahili to French for a variety of reasons and for different purposes. First of all and in most cases (56.02%), code-switching is used because debaters (1) think the word does not exist in their vocabulary (2) ignore the Kiswahili word to use though actually it exists (3) know that the Kiswahili word exists but think that it would not sound good for the listeners. Briefly speaking, there is a lexical need and the debater decides to use a French word instead of the Kiswahili that exists or not. Secondly, code switching is triggered by the topic of the discussion. This represents 29.07% of the total usage in the sampled corpus. In the third position comes the use of interjections or sentence fillers (8.51%). Thirdly, debaters and journalists code switch to qualify the message and this accounts for 4.25% of the cases. This function is followed by addressee specification, reiteration and quotation which represents respectively 1.77%, 0.70% and 0.35 %. Finally, it was noticed that debaters and journalists code switch to personalize speech, for affective reasons and for solidarity.

As written earlier code switching is a widespread linguistics phenomenon used by bi and / or multi-linguals in socio political debates on radio RTNK and IRIBA FM in the city of BUKAVU. The alternation from Kiswahili to French during discussions is motivated by a certain number of reasons and play certain socio-linguistic functions. Unconsciously or consciously, debaters use both French and Kiswahili words in a free manner as a proof that they master well the two languages. The following is an analysis and discussion of the cases detected in the sampled corpus. Only utterances that contain a high number of code switched words were analyzed.

4.1. Lexical need

The data collected in the different radio stations shows that debaters code switch from Kiswahili to French more often because they lack words and expressions to use in their mother tongue. In order to fill the gap of the lack of an equal translation, they use French words instead. Hoffam (1981) states that ultimate reason for code switching is to achieve effective communication between the speaker and the receiver.

> **(10)** bali **promouvoir** Bakenga **comme président** wa **tribunal**. Kaluba anakuwa **membre** wa **cours constitutionnel**. Ile yote inaonyesha kama kulikuwa kitu. **Par ces ordonnances madame** mutakumbuka kama kulikuwa ma **documents ministre** wa **justice** anaomba balipe bale ba **avocats** bawili **200.000 dollars à titre provisoire** (They have *promoted* Bakenga *as the president of the court*; Kaluba becomes *a member* of the *constitutional court.* That is a sign to show that there was something not clear. *With those ordinances madam,* you will remember that there were *documents that the minister* of *justice* has signed requesting payment of those *lawyers.* Those two will **200,000 dollars provisionally**.).

In the above utterance, a debater code-switches to French because he does not want to use Kiswahili words for the concepts or does not know the Kiswahili words to use. It is clear that for most debaters, certain words and expressions are not easy to say in Kiswahili, that is why they resort to French words that the listeners of the program are used to.

Words and/ or phrases like "tribunal", "cours constitutionnel", " par ces ordonances' , " avocat", " 200.000 dollars à titre provisoire" can be said in Kiswahili but the debater thinks that it will not sound good for the listeners when he says " korti kuu" , " kwa hiyo sheria", "dola elfu mia mbili (200,000 dollars) kwa kitambo" as respective Kiswahili translations. The preference of French words over the Kiswahili ones is motivated by either the absence of the words for the concept in Kiswahili or the non use of the latter in the same language.

For example, in the Kiswahili spoken by educated people of Bukavu, big numbers like "200.000" are rarely spoken in Kiswahili during conversations. This is why the speaker finds that it is easier, time-saving and comprehensive to say in French "deux cent mille dollars" (that most people can guess easily) than saying "dola elfu mia mbili" that is not commonly used. In addition, he does not seem to know the Kiswahili words for "ordinance", " lawyer", "provisional", therefore , he uses French words instead.

> **(11)** ……..**Parce que arrestation** ya kamerhe ina **créer crise politique generalisée au point que** kunakuwa **dysfonctionnent** ya ma **institutions publiques**. Na **tant que** kamerhe hayatoka mu **prison madame** iyi inchi itabakiya ivi ivi **parceque** alikuwa **interlocuteur valable** …… (*Because the arrest* of Kamerhe has ***created a generalized political crisis to the***

extent that there is *dysfunction* of *public institutions*. *And as long as* K has not left the *prison madam,* this country will remain the way it is *because* he was a suitable *interlocutor.*)

The debater is not able to use Kiswahili words to answer to the question asked here. The verb phrase " **créer crise politique généralisée…** " can be translated into Kiswahili as **"kuleta mgogoro mkubwa wa kisiasa".** However, the debater fails to say this and he prefers to use a rather easy way in French. It is clear that in his vocabulary, he does not have the words **"mgogoro", "**crisis" in Kiswahili and he does not know how to say the French past participle **"généraliséé"** in Kiswahili.

