

TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF TRANSLANGUAGING AMONG TRADERS AND
CUSTOMERS OF SOWETO MARKET IN LUSAKA ZAMBIA

BY

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A dissertation submitted to the University of Zambia in partial fulfilment of the requirement for
the award of the Master of Arts in Linguistic Science

The University of Zambia

Lusaka

2020

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DECLARATION

I, Katundu Bronah Namatama, do solemnly declare that this dissertation represents my own work except the reference in the paper and that it has not previously been submitted for a degree at this or any other university.

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APPROVAL

This dissertation of Katundu Bronah Namatama is approved as fulfilling part of the requirements for the Award of the degree of Master of Arts in Linguistic Science of the University of Zambia.

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my husband Evans, my children Emmanuel, Abel, Sarai, Gabriel, Nelly and my mother Patricia to whom I owe the motivation to do all I struggle for in this natural life.

I also would like to dedicate this dissertation to my young sister Miriam, my late father and elder sister.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My greatest thankfulness is to my Almighty God for his greatest blessings and guidance upon my life and the life of my loved ones.

I would like to most sincerely thank my research report supervisor, Dr Jimaima H. for his wise guidance, support, sacrifice and patience during the writing of this dissertation.

I would also love to thank my lecturers Dr Mambwe K., Prof Chanda, Dr Chilala C., Dr Lubinda, and Dr Simwinga for their wise guidance rendered during the course of my study.

Furthermore I would like to express my greatest gratitude to my husband and children for their encouragement they rendered on me to forge ahead despite all the hurdles faced. Your tolerance and perseverance are immeasurable, thank you for your support, sacrifice, patience and belief in me.

ABSTRACT

The study framed as “Towards an Understanding of Translanguaging among Traders and Customers at Soweto Market in Lusaka” attempts to address the dearth in literature about real life language practices by using a market place as a point of departure from the focus on translanguaging in bilingual education. The study recognises the fact that little is known about translanguaging practices among those in the trade domain in Zambia. This work investigated the dominant and other languages that feed into and provide evidence for translanguaging practice in order to unravel the motivation behind translanguaging strategy and how it is practiced among traders and customers of Soweto market. These were all analysed on the tenets of Conversational Analysis, Speech Accommodation Theory, Translanguaging Theory and Multilingualism. The study utilised the qualitative approach. Data were obtained by the semi-structured interview, audio recording and general observation.

Through a careful analysis of translanguaging strategy among traders and customers the outcome of the study revealed that the languages spoken in Soweto market by traders, customers and those who just pass by, included; Nyanja, Bemba, English, Tonga, Lozi, Luvale, Lunda, Lenje, Ila, Soli, Mbunda, Tumbuka, Chewa, Ngoni, Kaonde and Swahili, with Nyanja being the dominant language. The most translanguaged languages during a transaction were Nyanja, Bemba and English. The study further shows how speakers in a market setting of Lusaka stylize their multiple languages by dissolving the traditional linguistic boundaries through the use of the extended linguistic repertoire from their language system. The study revealed that translanguaging practices among traders and customers during a transaction was motivated by speech convergence strategy, speech divergence strategy, speech maintenance strategy, Non-lexical availability, persuasive strategy, the need to give answers to questions or ask questions or seek information, the need to describe, to clarify misunderstandings, explain or dispute the allegations placed on some products being sold, effective communication, and the Social Status of the speakers.

Therefore, traders and customers translanguage to have a clearer conveyance of messages in order to increase not only customers turn up and profit but also promote inclusion, participation, approval, ascertain social identity and understanding so as to make complete meaning.

In this study the researcher has laid down the foundation for future researchers who may wish to explore further dimensions of translanguaging among traders and customers. Studies should be conducted to establish the factors that influence the use and function of English language in an informal setting like a market. Furthermore, studies on translanguaging should be conducted in other domains and sectors of the country so as to determine and identify its use, function and benefits to those who practise it. In addition, while a majority of existing studies on translanguaging are on face to face oral interactions, there is need to conduct studies on how translanguaging works in other genres and modalities of communication so as to establish on whether or not the translanguaging strategies are different.

Key words: *Translanguaging, Motivation, Soweto market*

ACRONYMS

C	Customer
CA	Conversation Analysis
L1	Mother Tongue/Native language
SAT	Speech Accommodation Theory
T	Trader

DEFINITION OF KEY WORDS

- Motivation - the needs, desires, wants or drives within the individuals.
- Pedagogy - refers to the interrelation between languages. It literally means instructions.
- Soweto Market - A name of one of the biggest markets in Lusaka district of Zambia
- Translanguaging - Is the integration of multiple languages in the same speech event or linguistic context.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

COPYRIGHT	i
DECLARATION	ii
APPROVAL	iii
DEDICATION	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
ABSTRACT	vi
ACRONYMS	vii
DEFINITION OF KEY WORDS	viii
LIST OF TABLES	xiii
LIST OF FIGURES	xiii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 Background to the Study.....	2
1.1.1 Sociolinguistic Situation of Zambia	2
1.1.2 Problematizing Translanguaging	3
1.1.3 Contextualising the study	4
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....	6
1.3 Aim	7
1.4 Objectives	7
1.5 Research Questions.....	7
1.6 Significance of the Study.....	7
1.7 Scope of the study.....	8
1.8 Limitation of the Study	8
1.9 Structure of the dissertation	8
10 Summary.....	9
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	10

2.0 Introduction	10
2.1 Studies on Translanguaging in General	10
2.2 Sociolinguistics studies on Zambia.....	12
2.3 Studies on Language use in a Market	15
2.4 Studies Highlighting motivation for Translanguaging	16
2.5 Summary	17
CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK	18
3.0 Introduction	18
3.1 Theoretical Framework.....	18
3.1.1 Speech Accommodation Theory.....	18
3.1.2 Translanguaging Theory	20
3.2. Analytical Framework	22
3.2.1 Conversational Analysis	22
3.2.2 Multilingualism.....	23
3.3 Summary	25
CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY	26
4.0 Introduction.....	Error! Bookmark not defined.
4.1 Research Design	26
4.2 Research Approach	27
4.3 Research Area	27
4.4 Data collection	28
4.4.1 Population	28
4.4.2 Sampling procedure	29
4.4.3 Research Instruments	29
4.4.4 Administration of research instruments	29
4.5 Data Analysis.....	31

4.6 Ethical consideration.....	32
4.7 Summary.....	33
CHAPTER FIVE: IDENTIFICATION AND ANALYSIS OF INSTANCES OF	
TRANSLANGUAGING.....	34
5.0 Introduction.....	34
5.1 Language Usage.....	35
5.1.1 Languages spoken in Soweto market.....	35
5.1.2 The dominant language for trading in Soweto Market.....	38
5.1.3 Languages used for translinguaging in Soweto market.....	39
5.2 Stylization in Translinguaging practices in Soweto market.....	40
5.2.1 Combination of Bound morphemes and lexemes.....	41
5.2.2 Combination of standard and non-standard bits and pieces of language.....	45
5.2.3 Combination of Standard bits and pieces of languages.....	46
5.3 Patterns of Translinguaging.....	48
5.3.1 Intra-word Translinguaging.....	48
5.3.2 Intra-Sentential Translinguaging.....	49
5.3.3 Inter-Sentential Translinguaging.....	50
5.4 Summary.....	52
CHAPTER SIX: MOTIVATION BEHIND TRANSLANGUAGING PRACTICES.....	
6.0 Introduction.....	53
6.1 Motivation behind Translinguaging.....	53
6.1.1 Speech Accommodation Theory.....	53
6.1.2 Translinguaging for Effective Communication.....	63
6.1.3 Translinguaging due to Non-Lexical availability.....	64
6.1.4 Translinguaging as a Persuasive Strategy.....	68
6.1.5 Translinguaging to find information/Questioning.....	70

6.1.6 Translanguaging to Describe items or Processes.....	72
6.1.7 Translanguaging to Clarify and Explain.....	73
6.1.8 Social Status.....	76
6.2 Summary.....	77
CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	78
7.0 Introduction	78
7.1 The research aim and objectives.....	78
7.2 Research Questions.....	78
7.3 Conclusion	79
7.3.1 Implications of the Findings	81
7.4 Recommendation	82
REFERENCE.....	83
APPENDICES	86
Appendix 1: Semi- Structured Interview Schedule	86
Appendix 2: Languages spoken in Soweto market.....	88
Appendix 3: Combination of standard bits and pieces of language.....	89
Appendix 4: Speech convergence strategy in Translanguaging.....	90
Appendix 5: Speech divergence strategy in Translanguaging.....	91
Appendix 6: Pictures of traders and customers at Soweto market.....	92

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Transcription key	34
Table 2: Number of Conversations observed.....	36
Table 3: Languages spoken in Soweto market	37

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Pictures of traders and customers at Soweto Market - Lusaka.....	6
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The chapter introduces the study titled: “Towards an Understanding of Translanguaging among Traders and Customers of Soweto Market in Lusaka”, situated in the central business district of Lusaka. The study aimed at establishing the motivation behind translanguaging, by analysing how it is used as a medium of support for negotiated commercial discourse as well as identifying the dominant and most translanguaged languages among traders and customers.

Instead of investigating the linguistic aspects of local forms of English or the effect of English on local languages, the goal here is to develop the theorisation on how languages work together in multilingual societies. The focus therefore is only on the linguistics of interaction not on the city, the surroundings, the artefacts, or those other things that are equally part of the action. The present study explored language as a negotiated tool for meaning making within the domain of trade and specifically investigated the use of Translanguaging strategy among traders and customers of Soweto in Lusaka district of Zambia. This was motivated by Pennycook’s (2015) view that what individuals do with language is always tied to the localities in which language practices occur but our words are produced in places that are themselves constructed and interpreted. This is further shaped by being mindful of the fact that social actors to these places (Soweto market) do not always share a common linguistic background. Their linguistic background is entirely unpredictable owing to the sociolinguistics of globalisation (Blommaert 2010).

The study begins with the background to the study, thereafter it presents the problem under investigation, the aim, and objectives of the study, as well as the specific questions through which the objectives were addressed. The methodology and theoretical framework are also given. The study was informed by the linguistic theories that include; the Speech Accommodation theory, Translanguaging theory and the linguistic concepts of Conversational Analysis and Multilingualism. The findings, discussion and analysis are also presented.

1.1 Background to the Study

1.1.1 Sociolinguistic Situation of Zambia

In many parts of the world the ability to speak more than one language is an accepted norm. This ability creates a multilingual situation where individuals often speak different languages. Multilingualism, therefore, may be considered as a psychological state of the individual who has access to two or more linguistic features as a means of communication (Jimaima and Banda 2019). Multilingual communication where two or more languages are used generally involves members of different ethno-linguistic groups. This communication gives rise to a phenomenon known as translanguaging.

Zambia is a multilingual state in the sense that several languages are spoken within its borders, and individuals speak one or more languages in addition to their mother tongue (Simwinga, 2006). Another evidence is presented by Jimaima and Banda (2019) who point out that the present boundaries of Zambia and the composition of her people have been shaped by the recent colonial history as a result of which neither geographically nor ethnically nor from the point of view of language does the nation present a unified whole. In terms of language status and use in Zambia, it can be said that the Zambian languages differ considerably. There are seven out of 72 languages considered as regional languages and represent languages of each province, and these include: Bemba for Northern, Luapula, and Muchinga provinces, Nyanja language for Eastern and Lusaka provinces, Lozi for Western province, Tonga for Southern province and Lunda, Kaonde and Luvale for North-Western province (Wakumelo 2010; Jimaima 2016). Nyanja is mainly spoken in the capital city with traces of it in most spaces of Zambia and Bemba is a highly represented language in most provinces (Jimaima and Banda, 2019). The seven languages are used alongside with English in a number of contexts, in all public affairs, and are employed in government intercourse for the purposes of education and the dissemination of official information in the designated regions of the country. These languages all play a greater role as languages of wider communication in both rural and urban areas (Banda and Jimaima 2015). This aspect makes Zambians to have more than one language in their linguistic repertoire and can choose from among these languages, for both communication and ethnic linguistic identities.

Consequently, in the main urban centres of the country, including the capital city, Lusaka, speakers mainly employ two or more languages (Kashoki, 1990) but this need not be the case as speakers cannot be bound by traditional linguistic outlook of the 1990s. In the same vein, the choice between different languages available in many Zambian contexts is an important aspect of speaker's linguistic repertoire and is employed to construct and negotiate social and ethnic identities (Kashoki 1990; Mambwe 2014). Creative language forms are frequently produced when speakers intermingles language varieties circulating in their daily lives. The results of this multilingual practice are varied and can take the form of assimilation, language mixing, codeswitching or translanguaging (Auer, 1999). Another possibility is that language mixing can result in a type of syncretism that retains the multi-vocal quality of the utterance and conveys all possible meanings simultaneously (Higgins 2009). Therefore, the linguistic reality in Zambia, particularly Lusaka, is frequently characterised by translanguaging practices involving two or more languages.

1.1.2 Problematizing Translanguaging

The term Translanguaging, though recently coined in the 21st century has captured a number of scholars' attention and imagination who have proposed a variety of terms to describe translanguaging, for example, situational and metaphorical switching, code mixing, code switching, code meshing and style shifting (Garcia 2009; Creese & Blackledge 2015; Baker 2001; Kanana 2004). It has been therefore applied to pedagogy, multimodal communication, linguistic landscape, visual arts, everyday social interaction, music, and transgender discourse (Banda and Jimaima 2015; Pennycook and Otsuji 2015; Jimaima 2016; Mambwe 2014; Wakumelo 2010). The term translanguaging was first coined by Welsh Cen Williams (1994). He referred to a pedagogical practice where you receive information through the medium of one language and use it yourself through the medium of another language. Baker (2001) translated William (1994)'s term 'trawsieithu' in English 'Translanguaging' to describe pedagogical practices that he observed in Welsh revitalisation programmes. He noticed that whenever the teacher would teach in Welsh, the learners would respond in English and in some instances it would be vice versa. This practice was seen to help maximise both learners' and teachers' linguistic resources in the process of problem solving and knowledge construction. From then on, translanguaging has proven to be an effective pedagogical practice in a variety of education

contexts as it empowers both the learner and the teacher to transform the power relations and focuses on the teaching and learning to make meaning (Garcia 2009; Creese & Blackledge 2015).

Furthermore, according to Wallis and Otheguy (2015), translanguaging is the deployment of speaker's full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named languages. In addition, as cited by Strauss (2016), Garcia and Wei (2014) view translanguaging to be not merely a shift or shuttle between two languages but refer to the speaker's construction and use of original and complex inter-related discursive practices that cannot be easily assigned to one or another traditional definition of a language, but that make up the speaker's language repertoire. From these definitions, it can be said that these scholars viewed translanguaging to have a smooth flow between the translanguaged languages where boundaries between or among them is not seen or felt as they are just features from a unitary language system. They have shown that translanguaging is an effective pedagogical practice in a variety of the education contexts. In this connection, translanguaging has shaped both the teachers and pupils' understanding. The present study adopted these two definitions of translanguaging because they encompass the other alternations. Translanguaging does not usually indicate lack of competence on the part of the speaker in any of the languages concerned, but results from complex bilingual skills in order to make meaning. The act of translanguaging is expected to create a social space for multilingual speakers by bringing together different dimensions of their personal history, experiences and environment their attitudes, beliefs and performance.

1.1.3 Contextualising the study

The main aim of the present study is to investigate and determine the motivation and analyse the use of translanguaging among traders and their customers of the purposefully selected urban market in Lusaka District of Zambia. The researcher chose a market to be the study's research area because it is, according to Pennycook and Otsuji (2015) a place where difference is encountered. More than any town space, markets define human engagement with difference, different people, different clothes, goods, and ways of speaking. Markets offer an ideal setting to explore relationship between economy and society, especially when we consider that this market

reflect and shape the nature and meaning of social and cultural diversity. Markets also entail encounters between people, frequently across line of social and cultural difference.

The data for the study were drawn from one of the busiest markets in Lusaka, Soweto Market. Soweto market is the biggest of the Zambian markets. It gets its name from SOWETO a South African township. The market is located along Los Angeles road on the western part of Lusaka city behind the City market. The market is an urban market comprising of a number of shops, stalls and business stands where traders display their different types of merchandise. Lusaka being the capital city of Zambia, it is a get way to most parts of the country. Hence the population of the market is a mixture of people of different tribal affiliation from all parts of the country. The market is characterised with a large number of both traders and customers of different linguistic background, belonging to different ethnic groups, tribes and cultures. These speakers come from places all over the country and other neighbouring countries. They daily converge and interact not only in terms of business but also linguistically. A number of languages are spoken in Soweto market and these include; Nyanja, Bemba, English, Tonga, Lozi, Luvale, Lunda, Lenje, Ila, Soli, Mbunda, Tumbuka, Chewa, Ngoni, Kaonde and Swahili and so on with Nyanja being the dominant language as highlighted in chapter five of this study. Therefore, the influx of traders and customers in the market has contributed to major linguistic diversity as well as broadening of the communicative repertoire from which speakers draw linguistic resources in their daily interactions during transactions as reflected in chapters five and six of the present study. In the same vein, Jimaima (2017) states that even as people migrate to other areas, it is not always the case that they lose their language, on the contrary, they carry with them their linguistic repertoire which they blend with those found in the new place (Soweto market).



Figure 1: Pictures of traders and customers at Soweto Market - Lusaka

1.2 Statement of the Problem

A reasonable number of scholars have researched and carried out studies on translanguaging with their main focus only on translanguaging in bilingual education (Garcia 2009, Creese & Blackledge 2015, and Otheguy 2015). However, the present study took the market place as a point of departure from the focus on bilingual education to a market setting (Soweto market) to investigate, analyse and determine the motivation and use of translanguaging practices among traders and customers during their daily transactions. So far, the literature reviewed in Zambia on translanguaging lacks any scholarly engaged on the use and motivation behind translanguaging as a strategy for business transactions among the traders and customers of Soweto market. Therefore, we do not know the use and motivation behind translanguaging strategy employed by traders and customers of Soweto market in Lusaka district of Zambia.

1.3. Aim

The study aimed at identifying and analysing how translanguaging is used and the motivation behind its practice as a medium of support in trade transactions by traders and customers of Soweto market.

