

Language Policy, Language Choice and Language Use in the Tanzanian Parliament

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Abstract

The paper examines the pros and cons of the checkered nature of language use in the Tanzanian Parliament. It focuses on language policy, language choice and the practicality of language use in parliamentary discourse. Right from the eve of independence, the medium of communication in the Tanzanian parliament has been Swahili although the option is between Swahili and English; Swahili has been and still is the preferred choice among parliamentarians. Nevertheless, we observe that language contact phenomena such as various forms of alternation between Swahili and English occur quite regularly in parliamentary debates and submissions. The paradox however is that various forms of documentation in parliament are drafted in English. From data extracted from a corpus drawn from issues of the Tanzanian parliamentary Hansard, the paper attempts an analysis of particular choices, the advantages and disadvantages of such choices and their impact on the Swahili language.

1. Introduction

Although language problems can generally be viewed as global, language problems in Africa tend to be precipitated by the legacy of colonialism, coupled with globalization and the very highly multilingual situation in most African states. As a result of these problems, various compromises come into play where language related issues, especially issues that have to do with education, are concerned.

Language is dynamic and therefore undergoes changes from time to time, and one factor that plays a major role in language change is language contact. There are many language contact phenomena that affect indigenous languages all over the world. In order to maintain some level of order and uniformity in various aspects of social, educational and administrative life, various agencies are set up by ruling governments

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to put together and implement language policies. These policies usually involve national language policies, language in education policies and other special policies such as parliamentary language policies.

While many parliaments in Africa have adopted English only or French only policies in their parliaments, others have allowed the use of several indigenous languages in addition to a colonial language. Those who have adopted colonial languages as the sole acceptable or permissible media of communication have done so for convenience sake due to the highly multilingual situation in which they find themselves. Tanzania proves to be fundamentally unique where issues related to language are concerned. For instance, during the immediate post-colonial era when many African governments turned to the use of colonial languages as a solution to their language problems, the then new Tanzanian government chose to use Swahili as the sole medium of instruction for primary education and as the preferred medium of communication in parliament. Although it would have been expected that most parliamentarians would use English in parliamentary discourse, Swahili turned out to be the obvious choice as medium of communication. Nevertheless, although the preferred choice is Swahili, the paradox is that various forms of documentation in parliament are drafted in English, and often in practice some parliamentarians resort to code-switching between English and Swahili.

The paper attempts to interrogate the relationship between language policy, language choice and language practice as they pertain to Tanzanian parliamentary discourse. The paper goes further to analyze a corpus of parliamentary Hansard, paying particular attention to the persistent use of English in language contact phenomena, specifically code-switching and code-mixing, the role they play in language use and the positive and negative impact of these alternations on the Swahili language.

2. Post-Colonial Language Policies of Tanzania

Almost immediately after the declaration of Tanzanian independence in 1961, steps were taken by the then new Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) government to address the language situation in

Tanzania. As has been addressed by various scholars, all declarations concerning language policies were made against the background of the spirit of Nyerere's policy of *Ujamaa* 'socialism'.² The first language policy to be addressed was the national language policy; it was followed by the language in education policy, then policies concerning language use in various sectors of government such as parliament, the law courts and other para-government bodies.

Given the fact that Swahili was very instrumental to politicians during the struggle for independence, it is understandable that it would be made to continue to play a major role in the newly independent state. It was declared the National Language of Tanzania by President Nyerere in 1962, shortly after independence (Mulokozi 2002: 2; Topan 2008:258, Reuzaura 1993:32). This was because it was very widespread and its use as a national language tied in with the ideals of *Ujamaa*, a socialist, classless and egalitarian society united by a common language, Swahili. As a national language it was to be used at state and public functions. Subsequent to the declaration of Swahili as a national language was the adoption of a new language in education policy in 1967, the Education for Self-Reliance Policy under the Arusha Declaration. The policy declared the use of Swahili as the sole medium of instruction throughout primary education.

3.0 Background to the Use of Swahili in Parliament

From the British colonial rule up to the immediate post-independence era, English was the sole language used in the Tanzanian parliament for submissions and debates, until 1962 when President Nyerere made history by delivering his Public Day Speech in Swahili. This single act of the President became a basis for the use of Swahili in parliament because subsequently there was a gradual shift from the use of English to the use of Swahili for parliamentary discourse (Abdulaziz 1980: 155). Abdulaziz

² Nyerere's policy of *Ujamaa* was a socialist political ideology which sought to achieve a totally self-reliant classless and egalitarian society with a common language where all institutions are owned by the state. The policy of *Ujamaa* also consciously pursued national integration and sought to substitute national for tribal loyalties (Maxon 1994).

(1980) points out that the shift from English to Swahili accelerated when the Union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar was formed in 1964. This is because “many of the Zanzibari delegates either did not know English or already were used to debating in Swahili”. Their presence in parliament was instrumental in boosting the use of Swahili because the mainland delegates got the benefit of a large vocabulary relating to debating government matters (1980: 156). Harries (1969: 277), states that the use of Swahili in the *Bunge* ‘Parliament’ at the time was never challenged. The shift from English to Swahili culminated in the official declaration of the adoption of Swahili as the language of parliament on July 4th, 1967, by the Vice-President, Rashid Kawawa (Topan 2008: 258; Rwezaura 1993: 33). This directive concerned the use of Swahili in various sectors: as the language of communication in the discharge of the duties of all civil servants, for parliamentary discourse, government gazette and subsidiary legislation, among others.

Despite the takeover of Swahili from English, the permissible choice is still between Swahili and English. Indeed, while Swahili is used for parliamentary debates in general, English is reserved for special functions in parliament. Apart from the 1967 constitution which was originally drafted and published in Swahili, all other acts and Bills and laws are drafted and passed in English (Rwezaura 1993). It is therefore not surprising that although the language of parliament is Swahili, English still finds its way into parliamentary debates on a regular basis. Below is a typical example that illustrates this fact:

Wa-heshimiwa	Wa-bunge,	katika M-kutano	ya
CM-honourable	CM-Parliamentarians	at CM-meeting	of
Kumi na	Mbili (uliopita),	Bunge	hili
ten CONJ	two (3SBJ-PST-REL-pass)	Parliament	DEM
li-li-piti-sha	Mi-swada	Mitatu	i-fuata-yo:-
3SBJ-PST-pass-CAUS	CM-bills	three	3SBJ-follow-REL:-
<i>The Appropriation Bill, 2008, Finance Bill, 2008 na The National</i>			
CONJ			

Assembly Administration Bill, 2008.

