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Chapter 6

Selling Fasta Fasta *in the East African Marketplace*

> *People's involvement in politics is less and less as citizens and more and more as consumers; and their bases of participation are less and less the real communities they belong to, and more and more the political equivalents of consumption communities.*
> Fairclough, 1989: 211

As Fairclough (1989) points out, a strong characteristic of modern societies is the decreasing relevance of national, regional and ethnic identifications and the growing importance of consumer identities. In the fields of applied linguistics and sociolinguistics, recent scholarship on multilingual[1] advertising demonstrates how this realm of life has become a significant site of language contact with English (Kelly-Holmes, 2005; Piller, 2003), and researchers have found advertising to be a fascinating site for identity construction in a number of countries, including Germany (Piller, 2001), France (Martin, 2006), India (Bhatia, 2000), New Zealand (Bell, 1999), Japan (Backhaus, 2007) and Korea (Lee, 2006a). Multilingual advertising illustrates how local consumer identities are made using the resource of English in its global and local forms. Of course, these consumer identities should be read as constructs created for the domain of the market since much of this advertising exhibits 'fake multilingualism' that fetishizes languages for their idealized symbolic values, and which fails to represent how speakers actually use languages in their sociolinguistic contexts (Kelly-Holmes, 2005). At the same time, while market-driven language is often fabricated to serve business interests, it often intersects with language use in other domains, and hence, can contribute to new forms of multivocality in other multilingual spaces (*cf.* Haarman, 1989; Tranter, 2008).

In spite of many struggles with various aspects of economic development, there is no doubt about the importance of consumerism in East Africa, particularly for those living in urban areas. In fact, compared to many

'developed' nations, advertising in Kenya and Tanzania appears to be relatively unhampered by government regulations. While Swahili has an important role in articulating consumer identities in advertising in these nations, these identities are increasingly being constructed by and for local consumers through the global resource of English and hybrid languages such as Sheng, Swahinglish and Street Swahili. Advertising is occasionally in monolingual forms of English in Kenya and Tanzania, but more often than not, consumers are constructed as multilingual through the use of more than one language in advertisements. Of course, this phenomenon is not limited to East Africa since English has become a global discursive practice that is often used to symbolize modernity, sophistication and worldliness.

Multilingual advertising involving English is symbolic of a new world order that is taking shape at both economic and linguistic levels, a new form of 'modern living' that challenges binary concepts of the global and the local. Just as individuals' consumer identities are no longer strictly local ones, manufactured only in local languages, there are no longer limited avenues for experiencing global aspects of consumerism. Instead, transcultural consumer identities constructed through multilingualism involving English are increasingly found worldwide. These transcultural consumer identities relate well to what Giddens (1990) calls the 'disembedding' of social relations and social practices (such as advertising) from particular places and contexts and their generalization across temporal and spatial boundaries. Transcultural discursive resources such as English are hence disembedded from their colonial pasts and re-embedded through processes of appropriation, thereby creating a sense of the local. The local is a very hybrid construction, however, as 'it is a global-local dialectic wherein disembedded language practices increasingly flow across linguistic and cultural boundaries, but are assembled in distinctive hybridisations which contribute to the reconstitution of separate identities of place' (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999: 83).

The presence of English in advertising across a variety of both post-colonial and currently globalizing locations is reflective of our increasingly globally interconnected lifeworlds (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000) in which globalized communications provide a new and very contemporary world order. From a more critical perspective though, such advertising involving English indicates how populations around the world experience the marketization of social life, a key characteristic of the current period of *late modernity* (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). What we buy defines us more significantly than ever before, more so than our ethnicity, social class or religious affiliation. In this new global order,

nation-based economies have, to some degree, lost their relevance; in a parallel manner, English no longer has an immediate connection to specific nations, particularly Great Britain and the United States. Just as the flow of trade has accelerated due to increasingly permeable borders, English has also infused other languages and cultures and has become part of the local linguistic landscape. The result seems to be a new sociolinguistic world order in the form of Englishization. While aspects of linguistic and economic imperialism are surely part of this new sociolinguistic world order, what seems increasingly clear is that strong forces of localization are also present. Here, divisions between the local and the global fall apart, and English and the languages it comes into contact with are altered through processes of hybridization, appropriation and localization.

In this chapter, I analyze how English helps to construct both a new world order and a sense of the local by investigating how it is used as a commodity and as a source of creativity in Tanzania and Kenya. The simultaneously consumerist and creative elements of advertising fit well with Bakhtin's concept of dialogism, as does the potential duality of meaning that emerges in multilingual advertising texts. While these concepts have not been applied to the linguistic analysis of advertising in any depth (except Piller, 2001), his view of language as dialogue is very relevant for making sense of identity construction. Multilingual advertisements offer consumers the opportunity to layer monolingual and bilingual readings of the texts simultaneously, resulting in dialogic readings. Because they offer multiple strata of readings to consumers, they provide many opportunities for *transgredience*, Bakhtin's (1981) concept of how the self can become saturated with otherness through dialogue. Transgredience takes place when the self interacts with others, and meanings of utterances change due to the 'surplus' of what others see. Transgredience explains how language change happens over time, and it also explains how words and phrases might develop multiple readings. In advertising, dialogic readings and transgredience take place through readers' interactions with texts, rather than face-to-face encounters. Transgredience is not restricted to the context of texts though, since texts are in constant dialogue with other texts and with other utterances from daily life. Holquist describes this dialogic relationship between texts and other utterances as

> a site of constant struggle between the chaos of events and the ordering ability of language. The effect of order which language achieves is produced by reducing the possible catalogue of happenings, which at any moment is potentially endless, to a restricted number that perception can then process as occurring in understandable relations. What happens in an utterance, no matter how commonplace, is always more ordered than what happens outside an utterance. (Holquist, 2002: 84)

The intertextual relationships between advertising texts and utterances from daily life will be examined at more length in the discussion below.

Dialogism in advertising offers the chance to see how English has become a language of identity construction in East Africa. Though English is often still treated as a largely utilitarian language, useful only for the domains of education, international politics and international business exchange, advertising involving English shows a high degree of creativity and playfulness. Many of these advertisements use the global capital of English for local commercial purposes, and in the process, they create cosmopolitan yet highly localized subject positions for multilingual, multiliterate consumers. For advertisements circulated primarily in Kenya, English dominates, with rather small amounts of Swahili use and sometimes, Sheng. These advertisements produce heteroglossia through dual sets of tensions, which include commodity and creativity, local and global identifications, and Swahili and English (and Swahinglish) literacies.