1.4. Objectives

The following are the objectives of the study on translanguaging strategy among the traders and customers of Soweto market:

- i. Identify the dominant language and most translanguaged languages in Soweto market;
- ii. Analyse how traders and customers of Soweto market use translanguaging during a transaction and
- iii. Determine the motivation behind translanguaging practice in a market setting during a transaction.

1.5. Research Questions

The study attempted to answer the following questions with regard to the research objectives:

- i. What are the dominant language/s and the most translanguaged languages by the traders and customers in Soweto market?
- ii. How do traders and customers of Soweto market use translanguaging during a transaction?
- iii. What motivates traders and customers to practice translanguaging in a market setting during a transaction?

1.6. Significance of the Study

The study's focus was on language use in a market setting. It aimed at providing information on the use of translanguaging by investigating how it is used and the motivation behind its practice among those in trade. Studies have shown that translanguaging does not occur as a result of poor background of language, but a creative aspect of language use. Translanguaging communicates speaker's intentions and is purposeful. People have good reasons for translanguaging. As most

studies conducted on translanguaging focused on its use in the education sector, it was therefore, important to study translanguaging to find out why people employ this strategy in a market setting. Consequently, the present study provides valuable data on how translanguaging is used in an urban market setting and how business influences its use. The present study has contributed to the knowledge of translanguaging as it relates to how it is exploited by the general public in Zambia's Soweto Market. It will add new data to already existing data on translanguaging. Having less or no documented research exploring translanguaging in a market setting in Zambia, the study may act as a reference point to future researchers in Zambia.

1.7 Scope of the Study

The scope of the present study is limited to understanding translanguaging among traders and customers of Soweto market. It entails identifying the languages used for translanguaging by those in the study's research area, establishing what motivates translanguaging practices, and analysing how it is used in the speeches of the speakers during business interactions in Soweto market.

1.8 Limitation of the study

The findings of the present study on the practice of translanguaging among traders and customers are peculiar to Soweto market. Therefore, they cannot be generalised to other markets.

1.9. Structure of the dissertation

This study consists of seven chapters. The first chapter introduces the study by providing background information to the investigation and giving the significance of the study. Chapter one also outlines the aim and objectives of the study, the research questions are addressed. The second chapter reviews some of the available literature that the researcher found relevant to the present study in order for it to be justified.

The third chapter outlines the theoretical and analytical framework through which the study was undertaken.

The fourth chapter describes the methodological framework used in data collection in order to address the research questions reflected in the first chapter. The research design, study area and

the sample size are also outlined in this chapter. Data collection methods, instruments and the ethical consideration are also presented in this chapter.

The fifth chapter presents and discusses the findings on how the dominant and other languages are used for translanguaging practices among the traders and customers of Soweto market in relation to objectives (i) and (ii).

Chapter six presents and discusses the findings on the motivation behind translanguaging practices in Soweto market in relation to objective (iii)

The seventh chapter focuses on the conclusions and recommendations on the study. The chapter draws the conclusion on the findings regarding the languages used in the research area, the use and motivation behind translanguaging strategy among the traders and customers of Soweto market. It also makes recommendations with regard to the study.

10 Summary

The chapter has introduced the title of the study and briefly provided some information on the language concept under study, translanguaging. It has also highlighted some important definitions of translanguaging. The chapter has given the statement of the problem, aim of the study, objectives and has outlined the scope and limitation of the study. The following chapter reviews some of the literatures that were found to be relevant to the study.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter provides information on related studies conducted on translanguaging. It begins by outlining some general studies on translanguaging then looks at other studies that are related to the present study. The literature reviewed constitutes general information in linguistics on translanguaging and other related studies.

2.1 Studies on Translanguaging in General

The history of translanguaging is deeply rooted in the field of bilingual education. The ideology behind translanguaging emerged from the evolution of multilingual teaching practices, particularly the practices promoted by teaching English to speakers of Welsh. It aimed at advancing the quality of English language instruction (Lewis et al. 2011). As earlier stated in the background of the present study, the term translanguaging therefore, originated in an educational set up and was first coined by the Welsh educationist Cen Williams (1994). He referred to a pedagogical practice where an instruction in English would be given by the teacher to the pupils and a response would be given in Welsh (Lewis et al. 2011). Which is why Pratt, (1992) states that interactional events normally take place in a contact zone, a social set up where different cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other.

Scholars have published several excellent reviews of the term translanguaging and they came up with three broad areas of translanguaging that were of interest to the researcher; translanguaging as pedagogy, translanguaging as a skill and translanguaging as a practice. Translanguaging as pedagogy refers to new language practices bilinguals adopt in order to cope with linguistic difficulties in a language situation. Garcia (2009) looked at how translanguaging theory impacts issues of language allocation and pedagogy in bilingual education. He reviews that translanguaging pedagogies offer opportunities for students and teachers to draw on all their linguistic resources to make meaning. Wei (2011) on the other hand reviews translanguaging to be socially constructed contexts where individuals creatively and critically communicate. In the context of the current study, Wei's (2011) assertion will become instructive. For the market places in which our study is framed are places of social construction in which individuals

creatively and critically communicate. Thus, leaning on Wei's assertion, an investigation into how the market is socially constructed for communication becomes insightful. In terms of the application of Wei's understanding of translanguaging to pedagogy, this is where a student asks for translation of meaning of a word. Garcia and Wei thus viewed translanguaging as a pedagogical tool in relation to practices in a classroom situation. In the same vein, the current study viewed translanguaging as a transactional tool in relation to the linguistic interactions between a seller and a buyer in a market setting. This is where a seller explains or describes in the buyer's language how a commodity works or functions.

Translanguaging as a practice refer to what people do with language, how they understand and perceive language (Garcia, Flores, and Woodley, 2012). Translanguaging allows the use of more than two linguistic resources as the setting permits and this leads to various patterns of translanguaging use. Baker (2011) viewed how the practice of translanguaging helped students to make meaning, gain understanding and knowledge. He states that to read and discuss a topic in one language and then write it in another language, means that, the subject matter has to be processed and digested. Additionally, Creese and Blackledge (2010) explain that both of these languages are needed simultaneously to convey the information. Here, one understands that each language is used to convey a different informational message, but it is the bilingualism of the text that the full message is conveyed. In this connection, Baker (2001) underscores the potential educational advantages to translanguaging. He states that translanguaging may promote a deeper and fuller understanding of the subject matter, it may help in developing of the weaker language, it may facilitate home-social links and cooperation and it may help in integration of fluent speakers with early learners. Although, these advantages of translanguaging revealed by Baker were observed from the educational sector, they are in line with the present study's findings as it brings to the fore the potential facts that eminent from the use of translanguaging.

Garcia (2009) and Canagarajah (2012) view translanguaging as a communicative practices associated with languages moving across languages within interaction to negotiate meaning. These communicative practices also involve the deployment of semiotic resources across modalities including language and textual artefacts as well as gestures, facial expressions and other ways of using the body. Translanguaging practices do not mandate a language hierarchy, nor do they mandate that different systems are assigned to different domains or function for the

speaker, rather translanguaging develops the adaptability and cooperation of language systems. The current study will lean on this assertion as it considers the ways in which individual speakers glide from one language to another.

However, much as the studies reviewed above are on translanguaging, their main focus was on the use of translanguaging in the education sector, they do not address the use and motivation behind translanguaging strategy employed by those in the trade domain. This is because the studies reviewed bilingualism and multilingualism translanguaging only in teaching and learning environments. Therefore, there was need to analyse how translanguaging strategy is employed by the traders and customers of the present study's research area. However, these scholars agree that translanguaging is a theory that poses that bilingual people do not speak languages but rather use their repertoire of linguistic features selectively and calls for softening of national and state language boundaries. This view is very insightful for the theorisation in this current study. The study takes the view that in fact traders do not use languages as bounded systems; rather, traders only tap into linguistic repertoires available to both themselves and customers during the 'unfolding of discourses' (Auer and Wei, 2007).

Translanguaging as a skill relates to multilingual proficiencies and the simultaneous listening, speaking, reading and writing of language users in different contexts (Kavitha 2014). Suresh (2002) viewed translanguaging as the writing of a literacy autobiography to critically reflect on students' own writing development and translate their insight into pedagogical practices. He interprets translanguaging in writing in the context of the activities and assignments produced throughout the course. The study revealed that the students were able to indicate the different values attached to the different languages in their repertoire, conveying their greater investment. In this regard, the present study heavily focused on translanguaging as a skill in relation to only the listening and speaking activities of those in the trade domain.

2.2 Sociolinguistics studies on Zambia

There are a few studies conducted on the sociolinguistic analysis of languages in Zambia. A few of these studies have focused on the interaction between Zambian languages and English. Wakumelo (2010) reports that there has been an emergence of different forms of communication by different social groups in Zambia as a result of a shift to urban vernaculars as opposed to rural

ones. She discusses the discourse of “call boys” and minibus conductors in Zambia with the aim of establishing its possible categorization. She looked at the various possible categorizations of the discourse. Her study provides further insights as to how a particular social group within multilingual Zambia creatively uses their linguistic resources to communicate and to provide them with an identity. Wakumelo (2010) further claims that this form of communication that has developed is more than translanguaging and that it is in fact a hybrid form of language as it constitutes diverse elements from different sources which have a composite linguistic nature. Wakumelo noted that in the discourse, which is frequently incomprehensible to outsiders, the “call boys” and minibus conductors use specially created words or words borrowed from different languages whose meanings and sometimes structure they have frequently manipulated and adapted. She adds that the discourse has appropriated lexical items from other languages whose orientation has been extended, reinvented, adapted or changed to assume varied meanings. Her study is equally relevant to the current one in that it helps us appreciate the new dimensions that multilingualism in urban Lusaka is giving rise to, that of hybrid languages which results in translanguaging practices.

However, Wakumelo’ study focuses much on the types of lexicon used by “bus conductors” and minibus drivers, their origin and their probable meanings and how these provide the speakers with their interlocutors with a social identity. This current study examines data on casual conversations from speakers in a market setting in urban Lusaka in order to explore how language is used as a negotiation tool in business. Unlike Wakumelo’s, this study does not give pre-eminence to types of lexicon and their etymologies as they occur in their hybrid forms but rather it focuses on how these forms of language come about as people interact.

In another related study, Mambwe (2014) explores Mobility, Identity and Localization of Language in Multilingual Contexts of Urban Lusaka. He examines data from different sites of language practices of Lusaka urbanites that include, casual and formal conversations, Zambian popular music, computer mediated discourses and advertisements. Mambwe shows how interlocutors creatively draw on their extended communicative repertoire to make meaning, transform social structures, roles and stylize modern identities. Like in the present study, Mambwe (2014) foregrounds language as localized social practice and argues against the idea that language is homogenous and a bounded system.

He shows that message consumption is not a function of isolated semiotic resource but combination of semiotic material drawn from semiotics that people are familiar with. He also argues that social meaning is steeped into social and cultural experiences of the speakers. Furthermore, in his study, Mambwe demonstrates that given the advancements in communication technology and mobility of semiotic resources across modes which have largely contributed to a reconceptualization of the nature of human language. Mambwe (2014) further finds that speakers simultaneously stylize trans-local hybrid identities which include urban versus rural, modern versus traditional, African versus Christian as well as gendered ones, through their use of different linguistic choices.

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

Mambwe (2014)'s study is relevant to the present study as it gives insights on how speakers in late modern settings of Lusaka stylize their multiple identities by dissolving the traditional linguistic boundaries through use of the extended linguistic repertoire. In this vein, he demonstrates that social identity is a dynamic aspect of social life which is actively negotiated and performed through speakers' linguistic choices.

However, Mambwe (2010)'s study focuses on Mobility, Identity and Localization of Language in Multilingual Contexts of Urban Lusaka. He drew his data from different sites of language

practice in Lusaka. His study touches on different aspects of hybrid discourse practices of urbanites in late modern Lusaka, for example, casual and formal conversations, print advertisements, music and online discourses. Unlike Mambwe (2010)'s, this current study only examines how language is used in Soweto market during business transactions among traders and customers. This entails establishing how translanguaging is practiced and determining what drives the speakers to employ this language strategy in their discourses.

2.3. Studies on Language use in a Market

Business is in a continuous development. Businesses are involving and activating in a diversified environment that does not respect physical boundaries anymore. Any time of business has the possibility to extend over borders. The lack of boundaries leads to the proliferation of demographics speaking diverse languages. Also, lack of policed boundaries entail that market places are not homogeneous. Rather, these are places of linguistic fluidity and flux, change and mobility. This made language proficiency a very important business skill.

It is important to note that while terminologies have been developed to replace older theorisation such as code-switching, some scholars are still stuck with the older concepts. For example, Kanana (2004) in discussing what one would ordinarily describe as translanguaging, she studied Code-Switching in business transaction in Maasai market in Nairobi Kenya. She used the theoretical approaches of Markedness Model by Meyer Scotton and Giles' Speech Accommodation Theory. The study focused on the functions of code-switching and also the factors that influence the choice of a particular code at any given time. Her study examined code-switching and choice of codes involving the use of English, Kiswahili and local languages of Nairobi. She also examined the influence of the variables of sex, age and race in code selection. According to Kanana, the chosen codes were found to fulfil the functions of solidarity. When such a function had been fulfilled, it became easier for a trader at a market, to convince prospective customers to buy their products. Kanana's findings revealed that speakers switch codes in an attempt to converge or diverge from their interlocutors.

Kanana (2004)'s study is relevant to the present study in the sense that it provides useful insights on language use in a market among traders and customers. It also highlights on the motivation behind the choice of a code over the other during a transactional interaction. However, the

present study covers a little more on language use in a market. It demonstrates how speakers use different features from different languages to make meaning. This entails analysing the patterns and styles in the translanguaged material. The study also determines the motivation behind translanguaging during the transactions of traders and customers.

2.4 Studies Highlighting motivation for Translanguaging

Kavitha (2014) studied translanguaging by using qualitative and quantitative approaches to investigate teachers' attitude towards and uses of translanguaging in English language classrooms in Iowa. The study included the following as its research questions: Do teachers feel that use of student's L1 in the classroom is beneficial or detrimental? When is it appropriate to use translanguaging in the classroom? Kavitha aimed at providing insights into the current attitudes of teachers towards translanguaging in classroom and uncover information regarding the use of translanguaging. The study revealed that the teachers had a positive attitude towards the use of translanguaging as every use was important. Therefore, translanguaging was used to; explain complex concept, vocabulary and grammatical features or structures so as to help students understand the grammar of the target language as their native language provided the best chance of comprehension. Here Kavitha (2014) entails that explaining concepts in the learners' native language provide a fuller understanding. As a result, students develop strategies for navigating conversation, bridge their identity, acknowledge and utilise the diverse base of knowledge that they have in their native language and project a safe environment to the extent where the reserved students take up active role in their education. Kavitha also showed that translanguaging allow students to use their native languages as a positive linguistic resource and an asset to aid them in developing ways that can help them negotiate meaning and communicate in English. Kavitha's findings are in line with the present study. The insights given were relevant to the current study, although his focus was on teachers' and students' use of translanguaging in a classroom. However, the current study took an informal setting as its focus to analyse how these speakers use translanguaging and what drives them to translanguage.

Strauss (2016) on the other hand investigated the use of translanguaging by focusing on Code-Switching and Translanguaging inside and outside the classroom bilingual and multilingual practices of high school learners in a rural Afrikaans setting. His aim was to establish if linguistic

strategies like code-switching and translanguaging are used by senior high school learners and teachers when they communicate in the bilingual or multilingual settings where English is the target language. The study also aimed at investigating the reasons for these strategies and their educational value. The findings of this study revealed that codes were switched so as to maintain social cohesion in the group, to explain, to expand, to clarify and elaborate. Strauss showed that translanguaging strategies formed a significant part of the participants' linguistic repertoire and had been used to fulfil a number of functions which include; reprimanding, elaborating and exclusion. Strauss states that the two strategies 'translanguaging and code-switching' are helpful tools in bilingual and multilingual educational settings.

In this regard, Strauss (2016)'s study is relevant to the present study as it highlights the reasons for translanguaging practices among teachers and students, as such some of his points were revealed in the present study by the respondents as reasons for translanguaging. However, Strauss dwelled on translanguaging practice inside and outside the classroom among teachers and student. The current study on the other hand examines translanguaging as a strategy employed by those in the trade domain. In addition, the current study also focuses on how translanguaging is practiced.

2.5. Summary

The chapter provided general information on translanguaging and partitioned it into four sections being; Studies on Translanguaging in General, Social Linguistics studies on Zambia, Studies on Language use in a Market and Studies Highlighting motivation for Translanguaging.

Whereas the research literature does value the importance of translanguaging, less is accounted for how translanguaging becomes a meaningful practice within those in trade. The present study builds on the dialogic relationship between speakers and their listeners and explores language as a negotiated tool within a market place. It also seeks to establish how language operate as a tool for negotiating meaning, how it is shaped by trade and how translanguaging leads to meaning making in the trade domain as reflected in chapters five and six of this study.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

3.0 Introduction

This chapter explains the theoretical framework used in the study. As earlier stated, the study addresses itself to analysing language practices in an urban market setting. It focuses on how speakers engage with the linguistic repertoires in creating meaningful discourses in their conversations. In this regard, the study analyses how languages work together as one in the social lives of traders and their customers as they make meaning.

Therefore, in order to adequately analyse how speakers in the trade domain exploit language in their social linguistic interactions, the present study draws on aspects of Speech Accommodation Theory developed by Howard Giles (Giles & Clair 1979), the Conversational Analysis (thereafter CA) by Auer (1984), Translanguaging theory, and Multilingualism. These, were useful in explaining and accounting for the variations of speech occurrence in the linguistic interactions of those in the trade domain.

3.1 Theoretical Framework

3.1.1. Speech Accommodation Theory

Speech Accommodation Theory (thereafter SAT) is a socio-psychological approach to language study in society which was developed by Giles (1979). His aim was to provide an explanation on why speakers accommodate their interlocutors during a face to face interaction. Giles et al. (1979) developed SAT in order to predict and explain the dynamics of speech adjustments that individuals usually make to create, maintain and decrease the social distances in interaction and also the changes that are enacted for reasons that go beyond the mere exchange of referential information and emotions. He argues that social-psychological factors help to explain why individual speakers use the speech strategies and also explores the different ways in which communicators accommodate their motivations for doing so and the consequences arising from these adjustments. Therefore, the process of adjustments is called accommodation. Although language remains a central focus of the theory, discursive structures and non-verbal communication behaviours as well as other communicative aspects of identity can be also

understood from a SAT perspective (Coupland, Giles & Henwood, 1988, Giles & Wadleigh 2008).