Mi-swada hiyo ni-li-i-fiki-sha kwa M-heshimiwa
CM-BIL DEM ISBJ-PST-OBJ-arrive-CAUS to CM-honourable

Rais ili i-pat-e kibali chake,
President in order that 3SBJ- obtain-SCJ approval POSS

<28OC08:1>

“Honourable Parliamentarians, at the (past) twelfth meeting of this Parliament, this Parliament passed the following three Bills: the Appropriation Bill, 2008, Finance Bill, 2008 and National Assembly Administration Bill, 2008. These bills I presented to his Excellency the President for his approval.”

An attempt to draft Bills in Swahili in the sixties is said to have been discontinued due to difficulties such as lack of vocabulary for some precise legal and technical terminologies (Abdulaziz 1980:156-7). However, these documents are eventually translated into Swahili. For instance, statutes are still required to be in English with a Swahili version appended. Indeed, considerable efforts were made at expanding the Swahili language to enable it fulfill its new role, mainly by the setting up of a select committee. This committee developed a glossary of stereotype phrases of parliamentary jargon (Abdulaziz 1980).

4.0 Language Choice and Language Use in Parliament

Although language policy has to do with choice, language choice is distinct from language policy. Language choice refers to one's choice to use a particular language. However, language choice is subject to language policy and therefore can be restricted by it.

In the case of education, language choice is subject to language policy. Language policy determines when Swahili is used and when English is used. Swahili is used as medium of instruction (MOI) at the primary level and English is used as MOI at the secondary and tertiary levels. In the case of the Tanzanian parliament, language choice under the language

policy of parliament is between Swahili and English; however, as pointed out in Section 2, there are further restrictions when it comes to the drafting of bills and acts of parliament. In this case there is no choice; English must be used. The current practice of exclusive use of Swahili for parliamentary debates is a voluntary choice by parliamentarians, but the status quo has been so much accepted that the use of English would be regarded as a marked choice.

It is clear that one of the factors that may affect language choice is language ‘code-capacity’ (Mkilifu 1972: 204).³ A particular language may be the choice but it may not be possible to employ it because its vocabulary does not have the necessary repertoire to support the particular subject area in question. In the case of the Tanzanian Parliament, language choice can be regarded as checkered in that although Swahili is used for debates and general discourse, English becomes the code choice for the drafting of Bills and encoding of Acts. Again, in the law courts English is the official medium of communication, especially in the high and supreme courts (Rwezaura 1993). Clearly, the main reason for drafting Bills in English and writing Acts first in English is the lack of code-capacity of Swahili, despite the numerous efforts at overcoming this challenge. One of the resulting paradoxes of this problem is the prescription that the national language should be used in Parliament and the use of English for bills and acts and as the language of law at the same time in the same parliament. As pointed out in Rwezaura (1993), these Bills are drafted in English but debated in Swahili. So although language choice is Swahili, in reality, language use is often checkered, with Swahili code-mixed intermittently with English as a result of lack of code-capacity and due to other factors that will be discussed later.

One of the conditions given for the use of Swahili or English in parliament initially was that mixing of the two languages was not allowed (Abdulaziz, 1980). However, a look at parliamentary Hansard spanning many years indicates that this has not been the case. The actual practice and the policy are at variance. Alternation between Swahili and English occurs quite often in parliamentary discourse. This is perhaps an indication that it may not be possible to use Swahili throughout one’s submission depending on

³ Mkilifi (1972) refers to the ability of a language to expand its vocabulary as ‘code-capacity’.

the subject under discussion and on a speaker's individual choices and proficiency in Swahili and English. In the following sections the paper will examine and analyze the various alternations that occur and discuss the factors that may have led to these alternations. The paper concludes that language alternation in parliamentary discourse is inevitable and goes further to establish that code-switching in this case functions as a tool for focus or emphasis, for economy (time saver) and due to problems of code-capacity.

5.0 Code-Mixing and Code-Switching

In the literature, while some scholars distinguish code-switching from code mixing, others use it as an umbrella term for two distinct forms of language alternation. It has been defined by Myers-Scotton as alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation (1993:1). Winford (2003) refers to code-switching as “cases where bilingual speakers alternate between codes within the same speech event, switch codes within a single turn or mix elements from two codes within the same utterance.” Bokamba (1988) on the other hand distinguishes between code-switching and code-mixing. He defines code-mixing as “the mixing of words, phrases and sentences from two distinct grammatical (sub) systems across sentence boundaries within the same speech event... code-mixing is the embedding of various linguistic units such as affixes (bound morphemes), words (unbound morphemes), phrases and clauses from a co-operative activity...” and code-switching as “cases where bilingual speakers alternate between codes within the same speech event, switch codes within a single turn or mix elements from two codes within the same utterance.” Ritchie and Bhatia (2006:336) refer to inter-sentential switches between two codes as code-switching and intra-sentential switches as code-mixing. For the purpose of this study all forms of switching of codes are considered as instances of code-switching (CS).

CS is not as arbitrary as it may seem (Matras 2009). Socio-pragmatic factors such as identity and social negotiation have been cited as motivation for code-switching (Myers-Scotton 1993a). The lack of “code-capacity” has also been cited as a motivation for CS (Mkilifi 1972; Matras 2009), although in certain situations, lack of code-capacity or appropriate

vocabulary is not deemed to constitute a legitimate motivation for CS since circumlocution could be used as a CS avoidance strategy (Collins2005: 252).

Various types of switching have been distinguished in the literature, inter-sentential and intra-sentential (Myers-Scotton: 1993a, 1993b, 2002, Matras: 2009, Winford 2003). Also, various approaches to the study of CS, socio-linguistic and structural, have been explored. The focus of this study is not so much the structure of CS as the reality of CS in a formal setting such as the Tanzanian parliament and its implications for the development of the Swahili language.

6.0 Data Analysis

The data for the study was extracted from a corpus of code-switched items in six issues of the Tanzanian Hansard dated between 2003 and 2011. The Hansard is a fully comprehensive verbatim transcript of every speech event in Parliament. It can therefore to a large extent be classified as naturally occurring data, despite the fact that some submissions by parliamentarians are not spontaneous (that is, they are read from previously written material).

