Bi/multilingual Voices and Audiences? Code-Switching in Zimbabwean Popular Drama, *Studio 263*

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Abstract

Code-switching is an observed common discourse linguistic behaviour in Zimbabwean popular dramas. The motives and effects of the use of code-switching in such communicative contexts is however an understudied area. This article examines the communicative impact/effects on the audience, of code-switching as a communication strategy in *Studio 263*, one of Zimbabwe's popular dramas (soap operas). Observing that code-switching has become part and parcel of Zimbabwean everyday discourses – a situation chiefly resulting from the Zimbabwean linguistic situation characterised by bi/multilingual societies – the analysis explores the rhetorical and communicative potential of code-switching as a communication strategy within the communicative contexts that popular dramas represent and in a

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bi/multilingual society. The Zimbabwean language situation promotes the use of the English language in all formal communicative events while the 'indigenous' languages (Shona and Ndebele) do not enjoy similar privileges. Because English is a second language to the majority of the residents of Zimbabweans, this has resulted in the proliferation of bi/multilingual communities. This article critiques the justification of the use of code-switching in *Studio 263* as well as its use as a tool for communicating to a 'larger' audience.

Keywords: Codeswitching, Drama, Communicative potential, Zimbabwe, Studio 263

1. Introduction

Studio 263 is a Zimbabwean popular drama (soap opera) whose name is derived from the Zimbabwean international dialing code +263. It is a story about Vimbai, a beautiful young woman from a lower-middle class, high density suburb of Harare who, after winning the Miss Harare pageant decides to go for the prestigious Miss Zimbabwe pageant. Financially constrained she meets a rich young man who offers to help her. She falls pregnant just before the contest and loses the opportunity to realise her dream. With *the* man refusing to accept responsibility for the child Vimbai decides to take control of her life, completes her education and finds a good job. Trying to manage her own family as well as help her parents, Vimbai goes on to become a successful, married career woman. Her relentless struggle to overcome various obstacles at home and work while dealing with relationships with boyfriends and her eventual emergence as a confident woman of substance became the main focus of the storyline[3]. The communicative language of the soap is a fusion of English and Shona[4] - code-switching. The rationale behind such use, it is assumed here is because the soap in broadcast in a bi/multilingual society.

2. The Zimbabwe Language Situation and Code-Switching in *Studio 263*

Code-switching is a consequence of bilingualism. The language situation that contemporarily prevails in Zimbabwe, promotes the use of the English language which is a second language to the majority of the citizens of Zimbabwe. This situation has inevitably promoted bi/multilingual societies. A bilingual society is a society in which, in addition to their mother tongues, residents have an additional language. According to Ngara (1982) bilingualism takes place when an individual acquires two languages. It can therefore be regarded as a property of the individual and not of the nation for the two languages meet in one person who makes use of his languages in appropriate situations. This aspect of bilingualism is not unique to Zimbabwe. According to Romaine (1989) it has been estimated that over half of the world's population is bilingual or multilingual with one third speaking English as a first or second language or learning it as a foreign language. Zimbabwe is one such country.

Much of the bilingualism in Zimbabwe results from a context in which, in addition to their first language, most Zimbabweans have 'acquired' English as a second language. This is supported by Myers-Scotton (1993) who argues that the most common pattern of bilingualism in Africa is to use the speaker's first language, plus an indigenous lingua franca or an alien official language such as English, French or Portuguese[5]. Within the Zimbabwean context, the proliferation of English as a second language has roots in colonialism. According to Eastman (1993) once colonised, the colonised looked upon European languages in awe and yearned to learn them. Crystal (1987: 26) argues that 'the territorial conquest of Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) by the British identified English as the language of the state. The English language thus became a powerful national symbol. The use of the English language as a status and official language has continued in independent Zimbabwe. Interestingly Zimbabwe

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[3] See http://cables.mrkya.eu/cable.php?id=6587
[4] Shona is a Zimbabwean indigenous language spoken in the larger part of the country.
[5] This is a linguistic situation arising largely from colonialism. The British, French and Portuguese were the major colonial powers in Africa and hence their languages are largely still in use in Africa.

does not have a comprehensive language policy. Recognitions and statuses of languages in Zimbabwe are expressed through constitutional provisions stipulating that English is the official language while Shona and Ndebele are national languages.

