

Code-Mixing in Tanzanian Telecommunication Advertisements: A Matrix Language Frame Analysis of Kiswahili, *Kiswahili cha Mtaani*, and English

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Abstract

*Although code-mixing has traditionally been discouraged in structured communication (including publications and mass media), telecommunications advertisements increasingly use it to engage diverse audiences, particularly younger consumers, and remain competitive. Meanwhile, previous research has predominantly focused on codemixing in everyday conversations and classroom settings, leaving code-mixing in contemporary media underexplored. Consequently, the present study examined the structural forms of code-mixing in telecommunication advertisements in Tanzania, focusing on the interaction among Standard Kiswahili, Kiswahili cha Mtaani (KcM), and English. The study adopted a qualitative approach and purposive sampling to select audiovisual advertisements from major telecommunication companies on social media platforms in Tanzania. Data were analysed qualitatively using Carol Myers-Scotton's (1993, 2006) Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model. The findings reveal four recurrent structural forms of code-mixing: lexical borrowing, intra-word mixing, register mixing, and transitional (nonce) forms, with Kiswahili consistently functioning as the matrix language. English and Kiswahili cha Mtaani provide embedded lexical elements associated with technology, modernity, efficiency, and urban identity. Transitional forms such as *strimu*, *cheki*, *spidi*, and *supa* exhibit partial phonological and morphological adaptation to Kiswahili, suggesting a continuum between code-switching and borrowing. The study concludes that code-mixing in telecommunication advertising is a systematic and strategically deployed communicative resource that enhances audience engagement while projecting technological modernity and urban identity. Further research may examine audience perceptions of code-mixed advertising across different demographic groups.*

Keywords: Code-mixing, *Kiswahili cha Mtaani*, Telecommunication Companies, Sequential Pattern, Formal and Informal Writing

1 Introduction

East Africa is a multilingual region where speakers frequently alternate between languages through code-switching and code-mixing. In many contexts, Kiswahili serves as the primary language in mixed-language interactions because it functions as both a national and regional

lingua franca. Standard Swahili is the preferred form in education and standard communication, because its form and grammar are standardised and officially recognised. Despite the centrality of Standard Kiswahili, urban environments have fostered the emergence of *Kiswahili cha Mtaani*, an informal and dynamic variety characterised by linguistic flexibility and frequent interaction with English. English also exerts significant influence in Tanzania, serving as the language of instruction in secondary and higher education and plays an important role in official, technological, and commercial domains. As a result, code-mixing between Kiswahili, *Kiswahili cha Mtaani*, and English is very common and is widely accepted as part of language development. Nonetheless, code-mixing is often viewed by linguistic purists as a deviation from established norms and thus unsuitable for official communication and formal business contexts.

Due to the interest generated by the phenomenon, there has been considerable research on code-mixing in general and on code-mixing with *Kiswahili cha Mtaani*, in particular (Poplack, 1980; Muysken, 2000; Myers-Scotton, 2006). Githiora (2002) and Githinji (2008) demonstrated that code-mixing is closely linked to identity construction and youth culture. Githiora (2002) further showed that Sheng functions as a relatively stable urban variety with Kiswahili syntax and lexical contributions from English and other local languages in Kenya. Meanwhile, Githinji (2008), who investigated speakers' attitudes toward Sheng, reported that perceptions had shifted from stigma to wider social acceptance. His findings highlight the role of KcM in identity construction and youth culture. Moreover, Mazrui (1995), drawing on descriptive linguistic analysis, characterised *Kiswahili cha Mtaani* as an urban variety shaped by extensive interaction between Kiswahili and English. Mazrui (ibid) argued that Kiswahili provides the grammatical base while English contributes lexical items. This asymmetry supports the notion of Kiswahili as the dominant structural language. Across these studies, there is general agreement that Kiswahili serves as a structural base in KcM, while English and other languages contribute lexical material.