All instances of CS in the submission of parliamentarians were extracted. A total of approximately 367 instances of 4 main categories of CS involving mainly intra-sentential CS were realized. In Table (1) below, the description of the various categories and the number of tokens are listed.

Table 1: Categories of Code-switching

Category A: CS involving English verbs	No. of tokens
i. English verbs with Swahili inflectional affixes	30
ii. English verbs with Swahili infinitive marker	28
Total	58
Category B: CS involving English nouns	
i. Single English nouns	45
ii. English nouns with Swahili demonstratives	32

iii. English nouns/noun phrase with Swahili connector –a	21
iv. English nouns with Swahili possessives	19
v. English nouns with Swahili noun class marker	4
vi. Swahili adjectival prefix ki- with English noun	2
Total	123
Category C: CS involving Multiple switches	
Multiple code-switching	44
Total	44
Category D	
i. Swahili label linked to its English counterpart by a conjunction	33
ii. Stereotype English labels and fixed expressions	74
iii. English names of organisations and terms without reference to their Swahili counterparts	35
Total	142
Grand total	367

The category (A) code-switched items are of two types: English verbs that occur with Swahili inflectional affixes as in examples (2) – (5) and English verbs that occur with the Swahili infinitive marker as in Examples (6) – (8) below. In all 58 instances of English verb CS the English verbs are used with Swahili inflectional affixes such as subject prefix, tense marker, relative marker and object marker, or with the infinitive prefix *ku-* as in examples (2) to (8) below.

2. a-ka-institute ‘he has instituted’<13JU11:108>1
3SUBJ-PST-
3. Huyu tu m- *classify* vipi? ‘how do we classify these?’<28OC08:55>
DEM 2SUBJ- how?
4. i-me- *sink* ‘it has sunk’<13JU11:25>
CM-PERF-

5. wa-na-o- *perform* ‘they who performed’<4NO03:8>
3SUBJ-PRES-REL-
6. ku-wa-*compensate* ‘to compensate them’<28OC08:62>
INF-3OBJ-
7. ku- *jump the bail* ‘to jump the bail’<4NO03:28>
INF-
8. ku-*release funds* ‘to release funds’<13JU11:68>
INF-

In the data all code-switched items are invariably content morphemes of the embedded language (EL), English, particularly nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, while the grammatical morphemes, that is, function words and inflectional affixes, are employed from Swahili (i.e. the Matrix Language) except in the cases of phrasal, clausal or sentential switches. While it is clear that some of the English verbs employed may not have readily available equivalents in Swahili, it is also evident from the examples above that others do.

Category B CS items involve English nouns. The data indicates that the CS English nouns may occur with Swahili qualifiers, as in examples (12) – (20) or without such qualifiers, as in examples (9) – (11). Swahili qualifiers that CS nouns typically occur with include the demonstrative, as in examples (12) – (15), the genitival connector -a as in examples (16) and (17), and the possessive as in examples (18) – (20).

9. *fogging* <10JU03:28>
10. *forgery* <10JU03:48>
11. *incentives* <28OC08:60>
12. *hawa professionals* ‘these professionals’<4NO03:42>
13. *hii ceiling* ‘this ceiling’<28OC08:52>

14. *hivi industry* ‘these industries’<4NO03:42>
15. *vile Braille* ‘those Braille’<13JU11:13>
16. *amendment ya Muswada* ‘amendment of a Bill’<4NO03:43>
of Bill
17. *Application for Leave ya ku-weza*
of INF-able
‘application for leave to enable’<10JU03:44>
18. *Campaign Manager w-ake* ‘his campaign manager <29D05:13>
CM-POSS
19. *concern y-etu* ‘our concern’<10JU03:38>
CM-POSS
20. *economics z-ake* ‘his economics’<28OC08:6>
CM-POSS

The use of English nouns with Swahili qualifiers presupposes that speakers first of all must assign the CS noun to a Swahili noun class so as to use the corresponding concord for the qualifier. This is because in Swahili, every noun belongs to a grammatical class and as such every modifier that is used with it must agree in number and class. So far, judging from the data, almost invariably the concords that are used with the code-switched English nouns are concords of classes 9/N for singular and class 10/N for plural; these are classes to which the majority of borrowed nouns are assigned.⁴ In the data, a relatively small percentage of CS nouns are assigned class 5/*Ji* and 6/*Ma* concords as in example (21) in which the Swahili demonstrative that qualifies ‘contempt of parliament’ corresponds to class 5. We note that in one instance, example (15), the concord of class 8/*Vi* which is the plural counterpart of class 7/*Ki*, the class that denotes non living objects, diminutives as well as physically challenged persons, has been used for the demonstrative *vile* ‘these’

⁴ The assignment of concord of classes 9 / 10 and classes 5/6 to CS items seems to be motivated by the fact that many nouns of classes 9, 10 and 5 have ø (zero) prefixes. This makes it convenient for most of the CS items to occur without class prefixes, except CS nouns like *ma-*contractor ‘contractors’ that are assigned to class 6.

which qualifies the English noun ‘Braille’. The use of class 8 concord for Braille seems to be motivated by this word’s relationship with *vipofu* ‘blind person’ which also belongs to class 8.

21. *hili contempt of parliament "this contempt of parliament"*
 DEM
 <10JU03:27>

Although most CS English nouns are usually assigned to the noun classes 9/10, there are four instances (examples (22) – (25) where the CS items are prefixed with the class 6 prefix and two instances where the prefix *Ki-* is prefixed to English nouns as complements (examples (26) and (27)).

22. *ma-auditor* <13JU11:99>
 23. *ma-butcher* <4NO03:45>
 24. *ma-contractor* <28OC08:56>
 25. *ma-Veterinary* <4NO03:44>
 26. *ki-technicality* ‘technicality’ <4NO03:43>
 27. *ki-skills* ‘skills’ <13JU11:62>

Often code-switched items are single items within a speech event, but in our data the Category C examples display multiple switches within single speech events as in examples (28) – (31) below.