In order to show that the arrest of the political leader (on which the debate turns around) will cause dysfunctional problems in the country, he uses the French word **" dysfonctionnement"** = "**dysfunction** "simply because he does not know how to say it in a Kiswahili that the listeners will understand. The French noun **"dysfonctionnement"** can be translated in Kiswahili by **" kutofanya kazi vizuri ".** It is rare to hear Bukavu people, especially educated debaters saying the word institution (taasisi) in Kiswahili simply because its use is not very common. The word "public" also that is known in Kiswahili as "**uma**" is used rarely. Most people will say "public" (French) and even some non-educated people will guess immediately what it means. The debater has no idea of how he can say "interlocutor" in Kiswahili. Therefore, he uses a French word that is easily understood by most people in the studio and the listeners.

> **(12)** **Situation** yenye tuko nayo sai ni raiya njo ilitu **imposer** ayo. Wakati tulifanya ile **coalition, coalition** haishimamiye ku ma **humeurs** ya ba **individus**. Et donc kunaweza kuwa ma **guegere liés** ku ma **déceptions liés** ku ma **compréhensions** fulani fulani mais inchi ya **Congo** inabakiya yulu ya faida za ba **individus.** (*The situation* we have now it is the people who *have imposed* it on us. When we made that *coalition, a coalition* does not work with individuals' *mood.* then there can be *squabblings linked* to *deceptions*, to certain *views* but *Congo* remains above interests of *individuals.*)

The Kiswahili words for the French "**acteur**", "**imposer**", "**deception**" , **"guéguerre"** and "**humeur**" is almost unknown by Bukavu people especially debaters. To explain how a coalition did not work, the debater uses almost all the key words in French instead of the Kiswahili within which the debate is conducted. This is because he does not know how to say them in Kiswahili or simply he thinks that the French lexical items will explain it much better than the Kiswahili ones. "**Mwigizaji**", the Kiswahili word for "**actor**" is not very commonly used in Kiswahili of Bukavu and it is not a surprise that the debater uses a French word for this, "acteur". The French verb "imposer" and the noun "deception" are commonly used in Bukavu in French reason why the debater ignores how to say them in Kiswahili:

> **(13)** **Subornation ya témoins** katika sheria siyo **corruption. Mais** sababu **justice, CENI** iyo **système** yote ya **FCC** inatumika yote pamoja ikosa katika **machine : batteries, démarreur, alternateur** wote wanatumika pamoja . (**To suborn witnesses** is not *corruption* as far as law is concerned. **But** because *justice, ceni,* all the *system* of FCC are working closely together like in a *machine: batteries, demarreur , alternator* work together.)

To suborn is a technical word used in the judicial sphere and the debater does not know what it is in Kiswahili. The verb suborn is a synonym of to corrupt (kupana ruswha , in Kiswahili). However, the debater is aware of another fact that is the two verbs mentioned earlier are different in meaning as far as law and juridical matters are concerned. Because of this situation, the technicality of the verb "to suborn" makes the debater think that no Kiswahili word can say it better than the French one.

The Kiswahili word for "witness" (English) = témoin (French) is **" shahidi"** but the French one is the most used by people who are listening to the programme. Therefore, the debater prefers to use the French word "témoin" instead of "shahidi".

In addition, there is no Kiswahili word to say **battery, machine, starter, alternator** reason why the debater uses French words for this. The French word "corruption"= Corruption (English) is a popularly used word in Bukavu Kiswahili and most people know what means. So, it is easier to be understood when he says it in French so he decides not to use the Kiswahili word for corruption which is "rushwa".

Not many people (including the debater) seem to know what is the Kiswahili for the word " System" = "*mfumo*" though it actually exists in Kiswahili. Since the French word "système" is also popularly used in Bukavu, the debater uses it without hesitation and is sure to be understood by all the listeners.