Despite these studies, a gap remained in the systematic deployment of multilingual resources in audio-visual advertising discourse, particularly in the Tanzanian context. Githinji (2008), for instance, focuses on attitudinal and sociocultural dimensions, offering limited insight into the grammatical organisation of mixed codes. This reflects a broader trend in the literature, where social motivations for code-mixing are well documented, but structural patterns, which appear central to the art of persuasion in telecommunication adverts, are often skipped. Meanwhile, Mazrui (1995) emphasised grammatical constraints and asymmetry, whereas Githiora and Githinji foreground social function and language identity. Methodologically, earlier studies relied heavily on observational and descriptive approaches, with limited use of systematically analysed datasets. Moreover, they mostly focused on conversational speech, leaving institutional and media discourse largely unexplored.

Against this backdrop, the present study examined the structural forms of code-mixing in telecommunication advertisements, namely Standard Kiswahili, *Kiswahili cha Mtaani*, and English. Specifically, the study sought to identify the dominant forms of code-mixing employed in the advertisements and analyse how the forms are organised within Kiswahili morpho-syntactic structures. The analysis was guided by Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model, for its practicality in determining the matrix and embedded languages, classifying mixed linguistic elements, and explaining the grammatical organisation of code-mixed constructions. The insights from the study contribute not only to understanding how multilingual resources are strategically employed in contemporary advertising discourse but also to explaining how code-mixing functions as a persuasive marketing strategy for audience engagement, brand positioning, consumer identification, and commercial appeal within Tanzania's competitive telecommunications industry, for other sectors to emulate (Dzahene-Quarshie & Sosoo, 2023; Jimoh et al., 2025).

2 Literature review

Code-mixing is understood as the insertion of linguistic elements from one language into the morpho-syntactic frame of another (Myers-Scotton, 2006). This definition is adopted because it focuses on the structural organisation of mixed-language utterances, which is vivid in telecommunication advertisements. As interesting as it is, codemixing research has been extensively studied, which means the foundational knowledge is already available. For example, Poplack (1980) demonstrated that code-switching is governed by grammatical constraints, notably the equivalence constraint and the free morpheme constraint, thereby challenging earlier assumptions that language alternation is random. Moreover, Myers-Scotton (2006) provided empirical evidence that bilingual utterances are asymmetrically structured, with one language functioning as the matrix language supplying morphosyntactic structure, while the embedded language contributes primarily lexical content. These studies establish the systematic nature of code-mixing, but their focus remains largely on conversational interactions rather than institutional discourse.

In the Tanzanian context, Mwadilile and Mwakapima (2018) examined lexical borrowing and code-mixing in Kiswahili media discourse, demonstrating that English-derived lexical items are frequently adapted into Kiswahili morpho-syntactic structures. Their findings suggest that borrowing and code-mixing exist along a continuum rather than as discrete categories, particularly in urban and media-driven communication. Exceptionally, their study focused primarily on lexical outcomes and did not analyse how code-mixing is deployed in extended discourse such as advertising. That is, their study did not examine how code-mixing is structurally organised within commercial advertising discourse, particularly in telecommunication advertising.

Subsequent empirical studies extended this inquiry into broader media contexts, including radio programmes, television broadcasts, news reporting, and digital communication, highlighting the strategic role of code-mixing in public communication. For example, Muysken (2000) identified insertion, alternation, and congruent localisation as major patterns of code-mixing, though his analysis remains largely sentence-based. Hence, Muysken's work provides a useful typological framework at the sentence-level analysis, but does not sufficiently account for extended discourse structures such as those found in audio-visual advertisements.

In advertising research, scholars have shown that code-mixing and code-switching serve important persuasive, identity-construction, and audience-targeting functions in advertising, social media, and digital communication environments (Tabe, 2023; Putri et al., 2024; Oso & Babalola, 2025). Studies in multilingual settings (e.g., Luna & Peracchio, 2005; Gerritsen et al., 2007) reveal that mixing languages in advertisements enhances audience engagement, signals modernity, and constructs cosmopolitan or youth-oriented identities. These studies further indicate that English is often used to index globalisation and technological advancement, while local languages maintain cultural authenticity and accessibility. Furthermore, studies have highlighted the increasing importance of code-mixing in media, advertising, and digital communication contexts (Mpofu, 2023; Tabe, 2023; Dzahene-Quarshie & Sosoo, 2023), yet limited attention has been paid to how multilingual resources are structurally organised within Tanzanian advertising discourse.