SAT was specifically developed to account for three speech strategies, speech convergence speech divergence and speech maintenance. Convergence according to Giles 1977, as revealed by Njeru (2014), is defined as a strategy by individuals to adapt their communicative behaviours in such a way as to become more similar to their interlocutor's behaviour. Speakers will therefore converge when they desire social integration, approval, affiliation and interpersonal similarity as a manner of reducing social distance.

Divergence on the other hand reflects the desire for the speaker to assert their identity. According to Tuner et al (2010), divergence can be a way for members of different groups to maintain their cultural identity. It is a means to contrast self-images when other person is considered to be a member of an undesirable group and a way of indicating power or status differences. Therefore, speakers will diverge when they wish to differentiate from each other socially by maximising differences in language use.

According to Bourhis (1977), Speech maintenance refers to the choice made by the speaker not to converge linguistically but to maintain their speech style. SAT has been developed on four socio-psychological theories namely Similarity attraction, Social Exchange, Social Identity and Casual Attribution. However, the present study adopted three social psychological theories of SAT; Similarity attraction, Social Exchange and Social Identity theories. Similarity attraction and social exchange theories help to account for speech convergence and Social identity theory account for divergence among the traders and customers of Soweto market.

Similarity attraction proposes that when the speakers become more similar in the language use, there is a likelihood of greater attraction between them than if they became more dissimilar. Speakers will therefore converge when they desire social integration and approval. The more desire for social approval, the greater the tendency to converge. Through verbal or non-verbal communication, convergence is one of the mechanisms that speakers use to become more similar and enhance their attraction to their interlocutors.

The social exchange theory views convergence as a social exchange during which speakers incur certain costs in order to obtain potential rewards. The theory suggests that speakers engage in behaviours that reap rewards and they avoid behaviours that bring forth negative or unpleasant result or outcome. Therefore one would expect speakers to converge only when there is a reward.

The third socio-psychological theory of SAT that was adopted by this study was the Social Identity theory. The theory analyses divergence strategy which refers to a situation where speakers modify their speech away from their interlocutors in order to sound different from them. This theory purports that when members of different groups come together, they tend to differentiate themselves from others by considering their material possession, personal attribute and their abilities (Giles & Clair 1979). Therefore, in these groups, individuals seek ways in which they can remain positively distinct from others so as to enhance their social identity. These theories of SAT attempted to explain the concept of translanguaging strategy employed by traders and customers of Soweto market. The theory is also important as it accounted for motivation behind translanguaging among those in the domain of trade.

3.1.2 Translanguaging Theory

The present study is focused purely on translanguaging as a concept. Therefore, it was necessary to explain translanguaging as a theory. Translanguaging is a theoretical lens that offers a different view of bilingualism and multilingualism. Translanguaging theory therefore posits that rather than possessing two or more autonomous language systems, as has been traditionally thought in code-switching, bilinguals, multilingual and indeed, all users of language, select and deploy particular feature from a unitary linguistic repertoire to make meaning and to negotiate particular communicative context (Otheguy, Garcia, & Reid 2015). Translanguaging aids meaning making using two or more languages utilised in a dynamic and functionally integrated manner. The practice deliberately switches the language mode of input and output in a well, planned and organised manner to mediate information processing. According to Lewis, Jones & Baker (2012) there are three core premises that undergird translanguaging theory; (i) it posits that individuals select and deploy features from a unitary repertoire in order to communicate, (ii) it takes up a perspective on bilingualism and multilingualism that privileges speaker's own dynamic linguistic and semiotic practices above the named languages of nations and states and

(iii) it recognises the material effects of socially constructed named language categories and structuralised language ideologies, especially for minority language speakers.

Translanguaging differs from the notion of code-switching in that it does not refer simply to a shift or a shuttle between two languages but to the speaker's construction and use of original and complex interrelated discursive practices that cannot be easily assigned to one or another traditional definition of language, but that make up the speaker's complete language repertoire (Garcia & Wei 2014). Therefore, Translanguaging is the fluid and flexible use of language and this goes beyond the socially constructed boundaries of named languages.

In addition, Translanguaging theory draws a distinction between two perspectives; the external perspective which refers to the way a society labels and views an individual's use of the named language, and the internal perspective which refers to the way the speaker appropriates and uses language features. For this reason, unlike code-switching that practices the notion of separating languages, the practice of translanguaging dismantles the named language categories and boundaries and takes in the internal perspective to describe the translanguaging of speakers. The theory recognises that all people including those whom society viewed as monolingual, bilingual or multilingual to have one linguistic repertoire learned through dynamic social interactions from which they deploy features to make meaning in context.

Translanguaging is a complex process of discursive practice where bilinguals know what they are saying while producing words in both languages. It is a controllable cognition, individuals primarily consider context and purpose in selecting what features to use and the selection is guided not by grammar but by the social information that each individual speaker has regarding a communicative context in which the social interaction takes place. Translanguaging theory is useful to this study as it is the backbone of the present study.

3.2. Analytical Framework

3.2.1 Conversational Analysis

The present study focuses on translanguaging. It analyses how speakers use language in their casual conversations so as to discover how they understand and respond to one another in their turns at talk, with a central focus on how sequences are generated. In this regard, the study draws on the aspects of Conversation Analysis (thereafter CA) developed by Auer (1984). Auer argues that CA generally attempts to describe the orderliness, structure and sequential patterns of interaction in casual conversations. Scholars of conversation analysis such as Auer and Li Wei focus their attention on the sequential implication of translanguaging and the meaning that the act of translanguaging creates (Peter Auer & Li Wei, 1998).

CA is an important analytical tool that enables a researcher to unpack data collected. In this regard, CA is an approach to the study of natural conversations, especially with a view to determining participants' methods of turn taking, constructing sequences of utterances across turns, identifying and repairing problems, and employ gaze and movement. CA consists of the basic structures that explain the occurrences of the patterns of interaction between speakers and these are; turn taking organisation, adjacency pairs, sequences expansion, preference organisation repair and action formation. CA structures are a set of practices through which turns are allocated in conversation. CA describes basic units out of which turns are fashioned and the components describe how participants organise their interaction by distributing turns to speakers who coincide with sequence organisation which focuses on how actions are ordered in conversation (Mambwe 2014). CA explores social action with a focus on participants' understanding of one another's conduct. Through their messages, participants accomplish actions and display their understanding of one another's actions and these actions can stand in a particular relation to one another. Speakers allocate their utterances in turns where sentence completion or pause allocates the next turn. In this regard, CA involves how language is used in different ways to construct social identities and how patterns of interactions reveal the social relations among speakers (Hapsari 2011; Eggins & Slade 1997, as cited by Mambwe 2014).

CA is useful to the current study as the researcher first began by observing what was going on in the conversations of the traders and customers during a transaction in order to identify how they constructed social reality. In CA, the most used criterion for analysis is the grammatical patterns of the conversations, and the major grammatical aspect that offers clues to the different social roles and relations in interaction is mood. Mood therefore can be looked at to be the patterns of clause types such as interrogative, declarative and imperative. The present study in chapter five identifies and presents how grammatical patterns that enact such social roles in conversations are deployed by interactants during their conversations. Furthermore, grammatical patterns are revealed by studying the types of clause structures chosen by speakers and are displayed within each speaker's turns as they converse during an interaction. The patterned choices are what indicate the different social roles being played by interactants and how such roles are constructed in our culture.

CA is also useful in this study in analysing the conversation between traders and their customers in order to determine and identify how language is used in the trade domain. This study does not specifically analyse mood in conversations but rather individual linguistic choices that speakers make within a clause or phrase to enact social identities, role structures and relations. Therefore, the study uses some aspects of CA to explore how translanguaging strategy is employed in talk.

3.2.2 Multilingualism

The present study has been undertaken in a multilingual setting therefore, the researcher felt it necessary to explain and exemplify the concept. According to Simwinga (2006), the term multilingualism refers to the ability of an individual speaker or a community of speakers to communicate effectively in three or more languages. Multilingualism is the ability to understand and speak several languages. Zambia is the multilingual state in the sense that several languages are spoken within its borders and individuals speak one or more languages in addition to their mother tongue (Simwinga, 2006). Webb (2010) as cited by Pennycook (2015) defines multilingualism as the use and recognition of more than two languages in high-function public contexts in the major domains and at all different levels, that is, that more than two languages are accepted as linguistically equal and have parity of esteem in the public domain. The idea of

multilingualism, then, is central to the present study. However, this idea may be understood in various ways.

Therefore, Multilingualism, then, is about the ways in which people get by linguistically and how they understand such linguistic practices from their perspectives. It is not therefore concerned with the extent to which local language policies and practices reflect top-down understandings of language how language realities reflect language ideals but rather is constantly challenging those very ideas of language that are employed in language policies (Pennycook, 2015). According to Pennycook (2015), Blommaert, Leppänen and Spotti (2012)'s talk of the need to understand the complexity of multilingualism-on-the-ground, state that, for people who speak a mixed, hybrid variety of language, a typical urban variety of language, in other words they are not well served when their language is dissected and regarded as being composed of two or three other ones. Likewise, Makoni and Pennycook (2010) suggest that emergent urban varieties are multi-languages in themselves, diverse, shifting, and variable according to who is using them with whom, at what point, and to what effect. From this point of view, multilingualism describes not so much the capacity to use different linguistic codes, but rather a facility for handling a mobile multi-language. From this perspective, then, multilingualism is about how people (presently traders and customers) get along with their multiple linguistic resources in their daily lives and also how they perceive and talk about this language use.

Consequently, Pennycook (2015) reviews that, Wise (2009) developed the notion of quotidian tans-versatility to describe the ways in which individuals in everyday spaces use particular modes of sociality to produce or smooth interrelations across cultural difference. According to Wise, Quotidian tans-versatility is neither hybridity nor code-mixing, nor is it an assimilationist or integrationist notion of exchange requiring unbalanced forms of accommodation. However, its focus is on how cultural difference can be the basis for commensality and exchange; where identities are not left behind, but can be shifted and opened up in moments of non-hierarchical reciprocity, and are sometimes mutually reconfigured in the process. It refers to the everyday forms of exchange. A central part of this, from Wise's point of view, is the quotidian trans-linguality used in such encounters, the negotiation of language resources and the deployment of multiple semiotic codes in interactive moments. Everyday urban multilingualism, metrolingualism is that form of quotidian trans-lingual exchange that is part of how the city

works (presently how the market works), how language and identity are negotiated as forms of situated, strategic and transactional labour. The concept of Multilingualism is useful to the present study as it helps in understanding of how speakers handle multi-language with their interlocutors and how they respond to others' mixed utterances.

3.3 Summary

The chapter has outlined the theoretical and conceptual framework which informed the present study. These theories were useful to the present study in analysing the conversations between the traders and customers of Soweto market so as to bring to the fore how translanguaging is practiced by individual speakers in the trade domain.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

Chapter four provides the steps that were used in the process of executing the research which ultimately led to finding answers to the objectives of the present study discussed in chapters five and six. Therefore, informed by the objectives of the study, this chapter outlines the research design and methodology used in the study. It firstly explains the research design and further presents the methodology, that is, the methods and techniques used in data collection and analysis. It also presents the research area and discusses some ethical considerations taken in the process of data collection.

4.1 Research Design

An ideal research study has a structure which defines the steps to be taken right from the beginning to the end in the process of executing the work. This structure is outlined in a way that seeks to provide answers to the research questions set out in the study so as to achieve the study's objectives. The present study used the descriptive research design to gather relevant information pertaining to the use of translanguaging in the research area and to explore participants' views on translanguaging. Descriptive research design can be referred to as the type of research question, design and data analysis that will be applied to a given topic. It gives enough information on the 'what, how, where and when' questions. This type of research design was chosen as it uses methods that accurately describe the research problem and these include observation and interviews as discussed in 4.4.3. The descriptive research design often illuminates knowledge that we might not otherwise notice or even encounter. It involves observing and describing the behaviour of a subject matter (currently translanguaging among those in the trade domain) without influencing it in any way. In addition, the subject is being observed in a completely natural and unchanged natural environment like markets. With this view, the descriptive research design helped in bringing to the fore the linguistic aspects that emanate from translanguaging practices among the social actors of the research area.

4.2 Research Approach

The present study focused on the way speakers interact, interpret and make sense of their linguistic experiences. In this regard, qualitative approach was used as it is an approach that produces findings by using non-statistical procedures. Its emphasis is on the flexibility and sensitivity to the social context. It begins with specific observations and moves towards the development of a general pattern that emerges from specific cases under the study (Strauss 1990). In addition, Aguma (1995) as cited by Simwinga (2006) reviews qualitative method as a method that can give valuable insight into the local situations and people's feelings and can help ascertain how local culture and beliefs as well as how the economical and physical environment affect human behaviour patterns. It is in light of this that the study found the approach useful in terms of data collection and analysis of how people make or create social understandings and meanings in a market setting. Qualitative approach was used to determine participants' perception and practice of translanguaging. The qualitative research approach was appropriate because it utilized more direct methods of collecting information and data that had aspects of translanguaging and it provided a clear picture of a situation as it happened naturally. In order to explore the phenomena in details, the researcher conducted interviews with the traders and customers of Soweto market recorded their conversations and made observations thereafter analysed the collected views in form of words. The study explains in 4.5.4, on how the research instruments (semi-structured interview, audio recording and observation) were used in the collection of data.

Qualitative approach was used to establish the extent of variation in language use by the participants and their perception on translanguaging. The application of the approach made the researcher to be able to conceptualize and examine the phenomena of translanguaging among traders and customers of Soweto market, analyze how it is practiced, and even established what motivates its practice.

4.3 Research Area

As stated earlier in the introduction and background to the study, the study was conducted in Lusaka at Soweto market. Soweto market is one of the busiest markets in Zambia. It has hundreds of traders and customers who, on a daily basis, interact socially and linguistically. A

number of goods and services that are sold their range from, fruits, vegetables, groceries, medicines, clothes, stationary, furniture, vehicle spare parts and many more.

Soweto market has hundreds of different merchandisers who stock and display their goods in the different stalls, stands, on tables or on the ground and this include; farmers, salaula (second hand clothes) sellers fish mongers, bakery, butchery and many more. The place is also crowded with the vendors who carry their merchandise with hands or on their heads and sell within the market. The researcher considered this market to be the study's research area because this is where a large number of both traders and customers from places all over the country converge and interact to meet their needs. The researcher also felt that Soweto market sets an ideal context for translanguaging as diverse of languages come into contact. This is why Pennycook and Otsuji (2015) view a market to be a place where difference is encountered. They state that more than any town space, markets define human engagement with difference, different people, different clothes, goods, and ways of speaking. Furthermore, Markets offer an ideal setting to explore relationship between economy and society especially when we consider that this market reflect and shape the nature and meaning of social and cultural diversity. Markets also entail encounters between people, frequently across line of social and cultural difference. Therefore, Soweto market was considered to be a better representation of the whole country where the usage of translanguaging in a market setting was concerned.

4.4 Data collection

4.4.1 Population

Leaning on Welman et al. (2005), Mambwe (2014), states that when a research is conducted to investigate a research question, data is collected from the respondents of the enquiry in order to solve the problem concerned. The results obtained should therefore provide an insight of the nature of the problem and should further give an idea as to whether to reject or accept the conclusions. The target population for this study comprised of traders and customers of the research area. The sample was drawn from Soweto market in Lusaka district of Zambia to determine and analyse the use and motivation behind translanguaging practices among traders and customers. A total sample of 100 persons (70 traders and 30 customers) of varying gender and age was selected for study. In addition, 942 conversations among speakers of Soweto market

were observed of which 580 were between a trader and a customer. Out of the 580 conversations, 380 were purely a translanguaging practice as it is reflected in chapter five of the present study.

4.4.2 Sampling procedure

Sampling is a process of selecting a few samples from a bigger group to become the basis for estimating or predicting a fact, situation or outcome regarding the bigger group in which one is interested (Simwinga 2015). Purposive sampling technique was used in selecting the 70 traders and 30 customers to participate in the semi-structured interview. The assumption was that these participants would give relevant and useful information regarding translanguaging practice in the market setting. The purposive sampling technique that was used for this study was the criterion sampling. The main criterion in this regard was the presence and willingness of the participants to participate in the study. Several extracts and utterances from the conversations between traders and customers were purposefully sampled. The extracts were selected as they presented forms of translanguaging relevant to the study.

4.4.3 Research Instruments

The present study used the following research instruments to collect relevant data; Tape recorder, Semi-structured interview schedule and a Note book. Specifically three methods were used; observation, audio recording and the semi-structured interview.

4.4.4 Administration of research instruments

4.4.4.1 Tape Recorder

The tape recorder was used to record all the respondents' views and experiences on translanguaging in a market setting. The researcher recorded all the information respondents gave during the interviews so as to validate the notes taken down during the interviews. The conversations recorded were about 20 minutes long. The respondents were made aware that their speech was being recorded but the researcher chose when to begin recording. The tape recorder was also used to record the useful data from the spontaneous conversations between traders and customers. In each instance, the trader was made aware of the recording. During recording the

focus was plainly on translanguaging. The instances of translanguaging was later analysed and transcribed in written form as presented in chapter five and six.

4.4.4.2 Observation

The observation method was used in the present study because it is a method in which a researcher is able to see and at the same time notice what, who, where, when and why things are happening. The observation was embarked on to witness and to get first-hand information and evidence on the use of translanguaging. In the observation method, the information obtained tends not to be complicated by either the past behaviour, or future intentions or attitudes of the respondents. It is independent of respondents' willingness to respond and it is rather less demanding on the active cooperation between the investigator and respondents. In the present study, the observation method included both participant observation and non-participant observation. In order to collect data, the researcher participated in some language situations while taking note of the useful information. In the non-participant observation, the researcher passively but directly observed the language use and made notes on the instances of translanguaging.

In addition, the researcher chose this method because she wished to observe exactly what happens during a business transaction with regards to the use of language in a market setting. This method was an appropriate tool for this study's data collection. In order to experience the practicality of what exactly transpires in a market concerning the use of English language and local languages during a transaction, the researcher observed everyday language usage by both traders and customers during a buy and sell activities. The activities included, greeting and welcoming the customers, explaining and marketing the commodities, describing how some products work or are used, giving feedback, persuading and convincing customers. In the case of customers, their language usage was observed, when enquiring about the prices of different items, answering and interacting with the traders. Instances of translanguaging relevant to the study were thereafter transcribed.