28. *bila ku-i-pa time limit na bila ku-ji-commit*
 without INF- 3SBJ- give CONJ without INF-REFL-
maana <13JU11:86>
 meaning
 ‘Without giving the time limit and without committing
 ourselves to the meaning’
29. *impression i-li-yo-kuwa created pamoja na taarifa* <10JU03:41>
 CM-PST-REL-to be together with information
 ‘impression which was created together with the information’
30. *Kaangali-e capacity na service zi-na-zo-tole-wa* <13JU11:82>

looking-SJC CONJ SM-PRES-REL-give-PASS
 ‘Looking at the capacity and service which are being given’

In Category D there is a peculiar alternation that takes place quite regularly. Here, the Swahili versions of technical terms and expressions are referred to by their Swahili equivalents and at the same time the conjunction *ama* ‘or’ or *yaani* ‘that is’ is used to introduce the English term as in examples (31) – (34) below. This, it seems is a strategy that is employed to ensure that there is no room for confusion or doubt about the Swahili label. It is observed also that often where a parliamentarian refers to a Swahili label for a special term without giving its English equivalent, the typist of the Hansard inserts the English term in brackets. This supports the impression that members may be more used to the English terms than to their Swahili counterparts.

31. Digrii ya Pili yaani *Masters* <4NO03:3>
 degree SM second that is
32. Hu-malizia w-enye hisa yaani *shareholders*.<4NO03:30>
 HAB- finish SM-having share that is
33. kazi za miradi ya ujenzi ama *construction works*
 Work of miradi CM construction or <28OC08:38>
34. Kipengele hiki cha matumizi ya tafsiri ama
 Item DEM of usage of translation or
application of interpretation <28OC08:38>

Another characteristic of CS in parliamentary debates is the use of stereotype English expressions within various speech events. Sometimes these represent highly technical terms that may have no ready equivalents in Swahili. Such expressions occur in examples (35) – (37).

35. *a vote of thanks* <29thD05:31>
36. *Chief Whip* <29thD05:14>
37. *consolidated effort* <28OC08:20>

When a Bill or Act or an institution with an English name is being referred to, its English label is used rather than its Swahili equivalent. In addition, because Bills and Acts are passed in English it is easier to use the English label. The Swahili versions usually involve circumlocution. See Examples (38) – (41) below.

38. *Tanzania Society for the Blind (TSB)* <13JUI1:13>

39. *The Contractors Registration Act* <28OC08:63>

40. *Veterinary Bill* <4NO03:38>

41. *World Society for Protection of Animals (WSPA)* <28OC08:11>

7.0 Further Discussion

The data indicates so far that CS in parliament agrees with the general principles of CS. It is in line with Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame Model (MLF) (1993) where the code-switched English items are governed by Swahili grammatical and syntactic rules.

Typically, the intra-sentential switching constitutes classic CS (Myers-Scotton 2002:8) as Swahili is the source of the morpho-syntactic structure of the clause involved. We also observe, as indicated in (42) below, that often when members have made the effort to use the Swahili labels for terms, Bills, Acts etc., they subsequently revert to using the English labels. For instance, one minister first uses the Swahili rendition of Deep Sea Fishing and reiterates it by referring to the English label, without mentioning its Swahili rendition. Within the same speech event, this same minister, when referring to the term, again used the English label instead of the Swahili one.

42. yapo matatizo machache katika utendaji wa Muungano, likiwemo na eneo hili la utoaji wa leseni katika shughuli za Uuvi wa Bahari Kuu yaani Deep Sea Fishing. Mheshimiwa Spika, napenda kuliarifu Bunge lako Tukufu kwamba, shughuli ya Deep Sea Fishing siyo jambo la Muungano, linashughulikiwa pia na Serikali ya Mapinduzi ya Zanzibar. <04NO03: 26>

‘there are a few problems with the action of the Union, one of which is the issuance of license for the Deep Sea Fishing business. Honourable Speaker, I would like to inform your revered Parliament that the Deep Sea Fishing business is not an issue of the Union only, it concerns the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar too.’

The general conformity of the code-switched items to Swahili morpho-syntax has very positive implications for Swahili, because this type of CS does not pose a threat of pidginization. Similarly, code-switched verbs are used with Swahili inflectional affixes and therefore do not pose a threat of interference from English morpho-syntax. As mentioned above, the main type of CS that occurs in the data is intra-sentential switching. The code-switched items are single items, phrases, clauses and whole sentences or utterances. However, single item intra-sentential switches occur more than any other types of code-switching. Where single items are switched they are more likely to be nouns than verbs.

Abdulaziz (1980:157) points out that the standing order on the use of English or Swahili in parliament was that of language purity. Members were supposed to use either of the two languages but not a mixture or shift unless they were quoting. However, it is evident that this ‘no mixture’ directive has not been adhered to over the years, simply because English is unavoidable under certain circumstances, so long as it is the language in which Acts, Bills and laws are passed. A careful look at the Hansard from 2003 to date indicates that although language choice for parliamentary discourse has remained Swahili over the years, in practice English is still part and parcel of parliamentary discourse. The standing Order on the passing of Acts, Bills and Law in English is therefore one of the anomalies that precipitate the use of English in parliament despite the fact that language choice is Swahili. Kjekshus (1974: 22) criticises this state of affairs in the Tanzanian Parliament. On the other hand, one can argue that since these Acts, Bills and Laws are eventually translated into Swahili, it does not constitute enough motivation for the referral to those Acts, Bills and Laws in English, as has almost consistently been the practice. Also, it is observed that the quest to use Swahili for the discussion of all manner of subjects from economics to science and technology has led to various innovative ways of expanding the Swahili language registers in order to

accommodate the various modern concepts, ideas and technologies that have English as their source (see Appendix D). For this purpose, in 1962, a select committee was appointed to look into the problem of using Swahili in parliament. Subsequently, a glossary of stereotype parliamentary jargons was developed (Abdulaziz 1980:156). Despite all these efforts, English still forms part of parliamentary discourse.

The president's parliamentary address of 2010 exhibits the characteristic code-switching pattern, yet he does not code-switch any English verb at all. Instead, he makes do with the appropriate Swahili verbs. He uses the repetition strategy too, whereby one uses the Swahili label and introduces the English label with a conjunction. This indicates that no matter how formal the occasion in Parliament, CS is used without any visible constraints. CS can be seen in a positive light from the perspective of its general functions. One of the benefits of CS is the creation of a relaxed atmosphere for parliamentary proceedings. Another is that CS saves time by offering interlocutors the option to quickly fall on English where they are in doubt regarding the Swahili caption or do not know the Swahili equivalent. There is the probability that the single English items may eventually become assimilated into Swahili phonology and become full-fledged borrowed words, therefore expanding the Swahili language in line with Myers-Scotton's (2002:41) argument that core borrowed items enter the recipient language gradually through CS.