Overall, previous studies provide valuable insights into the social motivations and communicative functions of code-mixing in conversational discourse or on the social and attitudinal dimensions of mixed-language practices, leaving the morpho-syntactic organisation of code-mixing in commercial advertising underexplored. Consequently, the structural mechanisms underlying code-mixing and how that is effective in persuasion in

telecommunication promotional materials remained insufficiently explored. In this light, this study addressed the gap by examining how Standard Kiswahili, English, and *Kiswahili cha Mtaani* interact within telecommunication advertisements using the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model. In doing so, it contributes to a better understanding of code-mixing as both a linguistic phenomenon and a strategic communicative resource in multilingual advertising contexts.

3 Theoretical framework

This study adopted the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model developed by Carol Myers-Scotton (1993, 2006) as its analytical framework. The MLF model is a structural theory of code-mixing that explains how two or more languages interact within a single clause. It is particularly suited to this study because it provides clear principles for analysing insertional code-mixing, which is dominant in Kiswahili–English contact situations.

The model is built on three key principles. First is the Matrix Language (ML) principle, which states that one language supplies the morpho-syntactic frame of the clause. This language determines word order, grammatical relations, and overall well-formedness. Second is the Embedded Language (EL) principle, in which the other language contributes mainly lexical or content elements, such as nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Third is the System Morpheme Principle, which posits that grammatical or functional morphemes (e.g., affixes, agreement markers) are supplied by the matrix language, while the embedded language primarily contributes content morphemes that assign or receive thematic roles. These principles establish an asymmetrical relationship between the languages involved in code-mixing, where the matrix language dominates structurally while the embedded language enriches lexical meaning. This distinction is central to analysing Kiswahili-based mixed codes, in which Kiswahili typically provides the grammatical frame, while English contributes lexical items.

In the context of this study, the MLF model is not merely described but operationalised as an analytical tool. Specifically, it is applied in three ways. First, it is used to identify the matrix language in each advertisement segment by examining which language provides system morphemes and grammatical structure. Second, it guides the classification of code-mixed elements into content morphemes (e.g., English nouns, verbs, adjectives) and system morphemes (Kiswahili affixes and function markers). Third, it is employed to analyse sequential patterns of code-mixing, examining how embedded elements are distributed across utterances and how they conform to or extend Kiswahili morpho-syntactic rules.

While the MLF model has been widely applied to conversational data, its application to structured media discourse remains limited. This study, therefore, extends the model beyond sentence-level analysis to examine how code-mixing operates across audio-visual advertising sequences, where language use is deliberate and strategically organised. In doing so, the study also identifies transitional forms that are not fully accounted for by the model, thereby suggesting the need for contextual adaptation in analysing contemporary multilingual media discourse.

4 Methodology

This study adopted a qualitative research design, specifically a qualitative content analysis approach, to examine the sequential and morpho-syntactic patterns of code-mixing in audio-visual advertising discourse. This design is appropriate because the study sought to analyse naturally occurring language use and uncover underlying structural and communicative patterns rather than measure variables quantitatively.

The data for the study consisted of audio-visual advertisements produced by three major telecommunication companies in Tanzania: Airtel, Yas Tanzania (formerly Tigo), and Vodacom. The companies were purposively selected for their dominant market presence and extensive use of multilingual advertising strategies targeting diverse audiences, which are relevant to the research objectives. The analysed advertisements were sourced from the official YouTube and Instagram platforms of Tanzanian telecommunication companies (The URLs of all sampled advertisements are provided in Appendix A to facilitate transparency, replicability, and future verification of the dataset). YouTube and Instagram were selected because they provide stable, publicly accessible, full-length advertisements suitable for transcription and repeated viewing.