> **(14)** …..sai **président de la république** hana **prérogative** yaku **nommer** ba **hauts fonctionnaires sur son propre gré** , haaana . Tukuwe tunaambiyana kweli ………**Sauf** ile ku **investir** ba **gouverneurs de province**, Ile ku **nommer premier ministre** , na ingine ;; **(...** now *the president of the republic* does not have the *prerogative* to *appoint senior officials just because he wishes it.* He does not. We should tell each other the truth… *Except to invest governors of provinces*. The fact of *appointing the prime minister,* etc;;)**.**

The judicial word "prerogative" (French) is synonymous right "right"or "power". However, the debater does not think it can be translated into "haki" the Kiswahili word for right. He thinks maybe that it is too technical a word that it cannot have the right correspondence in the Kiswahili. He prefers to use the French " prérogative" that most people of the domain of law and other non specialists will understand easily.

" Nommer " (To appoint) in Kiswahili is "kuteua"or " kutaja ", which the debater does not seem to know. In everyday Kiswahili of Bukavu, "kuteua" or " kutaja ", is not very much used. Because he lacks a corresponding word for to appoint, he uses "nommer" that is very much used in Bukavu.

The discussion here is turning around the power that a president has or does not have to do certain things like appointing new senior officials in administration, investing newly elected governors of provinces, appointing a new prime minister, etc. The debater is unable to find the right Kiswahili word for the verb " to invest", that is to give somebody power as part of their job. Instead, he uses the French "word Investir " because he lacks a lexical item that can explain this concept more clearly.

4.2.   Topic

(15)   Jean bosco, nafikiri kwamba unaweza tuacha tukuswali. unasema kwamba **sur** nani ya **gouvernement , avis** ya **gouvernement**, nafikiri kwamba haiko tu **premier ministre** labda **interim**. Kunakuwa iyo **jurisprudence** ya JOSE MAKILA **ali signer na président** KABILA. (Jean Bosco i think that you can allow us to question you. You said that *on* the government's proposal, *on the advice* of *the government,* i think that it is not only *the prime minister* maybe. There is that *jurisprudence* that JOSE MAKILA has *signed with president Kabila*.)

Another reason why debaters and journalists code switch from Kiswahili to French is the topic of the discussion. The topic of the discussion triggers code switching in many instances. In the above utterance, all the key words about the topic under discussion are in French, though they are supposed to be in Kiswahili. The journalist is trying to ask a debater to clarify what he has just said. He code switches to French not because he does not know the Kiswahili words to use or they are not commonly used in the Bukavu Kiswahili but the topic of the discussion obliges him to use French. The French words "**gouvernement** " (government), "**president**" (president) and " **premier minister** " (prime minister) are very much used in Bukavu Kiswahili respectively **"serikali", "raisi"** , and " **waziri mkuu**". Had the journalist used these Kiswahili words, everyone could have understood easily, but he preferred the French words instead because they sound better within the topic under discussion and the debater to whom the question is addressed catches the messages because it contains some of the French words (related to the topic) he would have used maybe if were in the same situation.

(16)   njo tunasema kwa sasa **peuple congolais** inataka que atoke. Na **tant que** kamerhe hayatoka mu **prison madame** iyi inchi itabakiya ivi ivi **parceque** alikuwa **interlocuteur valable** ya **population** na ni yeye njo alikuwa nateteya raia. **Voilà,** leo aujourd'hui **population** iko **abandonner à leur triste sort. (** That is why for now *Congolese people* want him to leave. *And as long as* Kamerhe has not left the *prison madam*, this country will remain the way it is *because* he was an appropriate *interlocutor* of *the population* and it is he who was speaking for people, *now you see* today the population is abandoned to *its sad fate.)*

In the above utterance 16, the discussion focuses on people who do not support the imprisonment of a "popularly known political leader". A debater is defending the idea that his leader should be released from prison because the population is claiming that he is set free. If he stays in prison, the Congolese people will feel abandoned. The debater uses French words that fall into the topic of discussion. The Kiswahili words

for "**peuple congolais**", **"prison" , and "population"** are respectively " raia wa Congo ", " jela" , and " wanainchi ". The debater's intention is to stay in the topic that is why he uses French instead of Kiswahili although the listeners could understand the latter. As a proof of this, in the last line of the utterance, the debater uses the Kiswahili word " raia" that is "people" in English . This shows that it is the topic of the discussion that triggers the use of the French word for people which is "raia.".