The 'multilanguagedness' of the domain of advertising reveals some loyalty to standardized varieties of language since many 'hi-tech' products such as computers and business products are advertised solely in very standardized varieties of English (see Figure 6.1). However, the purposeful use of multilingual advertising and advertising involving non-standardized varieties seems to challenge the *cultural capital* of monologic forms of English or Swahili. The creative hybrid language practices

Figure 6.1 Advertisement for computers in Dar es Salaam

found in this domain are often more powerful forms of communication for East Africans. In a consumerist world, then, prescriptive attitudes towards purity in language and the maintenance of boundaries between languages are no longer relevant. The radically different perspectives in language ideologies towards hybrid languages across domains of life, including in education, will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

Beyond understanding how English functions symbolically in particular societies, multilingual advertising involving English raises many questions regarding the types of literacies consumers are expected to have in order to appreciate these advertisements. Furthermore, an exploration of these literacies allows us to evaluate to what degree the language in such advertising is fabricated, or is part of speakers' sociolinguistic repertoires. Thus far, most studies of multilingual advertising have largely focused on indexical meanings of English such as sophistication, internationalism and technological superiority (e.g. Bhatia, 2000; Lee, 2006a; Martin, 2006; Piller, 2001). While some attention has been paid to the ways in which hybrid forms of English establish new meanings for consumers, there has been little discussion about the relationship between advertising and the new literacies (New London Group, 1996; Street, 1995) that may be developing as a result of English-dominant multilingualism. Moreover, little is known about how the interpretation of hybrid advertisements may vary depending on the linguistic repertoires of consumers. In this chapter, I examine the range of language use in advertising texts, and following some of the methods used in Chapter 4, I address the issue of interpretation by including interview data.

Studies of Multilingual Advertising

Among researchers who have categorized multilingualism in advertising, Reh (2004) offers the most comprehensive framework in her analysis of multilingual public writing – which includes advertising – in Lira Town in the northern part of Uganda. She describes four types of writing that involves more than one language. First, *duplicating* writing presents the exact same information in more than one language; second, information may be *fragmentary*, in that an advertisement provides all information in one language with selected elements in an additional language or languages. Third, *overlapping* writing is found when only part of the information is repeated in more than one language, while other parts of the text are presented in only one language. As Reh (2004: 12) explains, 'This type of multilingual language use informs monolingual readers sufficiently and at the same time neither bores bilingual readers through exact repetition as

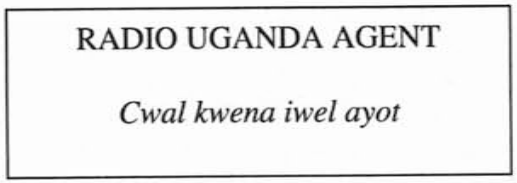

Figure 6.2 Advertisement for commercial advertising in Uganda. *Note*: The Lwo text means 'Send your messages at a low price'.

in the case of duplicating [or fragmentary] multilingualism.' Finally, *complementary* writing presents different parts of a text in different languages in a manner that requires readers to have literacy in all the languages. Reh (2004: 14) gives the example of an advertisement for a radio agent as an illustration of complementary writing. In this case, readers would need to understand both the English and the Lwo to interpret the sign as an advertisement for private and commercial radio advertising (see Figure 6.2).

Reh explains that the linguistic repertoires of residents of Lira Town involve a range of languages including Lwo, a language comprised of Lango, Acholi and Kumam, plus some English for those with some degree of formal schooling. Luganda appears in some advertisements for mobile phones, while Swahili words are often used as the names of restaurants, bars and stores. The public domain of multilingual texts and advertisements reveals that forms of Lwo are rarely used monolingually, however; much more frequently, Lwo appears in combination with English in the form of complementary and overlapping multilingualism, thereby indicating requisite literacy levels for the target consumers of these texts.

While Reh's study reveals that many Ugandans in Lira Town are required to have complementary literacies in Lwo and English in order to make sense of the multilingual texts and advertisements in their vicinity, her research does not necessarily provide examples in which these two languages work in tandem to produce new or creative meanings as a result of their juxtapositioning. Usually, Lwo provides an advertising hook through culturally meaningful messages while English is typically relegated to neutral information, as illustrated by the advertisement in Figure 6.3 (Reh, 2004: 27).

In contrast to what Reh reports for the Ugandan context, other studies of multilingual advertising do provide data in which the combination of

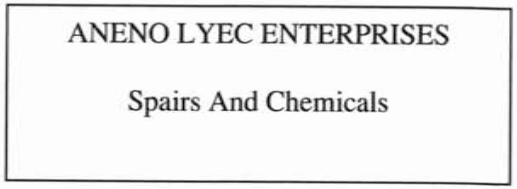

Figure 6.3 An advertisement for car service. *Note*: The first line in Lwo means 'I-see-an-elephant Enterprises'. Spairs [sic] refers to spare tires

two or more languages provides new meanings that are not simply the product of two monolingual capacities combined. These texts are a kind of complementary multilingual writing, but they tend to involve a greater degree of linguistic blending at the lexical and even morphosyntactic levels of language as well. Such texts not only demand literacy among consumers in both languages, but they demand hybrid literacies to interpret the dialogic relationship that the use of two or more languages produces.

Several studies on multilingual advertising have examined how local and global identities are constructed in multilingual advertisements. Bhatia (2000) uses the term *glocalization* to refer to the hybridity in advertisements in rural India, by which he means the integration of at least two linguistic systems. In his work, glocalization is paraphrased as 'think and act both global and local at the same time' (Bhatia, 2000: 161). In contrast, globalization is 'thinking and acting globally' (i.e. advertising in English), while localization is 'thinking locally and acting locally' (i.e. advertising in the local regional language). An advertisement for Brooke Bond tea provides an illustration of Bhatia's concept of glocalization (underlined words appear on the sign in Hindi and in Devanagari script) (Bhatia, 2000: 161):

Brooke Bond A1 ...	kaRak	chaap caay
	KaRak (thunder)	brand tea
'Brooke Bond A1 ...	the KaRak brand tea'	

For Bhatia, then, multilingual advertisements are 'glocal' by virtue of being multilingual.