A total of fifteen (15) advertisements constituted the initial dataset and were purposively selected for screening and transcription. The advertisements were selected purposively based on four criteria: (i) they originated from the official YouTube or Instagram platforms of the selected telecommunications companies; (ii) they were publicly accessible during the period of data collection; (iii) they contained substantial spoken or written linguistic content suitable for transcription and analysis; and (iv) they exhibited observable instances of interaction between Standard Kiswahili, *Kiswahili cha Mtaani*, and English. The sample size was considered sufficient because, at this point in the analysis, saturation was reached, in the sense that no new code-mixing patterns were emerging. Moreover, the study is a qualitative analysis that requires an in-depth examination of a small sample. Following preliminary analysis, only eight (8) advertisements were found to contain substantial and recurring instances of code-mixing involving Standard Kiswahili, *Kiswahili cha Mtaani*, and English. These eight advertisements, therefore, formed the final analytical corpus used for the detailed linguistic analysis presented in this study. Furthermore, they provided sufficient recurring instances of code-mixing to allow identification of consistent morpho-syntactic and sequential patterns across the dataset. However, the remaining seven advertisements were excluded because they contained minimal or no relevant code-mixing patterns.

All selected advertisements were transcribed verbatim and segmented into individual utterances. Each utterance was assigned a unique code to facilitate systematic analysis and referencing. The transcribed data were preliminarily organised according to the types of language interaction observed, including Kiswahili-only structures, Kiswahili and *Kiswahili cha Mtaani* mixing, and Kiswahili–English–*Kiswahili cha Mtaani* combinations, before undergoing detailed morpho-syntactic analysis using the Matrix Language Frame model. Furthermore, recurring linguistic patterns were coded and grouped into thematic categories, including transitional switching, noun mixing, intra-word mixing, and modifier mixing.

Data analysis, in line with Carol Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model, proceeded in three stages. First, each utterance was examined to identify the matrix language and embedded language(s) based on morpho-syntactic dominance. Second, linguistic elements were classified into system morphemes and content morphemes to determine how code-mixing is structurally realised. Third, the study analysed sequential patterns of code-mixing, focusing on the distribution of nouns, verbs, and modifiers, as well as patterns of insertion, alternation, and emerging transitional forms. Comparative analysis across advertisements was then conducted to identify recurring patterns and communicative strategies in the use of mixed codes. All advertisements analysed were publicly accessible and were used solely for academic and analytical purposes, as provided in the appendix. All advertisements analysed in this study were publicly accessible and obtained from the official social media platforms of the respective telecommunication companies. As a result, this study did not involve human participants; informed consent was not required. Overall, public advertisements were used exclusively for academic research and analytical purposes; no audiovisual content was reproduced for

commercial use, and all excerpts were cited and acknowledged appropriately in accordance with principles of fair academic use and copyright regulations.

5 Results

This study identified four major structural patterns of code-mixing in telecommunication companies' advertisements in Tanzania: transitional/nonce forms, register mixing, lexical borrowing, and intra-word mixing. The results show that lexical mixing was the most frequent pattern observed, particularly through technological and commercial terms such as *data*, *apps*, *internet*, *charger*, *party*, and *food festival*. Intra-word mixing occurred in forms such as *kustrimu*, *kudownloadi*, *kuperuzi*, and *kuapdati*, in which English lexical roots were integrated into Kiswahili verbal morphology. Nonce borrowing involved forms such as *fasta*, *feli*, *simple*, and *float*, while register mixing was realised through forms such as *poa*, *bomba*, *freshi*, and *fasta*.

The results further indicate that Kiswahili consistently functioned as the matrix language, providing the morpho-syntactic framework within which English and *Kiswahili cha Mtaani* elements are embedded. In addition, the patterns demonstrate that code-mixing in telecommunication companies' advertisements is systematic rather than random and reflects both linguistic and communicative motivations.