4.4.4.3 Semi-Structured Interview

According to Cohen (2011) as revealed by Shifidi (2014) interview is a systematic way of talking and listening to people. It is another way to collect data from individuals through conversations. The researcher used this data collecting method as she felt that an interview could help in finding out a more aspects about the usage of translanguaging that she may unable to observe. Shifidi states that Semi-Structured interview method requires an interviewer which is the person who asks questions in a face-to-face contact, and the interviewee the person who answers the questions. The Semi-structured interview schedule was used to guide the researcher as it reflected all the research questions, objectives and aim of the study. The method was used for this study where the researcher was personally present to have a face to face conversation with the respondents. Both traders and customers were interviewed to get their views on the use of translanguaging in a market setting. The questions were open-ended for respondents to freely express their views about translanguaging. The responses to these questions are indicative of the participants' knowledge on why translanguaging is practiced during their conversation with their interlocutors. Furthermore, the semi-structured interview also investigated the respondents' views on the usage of translanguaging as opposed to the use of only one language communication system and these results are presented in chapter five.

The researcher managed to record both traders and customers during the interview sessions and the relevant data was transcribed later on into written conversation in a note book.

4.4.4.4 Note Book

The researcher used a notebook to write down all information observed, particularly words and sentences, as she mingled with the speakers of Soweto market. The information recorded in the notebook constituted what the researcher observed and hence there was no need for consent from the speakers being observed.

4.5 Data Analysis

This section presents how data collected from the research area were processed and analysed. Data analysis can be viewed to be a process of searching and arranging data from the research instruments to enable one to increase one's understanding of the phenomena under study and

present to others what one has discovered in a clear way. Kivitha (2014) confirms that data analysis involves organizing and transforming data into manageable units, synthesizing items, searching for patterns and deducing what is valuable and what is to be learnt. Therefore, after data collection through the observation, interviews and recording as indicated earlier, data was analysed according to the research questions, aims and objectives in order to give meaning to this study.

The data that was collected through the interview guide were read and analysed and the translanguaging material was transcribed into meaningful forms. The audio-recorded conversations were listened to and the translanguaging instances were enlisted and transcribed into written form. Data from the observation notes were also analysed and written into complete meaningful forms. From those forms the findings were sorted and analyzed and presented under different themes as reflected in chapter five and six. Data was analysed so as to enable us determine how translanguaging is practiced and the motivation behind its use. The analysis involved the researcher seeking to determine and identify the styles and patterns of translanguaging manifested in the discourse of the traders and customers. The details of the analysed data obtained through a semi-structured interview, tape recorder and observation, are all presented and discussed in chapter five and six of this study.

4.6 Ethical consideration

For the application of ethical principles, the study took all possible and potential issues and measures to issue compliance with ethical issues. The researcher informed the informants about their rights this is with reference to participant information consent form from the research ethics committee of the University of Zambia. The participants' privacy was respected and guaranteed them ultimate confidentiality and anonymity in such, the names of the respondents were withheld to maintain the privacy of the respondents. The respondents were made aware that they were free to give or decline to give information or withdraw from the interview whenever they found it necessary. In order to meet these, an authorization from the University of Zambia was obtained through the departmental supervisor and Ethical clearance was obtained from the ethical body reference No.2018-July-010. The respect and dignity of all the stakeholders who participated in this research was highly sustained and exercised.

4.7 Summary

The chapter has presented the methodology that was used in the present study. It outlined the ethical consideration and the study's research area. However, in the next chapter the findings obtained through the objective (i) and (ii) are presented.

CHAPTER FIVE: IDENTIFICATION AND ANALYSIS OF INSTANCES OF TRANSLANGUAGING

5.0 Introduction

Chapter five presents and discusses the findings in relation to objectives (i) and (ii) which were formulated from the methods that were used in data collection, i.e. observations, interviews and audio-recordings.

- (i) To identify the dominant and most translanguaged languages in Soweto market.
- (ii) To analyse how translanguaging is practiced among traders and customers of Soweto market during a transaction.

The chapter outlines the dominant and most translanguaged languages in Soweto market. The chapter shows how speakers in informal casual face-to-face conversations in trade domain use an extended linguistic repertoire by dissolving traditional linguistic boundaries. Therefore, the chapter shows how speakers' linguistic choices permeate the language borders through the intermingling of morphemes and phrases from multiple sources into one. It furthermore, shows how the traders and customers use translanguaging by combining the standard and non-standard forms of languages, combining the standard forms of different languages and how they stylize their language use. The chapter also demonstrates how speakers' language practices can be unpredictable in that in some cases, speakers would use forms of language close to the standard while in others they may combine both forms.

The findings gathered through the interviews, observations and audio recording are presented in form of tables, conversations among traders and customers followed by a discussion of the findings. In some instances, extracts from the spontaneous conversation of the speakers reflecting translanguaging are presented. Tables were chosen because they are accurate, simple and clear to understand. In order to protect the identities of the respondents, letters to represent the initial letter of their names are used. The transactions are analyzed in terms of turns (T) a concept that is accounted for by the Conversation Analysis (CA) which looks at what methods people use to participate in a conversation in order to make meaning.

Table 1: Transcription key

Symbol	Meaning
Bold	Words in English language
<i>Italics</i>	<i>Words in Nyanja language</i>
<i>Bold Italics</i>	<i>Words in Bemba language</i>
()	Researcher's translation
T	Trader
C	Customer

5.1 Language Usage

5.1.1 Languages spoken in Soweto market

In order to identify languages that are spoken in Soweto market, the researcher used a tape recorder to record the spontaneous conversation among the traders and customers. She also observed and took note of all the languages spoken in the research area by visiting every part of the research area, listening to conversations, interviewing speakers of the research area and through observation method. Furthermore, the researcher wrote down every language she heard and number of times a language was used. The method helped in determining the languages used in the research area, the dominant language used for trading and the most translanguaged languages during a transaction between a trader and a customer. The researcher listened and observed nine hundred and forty two (942) conversations in which 192 were among traders, 170 among customers and 580 were conversations between a trader and a customer.

The analysis of these 942 conversations which were observed and noted in the research area revealed that 16 languages were spoken in the Soweto market. These languages include; Nyanja, Bemba, English, Tonga, Lozi, Luvale, Lunda, Lenje, Ila, Soli, Mbunda, Tumbuka, Chewa, Ngoni, Kaonde and Swahili. It was also noted that these people of different tribes and cultures converge for business purposes in the research area. Nyanja and Soli are languages spoken by people from the capital city of Zambia, Lusaka province. Bemba is spoken in the Northern, Luapula, Muchinga and the Copperbelt provinces. Whereas Silozi and Mbunda are spoken in the Western province, Tonga and Ila is spoken in the Southern province. Lenje and Soli are spoken in the central province of the country. Luvale, Lunda and Kaonde are all spoken in the North

Western province of the country. Tumbuka, Chewa and Ngoni are spoken in the Eastern province and Swahili is spoken in Tanzania.

Table 2: Number of Conversations observed

Conversations	Number of conversations observed (942)
Traders with their fellow traders	192
Customers with other customers	170
Traders with customers	580
Total	942

However, it is prudent to note here that due to various reasons and circumstances which include business purposes, speakers migrate from one place to another. This practice brings about language contact which gives birth to translanguaging in which speakers in a market setting of Lusaka stylize their language usage by dissolving the traditional linguistic boundaries through the use of their extended linguistic repertoire.

The table below outlines the languages spoken in the research area, the number of conversations among the traders, among the customers and those who just pass by the research area. It also presents the number of conversations between traders and their customers in a sell and buy activity. In addition, the table shows data collected on the conversations where speakers employed linguistic features of different languages from their linguistic repertoire in order to make meaning, ‘translanguaging.’

Table 3: Languages spoken in Soweto market

Languages spoken in Soweto market	Number of Conversations among traders, customers & passers-by	Number of Conversations between traders and their customers during a transaction	Total number of conversations captured in Soweto market
Nyanja	65	150	215
English	8	Nil	8
Bemba	59	50	109
Tonga	25	Nil	25
Lozi	11	Nil	11
Kaonde	10	Nil	10
Tumbuka	7	Nil	7
Luvale	15	Nil	15
Lunda	5	Nil	5
Lenje	17	Nil	17
Mbunda	6	Nil	6
Chewa	12	Nil	19
Ngoni	17	Nil	17
Soli	10	Nil	10
Ila	15	Nil	15
Swahili	10	Nil	10
Nyanja/English	50	100	150
Nyanja/Bemba	Nil	100	100
Nyanja/English/Bemba	Nil	73	73
Nyanja/Tonga	Nil	5	5
Nyanja/Chewa	Nil	7	7
Nyanja/Luvale	Nil	4	4
Nyanja/Lozi	Nil	3	3
Nyanja/Soli	Nil	4	4
Nyanja/Lenje	Nil	4	4
Bemba/English	20	80	100

5.1.2 The dominant language for trading in Soweto Market

The data collected from the spontaneous recorded conversations, interviews with respondents and indeed from the researcher's observations as reflected in Table 2 established that among all the 16 languages that were revealed to be spoken in Soweto market, Nyanja was the mostly used language for trading by the traders and customers in their daily business transactions as shown in the table above. The table indicates that out of the 942 conversations (by traders, customers and passers-by) which were noted in the research area, 215 conversations were spoken in Nyanja language, 8 were in English, 109 were in Bemba, 25 were in Tonga, 11 were in Lozi, in Kaonde they were 10, 7 were in Tumbuka, 15 were in Luvale, in Lunda they were 5, Lenje were 17, 6 were in Mbunda, 19 were in Chewa, 17 were in Ngoni, 14 were in Soli and 10 conversations were spoken in Swahili. In addition, out of the 580 conversations which were noted between the traders and their customers during a transaction, 380 conversations were purely a translanguaging practice, where, 100 were a mixture of Nyanja and English, 80 were a mixture of English and Bemba, 100 were a mixture of Nyanja and Bemba, 73 were a mixture of Nyanja, Bemba and English, 5 were a mixture of Tonga and Nyanja, 7 were a mixture of Nyanja and Chewa, 4 were a mixture of Nyanja and Luvale, 3 were a mixture of Lozi and Nyanja, 4 were a mixture of Soli and Nyanja, 4 were a mixture of Lenje and Nyanja. When asked on what the dominant language spoken in Soweto market was, the following was the response from Mr M,

Extract 1

Mr. M *Chinyanja ndiye chikambiwa maningi muno chifukwa Soweto market ili mulusaka town yamanyanja* (Nyanja is dominant in Soweto market because the market is situated in a Nyanja spoken town Lusaka)

In this regard, the study revealed that Nyanja was used more than any other language each time there was a conversation between a trader and a customer as clearly indicated in the table above. It was also revealed by the respondents that due to the fact that the market is situated in a Nyanja spoken town and district, a number of traders who come to do their businesses in Soweto market even when they did not know how to speak the language, learn to communicate in Nyanja so as to accommodate the local customers linguistically. Therefore, this aspect brought an increase in the numbers of people who spoke Nyanja thus making it dominant in the research area.

The table clearly indicates the number of conversations among traders and their customers of Soweto market during a transaction. Therefore, it can be concluded that Nyanja language was given dominance where business transaction in the research area was concerned. The study revealed also that most of the time the trader and customer engaged into a conversation, Nyanja or a mixture of it with another language was used.

5.1.3 Languages used for translanguaging in Soweto market

Out of the 942 conversations which were observed and noted in order to determine the different languages that are spoken in the research area, 580 were conversations among traders and customers during their bargain to achieve their intended goals. In this, 380 conversations were purely a translanguaging practice. The conversations were a composition of features from more than one language as indicated in table 2.

The study revealed that the most used languages for translanguaging in the research area during discourses between traders and customers were Nyanja, Bemba, English and few of other local languages. In this regard, 100 conversations were a mixture of Nyanja and English, 80 conversations were of Bemba and English, 100 were a mixture of Nyanja with Bemba and a mixture of English, Nyanja and Bemba 75 conversations were observed. These languages were noted to be used more than any other language each time there was a transaction despite traders or customers belonging to a tribe that speak a different language. The study revealed that only 5 conversations were a mixture of linguistic features from Nyanja and Tonga, 7 were of Nyanja and Chewa, 3 were of Nyanja and Lozi, 4 conversations were a mixture of Nyanja and Soli, 4 conversations of Nyanja and Lenje and 4 were a mixture of Nyanja and Luvale. The languages were used for translanguaging purpose during the interactions between the traders and their customers. It is prudent to indicate here that these facts presented ascertain that speakers of Soweto market practice translanguaging in their interactions as they bargain for a profit gain.

Furthermore, of the 100 respondents that were interviewed on translanguaging practices during a sell and buy activity, all of them revealed that the linguistic features that are mostly mixed were from Nyanja with Bemba, Nyanja with English and English with Bemba language or a mixture of the three languages. However, 5 of the respondents also mentioned of a mixture of Nyanja

with either, Tonga, Chewa, Lozi, Luvale, Soli, or Lenje. Observe from the response below by a respondent;

Extract 2

Mrs B *Muno musoweto kubwela bantu bosiyanasiya, bamitundu yo siyanasiya, bogula na bogulisa. Mitundu iyi inkala yosankanyika mumalilime abantu makamaka chinyanja, chibemba, chizungu nayosiyanasiya.* (In Soweto market, different traders and customers of different tribes come here. These languages come into contact and get mixed in the speeches of speakers especially Nyanja, Bemba, English and many other.)

As mentioned earlier, the present study has been conducted in a setting where different languages come in contact every day as speakers carry on with their businesses. Therefore, it can be noted in the response above that the language contact phenomenon was one of the major reasons that led to translanguaging practices in Soweto market. Language contact occurs when speakers of two or more languages or varieties interact and influences each other linguistically. When speakers of different languages interact closely as Mrs B puts it in her response, it is typical for their languages to influence each other. It occurs in a variety of phenomena which include convergence and borrowing. Pennycook (2015) notes that the most common way in which languages tend to influence each other is the exchange of words as speakers tend to use words from other languages with their own languages.

In Zambia, as earlier stated, Nyanja is a language spoken by the people of Lusaka province. Bemba is spoken by the people of Northern, Luapula, and Muchinga provinces. These languages are of great importance as they are used as medium of instruction from the first grade up to the fourth grade in primary schools of the respective provinces. They are also taught as examinable subjects to grade five up to twelve. English is Zambia's regional language that is used as medium of instruction in all its schools, colleges and universities. It is also used and spoken at all formal gatherings and occasions.

5.2. Stylization in Translanguaging practices in Soweto market

The following are results obtained through the observation of the translanguaging styles and patterns in the discourses of customers and traders in Soweto market. Speakers were noted to

practice linguistic performances from their own internal perspective of having one language repertoire, one language system with language features that interact to propel their linguistic and cognitive performances. Furthermore, grammatical patterns are revealed by studying the types of clause structures chosen by speakers and are displayed within each speaker's turns (Mambwe 2014).

5.2.1 Combination of Bound morphemes and lexemes

It was observed that in their translanguaging styles when engaged in discourses, speakers combined English lexemes with bound morphemes from their local languages. Mambwe (2014) dismisses the perception that in contexts of language mixing, speakers would draw on actual lexemes or words from one language and combine them with similar forms from another language to make meaning. However, the study revealed that such a view is not always the case as speakers may also use bits and pieces as bound morphemes from other languages to combine with lexemes from different languages in meaning making when conversing. Traders and customers were observed to practice translanguaging by combining bound morphemes from Nyanja, Bemba and other local languages with lexemes from the English language.

5.2.1.1 The plural formation

The plural formation in the discourses of the traders and customers was a major point where the combination of bound morphemes from the local languages and English lexemes was observed. In the following discourses, the plural markers are underlined.

Exchange 1

Turn

- (a) 1: T: Masisters banga, bwelani mugule madresses ochipa pano! (my sisters come and buy dresses that are cheap here)
2: C: *Nizingati imozi?* (How much is one?)
3: T: **K50 one**

Exchange 2

Turn

- (b) 1: C: *Nizingati maapples aya?* (How much are these apples?)
2: T: *maapples ni K1.50n imozi* (K1.50n one apple)
3: C: *Nipaseni 10* (Give me 10)
4: T: *Zikomo bamai* (Thank you mum)

Exchange 3

Turn

- (c) 1: T: *Mapotatoes aya ali **fresh** gulani chabe niza mipasa **discount***. (These potatoes are fresh, just buy I will give you discount.)
2: C: *Mulina tumasmall size?* (Do you have the small sizes?)
3: T: *Utu bamai tuliko* (Here they are mum)

Exchange 4

Turn

- (d) 1: C: *Mulina mavegetables afresh?* (Do you have fresh vegetables?)
2: T: *Bwelani bacustomer tilinayo mavegetables kwati macarrots, macucumbers, **green beans**, na mafruits yonse*. (Come my customer we have vegetables like carrots, cucumbers, green beans and all types of fruits)

In the conversational exchanges above it was noted that speakers were using plural forms from Zambian languages while still maintaining the English plural form. Resulting in some kind of double or echo plural ma- -s. The plural morphemes are drawn from the local languages and attached to the English lexemes with its plural morpheme maintained. For example, the morpheme *ma-* are attached to the English lexemes and are all used together with the English plural morpheme -s. The plural morpheme ma- a prefix is drawn from Nyanja, Bemba or any local language that uses it as a plural marker and attached at the beginning of English lexemes and -s a suffix is attached at the end of the word. This finding confirms with Mambwe (2014). For example; madresses, *ma-* a Zambian local language plural marker is attached to dresses

which has already –s English plural form. This combination of plurals brings about double or echo plural functioning to express number. The trend is seen from (a) to (d) which express the practice of translanguaging in the masisters, madresses, mapotatoes, maapples, mavegetables, macarrots, macucumbers, and mafruits.

5.2.1.2 Honorific Prefix

Consequently, the study revealed that the speakers combined the honorific prefix from Bemba, Nyanja or any local language with a lexeme from English language to stylize their language use. Consider the following;

Exchange 5

Turn

1: T: **Basister iseni mupepi.** (My sister come closer)

2: C: *Nisakila majuzi alipo pano?* (I am looking for jerseys, do you have any?)