Piller (2001) examines advertisements that assert new meanings as a result of their multilingual nature. Drawing on Bakhtin's notion of dialogism, she provides examples in the German context that heteroglossia in the form of English and German. One example comes from Arcor Mannesmann, a now defunct telecommunications company which produced an advertisement whose headline was *'Pfennigfuchsing'* ('penny pinching'), a combination of the German noun *Pfennigfuchser* ('penny pincher') with the English

affix -ing. According to Piller, the linguistic hybridity in this new bilingual word maintains the concept of a fiscally savvy company while adding the quality of being modern and cool, as well as globally minded. Here, the 'voice' of fiscal conservatism comes in German while the 'voice' of global sophistication comes through English. Piller demonstrates how the voices of English and German are not static by examining how German non-profit agencies use English rather differently to provide Germans with anticonsumerist identities. The example of a nonprofit which lobbies for the interests of bicyclists and for environmental issues shows how English can be appropriated. It reads 'Rush hour = *Rasch aua*' ('quick ouch'), which associates English with a German homophone relating to the stress of driving in heavy traffic. Unlike commercial advertising that presents German consumers with German-English bilingualism as a toolkit for identity construction, nonprofit advertisements tend to use English to subvert consumerist identities such as those illustrated by Arcor Mannesmann.

Also within the European context, Martin (2006) explores how local and global identities are formulated through multilingual advertisements in France. Martin focuses on the ways that global marketing campaigns are adapted to the French market and how French advertisers use English and foreign products in localized manners. To illustrate how global campaigns are adapted for French consumers, she provides a print advertisement for the Ford Mondeo, a vehicle sold by a US-based automaker whose safety features are highlighted for the French market. The advertisement is a close-up of the driver's seat, and two tape measures that are marked with centimeters rather than inches are arranged across the seat to mimic a seat belt. The tape measures symbolize the idea of measuring the driver's body measurements in order to electronically adjust the airbag in the event of a collision. The advertisement is further localized through the use of a larger font for the French slogan *'Protection sur mesure?'* ('tailored protection') which is the most prominent text in the advertisement, followed by smaller text which reads 'IPS: Intelligent Protection System' (Martin, 2006: 151).

Beyond complementary bilingual advertisements are advertisements for French companies and products that make use of English in their efforts to appeal to French consumers. Bilingual creativity that demands the ability to decipher the double voices in 'Youth Frenglish' often appears in advertisements targeted at young consumers, as in *'Relooker ton mobile'* ('change the look of your mobile phone'), where the English verb 'look' is turned into French through the addition of affixes *re-* ('again') and *-er* (a verbal ending) (Martin, 2006: 183). Similarly, on a poster in a Paris subway, the slogan *'Je dunkerai for you'* ('I will [land a slam] dunk for you')

uses the English 'dunk' within French grammar (Martin, 2006: 187). A print advertisement for Givenchy also makes use of English, but to provide an echo of a French word. The slogan *'L'autre façon de porter HOT Couture'* ('the other way to wear HOT Couture', translation Martin) calls up the French *haute* within the phrase *haute couture* ('high fashion') and grabs attention through a language contrast and the use of capital letters (Martin, 2006: 198). All of these examples demonstrate how consumers might need to potentially draw on knowledge of French and English in order to interpret the ads, but as Martin (2006: 45–46) states, 'audience interpretations of code-mixed advertising text, visuals and jingles (particularly in terms of their cultural specificity) remain a largely untapped area for empirical research'.

Bilingual advertising in South Korea also provides examples of hybrid language use that cannot be classified as merely complementary. Lee (2006a) gives the example of a cellular phone provider that uses Korean alongside English to refer to the practice of sharing leftover phone minutes with friends. The advertisement reads *'Let's KT. Bigi KTF'* (KTF = Korea Telecommunications Freetel). Here, KT is used as a verb, and the Korean verb *bigita* ('to end in a tie' or 'come out even') is truncated and used as a promotion for the company. In this example, Lee explains that the use of roman letters for the Korean phrase *Bigi KTF* produces parity with the English text *Let's KT*, thereby constructing a very urban and youth-oriented identity for consumers.

These examples from South Korea, France and Germany are better understood as making use of *dialogic multilingualism* since they ask readers to tap into more than their knowledge of both English and another language. These advertisements rely on consumers' abilities to decipher third codes (as in the case of *relooker*), and to interpret the 'voice' of English in these multilingual advertisements as the voice of global and local modernity.

Advertisements in East Africa

I now look at advertisements from a variety of contexts in Tanzania and Kenya that illustrate how various forms of multilingualism are used to construct consumer identities. The advertisements have primarily been collected through my own photography, though some advertisements come from newspapers, magazines and other products I have collected in East Africa since 2001. First, I discuss advertisements that require monolingual language abilities, some of which relate to Reh's classifications of duplicating and complementary multilingualism. Then, I turn to

examples which require hybrid language literacies and which have multiple potential readings.

Advertisements that require monolingual language abilities

Many advertisements in Tanzania and Kenya are either monolingual or use both Swahili and English to duplicate the information presented to consumers. Both types establish the target consumer audience as comprised of monolinguals in one language or the other, rather than both. Consequently, many advertisements rely on monolingual varieties of English and Swahili to market products. Figures 6.4 and 6.5 provide examples of two monolingual advertisements that were found in several regions of Tanzania in 2007. Figure 6.4 has a somewhat different message for Swahili readers than the English version, as *Maisha msisimko na Coca Cola* translates directly as 'Life – thrill and Coca Cola'.

Monolingual advertisements also appeared in signs that were used to promote locally owned businesses. Figures 6.6 and 6.7 illustrate advertisements for the same English language and computer training school, and each one is entirely in English or Swahili. The content of the signs is nearly identical, but it is likely that the English-medium sign was a bigger investment for the college since it is a signboard rather than a banner. Compared

Figure 6.4 Swahili Coca Cola ad in Zanzibar

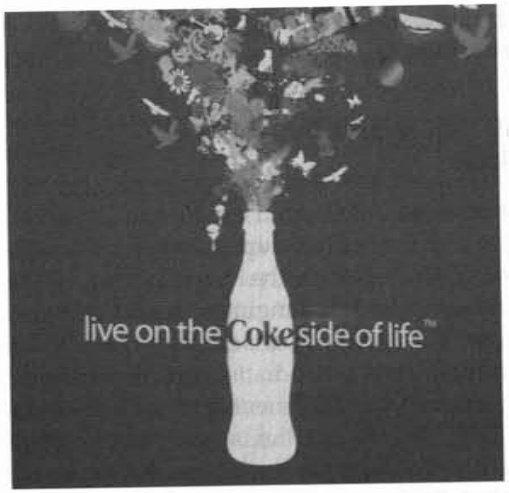

Figure 6.5 English Coca Cola ad in Zanzibar

Figure 6.6 English-medium sign for English Fountain College, Dar es Salaam

Figure 6.7 Swahili-medium sign for English Fountain College, Dar es Salaam

to the signboard, the hand-painted banner maintains the English name of the institution but with the word 'college' missing; it contains slightly more information regarding the college's location as well. It reads *'TUPO: K/NONDONI MUSLIM KARIBU NA TX MARKET'* ('We are at: Kinondoni Muslim near TX market'). The English-medium sign proclaims its courses to be of 'quality', whereas no similar claims are made in the Swahili-medium banner.