5.1 Transitional/nonce forms

Nonce borrowing refers to lexical items originating from an embedded language that are inserted into the grammatical frame of a matrix language and exhibit partial phonological or orthographic adaptation without achieving full lexical assimilation. Within Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model, such forms differ from established borrowings because they remain closely associated with the source language while functioning within the grammatical system of the recipient language (Myers-Scotton, 1993, 2006). The present study identifies several English-derived forms that occupy this intermediate position in Tanzanian telecommunication advertisements. These forms demonstrate varying degrees of adaptation and therefore support the view that language contact phenomena occur along a continuum extending from code-switching to borrowing rather than as discrete categories (Matras, 2009). In rapidly evolving domains such as advertising, technology, and digital communication, advertisers frequently exploit partially assimilated forms to convey innovation, modernity, and relevance to audiences. Table 1 presents samples of nonce or transitional forms identified in the analysed advertisements.

Table 1: Transitional/nonce forms from telecommunications advertisements

Company	Data	Mixed form	English meaning
Vodacom	4G ya ukweli ni kustrimu bila wasiwasi kwa spidi ya uhakika.	<i>kustrimu</i> , <i>spidi</i>	True 4G means worry-free streaming at reliable speeds.
Vodacom	Cheki kama una 4G ya ukweli kwa kupiga 14901#.	<i>cheki</i>	Check whether you have true 4G by dialling 14901#.
Airtel	Peruzi, strimu na downloadi kwa spidi ya juu.	<i>strimu</i> , <i>spidi</i>	Peruse, stream and download with high speed

Yas	Ukiwa na Yas, unapata huduma za supa zenye kasi na uhakika.	<i>supa</i>	With Yas, you receive super services with speed and reliability
Vodacom	Naomba niwekee hii hela kwenye M-Pesa fasta.	<i>fasta</i>	Please deposit this money into my M-Pesa account quickly.
Vodacom	Aaa simple hivi!	simple	Ah, it is this simple!
Vodacom	Naweza kupata mkopo wa fasta nikaboost mtaji wangu.	boost	I can obtain a quick loan and boost my capital.
Vodacom	Dah! Float yangu haitoshi.	float	Oops! My float balance is insufficient.

Source: YouTube & Instagram

Analysis in Table 1 reveals the extensive use of English-derived lexical items that have undergone varying degrees of phonological, orthographic, and morphological adaptation while remaining embedded within Kiswahili grammatical structures. Across the examples, Kiswahili provides the morpho-syntactic framework, while English contributes lexical items such as stream, check, speed, supa, fasta, boost, and float. These forms retain recognisable links to their English origins but exhibit different levels of integration into Kiswahili. Their occurrence supports Matras’ (2009) argument that language contact phenomena often exist along a continuum between code-switching and borrowing rather than as discrete categories.

The form *kustrimu* in the utterance *4G ya ukweli ni kustrimu bila wasiwasi kwa spidi ya uhakika* provides a clear example of transitional borrowing. The item combines the Kiswahili infinitive marker *ku-* with the English-derived root *strimu* (from *stream*). This structure allows the word to function grammatically as a Kiswahili verb while retaining an identifiable English lexical base. The attachment of a Kiswahili verbal prefix demonstrates integration into the grammatical system of the matrix language, yet the root itself remains only partially adapted. Unlike fully assimilated Kiswahili verbs, *strimu* retains a consonant-final structure that is uncommon in native Kiswahili vocabulary. Consequently, the form occupies an intermediate position between code-switching and borrowing. Its use reflects the capacity of Kiswahili morphology to accommodate technological terminology while preserving grammatical well-formedness.

A similar process is evident in *cheki*, derived from the English verb *check*. In the expression *Cheki kama una 4G ya ukweli kwa kupiga 14901#*, the addition of the final vowel *-i* enables the word to conform to Kiswahili phonotactic preferences, which generally favour vowel-final syllables. The item functions as an imperative verb within a Kiswahili clause and therefore participates in Kiswahili grammatical processes. Despite this adaptation, its English origin remains transparent, preventing its classification as a fully established borrowing. Instead, *cheki* represents a transitional form whose integration is advanced enough to permit grammatical participation but not sufficient to erase its foreign source.