The Zimbabwean linguistic profile as enunciated by Hachipola (1987) reveals that the English language is the official language, Shona and Ndebele are national languages, Chichewa is the only officially recognised migrant language, while Sotho, Chikunda, Sena, Xhosa, Tonga, Barwe and Hwesa are regard as other minority languages. This alone shows the primacy of the English language to Zimbabwean citizens, which by virtue of being an official language becomes the language of education, commerce, media etc. The importance attached to the English language can be seen in its role in education, mass media communication and all official business transactions in general.

Apart from this, the globalisation rhetoric has also contributed to the importance that is attached to English, which in turn contributes to bilingualism. David (2002) states that globalization is the process of harmonizing different cultures and beliefs. Globalization has made the English language a predators' language. According to Crystal (2003) the English language is an apt symbol for themes of globalization, diversification, progress and identity. This means that the English language has attained the status of a global language and without it one cannot operate within/in the global village.

Because the language situation in Zimbabwe promotes the use of English as a high variety, bilingual situations with diglossia are created whereby different mother tongues are languages of the home and English the language of business which in most cases is learnt through formal education. One phenomenon which is a consequence of this type of linguistic situation is the mixing of two or more languages in speech or writing which in linguistic terms is termed 'code-switching'. Code-switching is a strategy available to any individual who can speak more than one language. According to Crystal (1987) 'code-switching' occurs when an individual who is bilingual alternates between two languages during his speech with another bilingual person.

Because the proliferation of code-switching is high in almost all communicative contexts and aspects of life, it violates a strong expectation that only one language should be used at any given time. Examples of such communicative contexts in which there is a high proliferation of code-switching include lyrics (especially hip hop and urban grooves genres), in advertisements, in novels and in drama. Of major interest to the current context is the realisation that code-switching is a popular feature in popular drama. *Studio 263* which is the focus of this enquiry employs this form of linguistic behaviour. The major basis for the adoption of such a linguistic pattern in the scripts of the soap is largely framed in the need to reach out to the diverse audience of the soap opera/drama, who to a large extent are bi/multilingual. The argument is that the code-mixing of the English language and the indigenous languages that the audience readily identifies with culturally and within communicative contexts outside official communications will appeal to a larger audience of the soap opera. It also serves as an identity marker that the soap is indigenous to them, in the process instilling a sense of ownership and identification with the soap as Zimbabwean.

Interesting to note at this point is that this form of code-switching/code-mixing is not unique to Zimbabwean drama. South African soap operas, for example, also employ code-switching. In South Africa, for example, there are such soap operas as *Generations* and *7 De Laan* and *Muvhango* in which there is the use of code- switching involving languages such as English, Afrikaans, Sotho, Zulu, Tswana Xhosa and Venda. It is against this background that this enquiry therefore seeks to understand, interpret and evaluate how and why code-switching is so common in drama, particularly Zimbabwean drama. The study raises the question that: If the purpose of such a linguistic behaviour is meant to attract a wider audience as well as to reach a diverse audience with different linguistic backgrounds, to what extent has this been successful?

3. Theory: Code-switching and the Communication Accommodation Theory

Research on code-switching has received immense attention from researchers around the world. Not much, as this study observes, has been done on the subject with reference to drama, especially in the context of Zimbabwe. Much of the literature on code-switching has concentrated on the role played by code-switching in the classroom. Examples of such works are Cook (1991) and Jingxia (2010) who have ascertained that code-switching is an effective teaching method. Within the Zimbabwean context, research on code-switching has been concerned with its occurrence in contexts other than drama. Dube (2008), for example, analyses the occurrence of code-switching in advertisements, Veit Wild (2009) focuses on the creative potential of code-switching in music and Chiwome and Tondhlana (1989) examine its occurrence within the languages of instruction. Outside of Zimbabwe, Jonsson (2005) examines the role of code-switching in Chicano Spanish theatre while Losch (2007) studies the proliferation of code-switching in popular Indian Cinema. In the Zimbabwean context, this is a relatively new area of research.