Figure 6.8 provides another example of two signs that appear in one language each while demonstrating that geographic location does not necessarily dictate the language of the advertisements. On the left side of

Figure 6.8 Monolingual advertisements side by side in Dar es Salaam

the photograph are English words and phrases advertising services on the doors of a music and film editing store such as *Video shooting*, *Still Picture* and *Music VCD Library*. To the right of the store is an entirely Swahili-medium banner that advertises a weekly newspaper. It reads '*Soma Gazeti Zeze kila Alhamisi*' ('Read Zeze newspaper every Thursday').

Figure 6.9 depicts a storefront for a pharmacy in Iringa Town, a small city in the western central part of Tanzania. The advertising on the storefront is an example of both overlapping and duplicating bilingualism. At the top of the photograph is an English-medium sign that reads 'Iringa Highlands Pharmacy' that provides the contact information for the store. Below this is another sign that reads PHARMACY – *DUKA LA MADAWA* (literally, 'store of medicine'). Another storefront in Iringa Town (Figure 6.10) reveals overlapping multilingualism on a sign for a store that sells paper, notebooks and school supplies. Like the pharmacy, this storefront has an official sign at the top entirely in English, followed by hand-painted Swahili-medium text. The information provided in both signs is identical and the English sign provides the additional information of 'book sales, furniture and cleaning material'.

Both duplicating and complementary multilingualism were much more common in the Iringa region compared to the Dar es Salaam area, where

Figure 6.9 Duplicating sign in Iringa town

Figure 6.10 Overlapping multilingualism near Iringa Town

monolingual signs or hybrid signs were more often found. Figure 6.11 illustrates English-only advertising on a store that sells stationary supplies and which also offers Internet services. Based on my observations, stores selling such products and services were likely to advertise exclusively in English in the urban centers of Tanzania and Kenya, Dar es Salaam and Nairobi. Quite often, the advertisements in Nairobi that use complementary multilingualism are those that use Swahili for slogans and English for the remainder of the advertising copy. For example, Kenya Power and Lighting Company's current slogan is '*Umeme Pamoja*' ('Electricity together/for all'), but in magazine advertisements for the company, the slogan and its subheading '*Njia rahisi ya kupata stima*' ('An easy way to get electricity') is all that appears in Swahili while the rest of the text is in English.

Localized English in advertisements

Advertisements that contain reappropriations of English have become a significant part of the East African linguistic landscape. This type of advertisements demonstrates processes of localization and appropriation

Figure 6.11 Monolingual signs for secretarial services in Dar es Salaam

through adaptations in the linguistic structure of English. In Kenya, examples of localized English taken mostly from non-advertising contexts have been documented in Angogo and Hancock (1980), Zuengler (1982) and Buregeya (2006). These include Kenyan phrasal verbs ('to be picked by a car' and 'fill a form'), formations of analogous compounds ('overlisten', meaning to eavesdrop), the use of adjectives as nouns ('first born', 'primary', 'secretarial') and the expansion of politeness strategies (e.g. 'thank you' as a reply to 'good bye'). This research is rather descriptive, and as Skandera (1999) and Buregeya (2006) point out, much of it is anecdotal and based on the (sometimes Kenyan) researchers' views of Kenyan varieties, rather than actual usage.

In Tanzania, local varieties of English have received less attention in general, though appropriations of the language have been discussed by Blommaert (1999a, 2005b), whose main interest is in the use of what he calls *Public English*, his term for the use of largely 'inaccurate' and often semantically ambiguous forms of English that are frequently used for commercial purposes (see Table 6.1). These forms are similar to what has been well-documented in Japan as forms of Japanized English, Japlish and Engrish, including examples like shampoo bottles that are unabashedly labeled *Shampoo for extra damage* (Seaton, 2001: 233). As Blommaert points out, it is crucial to understand the value of these forms within their local context. In Tanzania, English is valued among a Tanzanian

Table 6.1 Public English in Tanzania (from Blommaert, 2005b: 403)

(a) *Fund rising dinner party*	on a banner in central Dar es Salaam
(b) *Disabled Kiosk*	the name of a 'kiosk' – a converted container that serves as a small shop operated by a disabled man
(c) *Shekilango Nescafé*	the name of a café on Shekilango road in Dar es Salaam
(d) *Approxi Mately*	written on a bus

customer base, and a wider variety of English counts as cultural capital in this context.

Aside from the many cases of Public English which appear to miss the 'target' of Standard (presumably British) English, some locally produced advertisements assert a high degree of creativity quite straightforwardly. For example, Figure 6.12 illustrates a business in Dar es Salaam called *Za Car Wash* using a spelling that acknowledges the localized pronunciation of voiced English 'th' sounds among most Tanzanians. At the same location is a business called *Za Cafe Food & Soft Drinks* as well. Figure 6.13 demonstrates a type of localized English that is the result of semantic shift in Tanzania. While the term *grocery* is used in North America as a synonym for supermarket, in Tanzania, the word is used to refer to a small

Figure 6.12 Sign for a garage and restaurant in Dar es Salaam

Figure 6.13 Sign for a bar in Dar es Salaam

and informal bar where beers are served, typically in the afternoon and evening. Another similar example of localized English includes the very Tanzanian use of *Saloon*[2] (< salon) to refer to a beauty parlor for women.

Sheng and localized Swahili

Many advertisements for mobile phone companies make use of trends, including trendy language. Since early in 2007, Safaricom, Kenya's largest provider, has used the Sheng word *bamba* ('grab, take') in their *Bamba 50* campaign to sell very low-cost vouchers (50 Kenyan shillings is worth roughly USD $0.75). On billboards in 2007, *Bamba 50* appeared above a fist that gripped the 50 shilling scratch cards, followed by *Ibambe sasa!* ('Grab it now'). In 2007, the company also used Sheng to name their *Bonga* ('chat') package to subscribers, a campaign which requires consumers to register and keep track of bonus points in order to earn rewards and to qualify for prize giveaways.

In Tanzania, these companies use the language most equivalent to Sheng, *Lugha ya mitaani* ('Street Swahili') frequently in advertising campaigns, thereby constructing their consumers as knowledgeable about this linguistic form. In 2005, Buzz Cellular heavily promoted the expansion of its network in most Tanzanian newspapers. One advertisement that referred to the improved network in Zanzibar read:

> *Ongea kwa muda unaotaka ukiwa baharini kwani Buzz ingekupa huduma* ***kibao*** *kwa gharama ya chini. Kuwa mjanja pata Buzz.* ('Talk for as long as you want when you are on the islands because Buzz gives you **a ton** of service for a low price. Be smart and get Buzz'.)