Although there is every indication that the practice of CS in the Tanzanian Parliament does not pose a threat of pidginisation and interference, it is important to note that the constant practice of CS poses the danger of perpetuating the limited code-capacity of Swahili. If parliamentarians continue to resort to the use of English items and terminologies, this practice will inhibit the motivation for expanding the Swahili language through innovative means such as coinages, loan translation and semantic extension.

Furthermore, the freedom to code-switch does not motivate parliamentarians to improve their proficiency in Swahili. It does not complement the efforts at painstakingly translating English terminologies as well as Acts and Bills of Parliament into Swahili, for what is the point

in doing so if such documents will not be used? Consequently, these attitudes deprive the Swahili language of the opportunity to develop and expand.

8..0 Conclusion

The paper has established that alternation between Swahili and English is part and parcel of Tanzanian parliamentary discourse. It has attempted to discuss the background to the use of the code-switched variety of Swahili in the Tanzanian Parliament, as well as describe the actual usage of CS in parliamentary discourse and point out the advantages and possible threats the continuous practice of CS can pose to Swahili. In conclusion, it is important to reiterate the point that, if efforts have been made by state agencies including parliamentary special committees to ensure that Acts and Bills as well as other technical and special terminologies are translated into Swahili for the benefit of all Tanzanians, then the use of the Swahili versions of English terms and expressions should be encouraged at all times. Although CS cannot be ruled out completely, it can be minimized to a large extent, since in many cases CS cannot be attributed to the lack of appropriate equivalents in Swahili. From the discussion, we have established that although CS in itself does not pose a threat to Swahili, it does have negative implications for the growth and expansion of the Swahili language.

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List of Abbreviations

CM-	Class Marker
SM-	Subject Marker
HAB-	Habitual Tense
PAST-	Past Tense
PRES-	Present Tense
PERF-	Perfect Tense
FUT-	Future Tense
INF-	Infinitive Marker
DEM-	Demonstrative
COND-	Conditional Tense
CONJ-	Conjunction
SJC-	Subjunctive
SBJ-	Subject
OBJ-	Object
POSS-	Possessive Marker
COMPL-	Complementizer
ADV-	Adverb
ADJ-	Adjective
1,2,3-	1st, 2nd and 3rd Persons

PASS-	Passive
CAUS-	Causative
REL-	Relative Marker

Appendix A

i. English verbs with Swahili inflectional affixes

1. aka-institute 'he has instituted'<13JU11:108>
2. alilidesign 'he designed it'<29thD05:18>
3. aliyeli-design 'he who designed it'<29thD05:18>
4. amebid 'he has bid'<28OC08:56>
5. ame-clear pale 'he has cleared there'<13JU11:6>
6. amesha-grade 'he has already graded'<28OC08:60>
7. anaye-tender 'he who is tendering'<28OC08:56>
8. Huyu tum- classify vipi? 'how do we classify these?'<28OC08:55>
9. ime-sink 'it has sunk'<13JU11:25>
10. ina- mitigate 'it mitigates'<10JU03:32>
11. ina-weaken mapendekezo 'it weakens development'<10JU03:32>
12. ita-react 'it will react'<28OC08:72>
13. nikaialert system 'I alert the system'<10JU03:45>
14. niki-organize 'if I organise'<29thD05:41>
15. tume-amend 'we have amended'<29thD05:44>

16. tume-double 'we have doubled'<13JU11:86>
17. tuna-institutionalize 'we are institutionalising'<29thD05:13>
18. tunao-design 'which we are designing'<28OC08:55>
19. tuna-summarise 'we are summarising'<13JU11:68>
20. tunayo disaster map ya nchi 'we have national disaster map'<10JU03:3>
21. tuta-focus on 'we shall focus on'<29thD05:21>
22. tutaya- summarise 'we shall summarise it'<13JU11:68>
23. u-delclare interest 'you declare interest'<13JU11:11>
24. ume-conspire 'you have conspired'<10JU03:38>
25. ume-solve 'you have solved'<28OC08:62>
26. una- involve 'you (are) involve'<4NO03:8>
27. wame-preserve 'they have preserved'<13JU11:81>
28. wana-control 'they control'<28OC08:54>
29. wanao-perform 'they who performed'<4NO03:8>
30. zime-shift kutoka 'it has shifted from'<13JU11:7>

ii. English verbs with Swahili infinitive marker

1. ku-wacompensate 'to compensate them'<28OC08:62>
2. ku- jump the bail 'to jump the bail'<4NO03:28>
3. ku-access 'to access'<13JU11:70>

4. ku-address 'to address'<13JU11:105>
5. ku-allow 'to allow'<28OC08:62>
6. ku-amend 'to amend'<29thD05:44>
7. ku-challenge 'to challenge'<13JU11:107>
8. ku-compensate 'to compensate'<28OC08:56>
9. ku-concentrate 'to concentrate'<29thD05:12>
10. ku-create consultancy 'to create consultancy'<13JU11:6>
11. ku-declare 'to declare'<29thD05:19>
12. ku-design programme 'to design programme'<10JU03:8>
13. ku-draft 'to draft'<10JU03:37>
14. ku-empower middle class 'to empower middle class'<28OC08:62>
15. ku-finance 'to finance'<13JU11:72>
16. ku-fit 'to fit'<28OC08:55>
17. ku-identify 'to identify'<28OC08:20>
18. ku-import 'to import'<28OC08:53>
19. ku-invest 'to invest'<13JU11:79>
20. ku-liregularize 'to regularise it'<29thD05:44>
21. ku-takeoff 'to takeoff'<28OC08:62>
22. ku-protect 'to protect'<28OC08:12>

23. ku-prove 'to prove'<10JU03:31>
24. ku-reclaim 'to reclaim'<13JU11:100>
25. ku-refer 'to refer'<13JU11:89>
26. ku-relate 'to relate'<13JU11:86>
27. ku-release funds 'to release funds'<13JU11:67>
28. ku-release funds 'to release funds'<13JU11:68>