Couched within the theoretical explications of the Communication Accommodation Theory, this enquiry seeks to examine the role played by code-switching as a communicative strategy in *Studio 263*. Propounded in 1973 by Howard Giles, the Communication Accommodation Theory was initially known as the Speech Accommodation Theory. It was later renamed to Communication Accommodation Theory after the realisation that the term 'speech' was rather limiting. Crabill (2007:27) contends that, '[o]riginally termed Speech Accommodation Theory, the researchers felt that the term 'speech' was too limited for the complexity of language behaviour that occurs in interaction. In line with this Giles et al (1991) say that the name was changed in recognition that not only speech characteristics but also other communicative behaviours like non-verbal language and discourse patterns play an important role in the process of interpersonal or intergroup communicative adjustments.

Communication Accommodation Theory is a bundle of principles that are intended to characterise the strategies speakers use to establish, contest or maintain relationships through talk. According to Giles et al (1991) it is a theory that was developed precisely to redress insensitivity to social contextual variable in early sociolinguistic research. It is against this understanding that Jagero and Odong (2012) see the Communication Accommodation Theory as a social psychological theory of language use in society and which has been used by social

psychologists as well as linguists in studying language behaviour during contact between speakers from different linguistic groups. It follows therefore that the Communication Accommodation Theory takes the context of communication as an important variable that determines how communication is undertaken.

Also central to the Communication Accommodation Theory is the argument that, during interactions, people often modify their speech characteristics, that is, they may change their accent, speech rate, dialect, or code in order to achieve various goals. This means that the way people communicate is determined by the goals they would like to achieve in any interaction. It is the intentions of the communicator that determines how communication is undertaken. To be more specific the theory attempts to explain the motivations and the constraints acting upon speech shifts that occur in human interaction. These speech shifts can be in form of code-switching which is the focus of this present study. A speaker can change the language in an interaction in order to achieve a certain goal. This suggests that in Communication Accommodation Theory code-switching is a functional strategy of communication; it is done with a particular purpose in mind. This suggests that code-switching is used rationally.

The Communication Accommodation Theory describes a number of communication strategies that interactants may use to reduce or increase social distance. These are approximation, interpretability emotional expression, face related strategies, discourse management and interpersonal control. Approximation refers to changes in verbal or non-verbal behaviour to become more or less like the other interactant in order to reduce or accentuate social distance.

Interpretability refers to the way speakers adapt their behaviour to make it more understandable or not to the other interactant. It is done to make communication comprehensible to the target recipients. Discourse management is about how the management of the interaction is shared and the extent to which interactants facilitate their partners' contribution to the interaction through sharing topic selection and turn taking. Interpersonal control is about the roles that interactants are able to enact in an interaction, whereas face is about the public self-image of people. Emotional expression involves the interactant responding to the emotion or relational needs of the other person.

The Communication Accommodation Theory is based on two premises. The first premise is that communicators are motivated to adjust their speech styles with respect to one another as a way of expressing values, attitudes and intentions. This suggests that speakers do not just say things but they have got reasons to explain why and how they say things. It follows that when people switch codes, they do so deliberately. The second premise suggests that how we respond to another depends on how we interpret and perceive the individuals' speech. This implies that the way things are said has great implications on how the message is received and interpreted. The Communication Accommodation Theory thus, has sprung from the awareness that speakers are not merely 'incumbents' of roles imposed on them by society but rather are inquirers attempting to comprehend themselves and others. Put differently the Communication Accommodation Theory is

premised on the assumption that communication mediates and maintains interpersonal and intergroup relationships. To this end Giles and Gasiorek (2012) are of the view that the Communication Accommodation Theory seeks to explain speakers' linguistic and behavioural choices in interactions and the ways in which they relate to these choices. In short it suggests that speakers come to interactions with an initial orientation which is informed by such factors as relevant interpersonal and intergroup histories as well as the prevailing socio-historical context.