Here, the use of *kibao* is Street Swahili meaning something like 'a lot', but is interpreted as slang by most Tanzanians and is better translated as 'a ton', or perhaps more accurately as 'mad service', as it carries the same sort of street consciousness found in the African American English adverb 'mad'.

The same campaign regularly uses the alliterative slogan *Buzz ni* ***bomba*** ('Buzz is **awesome**') in advertisements that are otherwise monolingual in either Swahili or English (see Figure 6.14). Here, the phone company makes use of the Street Swahili form *bomba* (originally borrowed from Portuguese 'pipe, pump'). This word has shifted to mean 'cool' in most Street Swahili, and there appears to be influence from African American English's 'da bomb' ('the ultimate, the best') as well (Higgins, 2009). In this way, global hip hop culture is a source for transgredience in providing new meanings of Street Swahili.

Non-governmental organizations that promote condom use through condom marketing also make use of *bomba*, as seen in Figure 6.15, a billboard for condoms that contains this Street Swahili in its brand name as well as complementary multilingualism involving standard forms of Swahili and English.

Additional examples of advertisements about condoms include the *Ishi* ('live') campaign sponsored by USAID. Since 2004, the slogan of this campaign has used the Street Swahili expression *Usione soo!* ('don't be shy') to encourage young people to discuss condom use before becoming sexually active with their partners. According to Reuster-Jahn and Kießling (2006),

Figure 6.14 Billboard in Dar es Salaam for Buzz Cellular

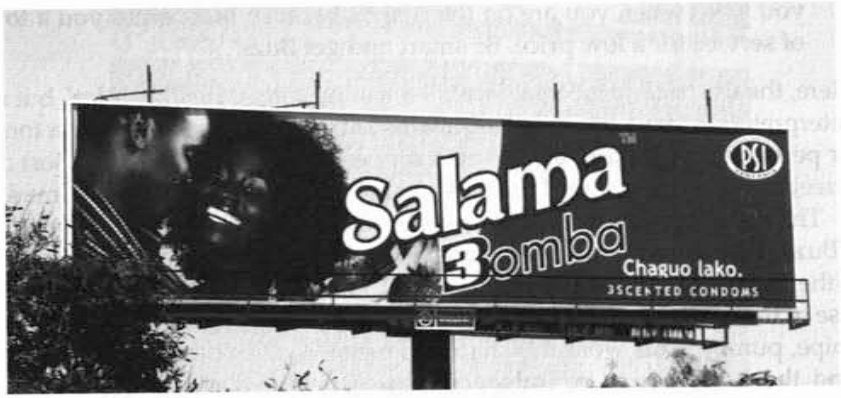

Figure 6.15 Billboard for condoms in Dar es Salaam

Street Swahili *soo* may originate from either the truncation of another Street Swahili word *songombingo* ('chaos'), or else Standard Swahili *soni* ('shyness'). According to the non-governmental organization that implements the Ishi campaign in Tanzania, the campaign seeks to increase perception among youths aged 15–24 about personal risk for HIV through behavior change communication efforts (fhi.org). Through using youth language, the condom advertisement simultaneously constructs the consumers as young people who speak Street Swahili and who are conscientious about sexual health.[3]

Hybrid Advertisements

Other advertisements use English alongside new varieties of Swahili to create specific new meanings. On billboards, in newspaper advertisements and in radio and television commercials, varieties of English and Swahili are often placed together in ways that forge new meanings from the juxtaposition of the two languages, thereby demanding new kinds of multilingual knowledge in the form of new hybrid literacies. Sometimes, these hybrid advertisements require consumers to have dialogic literacies that allow them to see the monologic and multiply-layered dialogic meanings present. Other hybrid advertisements depend on consumers' abilities to know a third code, a code perhaps best represented by names such as Swahinglish. Contrary to the knowledge required by complementary bilingualism, full appreciation of the meanings of these advertisements

cannot be attained from knowledge of English and Swahili as two separate languages. Consequentially, these advertisements raise questions such as whether and to what degree Tanzanians from varying walks of life are literate in these hybrid codes, and what meanings they glean from these advertisements.

To investigate this issue, I explore how varieties of Swahili and English are layered in advertising, and I illustrate two types of meanings that result when Swahili and English are juxtaposed creatively. First, the two languages are used in a complementary manner that requires knowledge of both Swahili and English to fully appreciate the meaning of the hybrid advertisement. Secondly, the two languages are used in ways that create new, third meanings, unconnected to the monolectal meanings of either Swahili or English. These two types of meanings represent a continuum more than a binary set of options, however, due to the various literacies that consumers possess. Drawing on interviews with Tanzanians, I show how some consumers read the advertisements as monolingual, not recognizing the presence of English at all. Others read these advertisements as texts that contain language mixing, but they do not necessarily find extra meaning in them due to the presence of two languages. And, others read the advertisements as bilingual texts that do have new meanings due to the juxtaposition of Swahili and English. These three possible readings relate well to Auer's (1999) framework for three types of bilingual speech that form a cline from pragmatics to grammaticalization, discussed in Chapter 2.

Dialogic multilingualism

My examination of Swahili-English hybrid advertisements will focus on mobile phone companies, as they provide several very interesting examples of hybrid codes. My data are advertisements in Tanzania and interviews carried out with consumers living in two different parts of the country, Dar es Salaam and Iringa. The Tanzanian government deregulated its telecommunications in the mid-1990s, and following this move, the number of mobile providers grew and the number of mobile subscribers has skyrocketed. A high degree of competition among the providers followed, providing a benefit to consumers in terms of lower prices. Consequently, advertising for low rates and special promotions dominates billboards, taxiboards, newspapers and business walls. Subscribers to each mobile company receive advertising in the form of text messages as well, an effective advertising strategy that can overcome geographic barriers such as lack of roads and intermittent electricity.[4]

Advertisements requiring dialogic literacies

An advertisement by Vodacom that circulated in 2007 provides an illustrative example of dialogic hybridity. To promote the lower rate for calls made late at night and on the weekends, Vodacom used the promotion '*Chombeza* time' ('chat time'), an expression that uses a Street Swahili word. *Chombeza* can be translated as 'chat', but this word has many additional connotations associated with 'sweet-talking' someone, particularly someone of the opposite sex. When asked to translate this expression, Tanzanians replied with 'conversation among lovers', 'time for young people to talk to their girl/boyfriends' and 'seducing one another'. Vodacom's use of *chombeza* to refer to lower rates for late-night phone calls fits the context of sweet-talking rather well. The advertisement also cleverly combines a Street Swahili word with English 'time' in a way that mirrors the well-known expression of '*Kili* Time' in Tanzania, another advertising phrase used by Kilimanjaro Breweries to refer to a period of time after work to enjoy a beer with friends. '*Kili* Time' is presumably based on the phrase 'Miller Time' used to advertise a brand of beer produced in the United States.