Appendix B

i. English nouns

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. agenda <10JU03:20> | 24. incentives <28OC08:60> |
| 2. alphabet <29thD05:5> | 25. initiator <29thD05:13> |
| 3. amendment <29thD05:44> | 26. instalment <10JU03:15> |
| 4. automatic <28OC08:5> | 27. investment <29thD05:47> |
| 5. available <4NO03:28> | 28. Investment <16JUL10:21> |
| 6. canteen <10JU03:21> | 29. Megawatt <16JUL10:22> |
| 7. Commonwealth <29thD05:38> | 30. mitigated <10JU03:30> |
| 8. CONFIDENTIAL <10JU03:24> | 31. monopoly <29thD05:13> |
| 9. consultant <13JU11:17> | 32. morale <13JU11:10> |
| 10. Corridor <10JU03:13> | 33. negotiation<16JUL10:18> |
| 11. cumulative <16JUL10:18> | 34. nomination <29thD05:5> |
| 12. development <29thD05:34> | 35. photocopy <10JU03:24> |

- | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 13. document <10JU03:3> | 36. pigeonholes <10JU03:21> |
| 14. document <13JU11:106> | 37. quotation <10JU03:34> |
| 15. engineer <13JU11:19> | 38. reckless <29thD05:12> |
| 16. field <13JU11:12> | 39. research <13JU11:12> |
| 17. fogging <10JU03:28> | 40. Secretariat <16JUL10:1> |
| 18. forgery <10JU03:48> | 41. policy<10JU03:3> |
| 19. Gallery <10JU03:1> | 42. squatters <10JU03:14> |
| 20. Garnishing <28OC08:10> | 43. support <13JU11:14> |
| 21. Hemorrhoids <4NO03:28> | 44. Treasury <10JU03:17> |
| 22. homeboy <13JU11:4> | 45. Uranium <16JUL10:21> |
| 23. idle <28OC08:33> | |

ii. English nouns with Swahili demonstratives

1. gape hiyo 'this gape'<13JU11:70>
2. hapa procedure 'here he procedure't<10JU03:30>
3. hawa consultant 'these consultants'<28OC08:60>
4. hawa professionals 'these professionals'<4NO03:42>
5. hii ceiling 'this ceiling'<28OC08:52>
6. hii industry 'this industry'<28OC08:58>
7. hii paper 'this paper'<13JU11:106>
8. hii programme 'this programme'<13JU11:82>

9. hii statement 'this statement'<13JU11:25>
10. hii, is a giant country 'this is a great country'<16JUL10:21>
11. hili Contempt of parliament 'those contempt of parliament'<10JU03:27>
12. hivi industry 'these industries'<4NO03:42>
13. hiyo identification 'that identification'<13JU11:81>
14. hiyo mic 'that mic'<13JU11:93>
15. Hizi definitions 'these definitions'<28OC08:55>
16. hizi facilities 'these facilities'<4NO03:42>
17. hizi interventions 'these interventions'<13JU11:66>
18. hizo fields 'those fields'<13JU11:12>
19. hizo industrial materials 'those industrial materials'<13JU11:76>
20. ile draft 'that draft'<13JU11:8>
21. ile grade 'that grade'<13JU11:101>
22. ile master plan 'that master plan'<28OC08:14>
23. ile measurable kwenye 'that measurable on'<13JU11:98>
24. ile visibility study 'that visibility study'<28OC08:32>
25. lile gap 'that gap'<13JU11:74>
26. opportunity hiyo 'that opportunity'<13JU11:70>
27. point hiyo 'that point'<10JU03:33>
28. Private Sector hizi 'these private sector'<13JU11:68>

29. vile Braille 'those Briale'<13JU11:13>
 30. zile correspondence 'those correspondence'<10JU03:37>
 31. zile interventions 'those interventions'<13JU11:74>
 32. zile mindset 'those mindset'<13JU11:66>
- iii. English nouns/noun phrase with Swahili connector a-**
1. agenda ya kumsamehe 'agenda of forgiving him'<10JU03:19>
 2. amendment ya Muswada 'amendment of a Bill'<4NO03:43>
 3. Application for Leave ya kuweza 'application for leave of capability/ability'<10JU03:44>
 4. career path ya Mtendaji 'career path of an actor'<28OC08:2>
 5. Gallery ya Bunge 'parliamentary gallery'<10JU03:1>
 6. Grid ya Taifa 'national grid'<16JUL10:22>
 7. industry ya mifugo 'livestock industry'<4NO03:42>
 8. issue ya reli 'issue of railway/ railway issue ' <13JU11:93>
 9. kuna registration ya hizi 'we have these registrations'<4NO03:42>
 10. kwenye transformation ya kutoka 'on transformation from'<13JU11:61>
 11. Liabilities ya Kampuni 'liabilities of a company'<4NO03:30>
 12. Master Plan ya TANESCO 'master plan of TANESCO'<13JU11:61>
 13. ndiyo function ya NDC 'its truly a function of NDC'<10JU03:13>
 14. nilifahamu nature ya swali 'I understood the nature of the question'<10JU03:5>

15. note book ya Bwana 'note book of Mr.'<10JU03:21>
16. Order Paper ya leo 'order paper of today/today's order paper'<28OC08:72>
17. register ya Madaktari 'register of doctors'<4NO03:36>
18. registration ya vizazi 'registration of parents'<28OC08:20>
19. significance ya daraja 'significance of a bridge'<13JU11:3>
20. topography ya Wilaya 'topography of a district'<10JU03:8>
21. tukaiangalie status ya jambo 'we should look at the status of the issue'<13JU11:3>

iv. English nouns with Swahili possessives

1. Campaign Manager wake 'his campaign manager <29D05:13 >
2. concern yangu ‘ my concern’ <28OC08:28>
3. concern yetu 'our concern'<10JU03:38>
4. degree yangu 'my degree'<29thD05:40>
5. economics zake 'his economics'<28OC08:6>
6. economy yetu 'our economy'<28OC08:62>
7. figures zake 'his figures'<13JU11:94>
8. intention yake 'his intention'<10JU03:38>
9. junction yake 'his junction'<28OC08:60>
10. la size yake 'of his size'<29thD05:19>
11. line yetu 'our line'<29thD05:28>

12. mastering studio yao 'mastering their studio'<16JUL10:28>
13. mindset zetu 'our mindset'<13JU11:66>
14. profession yao 'their profession'<29thD05:27>
15. programme yetu 'our programme'<13JU11:82>
16. repetition yake 'his repetition'<10JU03:32>
17. spirit yetu 'our spirit'<29thD05:15>
18. statements zetu 'our statements'<28OC08:50>
19. television yao 'their televiion'<29thD05:23>

v. English nouns with Swahili noun class marker

1. ma-auditor <13JU11:99>
2. ma-butcher <4NO03:45>
3. Macontractor <28OC08:56>
4. ma-Veterinary <4NO03:44>

vi. Swahili adjectival/adverbial prefix ki- with English nouns

1. ki-technicality 'technicality'<4NO03:43>
2. ki-skills 'skills'<13JU11:62>

Appendix C

Multiple code-switching

1. ajili ya *reward* naye tu-na-m-wita *contractor*? <28OC08:28>
because of POSS 1PL-PRES- CM-call
‘Because of the reward with him, we call him contractor?’