3: T: *Alipo bacustomer mufuna yanu?* (Yes we have my customer, is it for you?)

In the examples above, the prefix *ba-*, is a morpheme used for plural marking and as an honorific prefix in the Zambian local languages. For example; basister, is a translanguaged word which combines features from two languages, *ba-* drawn from Nyanja, Bemba or any local language which uses *ba* for honorific effect and **sister**, **customer**, are English lexemes. *Ba-* in Nyanja or Bemba is normally attached to nouns associated with human beings. The translanguaging instances bring to the fore how language is used in different ways to construct social identities and how patterns of interactions reveal the social relations among speakers. In the examples *ba-* therefore has been used by speakers to denote the social relationship that existed between them. It functions as a face serving strategy towards one's interlocutor.

5.2.1.3 Combination of Bound Morphemes

Additionally, different combination of bound morpheme and a lexeme was observed among the respondents. Two different bound morphemes with independent meanings were attached to an

English lexeme. These two morphemes from the local languages are attached as prefixes to the English lexeme making it to have two bound morphemes. Consider the following examples;

Exchange 6

Turn

1. C: *Nifuna tumashirts na tumashorts twa baana.* (I want small shirts and shorts for children)
2. T: *Twa bamayears angati?* (For which ages?)
3. C: 5 to 10
4. T: *Bwelani tuliko* (Come we have)

In the example above, two bound morphemes have been combined with English lexemes. Diminutive *tu-* plus *ma-* which is plural marker are combined to **shirts** and **shorts**. This is not just a case of bound morphemes but the use of diminutive prefixes *tu-* and plural markers *ma-* with the words **shirt** and **short** and English plural form *-s*. For example; **tumashirts**, **tumashorts** *tu...ma...shirt...s*, the word has four parts *tu-* diminutive marker drawn from Nyanja or Bemba (meaning small), *ma-* plural marker from Nyanja or Bemba, **shirt** an English lexeme and *-s* the English plural marker. Therefore, the word **tumashirts** means small shirts.

Consequently, the present study agrees with Mambwe (2014) that only bound morphemes from local languages seem to be attached to English lexemes, than bound morphemes from English being attached to lexemes in local languages.

The above data revealed the usage of translanguaging among those in the trade domain. It indicated how speakers could draw bits and pieces from Nyanja, Bemba and English or any other local language as particular linguistic features from their repertoire to make meaning. Here we understand that each language is used to convey a different informational message, but it is the bilingualism of the text that the full message is conveyed (Creese and Blackledge, 2010).

5.2.2 Combination of standard and non-standard bits and pieces of language

The present study revealed that speakers in a market setting draw linguistic features in form of words from their local languages and English to make meaning. They combine the standard and non-standard form of these languages. Consider the following;

Exchange 7

Turn

1. T: **Yes boss mulibwa? Bwelani muoneko maslim shirts.** (Yes boss how are you? Come and have a look at the slim shirts)
2. C: **Sinimavala maslim fits this potbelly would not allow that.** (I do not put on slim-fits this potbelly would not allow that).
3. T: **I see, but manormal size aliko.** (I see, but the normal sizes are there.)

In the exchange above, speakers draw the bits and pieces of standard and non-standard from Nyanja and English. The trader opens the conversation with a welcoming and greeting remark drawing from English and Nyanja the non-standard bits and pieces in **T1 yes boss mulibwa? Yes boss** is a non-standard form of greeting which was observed in the discourses of the respondents. However, **yes boss** expresses some form of respect and qualifies ones status. This kind of non-standard form of language was observed to have been a form of greeting used by traders to their customers together with, **Yes mummy, yes daddy, yes basister, yes babrother**. The speaker uses the word **yes** to mean **hello** which expresses the standard form of a greeting in English language. **Boss** is a noun that refers to a superior person who has authority over the other in a working place. However, in this context, the word **boss** functions as an adjective as it referred to customers who seemed to be of a higher class than the trader. In addition, *mulibwa* is a Nyanja non-standard form of greeting that means (how are you). The standard form of *mulibwa* is *mulibwanji* (how are you). Therefore, **yes boss mulibwa** are bits and pieces drawn from Nyanja and English which is purely a translanguaging practice.

In **T 2**, the customer responds with the linguistic features drawn from both Nyanja *sini ma vala* (I do not put on), and English **slim fits, this potbelly would not allow that**. In his response, the customer associates the design of shirts **slim-fit** to the stature or body size of those who buy such

a design. In the expression, **this potbelly would not allow**, the customer referred to his body size that he cannot fit in the slim designed shirts. Here, he described himself with the word **potbelly** which is a non-standard way of descriptive. The words, **this, would not allow** all are Standard English words and *sinimavala* are also standard Nyanja words which have been combined with the non-standard forms. In **T3**, the trader goes on persuading the customer by employing the features from the two languages. **I see, but manormal size aliko**. The trader indicates the plural form *ma-* in Nyanja by combining it with an English lexeme **normal**. **Manormal** size, refer to the other designs of shirts with different sizes and can fit all body sizes and shapes. At this point it can be said that speakers in the trade domain stylize their language use by combining standard and non-standard forms from either the same language or from two different languages. The combination could be in a single stretch of discourse or not.

5.2.3 Combination of Standard bits and pieces of languages

The present study revealed that in a market setting, speakers combine standard bits and pieces of different languages in an utterance when engaged in a conversation with their interlocutors. It was observed that the speakers could use standard bits and pieces from English, Bemba and Nyanja in a single utterance. Speakers could combine correct forms of different languages in a single utterance. In the example below translanguaging is used as a strategy as the speakers employed it in order to express themselves in using standard bits and pieces of languages that are needed simultaneously to convey the information.

Exchange 8:

Turn

1. T: **Hello my brother!** *Nsapato yabwino yokosa iyi pano osapitilila*, **these shoes are very nice and strong** (yes boss, nice and strong shoes here, don't by pass. These shoes are very nice and strong)
2. C: **Tumoneni kaReebok ako, mpeni right side** (Let me see that Reebok one, give me the right side)
3. T: **Mufwala size shani badaddy?** (What size do you wear daddy)
4. C: **42 or 8**

5. T: *Ni original iyi, elo na mutengo ulifye bwino sana* (This one is the original and the price is just fine)
6. C: *Nishinga iyi ine?* (How much is this one)
7. T: **K100 fye** (hundred kwacha *only*)
8. C: *Ee! K100 for a salaula shoe? Awe shikwete mwe!* (Ee! K100 for a second hand shoe, no I don't have)
9. T: **Daddy**, *nsapato za musalaula ni zo kosa maningi kuchila za mushop* (**Daddy**, second hand shoes are stronger than the ones from the shop)
10. C: *Ninjishiba but nilifye na K80* (I know but I only have)
11. T: **Ok**, *letani yamene iyo*(Ok give me the very one)
12. C: **Thank you so much**

From exchange 8, features from three languages are employed by the trader and customer in their transaction. Bemba, Nyanja and English which are used in the transaction are particular linguistic features that are available and drawn from the speakers' linguistic repertoire in order to make meaning in their conversation. These linguistic features are all needed to convey information in this particular speech interaction. In the exchange the trader greets, translates and explains using the three languages comfortably in order to communicate effectively. In **T1** due to the status and age of the customer, the trader applied the standard bits of English to greet the customer **Hello my brother** and then used standard form of Nyanja to invite him to his stand *Nsapato ya bwino yo kosa iyi pano osa pitilila*.

Thereafter as a way of emphasizing, he uses standard form of English to translate what was said in Nyanja, **these shoes are very nice and strong**. The customer responds in **T2** with a question in Bemba and employs the involvement of self by pointing at the shoe, *tumoneni ka reebok ako*. In **T3**, the trader applies the convergence strategy by translanguaging to Bemba after realizing that the customer was comfortable in that language, *Mufwala size shani my brother*. He does so in order to motivate his customer to buy the shoe and above all for his profit gain. The employment of features from English and Bemba continued in **T4**, **T5**, *Ni. iyi na mutengo ulifye bwino sana* (Bemba words).., **original** (English word) **T6** *Nishinga iyi ine?* (Bemba word), **T7** *fye* (Bemba word) and **T8** *Ee! K100 for a, shoe?* (English words) *salaula Awe shikwete mwe!* (Bemba words). In **T9**, the trader used Nyanja as a translanguaging strategy so as

to optimize understanding between him and his customer *nsapato za musalaula nizokosa maningi kuchila za mushop*.

The transaction was based on the pair of shoes described using the standard bits and pieces from three languages mixed in a single conversation by pointing out the type-*Reebok*, size-*42*, quality-*ya bwino, yokosa, salaula, original*, price-*K100, K80* and the affordability-*mutengo ulifye bwino*. In the extract, speakers employed translanguaging strategy as one semiotic system integrating various lexical, morphological and grammatical linguistic features. At every instance in the exchange above, speakers combined two or three standard forms of languages in a single stretch of an utterance, a pure translanguaging practice. This entails that, for speakers, the type or form of language to be used in informal contexts does not matter as all bits and pieces of language are treated as meaning making resources in their own right (Mambwe 2014).

5.3 Patterns of Translanguaging

The study revealed that speakers have the ability to use language according to the way they feel in order to make meaning. They draw features of different languages from their unitary linguistic system and combine them in different ways when engaged in a conversation. The following translanguaging patterns were observed to have been practiced by the respondents; intra-word translanguaging, intra-sentential translanguaging and inter-sentential translanguaging.

5.3.1 Intra-word Translanguaging

Intra-word translanguaging refers to a translanguaging pattern where speakers mix two or more languages to form a word. Traders and customers drew features from their unitary linguistic repertoire to make meaning by translanguaging at word level. They combined the bound morpheme and the lexeme from two different languages to form a single word. The examples below are words extracted from exchanges 1 to 8. The words express the intra-word translanguaging practice.

1. *tumashirts* (from exchange 6)
2. *madresses* (exchange 1)
3. *basister* (exchange5)
4. *mavegetables* (exchange 4)

5. *mafruits* (exchange 4)
6. *bacustomer*(exchange 5)
7. *badaddy* (exchange 8)
8. *manormal* (exchange 7)

In the examples above, words have been formed from English, Nyanja or Bemba. In 1, *tumashirts* is a combination of bound morpheme form *tu-ma* from Nyanja and *shirts* an English lexeme. *Ma-* in 2, 4, 5 and 8 is functioning as a plural form from Nyanja, Bemba or any local language that uses it as a plural maker. It has been combined with the English lexemes **dresses**, **vegetables**, **fruits** and **normal** to form words *madresses*, *mavegetables*, *mafruits* and *manormal*. *Ba-* in 3, 6 and 7, is a Nyanja or Bemba bound morpheme, functioning as a honorific marker, is combined with the English lexemes **sister**, **daddy**, **customer** to form words *basister*, *badaddy* and *bacustomer*. As Blommaert (2010) notes, some transactions can occur without being competent in the local vernacular; instead bits and pieces of languages may be mobilized as an emergency lingua franca.

5.3.2 Intra-Sentential Translanguaging

This is the use of more than one language in a single utterance. Apart from translanguaging at word level, speakers were observed to employ the intra-sentential translanguaging in their linguistic interaction with their interlocutors. In this regard, Intra-sentential translanguaging can be said to be the use of linguistic features from two or more languages in a single utterance or sentence. This pattern therefore was noted in the speeches of the traders and customers of Soweto market. They used different features of languages in a single stretch of utterance. Consider the following;

Exchange 9

Turn

1. C: **Excuse me**, *nipati pamene bagulisa nail polish yared?* (Where do they sell red nail polish?)
2. T: *Bwelani mummy tili nayo pano.* (come mum, we have it here)
3. C: *Nizingati ka bottle?* (How much is a bottle)

4. T: **K10** na **K15**, *nimaoriginals* aya elo iyuma **fast** (K10 and K15, they are originals and they dry up fast).

In the discourse above, two languages have been used to communicate meaning between the two interlocutors. Linguistic features from Nyanja and English languages have been used in each turn of the speakers' utterances. In **T1**, the customer begins the conversation with a question. She excuses herself in English **Excuse me**, thereafter poses a question *nipati pamene bagulisa nail polish yared?* In this question sentence, it can be noted that the speaker has employed the translanguaging pattern of intra-sentential. She used the English words **excuse me**, **nail polish**, **red** with the Nyanja words *nipati pamene bagulisa..ya* in her single stretch of speech to communicate to her interlocutor. In his responses in **T2** and **T4**, the trader employed the translanguaging strategy of using two forms from two different languages, Nyanja and English. He persuades and convinces the customer by describing his type of nail polish, *nimaoriginals, iyuma fast*. We can therefore note that speakers use and identify languages according to a range of perceptions about their interlocutors, their own languages and the transactions they are engaged in.

5.3.3 Inter-Sentential Translanguaging

Inter-Sentential Translanguaging refers to the translanguaging pattern that was observed in which speakers used one form of a language in a stretch of an utterance and switched to another language in their next turn. The study revealed that as traders and customers interacted linguistically, they used a same language in a single utterance and change to another language in a different utterance. For example; a speaker could use Nyanja in the first turn and changes to Bemba, English or any other language in the third or fourth turn. The translanguaging was done at sentence level. Consider the following;

Exchange 10

Turn

1. T: **Fresh apples! Fresh apples! Straight from the farm, K2 one.**
2. C: **Where do you buy your apples from?**

3. T: *Kuli bamene bama tiletele kwamene kuno.* (There are people who bring for us just here)
4. T: *Koma ali chabe bwino?* (Are they just ok?)
5. C: *Maningi* (very much)
6. T: *Ni paseni ali 10* (Give me 10)

In the exchange above, the trader opens the conversation by advertising his product (**Apples**) in English. He uses Standard bits of English throughout the utterance in **T1**, ‘**Fresh apples! Straight from the farm**’ he does this as if everyone uses the same form of a language. That is why Mambwe (2014) states that speakers assume that even the hearer has a wide array of linguistic options from which they may choose to use bits and pieces of language in diverse ways in order to form meaningful discourses with which to communicate in different informal social contexts. In her response in **T2**, the customer exclusively uses the standard form of English **where do you buy your apples from?** However, in order to respond to the customer’s question, in **T3** the trader translanguaged to Nyanja *kuli bamene bama tiletela kwamene kuno.* Here, he uses the standard form of Nyanja even though he began his conversation in English in T1 **Fresh apples! Fresh apples! Straight from the farm, K2 one.** The customer in **T4** too repeats the same translanguaging pattern expressed by the trader *Koma ali chabe bwino?* The standard usage of Nyanja continued in **T5** and **T6**.

Therefore, something of interest here is that speakers in the trade domain in their quest to complete a transaction apply a number of translanguaging patterns or styles. These findings are in line with Mambwe (2014)’s conclusion that the patterns of language use in the communication practices of Lusaka speakers is highly unpredictable in terms of structural composition of the utterances and the positional occurrence of various bits and pieces of language available to speakers. In addition, as noted in the extracts and examples that have been highlighted above, one stretch of discourse might have a combination of more different bits and pieces of language yet another discourse might have few or use one standard form exclusively. These translanguaging practices are all meaningful to speakers in different contexts in which they occur as one style serves a different purpose from the other and all the languages that are used in the transactions have specific functions and advantages in those economic transactions. Evidence is

also rendered by Wakumelo (2010) who points out that social groups within multilingual Zambia creatively uses their linguistic resources to communicate and to provide them with an identity.

5.4 Summary

Chapter five presented findings that were achieved through objective number (i) and (ii). It outlined the 16 languages that are spoken in the study area by, traders, customers or passers-by and these included Nyanja, Bemba, English, Tonga, Lozi, Luvale, Lunda, Lenje, Ila, Soli, Mbunda, Tumbuka, Chewa, Ngoni, Kaonde and Swahili.

The chapter also outlined the dominant and most translanguaged languages in Soweto market among the traders and customer during a sell and buy activity. It furthermore, showed how the traders and customers stylize their language use by combining; the standard and non-standard forms of language, English lexemes with the bound morpheme from their local languages, form the plural, diminutive and honorific markers. The chapter also demonstrates how speakers' language practices can be unpredictable in that in some cases, speakers would use forms of language close to the standard while in others they may combine both forms. It also discussed the translanguaging patterns speakers employ in their quest for a business gain.

The next chapter is a continuation of the presentation and discussion of findings and it focuses on the motivation for translanguaging by the respondents. It presents findings that were achieved through objective number (iii).

CHAPTER SIX: MOTIVATION BEHIND TRANSLANGUAGING PRACTICES

6.0 Introduction

This chapter will give a detailed presentation and discussion of findings on the motivation behind translanguaging practices in Soweto market in the discourses of the traders and customers. However, the discussion will not include the importance for choosing a particular feature of a language over the other. The study's discussion in this chapter is in relation to the third objective and research question.

- (iii) Determine the motivation behind translanguaging practices in a market setting during a transaction.

6.1 Motivation behind Translanguaging

Speakers use translanguaging strategy as a scaffold to help their interlocutors to cultivate their ability to using all of their languages as a resource for trading purposes. The present study through the observations and interviews revealed a number of factors that motivated traders and customers of Soweto market to practice translanguaging during their business interactions. These include the three speech strategies of SAT, speech convergence, speech divergence and speech maintenance. Other factors include the need to; have effective communication, when there was no other word in the speaker's language (non-lexical availability), persuade or convince one's interlocutor, enquire or give information, describe a product or process, explain or clarify on a product being sold and due to one's social status.

6.1.1 Speech Accommodation Theory

The results from the interviews and observations revealed that traders and customers of Soweto market use translanguaging strategy in their transactions. What motivates this phenomenon can be analysed using Speech Accommodation Theory which is a social psychological model of language use in society that has been used to study behaviour during contact between speakers from different linguistic groups. The Speech Accommodation Theory was developed in order to demonstrate the value of social psychological concepts to understanding the dynamics of speech (Giles, Coupland 1991). This theory explains the motivations underlying certain shifts in peoples'

speech styles during social encounter and some of the consequences arising from them (Giles et al. 2005). As already stated in the theorization section of this study, SAT can be used to account for three types of speech strategies in the social interaction; speech convergence, speech divergence and speech maintenance (Giles 1977).