In regard to '*Chombeza* time', it seems that the juxtaposition of *chombeza* with 'time' does not necessarily create a meaningful codeswitch in itself, but its parallel and intertextually designed structure with '*Kili* Time' creates meaning that could not be made relevant in one language. In interviews with 12 residents of Dar es Salaam and Iringa, everyone interviewed identified *Chombeza Time* as a bilingual advertisement and recognized *chombeza* as Street Swahili. When asked to translate the phrase into English and into Swahili, most of the interviewees commented on Kilimanjaro Breweries' campaign as well as a way to express their understanding of the English part of the advertisement, that is, as a time of the day that was set aside for a particular activity.

Additional advertisements provide more complex forms of hybridity. One advertisement for Tigo Cellular (formerly Buzz) that circulated in Tanzania in 2007 (Figure 6.16) illustrates this very well. The large text in the center of the billboard reads '*X-TRA LONGA*' and refers to the low rates of three shillings per minute during the week and one shilling per minute on nights and weekends. One reading of '*X-TRA LONGA*' is 'extra chat' since *longa* can translate as 'chat' in Street Swahili. This reading makes sense in the realm of mobile phone use as it refers to the idea that consumers receive many minutes on their plans for a low price. At the same time, *longa* can also be heard as English pronounced in typical Tanzanian r-less fashion. This reading is made even more possible by the

Figure 6.16 Tigo advertisement, Dar es Salaam

syntax of the phrase, which follows English structure of adverb + adjective, rather than Swahili's typical structure of adjective + adverb.

To appreciate all of the possible and doubled meanings in '*X-TRA LONGA*', a consumer would have to have multiple and hybrid literacies in several languages and several language varieties. First, one must recognize that '*X-TRA*' indexes the English word 'extra'. Secondly, one must know some Street Swahili to decipher *longa*. Consumers who do not have recourse to Street Swahili might use their knowledge of English to interpret *longa* as 'longer' since the phrase can also be interpreted that way. For the consumer who is multiliterate in all of these languages and varieties, the meaning of the phrase is doubled and the creativity of the phrase is more fully appreciated. For readers with multiple literacies, the result is that '*X-TRA LONGA*' does not necessarily mean *either* 'extra longer' *or* 'extra chat'; it means both at the same time, and its cleverness is derived from this simultaneity.

In interviews with residents of Dar es Salaam, a variety of readings were shown to exist for the Tigo advertisement. Table 6.2 summarizes the interpretations of the phrase *X-TRA LONGA*. I asked a selection of men and women of varying ages who were living in Dar es Salaam to identify the languages in the advertisement and to explain what each word meant. Most of them gave the meanings in Swahili. Then, I asked them to translate the whole phrase into 'pure' English and 'pure' Swahili. The results are summarized in Table 6.2.

All of the participants were able to translate '*X-TRA LONGA*' into 'pure' English except for the watchman, who only had a primary school

Table 6.2 Dar es Salaam residents' interpretations of *X-TRA LONGA*

Gender	*Age*	*Occupation*	**X-TRA** *is what language?*	*Meaning of* **X-TRA**	**LONGA** *is what language?*	*Meaning of* **LONGA**	*'Pure English'*	*'Pure Swahili'*
F	54	Retired primary teacher	English	*Zaidi* 'more'	Street Swahili	*Ongea* 'talk'	Talk more for less cost	*Ongea zaidi kwa gharamu nafuu*
M	48	Driver	English	*Zaidi* 'more'	Street Swahili	*Ongea* 'talk'	Talk more for less	*Ongea zaidi kwa bei rahisi*
M	31	Watchman	English	*Bora* 'better'	Swahili	*Tongoza* 'seduce'	—	*Kutongozana kwa bei rahisi*
F	26	Sales clerk for mobile company	English	*Zaidi* 'more'	Street Swahili, slang	*Ongea* 'talk'	More talk less cost	*Ongea zaidi kwa gharama chache*
M	22	AIDS educator, volunteer	English	*Zaidi* 'more'	Kilugulu, borrowed Swahili	*Ongea* 'talk'	To talk more	*Ongea zaidi*

education. The participants' translations of '*X-TRA LONGA*' into 'pure' Swahili are equivalent to their English translations. The watchman's translation into 'pure Swahili' means 'to seduce one another at a cheap price'. Throughout his interview, the watchman expressed a lot of doubt about his ability to interpret the English. It appears that his interpretation of *longa* relates to the idea of 'sweet talk' rather than simply 'talk', as mentioned by the other three participants.

Residents outside of Dar es Salaam were also asked the same questions in order to evaluate the degree to which multiliteracy in hybrid codes are related to urban living. I asked four young people living near Iringa town similar questions about '*X-TRA LONGA*'. The results of these interviews are summarized in Table 6.3. Of interest is that all participants felt *X-TRA* was English and that *LONGA* was some form of Swahili in spite of its possible reading as an entirely English phrase.

In a very similar manner, a widespread 2004 advertisement for Vodacom in Tanzania offered several potential multiple readings for multiliterate consumers. The advertisement read '*Kamata jero chapchap*' ('Grab 500 shillings quickly'). The translation is rather intricate due to the use of Street Swahili *jero* and a double meaning for *chapchap*. *Jero* is in fact a clipping of 'Pajero', a sport utility vehicle manufactured by Mitsubishi of Japan. The word has been borrowed into Swahili through processes of transgredience and now means 500 shillings; it is a well-known form of Street Swahili. *Chapchap* is ambiguous as it can be read as Swahili (the adverbial form of the verb *kuchapuka*, 'to put force into, to speed up'), or as a localized version of 'chop-chop' ('make haste'), a word that, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, originated as Pidgin English in Hong Kong.[5] In the Vodacom advertisement, the spelling has changed but the meaning remains the same.