4. The Nature of Code-Switching in *Studio 263*

This research has ascertained that code-switching is a regular part of the communication strategies used in the soap opera, *Studio 263*.This is so because all the episodes analysed in the study are characterised by a heavy use of code-switching. There is no episode that is exclusively in one language. Results from research have shown that the commonly used languages in the drama are Shona and English. Of the languages used in the drama the most used language is English hence most of the code-switching is from English to Shona. In code-switching terms, the English language is the matrix language and Shona is the embedded language. Myers-Scotton (1993) in her Matrix Language Framework posits that a code-switching speaker alternates between the matrix language and an embedded language. According to the theory the matrix language is the more active and more frequently used language which restricts the use of the embedded language. According to Kroll and de Groot (2005:334) 'the first prediction of the theory is that only one language supplies the morphosyntactic frame. The frame is the set of abstract well-formedness constraints on how the clause is structured'. The second asymmetry refers to the source of the surface level morphemes that indicate syntactic relations across mixed constituents in the frame. The prediction is that although the embedded language contributes content morphemes to mixed constituents only the matrix language morphemes, indicate grammatical relations within such constituents. Simply put, the English language, which is the dominant language in the drama is the one whose grammar is used as the overall structure of the script and discourse, whereas Shona, the embedded language is the one from which switches originate. One of the justifications for the use of English and Shona in the drama is because English is the official language and Shona and Ndebele national languages. The languages were chosen because they are the major Zimbabwean languages.

The other justification is that the drama was originally designed primarily to impart information for sexual behaviour change for a national and possibly regional audience. As such it attempted at reaching the multiplicity of people within Zimbabwe and with their diverse linguistic, sociolinguistic and sociocultural backgrounds. This is largely so because it can be observed that the nation is bi/multilingual but the soap opera however did not afford to accommodate all the languages of the nation. As a result the script writers considered the setting of the drama, which consequently became the major determinant of the languages that are used in the drama. In support of this one of the respondents who is an actor says that it has always been the norm that the setting is an active determinant of how language is used in drama as he cites *Amakorokoza* a Bulawayo based drama which he says uses English and Ndebele, specifically because its setting is dominated by the Ndebele speaking audience.

The setting of *Studio 263* is Harare whose dominant language is Shona. Shona is also the dominant indigenous language in Zimbabwe. In addition to that the other common language of the city is English which is also common to Zimbabwe at large. It is on the basis of these reasons that Shona and English were chosen as the languages of the drama. In order to accommodate the rest of the audience in the nation, the English language is used. The assumption in the drama is that, at both the national and regional levels, the audience understands the English language and as a result subtitling in the English language is done to cater for the Shona switches. Subtitling is a sort of screen translation, whereby a film or television programme is made comprehensible to the audience who are unfamiliar with the language in which the original was produced. It follows then that the assumption is that those who cannot understand Shona will be able to understand English. This translates to the idea that the choice of languages is also determined by factors outside the drama, for example, the target audience. The languages that are used in the drama were thus selected with a particular audience in mind.

5. Types of Code-Switching in *Studio 263*

The research observes that the drama displays all the types of code-switching, ranging from single word switches to sentence switches. The types of code-switching in the soap opera were identified based on Poplack's (1980) and Bloom and Gumperz's (1972) classification. Poplack (1980) identifies three types of code-switching which are (a) tag switching, (b) intra-sentential and (c) intersentential code-switching. Bloom and Gumperz (1972) identify metaphorical and situational code-switching.

5.1 Tag Switches

Tag switches are independent lexical items that maybe placed anywhere in the sentence. This form of code-switching is also common in the drama. These switches are neither intersentential nor intrasentential switches. According to Poplack (1980:589) the insertion of a tag to an utterance has virtually no ramifications for the rest of the sentence. This is because tags have no syntactic constraints. They can be inserted anywhere in the discourse without violating any grammatical rules. Tag switches are mostly used to draw the attention of one's interlocutor. For example, in Episode 354, Tendai says to Welly, '*Iwe Wellington*, are you sure, *kuti Jabu asungwa*. (Hey Wellington are you sure that Jabu has been arrested.) Chenai in the same episode says to Tendai '*Haiwa Tendai*(No Tendai), don't worry these women fellowship normally take more time than stipulated.'