6.1.1.1 Speech Convergence

Giles (1977) defines speech convergence as a process whereby individuals adopt to each other's speech on a number of linguistic levels and in a manner that is not easily applicable simply in terms of normative demands of the situation. In converging speakers often adopt the speech patterns of their interlocutors on a number of linguistic dimensions including speech rate, pause and utterance length, vocal intensity, regional accent and language. The speaker's attitude towards another speaker in conversation can influence the way he talks. It was noted that speech convergence is a norm in Soweto market during business transactions especially for the traders so as to maximize profit. Therefore the motivation to speech convergence was for profit making. The study revealed that traders of Soweto market use the speech convergence strategy so as to increase the effectiveness in their communication with their interlocutors.

In addition, Mr. C, who owned a grocery shop, revealed that traders listen to the languages that the customers use. This response clearly indicates the speech convergence strategy as it refers to situation where individual speakers use the language that the hearer knows or likes best. Traders will converge to greet and welcome a customer in that same language so as to make them feel welcome and be able to enquire or purchase any product of their choice.

Extract 3

Mr. C. *Tima velela mitundu yamene macustomers ba sebezesa then tichinja na ku sebezesa yamene kuti bazivele kulandilidwa elo nakutipasa business.* (We always listen to the languages that customers use, then we translanguague and use the same language so that they feel welcome in turn they give us business).`

Instances of speech convergence strategy in the data

The example below involves an interaction between a lady of about 45 years old, buying a Chitenge material from a male trader.

Exchange 11

Turn

1. C: *Ichi Chitenge ni chakuti?* (Where is this chitenge from?)
2. T: *Bwelani mummy, ivi, vichoka kuZaire vija kuNigeria* (Come mummy, these are from Zaire those are from Nigeria)
3. C: *Nizingati chaku Nigeria?* (how much is the Nigerian one?)
4. T: *Ni K150 6 metres, K100 4 metres na K50 2 metres* (it's K150 for the 6metres, K100 for the 4metres and K50 for the 2 metres)
5. C: *Ha! nafidula* (they are expensive)
6. T: *BaMummy bandi, umutengo ulifwe bwino elo nimaoriginals tafifeda nokufeda, moneni mukati, tapali difference nokunse* (My mother, the price is fine, these are originals which do not fade, just check there is no difference between the inside and outside part).
7. C: *Mpene discount, ndefwaya 6 metres muli iyi type* (give me discount, I want 6mts in this type)
8. T: *Ok, letani K145* (Ok bring K145)
9. C: *Mmm! K5 discount? Nilichabe naK130* (Mmm! K5 discount? I only have a K130)
10. T: *Nivokosa maningi vitenje ivi elo vichokela kutali, ok, ni fakileni poni K10 ni bweze chabe yoodela.* (these chitenge material are very strong and they are from a far place, just add a K10 so that I return the amount for the orders)
11. C: *Chabwino, nipaseni* (it is fine, give me)
12. T: *Zikomo kwambili bamummy, please call again.* (thank you so much my mother please call again)

In the transaction above the customer in **T1** opens up the conversation in Nyanja by asking where the chitenge material was from *Ichi Chitenge ni chakuti?* In response in **T2** the trader maintains Nyanja in order to accommodate the customer by using the language she uses *Bwelani mummy, ivi vichoka kuZaire vija kuNigeria*. The trader applies the convergence strategy by

using the language the hearer knows. He calls the customer **mummy** so as to show solidarity and to make her feel welcome and to connote brotherhood or ethnicity. The trader's convergence to English in **T2**, tells the customer that 'I appreciate you' as a sister or mummy hence further reduces the differences between the two and the trader asserts his approval. In **T4** the trader uses English when he gives the prices according metres. In **T5**, the customer used Bemba in order to be dissimilar to the trader and create a social distance between them *ha! nafidula*. However, the trader translanguaged between Nyanja and Bemba in **T6** to bridge the linguistic gap created by the customer by becoming similar and be perceived more favorably. He notes that he needs to sell and make profit. Here the similarity- attraction theory and social exchange tenets of SAT are at play. The data revealed that the use of Bemba by the trader is to reduce the difference between him and the customer and encourage the interaction to continue in order to maximize profit. The similarity-attraction theory proposes that the more similar our attitudes and beliefs are to others the more likely it is we will be attracted to them.

In **T7**, the customer maintains her linguistic style by continuing with Bemba. The trader in **T8** uses Nyanja as he wants to maintain the discount he has given to the customer. The switching to Nyanja can be accounted for by the Social Exchange theory whereby the trader needs to make profit. In **T9**, the customer translanguages to Nyanja, this time to converge with her interlocutor as she needs the price to be reduced further. In **T10**, the trader employs Nyanja so as to mediate information and with an effort to make a sale. He weighed the potential costs and rewards thereby choosing the alternative that maximizes the positive outcome. The trader uses translanguaging in order to convince and explain to his interlocutor the quality of the chitenge material and the fact that the chitenges were from a far distant place. This fact alludes to the discussion in 6.2.4 of the present study. The customer is so firm on what she wants to spend and the trader gives in. Therefore, the above example indicates that, speakers of Soweto market during a business transaction employ the similarity attraction and social exchange approaches of speech convergence strategy in order to achieve their intended goals. This aspect can aswell be seen in the following conversation exchange;

Exchange 12

Turn

1. T: *Madresses pano! Madresses pano! Kusegula naku chola mitengo* (dresses here we have just opened but reduced the prices)
2. C: *Nishinga amadresses pano?* (how much are the dresses here?)
3. T: *Iseni mupepi basister, nayachipa amadresses pano ni, K50 imo.* (come closer my sister they are cheap dresses here, it's K50 one.)
4. C: *Nichani kudulisa so?* (why are you that expensive?)
5. T: *Ndiye pamene tasegula bail, sankani ni za mi choselanikoni* (this is when we have opened the bale, choose I will reduce for you)
6. C: *Natenga izi zili5.* (I have chosen these five ones)
7. T: **Ok**, *letani nifake mupaper bag muzani pasa chabe K225* (bring I park in a paper bag, you will only give me K225)
8. C: **Thank you**
9. T: Thank you *basister mukese paMonday tuke sula yambi madresses* (thank you my sister you should come on Monday, we will open some more dresses)

In the extract above, the utterances of the speakers show the use of discursive resources from three languages, English, Bemba and Nyanja which is a translanguaging practice. According to Strauss citing (Garcia 2009), translanguaging is what speakers do and perform with their mobile and flexible discourse practices, rather than using a single language as an autonomous skill. In the exchange above, the conversation begun with an advertisement by the trader *Madresses pano! Madresses pano! Kusegula naku chola mitengo*. She uses bits and pieces of two languages, Nyanja and English. In **T2**, the customer asks for the price of the dresses using linguistic features from Bemba *Nishinga ama dresses pano?* The trader draws the customer's attention by using her language so as to be similar in the linguistic behaviour. In **T3**, the trader converges in order to encourage the conversation to go on. The trader uses Bemba to explain and plead with the customer so as to understand and consider his reasons for selling the dresses at that amount in **T4** *Ndiye pamene tasegula bale, sankani niza michoselani*. The trader also calls the customer **my sister** in his speech *Iseni mupepi basister*, Thank you *basister*. This aspect is a speech convergence strategy where the trader shows solidarity and creates a relationship so as to

make the customer feel connected to him as her brother. In the same view, Trudgill (2000) as cited by Pennycook (2015) observes that spoken language fulfills two basic aims; to communicate information about the speaker and to establish social relationships with other people.

In the study it was observed that sometimes the interlocutors used translanguaging to be attracted to each other especially where the traders gave a reasonable price and therefore, no much haggling was involved. Translanguaging was a way of accommodating the other person. This kind of an interaction could be accounted for by the Similarity-attraction theory. Here, we can note that convergence is a norm in business transactions especially for the traders so as to maximize profit. Language plays a key role because it has to be used very creatively depending on different interlocutors. Although convergence is viewed more favorably and divergence unfavorably, instances of speech divergence were clearly noticeable in the data as will be exemplified below.

6.1.1.2 Speech Divergence strategy

Divergence according to Giles & St Clair, (1979) as cited by Njeru (2014) is a strategy employed to make the ethnically threatened in-group by an out group speaker psycho-linguistically distinct. It is a situation where a speaker modifies his speech away from his interlocutors in order to sound different. This may be the strategy to differentiate themselves from their interlocutor's linguistic characters. It may also reflect the speakers desire to assert their identity. According to Turner et al.(2010), divergence can be a way for members of different groups to maintain their cultural identity, as a means to contrast self-images when the other person is considered a member of an undesirable group, and a way to indicate power or status differences, as when one individual wishes to render another one less powerful. In the following examples, the Social Identity theory of SAT is used to analyse the data to demonstrate and investigate why people diverge in a market situation. The response from Ms I a customer shows that during a sell and buy activity, speakers employ the divergence strategy so as to achieve their intended goal. Analyse the following;

Extract 4.

Ms I: *Matraders kambili bamachinja mitundu bakaona customer saali serious nakugula olo apapatila kumupasa discount yambili.* (Mostly traders switch languages when they see that a customer is not serious in buying or he is asking for a huge discount)

But *naise macustomers sometimes timachinja mitundu kuonesa kwati siufuna kugula kansi ufana discount.* (But even us customers we sometimes switch languages just to pretend as if we do not want to buy yet we are bargaining for a discount)

Instances of Speech Divergence strategy in the observed discourse

Exchange 13

Turn

1. C: *Tioneni shirt iyo yablue* (Let me see that blue shirt)
2. T: *Iti baboss iyi?* (Which one my boss, this?)
3. C: **Yes**, *mugulisa zingati mashirts ameneaya?* (Yes, how much are your shirts?)
4. T: **K50 chabe baboss** (K50 only boss)
5. C: *Mmm iwe nishi?* That is too much, just leave it (Mmm you why? That's too much, just leave it)
6. T: *Mukwete shinga baboss?* Ok leteni K40 (How much do you have boss?)
7. C: **I only have K20**
8. T: *Mmm daddy, yachepa iyo sininga gulise mashirt okosaso paK20* (Mmm daddy, that is too little, I can't sell this strong shirts at K20)

In the conversation exchange above the customer opens the discourse in **T1** by drawing on linguistic features from Nyanja English to request the trader to hand the blue shirt to him. The customer maintains his linguistic style in **T3** but he diverges and uses Bemba *iwe nishi* in **T5**. This is after he hears the price for the shirt he desires to buy. He further indicates that K50 was too much for the shirt. The trader on the other hand in **T6** employs convergence strategy by using Bemba as he realizes that he needs to make a sell. However, in **T8** the trader uses Nyanja and indicates to the customer that he is not serious as what he is asking for cannot be granted.

Exchange 14

Turn

1. T: **Yes boss**, *vovala vabaana vilipo pano* (Yes boss we have children's clothes here)
2. C: *Ni funa tumatrousers* na ma**T-shirts** (I want small trousers and T-shirts)
3. T: *Bwelani, vama years angati?* (come, for what ages)
4. C: **7 to 10 years**
5. T: *Tatukwetefya bakulu tulifye na fya ma 0 months to 2 years. Limbi kuntashi* (we don't have for those ages but from 0-2. Try in front)
6. C: **Thank you.**

The exchange above demonstrates the application of the speech divergence strategy as a motivation to translanguage. The trader in **T1** begins the interaction in English as per tradition **Yes boss** then continues in Nyanja to invite the customer *vovala vabaana vilipo pano*. The trader uses two languages in his speech in order to welcome and invite the customer to her stand of second hand clothes (salaula). He uses Nyanja which is the dominant spoken language in the research area. In **T2** the customer responds using two languages in his linguistic repertoire as there are both needed in meaning making *Nifuna tumatrousers namaT-shirts*. *Nifuna tuma ...tuma* being Nyanja, and **trousers ...T-shirts** being English. After finding out the sizes of what the customer was looking for, in **T3** and **T4**, the trader employs Bemba in **T5**. This time he translanguages to diverge from his interlocutor. He diverges so as to sound different and reflect the desire to assert his identity and to disassociate himself from the customer. The trader loses the interest to continue with the conversation after seeing that he does not have the sizes for the clothes wanted by the customer *Tatukwete fya bakulu tulifye na fya ma 0 months to 2 years*. He translanguages and diverged away in terms of using a different language that sends the customer away *Limbi kuntashi*.

Here, it can be concluded that language plays a role in shaping and determining each of these identities assert by speakers towards their interlocutors. The trader's speech provides an example of what Wakumelo (2010) describes as language not only being a means for presenting one's own notion of 'who one is', but that it is also a way for others to project onto this person their own suppositions of the way 'he or she must be'. Trudgill (2000) argues that when two people

meet for the first time and engage in conversation, more is learnt about the identity of each person from how that person speaks than from what is actually said. As a speaker, one might try to negotiate his or her identity and try to influence the listeners to give him or her particular identity. The study also revealed that customers tend to translanguage in order to diverge from their interlocutors when they felt that the price of the commodity they wanted was too high for them. They become linguistically different so as to express their loss of interest in the item. Traders diverged too when they noticed that a customer was not serious and demanded for a far too low discount. They realised that they would make a loss in their business hence diverging from their interlocutors as a strategy to maximise on profit.

6.1.1.3 Speech Maintenance strategy

As stated in the theoretic framework chapter, Speech maintenance refers to the choice made by speakers not to converge linguistically but to maintain their speech style (Bourhis, 1977). It was observed that this speech style was used by the traders and customers of Soweto market in their transactions. They would choose neither to converge nor diverge but maintain their speech style as a way of portraying their intergroup distinctiveness.

Extract 5

Mr P: *Benangu macustomers bamakonda kusebenzesa mitundu yabo yamene timakangiwa kukamba but timayeselela so that tagulisa.* (Some customers do use their languages which we do not speak here but we do try as we desire to make a sell.)

The study revealed that some speakers maintain their speeches as they desire to be different from their interlocutors during a sell and buy activity as indicated by Mr P. This phenomenon can be explained using social identity theory which purports that a person's self-concept comprises a personal identity and a social identity. The social identity is based on comparisons people make between their groups and those they do not belong to (Turner & West 2010). The speech style people adopt signals a salient group distinctiveness so as to reinforce a social identity (Gallois et al. 2005) cited by Kavitha (2014). The speech maintenance strategy to translanguaging was also noted in the example below, where the female customer chooses to maintain the using of English till the end of the conversation.

Exchange 15

Turn

1. T: **Hello mummy**, *timitandize*?
2. C: **Yes! Where can I find fresh green, red and yellow pepper?**
3. T: **Ok!** *Bwelani ni mipelekezeni kwa mene mungapeze magreen pepper*
4. C: **Oh ok, i would be very grateful thank you.**

In the exchange above a female customer of about 45 of age, seemed lost and a male trader of cabbages rendered help. English and Nyanja are used by the speakers in the exchange. The trader in his greeting in **T1** used English as a convergence strategy as he desired social approval from the trader who seemed old and of better social class than that of him **hello mummy** then he translanguaged to Nyanja *timitandize*. In her response in **T2**, the customer also wants to be similar by adapting the trader's communicative behaviour (of using English) as there was appropriate accommodative environment. According to translanguaging theory, the exchange demonstrates the use of two languages in order to bring into effect the social function speakers had in their minds of which is typical of translanguaging practice. The customer maintained the use of English in both her utterances **Yes! Where can I find fresh green, red and yellow pepper? Oh ok, i would be very grateful thank you.** The example also shows that the customer maintained her speech style as she desired to maintain her positive image from her interlocutor she also asserts her social identity and belongingness to the same social class. According to speech maintenance theory the maintenance of one's language, could also be interpreted as a sign of dislike to the other person you are engaged in a speech with. Therefore, by using the same language throughout the conversation, the customer in the example maintained her social distance and sustained her positive image from her interlocutor and strengthened her social identity.

In business transactions traders identify the most effective language use strategies in order for their businesses to have a profit growth and translanguaging is one of them. The study revealed that due to the availability of many languages in the research area, traders tend to listen and learn some of the languages so as to use and employ translanguaging strategy effectively as they want a business growth. In translanguaging theory, strategy is the ability to draw on ones all resources

in his or her linguistic repertoire in order to demonstrate his or her knowledge and skill (Lewis et al. 2011).

Parkin (1974) as cited by Kanana (2004) points out that when people use different languages they do so for a reason. In this regard, the data collected through the interviews revealed that the traders and customers of Soweto Market employ multiple languages for business transactions so that they make meaning.

6.1.2. Translanguaging for Effective Communication

According to data collected from the respondents in Soweto market, it indicated that translanguaging practice was mainly motivated by the desire to communicate effectively. The study revealed that various translanguaging practices that were observed and noted had a common goal of achieving effective communication. All of the traders and customers who were interviewed revealed that translanguaging was used for effective communication so as to gain a positive growth in the business or achieve the intended goals. For example, Mrs C who owns a stall for second hand clothes (salaula) has the following to say when asked why she trans-languages:

Extract 6

Mrs C: *Ti ma chinja mitundu kuti ti lakulizane mokwana na macustomers batu. Kambili, isebo gulisa tima yeselela kukamba mutundu wa bacustomer kuti bacustomer bavele vamene ti kamba. Ngati ukamba chitundu chamene saavela customer, sangakugule.* (We usually translanguage for effective communication with our customers. Many a time, us traders we try by all means to make our customers to understand what we say. If customer does not understand you, then she won't buy from you).

Traders and customers practiced translanguaging for effective communication. Traders use multiple languages in order to capture more customers and increase on the business turnover. Therefore, whatever language they chose to use for a conversational turn or part of a turn impacts the subsequent choices of language by the speaker as well as the hearer. That is why Garcia (2009) states that translanguaging is what speakers do and perform with their mobile and

flexible discourse practices, rather than using a single language as autonomous skill. Observe the following conversation extracted from exchange 11,

From Exchange 11

Turn

1. C: *Ichi Chitenge nichakuti?* (Where is this chitenge from?)
2. T: *Bwelani mummy, ivi vichoka kuZaire vija kuNigeria* (Come mummy, these are from Zaire those are from Nigeria)
3. C: *Nizingati chaku Nigeria?* (how much is the Nigerian one?)
4. T: *Ni K150 6 metres, K100 4 metres na K50 2 metres* (it's K150 for the 6metres, K100 for the 4metres and K50 for the 2 metres)
5. C: *Ha! nafi dula* (they are expensive)
6. T: *BaMummy bandi, umutengo uli fwe bwino elo nimaoriginals tafifeda nokufeda, moneni mukati, tapali difference nokunse* (My mother, the price is fine, these are originals which do not fade, just check there is no difference between the inside and outside part).