9. *impression* i-li-yo-kuwa created hapa ni kama ku-li-kuwa na
 3SUBJ-PST-REL-to be here is as if INF-PST-to be CONJ
some conspiracy <10JU03:41>
 ‘Impression which was created here is as if there was some conspiracy’
10. *impression* i-li-yo-kuwa created pamoja na taarifa <10JU03:41>
 Impression CM-PST-REL-to be together with information’
 ‘impression which was created together with the information’
11. Kaangali-e capacity na service zi-na-zo-tole-wa <13JU11:82>
 looking-SJC CONJ SM-PRES-REL-give-PASS
 ‘Looking at the capacity and service which are being given’
12. kama za Singapore au Malaysia ambao leo ni *mini tigers* lakini Singapore
 Like of CONJ REL today is CONJ
growth yao <13JU11:72>
 POSS
 ‘like that of Singapore or Malaysia which are mini tigers today but
 Singapore their growth’
13. kila kitu ni *zero*, kila kitu ni *zero* <13JU11:96>
 Every thing is , everything is
 ‘everything is zero, everything is zero’
14. ku-it-wa ni *Architect*, mtu wa pili ni *Quantity Surveyor*;
 INF-call-PASS are, person SM second is
 m-tu wa tatu ni *Structure Engineer* <28OC08:59>
 CM-person SM three is
 ‘Those to be called are Architect, second person is Quantity
 Surveyor, the third person is Structure Engineer’
15. kuleta *Application ya Chamber Summons* kwa njia ya Chamber Summons
 INF-bring of by way of
 <10JU03:45>
 ‘To bring Application of Chamber Summons by way of Chamber
 Summons’

16. Ku-li-kuwa na *conspiracy* au ujanja ujanja wowote na ujanja
to-PST-to be CONJ or deception(RED) any sort CONJ deception
huu source lazima <10JU03:41>
DEM must
'There was conspiracy or any sort of deception and the source of
this deception must'
17. Kuna *claim* kwamba *in fact* hizo pesa <10JU03:41>
There is COMPL DEM money
'There is a claim that in fact that money'
18. kuna *gape* kuna *mismatch* <13JU11:74>
there is there is
'there is a gap, there is a mismatch'
19. kuna mashapo *reserve* ya *pounds* milioni 90 na kwa *pounds* milioni
there is sediments of pounds million 90 CONJ of million
<16JUL10:22>
'There are reserve sediments of 90 million pounds and by one million
pounds'
20. kuna *registration* ya hizi *facilities* kwa <4NO03:42>
there is CM DEM of
'there is registration of these facilities for'
21. kutoka *point A* kwenda *point B* ha-li-wezekani <13JU11:64>
from INF-go NEG-PST-possible
'From point A to point B, it is not possible'
22. kwa hiyo *i-guarantee* ku-rejesha *agenda* amba-yo <10JU03:38>
therefore, SUBJ- INF-go back amba-REL
'Therefore, I guarantee to go back to the agenda which'
23. Kwa hiyo, kama *voucher* u-na-zi-ona, *entry* zi-me-kuwa
therefore, if 2-SUJ-PRES-OBJ-see SUBJ-PERF- be
nzuri, <16JUL10:9>
nice
'Therefore, if you see the vouchers, the entry is nice'

24. kwamba *curriculum* na *syllabus* kwa shule za *private* na za *public*
 that CONJ of school of CONJ CM
 u-ki-ondoa zile za *international school* zi-na-fanana
 2SBJ-COND-remove DEM of CM-PRES-resemble
 <28OC08:28>
 ‘that the curriculum and the syllabus of the private schools and the public
 schools, if you should remove that of international schools’
25. ruhusa ya *application* ya *leave* <10JU03:44>
 permission of of
 ‘permission of application for leave’
26. Labda *bubble gum economy* au i-ta-kuwa *house of cats*. <29thD05:6>
 perhaps or SBJ-FUT-to be
 ‘perhaps bubble gum economy or it will be house of cats’
27. lakini *at the end of the day* takwimu zi-me-*shift* kutoka <13JU11:7>
 but statistics SUB-PERF- from
 ‘but at the end of the day, the statistics have shifted from’
28. lakini sisi *actually* Ki-sheria *is not even binding* yale <10JU03:46>
 but we ADJ-law DEM
 ‘but for us actually the law is not binding those’
29. m-moja na *Technicians* wa wa-tano na *craftsmen* <13JU11:61>
 CM-one CONJ CM CM-five CONJ
 ‘one person and five technicians and craftsmen’
30. ni *music* na *film* katika <16JUL10:28>
 it is CONJ in
 ‘it is music and film in’
31. Ni-na-*quote* hapa *I want to be concrete* <13JU11:5>
 1SBJ-PRES – here
 ‘I am quoting here I want to be concrete’
32. pale pana *politics* na *economics* zake zi-na-ji-tokeza <28OC08:6> DEM
 there is CONJ POSS CM-PRES-REFL-emerge
 ‘the politics and economics of that place is becoming prominent’