Interviews with residents of Dar es Salaam and Iringa Town revealed no ambiguity regarding *chapchap*, suggesting that previously multiple meanings of this word may have faded into the obscurity of dictionary etymologies. Nearly everyone I interviewed labeled *chapchap* as Swahili, in contrast to the word *jero*, which everyone labeled as Street Swahili and as a word that was 'invented by young people'.[6] A watchman labeled both *jero* and *chapchap* as Street Swahili. The two Dar es Salaam residents who were near 50 years old knew that *jero* refers to 500 shillings, which indicates that this Street Swahili word is not a word only known among young people. Again, the participant with the least amount of education had the most difficulty with interpreting the advertisement. When asked, he explained that it meant that Vodacom's network had spread to all corners of the country.

Through seeing how Tanzanians think about the English and Swahili words in hybrid advertisements, it is possible to establish a grounded

Table 6.3 Iringa town residents' interpretations of *X-TRA LONGA*

Gender	*Age*	*Occupation*	*X-TRA is what language?*	*Meaning of* X-TRA	*LONGA is what language?*	*Meaning of* LONGA	*'Pure English'*	*'Pure Swahili'*
M	21	Student	English	*Zaidi* 'more'	Swahili	*Ongea* 'talk'	Talk more using Tigo	*Ongea zaidi kwa kutumia Tigo*
F	22	Student	English	*Zaidi* 'more'	Street Swahili	*Ongea* 'talk'	More time to talk	*Muda wa ziada*
M	23	Student	Advertising language	*Zaidi* 'more'	Street Swahili	*Ongea* 'talk'	More talking time	*Muda wa maongezi ya ziada*
M	28	Driver	English	Extra	Street Swahili	*Ongea 'talk'*	Extra talk	*Muda wa ziada kwa kuongea*

understanding of whether borrowings have become opaque to them and to see how much literacy they have in reading playfully double-voiced advertisements. For '*X-TRA LONGA*', it is clear that *x-tra* is still seen as English by the participants I interviewed, and that *longa* is only Swahili for them, though most of them categorize it more specifically as Street Swahili. For the example of '*Kamata jero chapchap*', it seems that *jero* is widely understood as a form of well-known Street Swahili, and *chapchap* is read as Swahili for most people. In the next section, I consider another mobile phone advertisement that seems to be more ambiguous for consumers. This advertisement illustrates how languages are used in ways that create new, third meanings, unconnected to the monolectal meanings of either Swahili or English. It also demonstrates how consumers appropriate the discourse of consumerism for different purposes in popular discourse, illustrating the process by which domain-based languages move beyond their domain boundaries.

Since 2004, Vodacom seems to have updated the English in its advertisements. The word *chapchap* is no longer used, but beginning in 2006, the word *fasta* started to appear everywhere as the '*Voda Fasta*' campaign (Figure 6.17). Here, *Voda* is a clipped version of Vodacom, and *Fasta* clearly comes from the English 'faster', though it has been localized for Tanzanian r-less pronunciation. '*Voda Fasta*' refers to a sales incentive the company offers its vendors that earns retailers a 3% sales bonus if they sell 20,000 shillings or more of airtime directly to customers in one day. The incentive is a sort of pyramid plan since it allows wholesalers to qualify for a 2% bonus for each of their vendors who sell the 20,000 shillings worth of airtime. Given this understanding, the use of *fasta* relates to the idea that the

Figure 6.17 Voda Fasta advertisement, Dar es Salaam

bulk sales will lead to sales commissions for vendors (vodacom.co.tz). Hence, from the corporate perspective, *fasta* does not simply mean 'faster'. Instead, it has developed a new meaning that is neither equivalent to English 'faster' nor the Swahili word for *fast* (haraka).

Compared to *chapchap*, *fasta* has more varied readings among secondary school students living in Iringa. A 21-year-old man in Iringa town felt that *fasta* could be translated to Swahili *haraka* 'faster' and that it was indeed English 'faster'. One 22-year-old woman's comments about the word evoke the double voice that the word carries. In Swahili, she explained that *fasta* 'came from the street and is a word that has been eaten from English. People have placed it into Swahili'. Two others recognized it as language of the streets without specifying it as either English or Swahili. When asked why they thought mobile phone companies used such advertisements, one person said, 'Many mobile phone users are young people who speak street language. They have to target young people'. Another explained that the language was used for attracting customers. She said, 'Young people use this language and even some of the older people use it too' (translated from Swahili).

In Dar es Salaam, *fasta* was read variously as English and as Swahili, as summarized in Table 6.4. All respondents translated it as *haraka*, which is a literal translation for 'fast'. One interviewee, a male journalist, initially declared *fasta* to be English, but his explanation of the word revealed a double meaning. He said, '*Fasta* is a word that totally resembles the English word, so *fasta* is a Swahili word that has a meaning which is very similar to the English one' (translated from Swahili). In his comments, he made it clear to me that the Swahili *fasta* is a separate word from the English version, even though they have shared meanings.

Table 6.4 Dar es Salaam residents' interpretations of '*VODA FASTA*'

Gender	*Age*	*Occupation*	*Meaning of* **FASTA**	**FASTA** *is what language?*
F	54	Retired primary teacher	*Haraka* 'fast'	Swahili
M	48	Driver	*Haraka* 'fast'	Swahili
M	35	Journalist	*Haraka* 'fast'	English
M	31	Watchman	*Haraka* 'fast'	Swahili
F	26	Sales clerk for mobile company	*Haraka* 'fast'	Swahili
M	22	AIDS educator, volunteer	*Haraka* 'fast'	English

The expression *fasta* has developed a range of uses in Tanzania, some of which are a result of the Vodacom campaign. Some people use *fastafasta* to tell someone to hurry up (*fanya fastafasta!* 'do it faster!'), much like *chapchap* or even *haraka*. *Fasta* is also used in marketing retail services to mean 'fast service'. In Dar es Salaam, the phrase '*Huduma fasta*' ('fast service') is painted on storefronts such as 'express' laundries and three-minute passport photo shops. Separate from the world of consumerism, however, is an interesting development in the realm of education and the training of teachers. The phrase '*walimu wa Voda fasta*' ('Voda fasta teachers') sprang up in 2007 as a way to refer to teachers who receive a teaching license after a four-week licensing program in order to fill the tremendous demand for teachers in government-sponsored schools. The Tanzanian government made the four-week licensing programs even more attractive by offering teachers who completed it the opportunity to resume their tertiary studies after they had completed two years of teaching in government schools and to continue receiving their salaries while they study.