> **(17)** **Etat de droit** haiko **arrestation arbitraire**. **Etat de droit veut dire aussi innocenter les innocents et faire réparation**. ile njo **également état de droit**. (*A state of law is not arbitrary arrest. A state of law also means to innocent innocent people and make raparations. That is also a state of law.*)

In the utterance above, a debater is explaining that the "state of law" does not mean arresting people who they are not guilty. To support his idea, he uses more French words than Kiswahili. Out of 24 words that his utterance contains, only 3 are in Kiswahili. The code switch inserted inter-sententially: "**Etat de droit veut dire aussi innocenter les innocents et faire réparation**" comes after another sentence with only one Kiswahili word: "haiko" which means, "is not". Most of the words that this switched sentence contains can be said in Kiswahili.

The speaker's preference of French over Kiswahili seems not to be motivated by the non existence of the corresponding words in Kiswahili or the ignorance of the latter – because they are used in day-to-day Kiswahili of Bukavu- However, this choice is justified by the fact that the discussion turns around a law or judicial topic and French words seems the most appropriate to use in this particular context to be well understood and to convey the message correctly.

4.3. Interjection

Other debaters code-switch when using interjections. These are not well expressed in Kiswahili and do not have the same effect on the listeners in opposition to when they are used in Kiswahili. Debaters prefer to use them in French to keep the original meaning that they carry and so that it can play the function through the context of their production.

> **(18)** O.K. **Mais aussi je vais chuter en disant par rapport** ya kale ka **mot**. (*OK, I would like to finish by saying something in relation to that word.*)

O.K. is the the acronym for " *oll korrect*". Originally it means "all things are correct , fine, alright" etc. The use of this French interjection is very much spread in both spoken and written Kiswahili of Bukavu. It is used to agree with an idea or to approve of a situation, etc. In the above utterance, the debater agrees with a previous comment and it implies that the message is clear. The Kiswahili word for O.K. is "*sawa*" , but

the debater prefers to use O.K. as it expresses clearly the function of showing approval. Also, in Bukavu , everybody knows and uses O.K. It is very common to hear all the categories of people saying O.K. to accept or approve about something.

4.4. Message qualification

In the discussion recorded on radio RTNK and IRIBA FM, some debaters code switch to French in order to qualify a message. This is done by speaking in Kiswahili the object predicative of a copular verb, the complement of a sentence or verb. In example (19) below, the debater code switches to qualify a member of the constitutional court. The Kiswahili verb " anakuwa" is followed by its complement "membre de la cour constitutionnel ", that the debater speaks in French.

> **(19)** Kaluba anakuwa **membre de la courssconstitutionnel**. Ile yote inaonyesha kama kulikuwa kitu…….. Sipendi kupana **détails.**   ……. (Kaluba has become *a member* of the *constitutional court.* That is a sign to show that there was something not clear ……… I don't want to give *details.)*

It is very important here to say that most cases of code switching occur to qualify complements of verbs. It is common to hear Bukavu people uttering complements of verbs in French while the conversation is in Kiswahili.

4.5. Addressee specification

In a situation of socio-political debates , it is common to hear debaters code-switching to speak to the journalist who is hosting the discussion. In order to attract the attention , or to insist on certain facts mentioned , debaters address a particular person : the host , reason why they code-switch .

> **(20)**   **Madame**,   tulifwata **dossier prefabriqué**   na tukaona shipeke **jugement aussi prefabriqué** . (*Madam,* we have followed *a pre-fabricated case* and we have witnessed *also a pre-fabricated judgement*.)

The debater in the utterance above, begins his speech with the French word "madame" to attract the attention of the woman who is leading the debate. He really shows that he is speaking directly to her so that she can have all his attention. The word "madam" spoken by the debater is also a sign of respect and consideration. In his message, the debater tries to show that no objective judgment can come from a case whose evidence are prefabricated. The debater wants the lady journalist to keep this in mind reason why he speaks to her in a direct way.

4.6. Reiteration or clarification

Another reason why, most debaters code switch is to reinforce or clarify a message they said before. A message spoken in Kiswahili can be reiterated in French in order

to make it clear for the listeners to understand better. To reiterate a message, a debater translates into French what he has said in Kiswahili so that it may sound clearer.