In the exchange above, different languages are used for effective communication by the trader and the customer. In T1, the customer uses Nyanja in her enquiry and the trader adopts the linguistic style of the customer by using the same language. This continues in T3 and T4. However, in T5, the customer employs the divergence strategy and switches to a different language, Bemba. In T6 the trader converges as he desires to communicate effectively by using the hearer's language. Therefore, the study revealed that translanguaging practices among those in the trade domain, was motivated by the need for effective communication.

6.1.3 Translanguaging due to Non-Lexical availability

Translanguaging seeks to assist multilingual speakers in making meaning, shaping experience and gaining deeper understanding and knowledge of the languages in use (Lewis, Jones & Baker 2012). The study revealed that speakers translanguaged to English due to non-lexical availability in the local languages or vice-versa. This motivation to translanguage was noted especially in the use of figures on prices and some names of the products they sell. On the same note, the

respondents stated that they translanguaged due to the fact that some words when translated lose the intended meaning to be conveyed. For example the following words extracted from different exchanges as indicated on each, were noted to have no equivalents,

- (i) boom paste, from exchange (exchange 23)
- (ii) reebok (exchange 8)
- (iii) apples (exchange 2&10)
- (iv) cucumbers (exchange 4)
- (v) chitenge (exchange 11)
- (vi) carrots (exchange 4)
- (vii) potatoes (exchange 3)
- (viii) the figures of the prices for the commodities sold (exchange 9)
- (ix) metre (exchange 11)
- (x) change (exchange17)

Instances of translanguaging due to non-lexical availability in the data

From exchange 10

1. T: **Fresh apple** *pano!* **Fresh apple** *pano!*
2. C: **Where do you buy your apples from?**

In the exchange above, which is a part taken from exchange **10**, the word **Apple** has been used repeatedly by both the customer and trader. The study revealed that such are words or names of products or foods which cannot be translated into other languages but be maintained in their original language as there is no equivalent of the same word in other languages. The other reason noted was that these names have a lot to do with their origin. This aspect applied to a number of vegetables (rape, cabbage, potatoes, carrots, tomatoes, green beans, beans), fruits (apples, mangoes, oranges, guavas), groceries (oils, body lotions, soaps, sprayers, detergents), non-foods products, home utensils, auto spares and electrical.

From exchange 8

C: *Tumoneni kareebok ako*

From exchange 7

C: *Sinimavala maslimfits*

Speakers were also observed to maintain the brand names of clothes and shoes. In the examples above the words **reebok** and **slim-fit** refer to the brand names of the shoe and shirt respectively. The word reebok is normally engraved on the items in this case, the shoe. The slim-fit shirt is a kind of shirt specifically made for slim boded men. In this regard, Wakumelo (2010) reveals that speakers use created words or words borrowed from different languages whose meanings and sometimes structure have been manipulated.

From exchange 11

T: *Ni K150 6 metres, K100 4 metres na K50 2 metres*

In the example above, it can be noted that the Arabic numerals used to refer to the prices **150, 6, 100, 4, 2** are maintained due to the fact that if translated into local languages their meanings will automatically be distorted. In addition, the word **metre** refers to the measurement of the product being sold, is also maintained in fear of distorting the meaning when translated.

Exchange 16

Turn

1. C: *Imwe, simunanipase change yanga* (you have not given me my change)
2. T: **Oh sorry! Nachilaba basister, aneni change yenu** (Oh sorry! I forgot, here is your change)

In the example a male trader forgets to give change to a female customer of about 30 years old. In this exchange, both the trader and customer use the same English word, **change**, despite them using different languages Nyanja and Bemba respectively. In **T1** the customer reminds the trader of not giving her the change after buying a dress and in **T2** the trader responds with an apology **oh sorry** then employed Bemba yet maintained the word **change**. The study revealed that due to the fact that Zambia has glided to English, speakers often use terms or words to refer to goods or services that are only known in that particular language in fear of distortion of the exact meaning

and value of the word or term. In the example, translanguaging is used to maintain the exact meaning of the word **change**.

Higgs (2009) reveals that 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 multi-vocality in other multilingual spaces. Data from the interviews and general observation revealed that users of languages tap into new language system due to urbanization. In an interview, Mrs Z had this to say;

Extract 7

Mrs Z: *Penangu timasebenzesa mau achizungu cifukwa iyo* **word** *mumutundu watu mulibe* (Sometimes we use English words due to the fact that those words do not exist in our local languages)

Speakers tend to use new words that can be understood by everyone. New words are formed due to mixing of people of different tribe affiliation. Garcia (2009) and Canagarajah (2012) view translanguaging as a communicative practices associated with languages moving across languages within interaction to negotiate meaning. The products, goods, services, people and the environment have an effect on how language is used. Drawing from the examples of words given in **6.2.3**, it can be said that some of the words are maintained in English due to what Makoni & Pennycook (2007), Jimaima (2016) describe as westernization and peripheral coming into globalisation or transnational mobility and trans-local mobility.

Pennycook (2015) used the term globalisation to describe globalisation as experienced by most of the world's people or more explicitly as the transnational flow of people and goods involving relatively small amounts of capital and informal, often semi-legal or illegal transactions. Therefore, an understanding can be drawn from Pennycook's notion. Speakers in Soweto market engage in translanguaging practices due to the fact that they are functioning in a world fundamentally characterized by objects in motion. This may include ideas and ideologies, people and goods, images and messages, technologies and techniques. Globalization is structured by flows of people, goods, information, and capital among different production centres and market places which, in turn, bring about translanguaging.

6.1.4 Translanguaging as a Persuasive Strategy

Translanguaging strategy was employed by speakers during a of the research area in order to persuade and convince their interlocutors. The study indicated that all of its respondents revealed that they used translanguaging as a tool to persuade or convince their interlocutors in order to achieve their goals. In an effort to convince and persuade their customers, it was noted that most traders created a joint understanding of their explanation by drawing features from their linguistic repertoire of Nyanja, English and Bemba in order to make their points clear. In an interview with Mr M, he revealed that in Soweto market, similar businesses are run by a good number of traders. As such, one has to employ the translanguaging strategy to persuade and convince customers so as to make a profit at the end of the day. Translanguaging provide an opportunity for both traders and customers to draw on all their resources in their linguistic repertoire to make meaning.

Extract 8

Mr M: ***Pano pamarket, ufwile wachenjela mumilandile pakwebaati unkonkomeshe bacustomer bashite pantu abakwete amakwebo bengi.*** (In this market, you need to employ the translanguaging strategy so as to persuade the customers to buy because there a lot of traders)

Instances of translanguaging to persuade

Exchange 17

Turn

1. T: ***Yeo ba mbuya banga, bwela mugule kandolo yabwino iyiapa*** (hello my grandmother, come and buy nice sweet potatoes from here)
2. C: ***Awe, shilefwaya iyi yared but ilya yawwhite*** (I don't want the red one but white)
3. T: ***Isuma kandolo iyi nalamipela nembasela*** (this is the nice sweet potatoes, I will give extra)
4. C: ***Shilya iyi*** (I dont eat this one)
5. ***Mbuya wa nga, iyi ndiye kandolo wabwino,ili sweet, siipasa heart burn, siichita mumala, elo niyaunga maningi kuchila ija yawwhite*** (my grandmother, this is the nice

sweet potatoes, it's sweet, does not give heart burn, does not upset the stomach, it is softer than the white one)

6. C: *Chishinka fye?* (Is that true?)
7. T: *Chishinka mbuya* (very true grandmum)
8. C: *Manje uchita zingati?* (how much are you selling?)
9. T: *Iyi nima K5 iya nima K2.50.* (this one It's K5 and that one is going atK2.50)
10. C: *Mpela fye ya K5 njesheko* (give me for K5 I try)
11. T: *Ok bambuya* (Ok grandmother)

In an effort to convince and persuade his customer, the trader in the exchange above created a joint understanding of his explanation by drawing features of Nyanja and Bemba in order to make his point clear. He begins the conversation in **T1** in Nyanja to invite the customer to buy his sweet potatoes, '*Yeo ba mbuya banga, bwela mugule kandolo yabwino iyiapa*'. In **T2**, the customer responds in Bemba '*Awe, shilefwaya iyi yared but ilya yawwhite*' which compelled the trader to use Bemba too in **T3**, '*Isuma kandolo iyi nala mipela nembasela*'. Translanguaging provide an opportunity for both traders and customers to draw on all their resources in their linguistic repertoire to make meaning. In his quest for a profit in **T5**, the trader clearly explained in Nyanja the health benefits found in the red sweet potatoes as compared to the white sweet potatoes *Mbuya wanga, iyi ndiye kandolo wabwino,ili sweet, siipasa heart burn, siichita mumala, elo niyaunga maningi kuchila iya yawwhite*. In the exchange, both the trader and customer used English, Bemba and Nyanja comfortably so as to benefit themselves to achieve their intended goals. In **T5**, the trader translanguaged and used features from Nyanja and English as he felt the need to communicate effectively by explaining and bringing out all the health benefits found in the red sweet potatoes, *ili sweet, siipasa heart burn, siichita mumala, ni ya bwino*. He employed English to reinforce his explanation as noted by Garcia & Wei (2014). The explanation in the extract therefore, saved a purpose of persuading and convincing the customer so as to buy the red sweet potatoes even though she enjoyed the white sweet potatoes. As a result of a convincing explanation, the trader gained himself a sell.

6.1.5 Translanguaging to find information/Questioning

The study also revealed that translanguaging was used as a tool to find information. Those in the domain of trade draw on all their resources in their linguistic repertoire in order to seek and provide information. The speakers practiced translanguaging when providing and in search of information. Customers asked questions when enquiring on the prices of the items of their interest, to which in turn, answers were given by the traders. Traders also would ask some questions depending on the context. Consider the following examples;

Instances of translanguaging in the data - give and find information

Exchange 18

Turn

- (a) 1. T: **How much is that dress?**
2. C: **K50 fye basister** (k50 only my sister)

Exchange 19

Turn

- (b) 1. T: *Nizingati meda ya kapenta?* (How much is the 5kg container of Kapenta?)
Mpulungu ni K55meda, siavonga ni K50. (Mpulungu it's K55 per 5kg container, siavonga it's K50)

Exchange 20

Turn

- (c). 1. T: *Muli na tumatrousers natumashorts twabaana?* (Do you have trousers and shorts for children?)
2. T: *Bama years angati?* (for which ages?)
3. C: **5-10 years**

Exchange 21

Turn

(d) 1. T: *Nsomba izi nizakuti?* (Where does this fish come from?)

2. C: *Nikafue bream iyi, very fresh, ichokela ku kafue river* (this is Kafue bream, it is very fresh, it is from Kafue river).

In the extract (a) to (d) above, translanguaging was used as a tool to find information. In their turn taking, speakers used translanguaging to ask questions so that information is provided to them by their interlocutors. The concept of question and answer is accounted for by the CA as explained in Chapter Three. Speakers allocate their utterances in turns where sentence completion or pause allocates the next turn. Mambwe (2014) notes that, in every human interaction conversation play a central role in organizing social activities and maintaining order. As people take turns in any interaction, they negotiate meaning about what they think is going on, how they feel about it and how they feel about the people they interact with.

The examples above are extracts from the observed discourses of the respondents. In (a), linguistic features from two languages are employed by the trader and customer in order to have a complete meaning. English and Bemba are used in the exchange. Wanting to know the price for the dress, the customer poses a question in English **How much is that dress?** The trader on the other hand provides information in his reply by mixing two languages **K50 fye basister**. In (b), (c), and (d) the pattern of question and answer has been repeated. The question and answer patterns therefore, express translanguaging practices of giving and finding of information as traders interact with their interlocutors in order to gain profit.

The utterances in the examples, **How much is that dress?**, *Nizingati meda ya kapenta?*, *Muli na tumatrousers na tumashorts twa abaana?*, *Nsomba izi nizakuti?*, are questions made by different customers in different situations in the research area. They employed translanguaging to enquire and seek for information concerning different products they needed to purchase. In the same vein, the traders in the second parts of each instance, **K50 fye basister**, *Mpulungu ni K55meda, siavonga ni K50, Bamayears angati?*, *Nikafue bream iyi, very fresh, ichokela kukafue*, express themselves by providing information to their interlocutors. They provide

information using different languages in the same utterances. From the information gathered from the respondents and the researcher's own observations, it can be concluded that traders and customers translanguage when giving or seeking for information.

6.1.6 Translanguaging to Describe items or Processes

The study revealed that translanguaging was also used as a linguistic tool when describing processes or the items or products being sold. The respondents revealed that they translanguaged in an effort to convince and persuade their customers. They used translanguaging to describe how good their products were, in terms of use, quality and quantity. To some extent, it was observed that traders gave a detailed description of how certain dishes were prepared. Mr M had this to say;

Extract 9

Mr M: *Tima kamba mitundu yosiyana-siyana makamaka pozibisa mosebenzesela vintu* (we use different languages especially when describing how things work)

Instance of translanguaging for descriptive purposes

In the next exchange the study revealed on how translanguaging is used to demonstrate knowledge and insight on how a dish is prepared. An old female trader selling dry vegetables describes the process of cooking pumpkin leaves (*chibwabwa*) to a young lady of about 30 years old.

Exchange 22

Turn

1. C: *Nishinga chibwabwa elo be pika shani?* (How much is pumpkin leaves and how is it cooked?)
2. T: *Akabale ni K5 elo kapikindwe kali simple. Nikufaka manzi mumpoto elo yakabila, ufakamo tucooking oil nasalt. Kuchoka apo, ufaka manje chibwabwa, kujubilamo tomato naonion. Then mulindila paka yapyu.* (A plate is K5 the method of cooking is

simple. You put water in a pot after it boils, you add cooking oil and salt. Thereafter, add the pumpkin leaves and cut some tomatoes and onions. Then you wait till it's ready)

In her response in **T2**, the trader uses forms from three languages Bemba, English and Nyanja. She described the process of cooking dry pumpkin leaves. Translanguaging is used to demonstrate knowledge and describe a process in order to mediate understanding through a medium of three languages English **K5, simple, cooking oil, salt, tomato, onion, then** and Nyanja *kapikindwe kali, Nikufaka manzi mumpoto elo yakabila, ufakamo tu, na, Kuchoka apo, ufaka manje chibwabwa, kujubilamo, na, mulindila paka yapya*, Bemba *akabale, elo*. The trader gives an insight on how the dry pumpkin leaves (*chibwabwa*) is cooked in T2, *Akabale ni K5 elo kapikindwe kali simple. Nikufaka manzi mumpoto elo yakabila, ufakamo tu cooking oil na salt. Kuchoka apo, ufaka manje chibwabwa, kujubilamo tomato na onion. Then mulindila paka yapya*. The trader uses the linguistic features Bemba, Nyanja and English. She finds it more comfortable to explain and describe the process using all the three languages as each language serves a different purpose in the conversation.

Furthermore, the speakers expressed the meta-function by creating meaning using a word whose meaning is known to both of them *chibwabwa*, (Garcia & Wei 2014). This process of exchanging meaning is functionally motivated. People interact with each other in order to accomplish a wide range of tasks. The use of translanguaging to describe a process can be referred to as the translanguaging as pedagogy. Translanguaging as pedagogy is a new language practice where bilinguals adopt in order to cope with linguistic difficulties in a language situation. Therefore, in her speech, the trader gives evidence that translanguaging as pedagogy is not only an area of translanguaging that is applied to a classroom situation but rather to those in the trade domain too. Speakers when faced with linguistic difficulties in a language situation they translanguage to a more comfortable feature so as to communicate effectively. Therefore, translanguaging in the domain of trade is a very important linguistic tool as it allows the interaction to go on till the transaction is closed.

6.1.7 Translanguaging to Clarify and Explain

In an effort to maximize on their profit, traders used translanguaging to clarify and dispute certain allegations customers made on their products. The act of translanguaging according to

Wei (2011) is expected to create a social space for multilingual speakers by bringing together different dimensions of their personal history, experiences and environment their attitudes, beliefs and performance. In line with this, the respondents revealed that they clarified on certain points using translanguaging as a tool so as to provide adequate information to their interlocutors. They clarified issues in depth by bringing to the fore the benefits and goodness found in what they sell. CA explores social action with a focus on participants' understanding of one another's conduct. Through their messages, participants accomplish actions and display their understanding of one another's actions and these actions can stand in a particular relation to one another (Mambwe 2014). The study revealed that customers tend to lamp allegations on the products sold in the market when bargaining for a discount and translanguaging is used to provide clarity and explanation. Consider the following utterances which were noted in the discourses of the customers and traders.

Instances of translanguaging to clarify and explain in the data

Extract 10

- (i) **rice** *iyi ni yo pwanyika maningi*, (this rice is too broken)
- (ii) **beans** *iyi ni yo ola*, (this beans is rotten)
- (iii) **maapple** *aya si ali fresh*, (these apples are not fresh)
- (iv) **soap** *iyi ni gong'a*, (this soap is a counterfeit)
- (v) *saka iyi si 10kg, mwa chosamo mapotatoes enangu* (this bag is not a 10kg bag, you have removed some of the potatoes)

In response to these utterances, traders were observed to use translanguaging strategy to provide clarity and paint a clear picture on why their merchandise seemed that way so as to maximize on profit. This is in line with Baker (2001) who states that translanguaging promotes a deeper and fuller understanding of the subject matter.