The *walimu wa Voda fasta* have been critiqued in the press as lacking the necessary knowledge for teaching, lacking the knowledge to carry out administrative duties, and having overly informal teaching styles with their students (who are typically of roughly the same age). *Walimu fastafasta* are further specified as teachers who have returned to their studies and continue to receive their salaries. According to the Tanzanian press, some of these teachers had fulfilled the two-year commitment required by the government, but others had not. In September of 2007, it appeared that many teachers had taken the opportunity to continue with their studies, thus creating a shortage of teachers in many schools. As a result, the Ministry of Education decided not to continue paying the salaries of any teachers who had not fulfilled the two-year requirement in an effort to solve the problem. The word *fasta* in *walimu wa Voda fasta* is used to refer to the brevity of the training and to the efforts of the Tanzanian government to recruit many teachers while investing relatively little in their training. The use of *fastafasta* seems to imply cleverness on the part of the teachers (akin to 'pulling a fast one').

In September of 2007 on a discussion board on Darhotwire.com, commentators showed their interpretations of the problematic system. One contributor said '*Kwa jinsi hii ya walimu fastafasta tutatoa wanafunzi fastafasta*' ('The same way we get *fastafasta* teachers, we will produce *fastafasta* students'). Another commentator blamed the Ministry of Education for the problems rather than directing criticism at the *Voda Fasta* teachers for seeking further education. This contributor wrote, '*Watawala wakumbuke* GARBAGE IN, GARBAGE OUT' ('Leaders, remember GARBAGE IN,

GARBAGE OUT'). The use of *fastafasta* to refer to poorly trained teachers and poorly trained students shows a clear semantic shift from the original meaning of *Voda Fasta* and produces a meaning that is not connected to the monolectal meanings of English 'faster' or Swahili *'haraka'*. While its (re)use here can be interpreted as evidence of the power of consumerism in everyday people's lives, this example also reveals the creative forces at work as people reappropriate English for nonconsumerist domains of social life.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have focused on the ways in which English and Swahili and hybrid languages are used in advertising in bilingual and multivocal ways. The range of language use in these advertisements is similar in scope to the range found in the newspaper office in Chapter 3, as much of the language of advertising depends on monolingual abilities in Swahili and English. However, mobile phone advertisements provide the type of multivocal multilingualism also observed in much of the language in the hip hop domain, described in Chapter 5. Interviews with consumers revealed that the linguistic hybridity in older mobile phone advertisements were widely interpreted as Swahili, in spite of the potential for multiple readings; interviews also demonstrated that the hybridity in more recent advertisements was still interpreted as multilingual, and that some consumers were able to appreciate the word play that capitalized on their knowledge of multiple languages. This suggests that hybrid languages may lose their double-voices over time, and that they eventually get relocated into one of the dominant languages in the sociolinguistic context.

At the socio-political level, my analysis of mobile phone advertisements indicates that 'illegitimate' hybridized forms of language earn new value as a result of their use in the domain of marketing. It seems that similar processes are at work for other illegitimated languages, including African American English in the United States, which has developed an enhanced status due to the popularity (and economic success) of hip hop music. In both Kenya and Tanzania, nonstandardized and hybrid languages like Sheng, Street Swahili, and hybrid Swahili-English have earned their own linguistic markets, first through hip hop, and now, in the field of advertising. A similar shifting of domains was also seen in Chapter 5 in the discussion of Gidi Gidi Maji Maji's song 'Unbwogable' ('un-scareable'). First earning respect in the hip hop market among Nairobi youth, this Sheng expression entered the political market in 2002,

when presidential candidate Mwai Kibaki used it as a campaign slogan to mean 'We Kenyans are unbeatable!'

The domain-dependent status of these languages relates well to Blommaert's (2005b) discussion of language and inequality. Echoing Bakhtin's (1986) discussion of speech genres, he writes, 'Inequality has to do with *modes of language use*, not with languages, and if we intend to do something about it, we need to develop an awareness that it is not necessarily the language you speak, but *how* you speak it, *when* you can speak it, and *to whom* that matters. It is a matter of *voice*, not of language' (Bakhtin, 2005b: 411). In the mode of advertising, Street Swahili and hybrid Swahili-English phrases are spoken with the voice of the mass market, that is, a population of consumers who speak these languages. The mode of advertising puts the consumer in a position of power; the consumer has the

Figure 6.18 Cartoon featured in *Kingo*, 1999. Reproduced with permission of Gaba Ltd

ability to choose between Tigo, Vodacom and several other companies, and hence, the language used to appeal to these consumers is the language of the streets and the language of everyday life. In other modes such as education where power brokers are the ones who make the decisions, it is not surprising that the language used often does not represent the voice of the masses.

At the same time, though, there are many valid concerns over the spread of capitalism in East Africa, including serious questions about who benefits when markets are 'free', the increasing divide between the haves and the have-nots, and the role of international agencies such as the IMF and the World Bank in delivering policies that will benefit developing nations, rather than further demoralizing them with heavy debts or unhelpful trade restrictions. A cartoon by the satirical comic book *Kingo* (Figure 6.18) summarizes many aspects of the reality of a capitalist world as experienced by (many) poor Tanzanians.

At the linguistic level, anyhow, capitalism does seem to have brought about more equality for varieties of language at the local level. It seems that Bourdieu's (1991) economic metaphor for the value of language could not be more appropriate for describing the use of these linguistic forms, given the tight relation between their value and their marketability. In the next chapter, I examine the competing domains of language planning and language in education wherein varieties of languages remain stifled. These domains of social life differ completely from the domains of popular culture and advertising in regard to the value of nonstandardized languages.

Notes

1. I use the term multilingual here to include bilingualism in advertisements. In fact, the term 'multilingual' is more accurate since many 'bilingual' advertisements use varieties of languages to market their products.
2. The use of *saloon* to refer to a beauty parlor is found in other parts of Africa as well (Tope Ominiyi, personal communication).
3. The Ishi campaign's slogan *Usione soo* became a heated matter for public debate because the slogan was part of a television commercial that showed young people kissing and hugging one another. Letters to the editor in many newspapers showed disdain for the advertisement and many disliked the advertisement for its failure to promote 'African' values. The Tanzanian parliament discussed the issue at length in 2004, and several members advocated that the name be changed to *Uone soo* ('be shy') to prevent the idea of encouraging sexual activity (http://parliament.go.tz).
4. Despite lack of electrical power grids in rural areas, enterprising entrepreneurs have acquired solar panels to generate electricity in even the remotest areas of Tanzania and Kenya. One can charge one's mobile phone for approximately 30 cents.

5. The word chop-chop is cited in the OED as the formation of Pidgin English through borrowing the Cantonese *k'wâi-k'wâi* ('chop-chop', referring to chopping food faster).
6. Linguist Deo Ngonyani (personal communication) believes the etymology of *chapchap* to be English since the word makes more sense if understood as a reduplicated ideophone rather than as an adverbial from a Swahili root.