> **21) Il y a des questions qu'on peut se poser.** iko naiba mu **casserole** yake yepeke. **Est –ce –qu'il est en train de voler dans sa propre marmite. (***There are questions we need to ask . Is he stealing in his own cooking pot ?* Is he stealing in his own *cooking pot ?*)

To exemplify what a state of law is in addition to what has been said before, the debater explains, clarifies and repeats in details in order to attract the attentions of the listeners and reiterate the importance of his statement.

> **(22) Etat de droit** haiko **arrestation arbitraire**. **Etat de droit veut dire aussi innocenter les innocents et faire reparation**. (*A state of law* is not *arbitrary arrest; a state of law means also to innocent innocent people and make raparations*.)

4.7. Quotation

Quoting statements spoken by other people is very common when code switching, especially when the quoted elements explains better what the discussion is turning around. In order to support an idea mentioned about, the debater quotes an excerpt from article 81 of the Congolese constitution. The whole quoted elements are in French and the objective here is to bring clarification in a discussion where there was confusion in understanding acts done by the presidents recently. Below is the beginning of an utterance followed by the quoted excerpts totally spoken in French:

> **(23)** Tuna sema **par rapport** ya ma **ordonnances** minaisoma mu **constitution** sipendi niende mbali . Minasoma article 81 ya **constitution** yetu inasema ivi : **Sans préjudice des autres dispositions de la Constitution, le Président de la République nomme, relève de leurs fonctions et le cas échéant, révoque, sur proposition du gouvernement " délibérée en Conseil des ministres: les ambassadeurs et les envoyés extraordinaire** (We say that , **concerning** the **ordinances** , I'm reading it from the **constitution** because I do not want to go far. I'm reading article 81 of our **constituion** which says : **Without prejudice of other dispositions of the constitution, the president of the republic appoints, relieves from their duties, if need be, dismisses, on the government's proposal, as decided in the cabinet meeting, ambassadors and extraordinary envoys**).

In the above statement (23) , a debater quotes a French excerpt from a contitution article exacltly as it is written because the way it is wriiten in French is clearer than its Kiswahili translation. The debater knows that most listeners will easily understand the French version of the article rather than its Kiswahili translation.

Conclusion

This article has proved that code-switching remains a very common linguistic phenomenon in multi-lingual communities and more specifically among French and Kiswahili speakers during socio-political debates on Bukavu radio stations. In the study, it was shown through analyses of utterances that the mostly used type of code-switching is intra sentential one, which account for 97.16% , as in   (examples 1,2 and

3). However, more French words are used than Kiswahili ones in debates ;which are supposed to be held in Kiswahili. Very few cases of code switching are inter sentential (examples 4 and 5) and tag switches (examples 6,7,8 and9), that is 1.41% each.

As for the reasons why debaters and journalists code-switch and the function of the code-switches they make play in the discussion, it was found that most of switches are motivated by the need of lexical items to use during conversations and this represents 56.02%. Others resort to French during discussions in Kiswahili as a strategy to speak words that are commonly used within a specific topic (29.07%). Other functions and reasons include the use of interjection (8.51%), qualification of a message (4.25%), to reiterate or clarify a message 0.70% or to address a specific person 1.77% as in example 20.

It was found that both journalists and debaters do not code-switch at random. The alternations from Kiswahili to French and vice-versa is grammatically and syntactically organized. Also, it occurs in a natural and structured way. The big amount of intra sentential code-switches does not create any problems to understand each other as both the debaters and the journalists have a good mastery of French and Kiswahili. So, it is easy to code-switch without impacting grammar rules of the languages involved.

Through the analysis of the utterances from the corpus, this paper has confirmed the dominant resort to code-switch in conversations in Bukavu. On the one hand, it has been noticed that in most cases the speakers can speak Kiswahili where it is necessary but decide not to do so. On the other hand, and in certain situations, the speakers have no other choice than to resort to French when they ignore the Kiswahili word to use or simply when the word does not have a Kiswahili correspondence.

Despite the fact that much is still to be done so that the linguistic world can reach a thorough understanding of the code-switching phenomenon, this paper has added something on the vast amount of studies that have confirmed code switching as being an increasingly developed area of research in bi or multilingual communities in general and during radio shows in particular. Linguists should be encouraged to pursue the discussions in order to come out with counter-examples about existing literature on code-switching.

Following the results this study has come up with, it is clear that this socio-linguistic trend will continue and will probably develop into a normal way of speaking in the future. When it comes to the use and development of a language, change is inevitable. Maybe in the future, people might start learning theses mixings as part of a new language.

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