Exchange 23

1. C: **Basii**, *soap iyi nishi yamonekele ifi?* (my sister why is your soap like this?)
2. T: **Atishani badaddy? Soap isa?** (what are you saying? Which soap?)
3. C: **Boom paste**

4. T: *Oho, Ifi fyawwhite kasuba ekalengele* (these white things are caused by the sun)
5. C: *Akasuba shani naimwe nigongá fye* (what sun? it is just a counterfeit!)
6. T: *Siigongó soap iyi daddy, nisample chabe yamene ti mafaka paopen panja yashop, but ilimukati yashop ilichabe bwino. Ngenani mukati mugule.* (This soap is not a counterfeit daddy, it is a sample we normally display in the open outside the shop but the one inside the shop is in good shape. Come inside to buy)
7. C: *Shinga packet?* (how much is a packet?)
8. T: *Ni K10 fye, nimipele?* (It is K10, should i give you?)
9. C: *Mpeni ibili* (give me 2)
10. T: *Thank you badaddy, ngataili bwino mukabweshe mwaufwa?* (Thank you daddy, if it turns out to be otherwise bring it back)
11. C: *Ok, chisuma* (Ok, thank you)

In the exchange above, the customer opens the conversation by posing a question in Bemba *Basii, soap iyi nishi yamonekele ifi?*. To respond, the trader converged and used Bemba to ask a question so as to understand what exactly the customer wanted to know *Atishani badaddy? Soap isa?* The trader thereafter, in **T4** went on to explain what led to the change of colour in the soap in question. The customer however, in **T5** makes an allegation towards the boom paste soap sold at the trader's shop as being a counterfeit product. He noticed that there was some white colour on the soap that made the soap to look different from the original Boom paste soap. In her explanation, the trader in **T6** uses Nyanja to dispute the allegation laid on her product Boom paste soap as being a counterfeit. She switches from Bemba to Nyanja and English in order to make her point clear and dispute the allegation. She gave an insight on why the products displayed outside the shop looked pearl and faded *Ifi fyawwhite kasuba ekalengele : Siigong'a soap iyi daddy, nisample chabe yamene ti mafaka paopen panja yashop, but ilimukati yashop ilichabe bwino, Ngenani mukati mugule.*

As it has already been highlighted that translanguaging as practice refers to what speakers do with language, in the discourse above, translanguaging was practiced so as to make allegations and give an explanation to why the colour of the soap in question was different from the original look. The discourse gives a clear clarification, insight and knowledge on what can happen to an item or product when exposed to too much sunlight. The trader's explanation convinces the

customer and in turn he buys the product and left the trader with profit gain. It was further noted that traders and customers translanguaged so that they clarify clearly and give insights on why things may be what they seem to be.

6.1.8 Social Status

It was observed that the social status of traders and customers also motivated the practice of translanguaging in Soweto market. In the market setting, English was seen to serve specific functions as well. It was the language of high status. For instance, when the informants were interviewed, they pointed out that they often open a transaction in English if the client is perceived as a working class or had a presentable appearance. The well-dressed male and female customers were approached, greeted or welcomed by the traders in English. Responses from the respondents revealed that traders adjusted their speech styles as a means of gaining social approval, attaining communication efficiency with their interlocutors and maintaining their social identities in the process of interactions. Mr A, a trader owning a stall for second hand shoes had this to say on the influence of social status on language use;

Extract 11

MR A: *Kambili, ti ma posha mu chizungu bese bamene baoneka bwino; **Yes boss, Hello boss, Yes sir, Yes mummy, Hello madam, Yes basister, Yes my brother.*** (We normally use English to greet all those who look presentable).

MR A: *Maonekedwe amacustomers batu ndiye yamene amati poshasaso Bamene baoneka mwinangu timaba posha mumitundu yatu; yeo amai, yeo amudala, atishani boi? ati shani mukashana?* (The appearances of our customers make us greet them in this manner. On the other hand, those who looked contrary to the description given above are greeted, welcomed or approached in the local languages).

Therefore, it can be concluded here that the looks, the clothes, the gestures, the movements of the speakers has an influence on language use. There is a domain of interpretation of appearance that influenced decisions about language use. The interactions between the speakers employ a range of semiotic resources drawn from their repertoire.

In addition, it can also be argued here that there is a coherent account of the relationship between linguistic behaviour by individual speakers and their relation to the broader social and economic context. Hence, social identities are often reflected through what people share and how they interact towards each other. Very often evidences of this nature were clearly seen through the choice of a language or just a feature from a certain language. LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985) according to Pennycook (2015) noted that, acts of identity are the major force in determining an individual's choice of linguistic forms to use in particular social situations.

6.2 Summary

Chapter six gave a detailed discussion of the motivation behind translanguaging. The discussion was based on the third objective and research question. The study in this chapter revealed that traders and customers of Soweto market employed the speech convergence, speech divergence and speech maintenance as translanguaging strategy in order to achieve their intended goals. Speakers also were motivated to practice translanguaging because they wanted to attain effective communication, when faced with Non-lexical availability, when persuading or wanting to convince their interlocutors, when giving or finding information, to give a description of how the item looks, works or is, to clarify, explain or dispute on certain issues, and due to the interlocutor's Social Status.

Therefore, translanguaging gives the traders a higher bargaining power in terms of language use because they were not limited to only one feature of a language that they may not be very competent in. They thus used all the linguistic resources available to ensure communication is done effectively and efficiently. Here, translanguaging helped them settle on a price and in turn conclude a sale. The use of translanguaging ensured that all the languages known to the interlocutors were used to negotiate a price. Pennycook (2015) observes that the repertoires of linguistic resources that people bring from their historical trajectories intersect with the spatial organization of other repertoires, while the practices of buying and selling, bartering and negotiating bring a range of other semiotic practices into play.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.0 Introduction

This chapter is a summary of the study on the translanguaging practice among traders and customers in Soweto market in Lusaka. Chapter seven highlights the key issues that have arisen from the findings of the research. The findings of the study have a common theme tying them together as they all show how speakers creatively use language to create social meaning. It is organised in such a way that the first section highlights the aim, objectives and research questions that the study had set out to address. There after a summary of the central issues that have emerged in the study in relation to the objectives have been outlined. In this way, the chapter seeks to show the extent to which these objectives have been addressed. The chapter also outlines the implications of the study and ends with some suggested recommendations.

7.1. The research aim and objectives

In the first chapter of this study, the aims and objectives have been provided. The main aim of the study being to bring to the fore the linguistic practices that emanate from translanguaging phenomenon by exploring how traders and customers of Soweto market of Lusaka use language as a social practice and the objectives were to:

- i. Identify the dominant language and the most commonly translanguaged languages for trading in Soweto market;
- ii. Analyse how traders and customers of Soweto market use translanguaging during a transaction and
- iii. Determine the motivation behind translanguaging practice in a market setting during a transaction.

Therefore these objectives have been examined from the perspective of the spontaneous conversation observed and the data from the interviews.

7.2 Research Questions

- i. What is the dominant language and most translanguaged languages in Soweto market?

- ii. How do traders and customers of Soweto market use translanguaging during a transaction?
- iii. What motivates traders and customers to translanguage during a transaction?

7.3 Conclusion

In line with the objective (i), the study has showed that there are several languages that are spoken in Soweto market but among all these, Nyanja was the language that was noted to be commonly used during transactional interactions. It was revealed so due to the fact that the market is situated in a Nyanja spoken town and district.

However, Nyanja, Bemba and English were the languages commonly used for translanguaging practices among the traders and customers in order to make meaning. These languages were noted to be used each time there was a transaction despite traders or customers belonging to a different tribe or speak a different language. Their interactions were mainly a mixture of these three languages which is purely a translanguaging practice. As highlighted in 5.3, speakers were noted to practice linguistic performances from their own internal perspective of having one language repertoire, one language system with language features that interact to propel their linguistic and cognitive performances. They combined features from two or more languages in order to achieve their intended goals. They used these different features comfortably without adherent to their boundaries.

Furthermore through objective (ii), chapter five has shown how speakers create social meaning by drawing on sets of linguistic resources. The chapter showed how speakers in an urban market setting of Lusaka stylize their multiple identities by dissolving the traditional linguistic boundaries through the use of the extended linguistic repertoires available to them. In this regard, the study has demonstrated the styles and patterns which speakers employ in their language use.

In addition, the study has shown how speakers combine the honorific bound morpheme form from Nyanja or Bemba *ba-* to the lexemes from English. The study also has demonstrated how speakers translanguage through the use of two different bound morphemes. They combined two morphemes with different meanings drawn from Nyanja or Bemba and combined them with an English lexeme in order to make meaning. Furthermore, the study has not only illustrated how speakers' identities are stylized through their linguistic options but it has also shown that

linguistic borders assumed to exist between languages are permeable. It has been seen how speakers may choose to use linguistic resources which are closer to the standard in an informal setting and how they would choose to combine both sets of languages, that is, standard and non-standard in a stretch of speech in varying and unpredictable patterns. In this regard, section 5.4 has demonstrated the translanguaging patterns practiced in a market setting and these included the intra-word translanguaging, intra-sentential translanguaging and inter-sentential translanguaging.

In addressing objective (iii), chapter six demonstrated that during a social interaction, speakers are motivated to adjust their speech styles as a means of gaining social approval, social integration, attaining communication efficiency between them and maintaining speaker's positive social identities (Giles et.al 1982). The motivation for adjusting speech to be similar to that of the interlocutors was a way in which the speakers increased their attraction to the listeners. Convergence was used to maximize profit and break cultural barriers that may exist between the interlocutors. Traders would converge to greet and welcome a customer using a language known by their customers so as to make them feel welcome and be able to enquire or purchase any product of their choice. It was noted that speech convergence was a norm in business transactions especially for the traders so as to maximize on profit.

The study also demonstrated that customers tend to translanguage in order to diverge from their interlocutors when they felt that the price of the commodity they wanted was too high for them. They become linguistically different so as to express their loss of interest in the item. Traders diverged too when they noticed that a customer was not serious and demanded for a far too low discount. They realised that they would make a loss in their business hence diverging from their interlocutors as a strategy to maximise on profit. Apart from speech convergence and speech divergence, the study also has shown that speakers in a market setting choose to maintain their speech style by sticking to one language use.

Other factors that motivated translanguaging among the traders and customers of Soweto market therefore included the following; for effective communication, due to Non-lexical availability or fear to distort the meaning when a word is translated, persuasive strategy in order to convince speakers' interlocutors, the need to give answers to questions or ask questions or seek

information, to describe how products being sold work or describe processes of cooking, to clarify misunderstandings, explain or dispute the allegations placed on some products being sold and due to the Social Status of the speakers.

7.3.1 Implications of the Findings

The contributions of the study to the general sociolinguistic body of knowledge can be reviewed from the perspective of the aim and objectives of the study. The findings of the study entail contributions to recent arguments on language that view it not as an autonomous system but rather as embedded in people's social interactions. It demonstrates that languages have no clear-cut borders (Mambwe 2014, Garcia O. & Wei L. (2014), Blommaert, J. 2010). In addition, the study adds new knowledge to our understanding of translanguaging as a performative act which is actively practiced as people interact in different social contexts. For example, the study would be seen as the first of its kind from Zambia and across the globe to have sampled data from a face to face discourse among traders and customers in an urban market setting. Language is an important tool and symbol in the haggling, which accompanies economic transaction. However, all the languages that are used in these transactions have specific functions and advantages in those economic transactions. Kanana (2004) observes that when individuals are challenged in a language game by their interlocutors they use more than one language and each language has a specific function that it serves in a particular situation and therefore, different languages serve different purposes. In her studies, she observes that market place transactions are very useful from the analytical viewpoint because they are transactional or contractual.

The present study has revealed that Translanguaging practices among the traders and customers in the market were all aimed at maximizing profit. Translanguaging gives both the traders and the customers a high bargaining power that in turn concludes a price that is fair between them. It also helps the traders to acknowledge the status of the customers. Through the use of translanguaging the traders explore all the linguistic resources available to them to ensure they do not lose their clients. The practice promotes solidarity and helps the trader to gain and retain their customers. Therefore, translanguaging aids meaning making using two or more languages utilized in a dynamic and functionally integrated manner as seen in the discussion. It also facilitates communication between the trader and customer. In addition, translanguaging creates

conducive environment for a business transaction to continue till both the trader and customer's intended goal is achieved. Furthermore, it helps cultivate the trader and customer's knowledge by acknowledging and utilizing all their knowledge that they have in their native language. It makes the trader and customer to have a deeper understanding when transacting using a language in the way they want. Translanguaging also helps the trader to maximize his or her profit.

7.4 Recommendation

In the present study English has been noted to have been used in the translanguaging practices among speakers, therefore, studies should be conducted to establish the factors that influence the use and function of English language in an informal setting like a market.

Furthermore, studies on translanguaging should be conducted in other domains and sectors of the country, for example; in prisons, hospitals, media and churches so as to determine and identify its use, function and benefits to those who practice it.

In addition, while a majority of existing studies on translanguaging are on face to face oral interactions, there is need to conduct studies on how translanguaging works in other genres and modalities of communication so as to establish on whether or not the translanguaging strategies are different.

Lastly, this study was conducted in an urban market setting. A rural based study on translanguaging would yield different results. For instance, in the rural areas, English would hardly be used because such speakers would not be viewed favorably in a rural setting. Therefore, there is need for studies to be conducted in the rural market setting to validate the findings of this study on translanguaging.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Semi- Structured Interview Schedule

The Semi-structured interview questions below were used to source for data from the respondents for this study and were generated from the research objectives and research questions as follows;

1. What is the dominant language and most commonly translanguaged languages in Soweto market?
 - What languages do traders and customers use in this area?
 - Among all the languages used in Soweto market which one is commonly used?
 - Why do you think this language is commonly used by both traders and customers for this market?
 - What are the most commonly translanguaged languages by the traders and customers of the research area?
 - Do traders and customers use more than one language when engaged in a transactional conversation?
 - Which languages do traders and customers commonly mix in their linguistic discourse?
 - Why do you think those are the only languages that are commonly mixed by speakers in the market?
2. How do traders and customers of Soweto market use translanguaging?
 - How do the speakers mix the languages?
 - What patterns of translanguaging do traders and customers employ?
 - What translanguaging styles do the traders and their interlocutors apply when conversing?
 - Do the speakers become aware that they are using more than one language?
3. What motivates traders and customers to translanguage during a transactional discourse?
 - Why do traders and customers use more than one language?
 - In your own opinion, why do you think traders and customers mix languages in the business interactions?

- In what ways does the use of more than one language by the traders and customers improve the businesses?
- How does business affect language use in the trade domain?

Appendix 2: Languages spoken in Soweto market

Languages spoken in Soweto market	Number of Conversations among traders, customers & passers-by	Number of Conversations between traders and their customers during a transaction	Total number of conversations captured in Soweto market
Nyanja	65	150	215
English	8	Nil	8
Bemba	59	50	109
Tonga	25	Nil	25
Lozi	11	Nil	11
Kaonde	10	Nil	10
Tumbuka	7	Nil	7
Luvale	15	Nil	15
Lunda	5	Nil	5
Lenje	17	Nil	17
Mbunda	6	Nil	6
Chewa	12	Nil	19
Ngoni	17	Nil	17
Soli	10	Nil	10
Ila	15	Nil	15
Swahili	10	Nil	10
Nyanja/English	50	100	150
Nyanja/Bemba	Nil	100	100
Nyanja/English/Bemba	Nil	73	73
Nyanja/Tonga	Nil	5	5
Nyanja/Chewa	Nil	7	7
Nyanja/Luvale	Nil	4	4
Nyanja/Lozi	Nil	3	3
Nyanja/Soli	Nil	4	4
Nyanja/Lenje	Nil	4	4
Bemba/English	20	80	100

Appendix 3: Combination of standard bits and pieces of language in translanguaging

Exchange 8:

Turn

13. T: **Hello my brother!** *Nsapato yabwino yokosa iyi pano osapitilila, these shoes are very nice and strong* (yes boss, nice and strong shoes here, don't by pass. These shoes are very nice and strong)
14. C: **Tumoneni kaReebok ako, mpeni right side** (Let me see that Reebok one, give me the right side)
15. T: **Mufwala size shani badaddy?** (What size do you wear daddy)
16. C: **42 or 8**
17. T: **Ni original iyi, elo na mutengo ulifye bwino sana** (This one is the original and the price is just fine)
18. C: **Nishinga iyi ine?** (How much is this one)
19. T: **K100 fye** (hundred kwacha *only*)
20. C: **Ee! K100 for a salaula shoe? Awe shikwete mwe!** (Ee! K100 for a second hand shoe, no I don't have)
21. T: **Daddy, nsapato za musalaula ni zo kosa maningi kuchila za mushop** (**Daddy**, second hand shoes are stronger than the ones from the shop)
22. C: **Ninjishiba but nilifye na K80** (I know but I only have)
23. T: **Ok, letani yamene iyo**(Ok give me the very one)
24. C: **Thank you so much**

Appendix 4: Speech Convergence strategy in Translanguaging

Exchange 11

Turn

4. C: *Ichi Chitenge ni chakuti?* (Where is this chitenge from?)
5. T: *Bwelani mummy, ivi, vichoka kuZaire vija kuNigeria* (Come mummy, these are from Zaire those are from Nigeria)
6. C: *Nizingati chaku Nigeria?* (how much is the Nigerian one?)
7. T: *Ni K150 6 metres, K100 4 metres na K50 2 metres* (it's K150 for the 6metres, K100 for the 4metres and K50 for the 2 metres)
8. C: *Ha! nafidula* (they are expensive)
9. T: *BaMummy bandi, umutengo ulifwe bwino elo nimaoriginals tafifeda nokufeda, moneni mukati, tapali difference nokunse* (My mother, the price is fine, these are originals which do not fade, just check there is no difference between the inside and outside part).
10. C: *Mpene discount, ndefwaya 6 metres muli iyi type* (give me discount, I want 6mts in this type)
11. T: **Ok, letani K145** (Ok bring K145)
12. C: **Mmm! K5 discount? Nilichabe naK130** (Mmm! K5 discount? I only have a K130)
13. T: *Nivokosa maningi vitenje ivi elo vichokela kutali, ok, ni fakileni poni K10 ni bweze chabe yoodela.* (these chitenge material are very strong and they are from a far place, just add a K10 so that I return the amount for the orders)
14. C: *Chabwino, nipaseni* (it is fine, give me)
15. T: *Zikomo kwambili bamummy, please call again.* (thank you so much my mother please call again)

Appendix 5: Speech Divergence strategy in Translanguaging

Exchange 13

Turn

16. C: *Tioneni **shirt** iyo ya**blue*** (Let me see that blue shirt)
17. T: *Iti **baboss** iyi?* (Which one my boss, this?)
18. C: ***Yes**, *mugulisa zingati **mashirts** ameneaya?** (Yes, how much are your shirts?)
19. T: ***K50** chabe **baboss*** (K50 only boss)
20. C: *Mmm **iwe nishi?*** That is too much, just leave it (Mmm you why? That's too much, just leave it)
21. T: *Mukwete shinga **baboss?*** Ok leteni K40 (How much do you have boss?)
22. C: ***I only have K20***
23. T: *Mmm **daddy**, *yachepa iyo sininga gulise **mashirt** okosaso pa**K20**** (Mmm daddy, that is too little, I can't sell this strong shirts at K20)

Appendix 6: Pictures of traders and customers in Soweto market