5.2 Intrasentential Switching

According to Poplack (1980) intrasentential code-switching refers to switching in which switches occur within a clause or sentence boundary. It can be a switch at the word, clause or phrase level. Single word switches is one of the types of code-switching used in the drama. This is whereby switches are in form of single lexical items like adjectives, adverbs as well as nouns. This is the kind of code-switching that is commonly used in the drama with relational as well as cultural words in the drama. It has been observed in the drama that this is the type of code-switching that is common to all characters .It is used even by those characters that

identify themselves with the use of English. The Huni's rarely code-switch to Shona but when addressing each other they use Shona. When Esther is addressing Jacob he calls him *babamudiki* 'younger father' (uncle) and Jacob also addresses Esther as *amaiguru* 'bigger mother' (aunt*)*. In conversations between Jacob and Esther the word *amaiguru* (aunt) and *babamudiki* (uncle) occasionally appear as single word switches. The cultural word *chiredzwa* (compensation for child keeping) is also one of the words that also appear as a single word switch because even characters that strictly use English will refer to the concept in Shona. One character who sticks to the use of English but all the same use the term *chiredzwa* (compensation for child keeping) is Jacob. In episode 358 when Jacob is talking to Mandy he uses the term *chiredzwa* (compensation for child keeping*)* as a single word switch as illustrated below:

Mandy: I am not in a hurry Jacob. I have come to verify the issue of

chiredzwa.

(Compensation for child keeping)

Jacob: What do you mean? Verification of *chiredzwa*?

(Compensation for child keeping)

Mandy: Jacob you faked that you paid *chiredzwa* to the Jari's

(Compensation for child keeping).

In all the cases the word *chiredzwa (*compensation for child keeping*)* appears as a single word switch.

The other instance of single word switches is when Welly is talking to Jabu, when he frequently use the Shona word *baba* (daddy*)* e.g in episode 355:

Welly: You know what *baba* (Daddy)*,* with this money; we are a step closer to wheels.I mean driving. We will be hot.

In the same episode Welly also used the same word.

Welly: Buying me a beer, *baba* (Daddy) a beer.

There are many instances in the drama when single word switches are used. In the soap there is also intra-word switching which is switching that takes place within a word. Romaine (1995:123) says that apart from mixing within the clause or sentence boundary, intrasentential switching can include mixing within word boundaries. In *Studio 263* this kind of intrasentential code-switching has been used in episode 355 when Chenai says to Vimbayi and Tendai '*Imi vana handizivi kuti makaita sei, munochengeterana ma*grudge. (You children I don't know what has gotten in you, why do you keep grudges) In the word *ma*grudge there are two morphemes one Shona and the other one English. /ma/- is a Shona morpheme denoting plurality and grudge is an English noun.

Intrasentential code-switching also takes the form of segments that are larger than the word*.*

This is whereby there is a shift from one language of segments larger than one constituent within a single sentence. This is a common form of code-switching in the drama. This can be illustrated with examples from episode 357:

Vimbayi: I am afraid, *Tete makanonoka*.

(aunt you are late)

Chenai: *Chiredzwa hachisati chabhadharwa*, as far as I am concerned.

(The compensation for child keeping has not been paid.)

Tete: *Saka uri kureva here iwe Jabu kuti* you wanted the *chiredzwa* to be conducted here.

(Jabu so you mean to say … the compensation for child keeping…)

According to Poplack (1980) intra-sentential code-switching involves the greatest syntactic risk as words or phrases from another language are inserted into the first language within one sentence or utterance.

5.3 Intersentential

It has also been ascertained through observation that there is use of intersentential code-switching in the drama. Intersentential code-switching occurs at sentence level. Poplack (1980) considers intersentential code-switching as the first type of code-switching. It takes place between sentences that is at a clause or sentence boundary where each clause or sentence is in a different language. This type of code switching can take place between turns.