33. pingamizi la muda (*Temporary Injunction*), wa-ka-sema *temporary*
 Injunction of period 3SBJ-PST-say
prohibition injunction. Hayo <10JU03:44>
 DEM
 ‘Temporary injunction, they said temporary prohibition injunction. Those’
34. Si-na *gold* wala *silver*, ni mimi <10JU03:48>
 NEG- have neither it is me
 ‘I don’t have gold neither gold, it is me’
35. suala la *management of time* hapa ni *paramount*, ha-kuna <13JU11:82>
 question of here is NEG-there is
 ‘the issue of management of time here is paramount, there is no’
36. *technicality* ni-li-soma kwenye *amendment* ya <4NO03:43>
 1SBJ-PST-read in the of
 ‘technically, I read in the amendment of’
37. u-na-toa *document for reference*, lazima i-w-e *signed* <13JU11:108>
 2SBJ-PRES-give must 3SBJ-be-SJC
 ‘you are giving the document for reference, it is a must it be signed’
38. utapeli katika *Industry* nzima ya *Construction* <28OC08:55>
 swindling in ADJ-whole of
 ‘Swindling in the whole construction industry’
39. vi-wili vya *specific* pamoja na *realistic* <13JU11:98>
 CM-two of together with
 ‘two of the specific together with the realistic’
40. Wa-ka-sema fedha nyingi zipo za *climate change* na *environment*
 CM-PST-say money lot there is CM CONJ <13JU11:82>
 ‘they said there is a lot of money in climate change and environment’
41. Wa-me-preserve marine *products* zao <13JU11:82>
 CM-PERF- POSS
 ‘they have preserved their marine products’

42. X-Ray na *Ultra Sound* <16JUL10:24>
 CONJ
 ‘X-Ray and Ultra Sound’
43. yaani *order ya prohibition* kukataz-wa <10JU03:44>
 that is of INF-refuse -PASS
 ‘that is order of prohibition is been cancelled’
44. z-ote *a hundred percent* pamoja na *Tsunami* <13JU11:82>
 CM-all together CONJ
 ‘all a hundred percent together with Tsunami’

Appendix D

Swahili label linked to its English counterpart by a conjunction

1. Digrii ya Pili yaani Masters <4NO03:3>
 degree CM second that is
2. Hu-maliza w-enye hisa yaani shareholders.<4NO03:30>
 HAB- finish SM-having share that is
3. kazi za miradi ya ujenzi ama construction works
 Work of miradi CM construction or construction works
 <28OC08:38>
4. kazi za Wa-kandarasi wa Umeme ama Electrical Works
 Work of CM-contract CM electricity or Contractors
 <28OC08:39>
5. ki-kandarasi ama Issuance of Stop Order <28OC08:39>ADJ-
 contract or
6. Kipengele hiki cha matumizi ya tafsiri ama
 Item DEM of usage CM translation or
application of interpretation <28OC08:38>
7. kipindi cha uangalizi wa mradi ama *defect liability period*
 Period of supervision CM intention or <28OC08:38>

8. Ku- jenga kiwango cha uhimilivu yaani *perseverance*
INF-construct level of endurance that is <16JUL10:6>
9. Ku- ondoa utata ama *clarity of progress* <28OC08:40>
INF- remove complexity or
10. Ku-ongeza muda ama renewal <28OC08:40>
INF-add time or
11. Ku-pandisha kwa chupa ama kwa Kiingereza artificial insemination
INF-grow by bottle or in English
<16JUL10:17>
12. Ku- toa wito ama *summons* <28OC08:41>
INF- give call or
13. Ku-toa zuio ama Stop Orders <28OC08:42>
INF-give restrain or
14. Ku-toroka au ku-*jump the bail* <4NO03:28>
INF -run or INF-
15. madai ya sheria yaani *Statutory Creditors* <4NO03:30>
claims CM law that is
16. Madawa ku-ulia wadudu au *food drugs, cosmetic* <4NO03:45>
drugs INF-kill insects or
17. Mamlaka ya Rufaa ama Appeal Authority <28OC08:41>
Authority CM appeal or
18. maombi ya mdomo ya ruhusa yaani *Application for*
Leave to Request CM mouth of permission that is
Appeal <10JU03:45>

19. marekebisho ya jedwali la Sheria ama *Amendment of Schedule* amendment CM schedule CM law or
<28OC08:42>
20. M-kandarasi ama Contractor <28OC08:38>
CM- contract or
21. sisi w-enye matatizo w-enyewe sisi ndiyo jawabu
we CM-having problem CM-ourselves we indeed solution
yaani
that is
we are source of the problem, we are also part of the solution <16JUL10:7
22. SMARTER maana yake ni *Specific Measurable, Attainable*
SMARTER meaning POSS is
Realistic Time Bound Evaluatable "na" Rewarded <13JU11:98
"and"
23. Ugonjwa wa kisaikolojia au *psychiatric illness* <4NO03:10>
disease CM psychology or
24. ujira ama *reward* <28OC08:67>
wages or
25. ukaguzi wa thamani ya fedha yaani *Value for Money Audit*
audit CM value CM money that is
<16JUL10:9>
26. ulipaji wa dhima yaani *Liabilities* <4NO03:30>
payment CM debt that is
27. utaalam wa kihandisi ama *structural design* <28OC08:68>
expertise CM construction or
28. uvuvi wa Bahari Kuu yaani *Deep Sea Fishing* <4NO03:26>
Fishing CM sea main that is
29. vi-na- it-wa satelite *cities* au towns <28OC08:57>
SUBJ-PRES- call-PASS or

30. Wa-dai w-enye dhamana yaani *Secured Creditors* <4NO03:30>
CM- credit SM-having surety that is
31. Wa-kandarasi au *Contractors* <28OC08:56>
CM-contract or
32. Wa-kandarasi Maalum ama *Specialist Contractors*<28OC08:39>
CM-contract special or
33. ya kazi za ziada yaani *overtime* <4NO03:3>
of work CM excess that is

ii . Stereotype English labels and fixed expressions

1. a vote of thanks <29thD05:31>
2. Application for Leave <10JU03:43>
3. Assembling Plants<13JU11:39>
4. Attorney General <10JU03:33>
5. Building Control Bill <28OC08:49>
6. campaign finance <29thD05:6>
7. Chief Whip <29thD05:14>
8. consolidated effort <28OC08:20>
9. construction works <28OC08:47>
10. Controller and Auditor General <13JU11:5>
11. data base <28OC08:18>
12. Deep Sea Fishing <4NO03:26>
13. double road <28OC08:62>

14. Egalitarian Society <13JU11:70>
15. exchange rate <13JU11:75>
16. Ferrous Sulphate <4NO03:11>
17. final version <10JU03:23>
18. financial intermediation <13JU11:48>
19. Foreign Affairs <29thD05:27>
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