In *Studio 263* intersentential code-switching is one of the mostly used modes of code-switching. It may serve to emphasize a point made in the other language for example in episode 357 Vimbayi used such type of code-switching when she wanted to emphasize to Tete that *chiredzwa* has been paid. She says '*Tete chiredzwa chakabhadharwa*. Everything has been settled' (Aunt the compensation for child keeping has been paid) In the same episode Jabu says '*Tete ava mangwana*. Good night' (Aunt see you tomorrow.) This type of code-switching can also be used to signal a switch in the participant's conversation for example when Tete says to Jabu in episode 358, 'I have wanted to talk to you ever since I came. *Iwe Jabu wakakanganwa zvatakakutuma kumusha*' (Hey Jabu have you forgotten what we have sent you to do in the rural areas). Here intersentential code-switching is used to introduce the subject of discussion. Intersentential code-switching is also extensively used in episode 358 as in the illustration:

> **Mandy**: *London kwawakaenda kwakakupaza musoro Jacob*. You are old enough to think. How come you did this as if you were buying tomatoes?
>
> (Jacob all your manners have been eroded in London)
>
> **Tete**: You are a coward not a child. *Wakabvumirei kuisa zvese mumaoko ako.*

(Why do you agree to put everything in your hands?)

Muwengwa: Just a few dollars Tom. *Inodzoka yese Tom yaberekana.*

(Tom I will return all with interest.)

Muwengwa: I don't have to threaten you Tom. *Hayisi nyaya yekutyikidzirana iyi.*

(It's not a matter of threatening each other.)

Intersentential code-switching also takes place between turns in the drama for example in episode 359:

Jabu: Excuse me?

Welly: Isn't it we are in this together man. We share the spoils.

Jabu: *Saka iwe pahuku yemweni uri kudei?*

(So, where do you come in?)

Welly: What do you mean *pahuku yemweni, mweni ndiani?*

(What do you mean by I am not involved.)

Jabu: Do you understand what this money is for?

Welly: Yes n*deyechiredzwa.*

(It's for compensation for child keeping)

Jabu: *Chaani?*

(For whom)

Welly: *Chavimbayi.*

(For Vimbayi.)

Jabu: Who is vimbayi?

Welly: Jabu are you sure you want to do this?

Jabu: And I said yes, can't you get it?

Welly: Okay cool, *toda kuzviona.*

(That is what we want to see.)

Jabu: *Kuona chii chacho*?

(What do you want to see?)

Welly: I just want to see where you are going with that plan.

From the illustration it is shown that intersentential in *Studio 263* can be used by characters in different turns. Jabu and Welly changes codes from one turn to the other where they use Shona in one turn and then English in the next turn. To Poplack (1980) Intersentential code-switching requires the least integration as code-switching happen between sentences; hence each sentence is constructed using the rules of the language used.

5.4 Situational and Metaphorical Code-Switching

The use of language in the drama is sometimes situationally and metaphorically determined. There are instances in the drama when the use of language changes with a change of situation or a change in the discussion topic. Characters do not code switch with everybody. In the drama it is possible to predict the people who can code-switch. The manner in which code-switching is used presents evidence of the relationship between the interactants. It looks like code-switching is a strategy that is used by people who are close, that is those who share a close relationship. Welly occasionally code-switches to Shona when talking to Jabu because they are friends. He again code-switches a lot when talking to the Jaris' maybe because they belong to the same social class and they are neighbours. The manner in which code-switching is used presents evidence of the relationship between the interactants.

The idea that code-switching is determined by the situation can be illustrated by a conversation between Muwengwa and Shereni in episode 355 which is characterized by code-switching between English and Shona:

> **Shereni:** Mukanya I have come to collect my money.
>
> **Muwengwa:** *Ah ko zvinombonzwaro here shumba. Munogara pasi tokurukura.*
>
> (Is that the way it is done. You sit down then we talk)
>
> **Muwengwa:** *Tikusvitsei maoko. Makadii shumba*.
>
> (Greetings. How are you Shumba)
>
> **Shereni**: Muwengwa stop playing games and give me my money!
>
> **Muwengwa:** Alright shumba. Not so fast Muwengwa. Alright now *simuka tione mukuru, Shereni. Aika unoti ndiri kutamba*. On your feet.
>
> (You can stand such that we see who is old. Yeah you think I am joking.)
>
> **Shereni**: *Please sahwira usadaro*.

(Don't do that my friend.)

Muwengwa: Oh *ndava sahwira manje*.

(Now I am your friend.）

In the conversation above, Muwengwa alternates between Shona and English. However it should be noted that despite the fact that Muwengwa code-switches a lot with Shereni, when he talks to Wakanaka, he sticks to the use of English probably because they enjoy a business relationship. This might as well have been triggered by the topics of discussion. When he is talking to Shereni they are talking about the money that Muwengwa was supposed to pay back. From the conversation Muwengwa seem not to treat the matter seriously. What he does is just to threaten Wakanaka and during the conversation he mostly used Shona. When he is talking to Wakanaka, Muwengwa sticks to the use of English because he wanted to sound formal because they are dealing with a serious issue.

> **Wakanaka:** Mr Muwengwa, I came as fast as I could, what is it?
>
> **Muwengwa**: Good, sir.
>
> **Wakanaka**: If I am ask, why is the supermarket empty?
>
> **Muwengwa**:That is not why called you.
>
> **Wakanaka**:That might be not why you called me but one can't help but notice, the shop is empty.
>
> **Muwengwa**: Can we stick to the business at hand, damn it!
>
> **Wakanaka**: It's a summon to appear in court.
>
> **Muwengwa**: And you think I don't know that? Tell me what can be done about it.
>
> **Wakanaka**: Where is the car?
>
> **Muwengwa**: We have a case.

The above examples illustrate the idea that the use to which language is put can be determined by those who are involved in the conversation. This is the reason why characters behave differently with language in different circumstances. This means that a change in situation can result in the change of the communication code. The fact that you can code switch with selected people is evidence enough to support the idea that situational code-switching is used in the drama.

Basically the idea is that language use in the drama is situational. The language used is determined by the interactants involved, the subject being discussed as well as the setting of the conversation. When Jabu converses with Jacob, he uses English. This is done for the purposes of converging with Jacob who is from an elite class. He wants to identify with Jacob.

Jabu uses English throughout the conversation without switching to Shona. However when he is conversing with Welly, he switches to Shona. This supports the idea that the situation determines the kind of language that the interactant uses. The language that is used in the drama is determined by the interlocutors' involved Jabu mix English and Shona when he is talking to his family members and to his friend Welly.

On the other hand Welly in episode 354 also code-switch between Shona and English when talking to the Jari's and solely in English when talking to the police officer. This shows that characters can exhibit different identities depending on situations that they find themselves.

The other example that can be taken from the drama is when Esther in episode 355 is talking to the ancestors. When addressing the ancestors she uses Shona for example:

> **Esther:***Eh vasekuru, ndimika mhukahuru,Chitokwadzimu chinendoro***.** *Ndinika chizukuru chenyu Esther mwana waJena Kutsvaga kugara uku.* In the same way *mudziyo uyu uchagara muno, pasina anoubisa, ndokugara kwandichaita muno mu*office
>
> (Hey you grandfather, the great one. It's me Esther your grandchild, the daughter of Jena looking for peace. In the same way this utensil shall stay in this office, no one shall remove it. This is how I will stay in this office)

In the scene, it is clear that Esther uses Shona when addressing *vasekuru (*grandfather). This again is done for reasons of convergence she wants to address *vasekuru* (grandfather*)* in his language in order to bridge the distance between *vasekuru (grandfather)* and her. The moment she starts to address Jacob, Joyce and Vimbayi. She starts to use English as if to say I will address everyone in the language they know best. From the examples above it is clear that the language that is used in the drama is determined by external factors, that is our addressees, the social situation as well as the subject. The language that is used by the elite is different from the language used by the poor. In the same vein the language one uses when in the home environment is different from the language of the office. Basically characters in the drama use language in such a way that they become more like their interlocutors.

Code switching can also be used to diverge from those we interact with, that is to create distance between ourselves and those we interact with. In episode 358 when Tom is conversing with Muwengwa they use different codes where Muwengwa mixes Shona and English and Tom is using English exclusively.

> **Muwengwa** :*Aah VaMbambo, ndimika vakuru vakuru.*
>
> (Aah Mr Mbambo, you are great)

Tom:Take a seat

Muwengwa: *Ndimika mune maoffice akanaka kudaizvi.Zviri kufamba here*?

(It's you who have such a nice office. How are you?)

Tom: What do you want?

Muwengwa: *Ana* Tom is this how you receive your guests.

Muwengwa: Okay as you know, *mbudzi kuzvarira pavanhu hunzi nditandirwe imbwa*.

(If someone tells another his problems he will be in need of help.)

Tom: Please spare me the Shona lesson and just get to the point I have a lot to do.

In this extract code-switching is used for reasons of divergence. Tom do not want to be associated with Muwengwa hence the use of different languages. Tom actually expresses this literally when he says '… spare me the Shona lesson…'and in the same episode he re-echoes the idea that he don't want to be associated with Muwengwa when he says: I am sorry Mbambo holdings is too big to be associated with road side hawkers. This shows code-switching can be used as a way of distancing one from his or her interlocutors. The bottom line is that the way people use language in the drama is determined by those that they will be talking to and by the subjects of discussion.

6. Conclusion(s)

In the drama code-switching is between Shona and English. English is the matrix language which means that it is the dominant language used in the drama and Shona the embedded language that is the language from which code-switches emanate from. By virtue of being the Matrix language, English grammar is the one that determines the overall structure of utterances in the drama. The idea that the languages are not used proportionally in the drama is supported by the idea that subtitling is done in English. The research findings reveal that these languages have been chosen because Shona is the language that is spoken in Harare as well as Zimbabwe at large, which happens to be the setting of the drama and English is a lingua franca for the African audience who happen to be the target audience for the drama. The research demonstrates that the way language is used in the drama culminates from the language situation that prevails in the country where there is a high prevalence of bi/multilingualism.

The types of code switches that are used in the drama ranges from switches at the word level to switches at the sentences level. These were discussed based on Poplack (1980)'s classification of code-switching which identifies three types of code- switching which are tag-switching, Intersentential and intrasentential code-switching. Findings from the research

evince that there is intrasentential code- switching at the word level and of segments that are larger than the word. Tag switching was also identified in the drama. Intersentential code-switching is one of the types that were used in the drama and in the drama it is found at sentence level and in between speech turns.

It has been ascertained through research data that code-switching in *Studio 263* is not a random exercise. Characters in the drama do not just code-switch anywhere and anyhow. The language that is used by the characters in the drama is determined by extra linguistic factors. The fact that actors do not code-switch with everyone and every time has been cited as the reason to justify that code-switching is not a random exercise.

Language use, in the soap, is determined by the interlocutors involved, the topic of discussion as well as the situation in which the interlocutors find themselves. Basing on this it has been ascertained that characters use different codes depending on whom they are talking to and what they will be talking about. What this means is that code-switching is situationally and metaphorically determined. In short the way language is used in the drama is dependent on both textual and extra-textual factors. Code-switching is therefore triggered by changes in situation and discussion topics. The use of code-switching in the drama is a deliberate act that is done to achieve a variety of functions. The functions of code-switching in the drama were discussed basing on the code-switching functions typology by Chaiwichian (2007) Gumperz (1982) and Auer (1995). While, outside the scope of the current research it can be observed that code-switching in *Studio 263* is used for reiteration which serves the purpose of emphasis and elaboration, to fill lexical gaps which helps to convey information faithfully, for expression of feelings that is to express anger and disapproval, the main purpose of such a linguistic behaviour, this research argues is to maintain contact with the target audience as well as to appeal communicatively to a larger audience through a language they culturally readily identify with. The other reason for using code-switching, thus, is for identity marking, to achieve politeness, for interjections and for language play which results in entertainment. The other observation that was reached in the study is that these functions of code-switching often overlap that is one code switch can serve more than one function at a time. The bottom line is that code-switching in *Studio 263* is a functional communication strategy that is exploited by actors to extend their wishes and desires. It is not only bilingual language behaviour but is a strategy of communication that yields different effects. In short code-switching fulfils creative, artist and pragmatic functions in the drama.

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