The noun *spidi*, derived from *speed*, illustrates a more advanced level of phonological adaptation. Through the addition of the final vowel *-i*, the word conforms to Kiswahili syllable structure and is easily incorporated into ordinary speech. However, although the form appears natural within Kiswahili discourse, it remains closely associated with technological and commercial communication. Its continued recognisability as an English-derived item suggests that it occupies a middle ground between borrowing and code-mixing. Similar observations have been made by Mwadilile and Mwakapima (2018), who note that English-derived

technological vocabulary often undergoes gradual integration due to the rapid growth of digital communication and media discourse.

The form *supa*, derived from *super*, demonstrates another stage of adaptation. In the sentence *Ukiwa na Yas, unapata huduma za supa zenye kasi na uhakika*, the word functions adjectivally within a Kiswahili grammatical environment. The vowel-final ending aligns the item with Kiswahili phonological conventions while preserving its English semantic associations. Its use allows advertisers to project notions of superiority, efficiency, and modernity without relying on more formal Kiswahili alternatives. The form, therefore, illustrates how partial adaptation can enhance accessibility while maintaining the prestige often associated with English lexical resources.

Particularly revealing are the forms *fasta*, *boost*, and *float*, which represent different points along the continuum of lexical integration. The item *fasta*, derived from the English adjective *fast*, has undergone phonological adaptation through the addition of the final vowel *-a*. In expressions such as *Naomba niwekee hii hela kwenye M-Pesa fasta*, the form functions adverbially to mean “quickly” or “immediately.” Although its English source remains evident, its widespread use in urban discourse suggests a relatively advanced level of integration. At the same time, its strong association with informal speech prevents it from being regarded as a fully institutionalised borrowing.

By contrast, *boost* in the expression *nikaboost mtaji wangu* exhibits minimal adaptation. The lexical item retains its original English form yet occurs within a Kiswahili grammatical environment. The surrounding clause structure and verbal morphology are supplied by Kiswahili, confirming the dominance of the matrix language. Nevertheless, the absence of significant phonological modification places *boost* closer to code-switching than borrowing. Its repeated occurrence in telecommunication discourse, however, suggests an ongoing process of lexical integration.

The form *float* presents a similar case. In the expression *float yangu haitoshi*, the item appears within a Kiswahili possessive construction while retaining its English form. Within East African mobile-money discourse, *float* has acquired a specialised local meaning referring to the electronic balance used by transaction agents. This semantic localisation demonstrates integration at the level of meaning, even though phonological adaptation remains limited. The form, therefore, illustrates how lexical items may become embedded in local communicative practices without undergoing complete structural assimilation.

Collectively, the forms in Table 1 illustrate varying degrees of lexical integration from English into Kiswahili. The findings support Matras’ (2009) continuum model and demonstrate that advertisers strategically employ partially assimilated forms to project innovation, efficiency, and technological relevance while maintaining audience comprehension.

5.2 Register mixing

Register mixing refers to the incorporation of linguistic forms associated with a particular social group, speech community, or communicative context into a different linguistic environment to achieve specific pragmatic and stylistic effects. In sociolinguistic studies, register is understood as a variety of language shaped by factors such as social identity, communicative purpose, and situational context (Halliday, 1978; Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2021). In urban Tanzanian settings, *Kiswahili cha Mtaani* is an important social register widely used by young people and urban speakers to express solidarity, informality, group identity, and social affiliation. Within telecommunication advertising discourse, such forms are strategically incorporated into

standard Kiswahili structures to create familiarity and establish closer relationships with target audiences.

From the perspective of Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model, register mixing differs from borrowing and code-switching because the mixed forms do not necessarily originate from a different language but rather from a socially marked variety of the same language. Nevertheless, these forms remain embedded within Kiswahili grammatical structures while contributing important social and stylistic meanings. The use of urban expressions in advertising reflects advertisers' attempts to align products and services with youthful lifestyles, contemporary culture, and urban identities. The analysis shows that register mixing serves as a persuasive linguistic resource for enhancing audience engagement while maintaining linguistic accessibility. Table 2 presents examples of register mixing identified in the analysed telecommunication advertisements.

Table 2: Register mixing forms in telecommunications advertisements

Company	Kiswahili sentence	Register form	English Meaning
Airtel	Mtandao huu ni bomba sana.	<i>bomba</i>	This network is excellent
Airtel	Pata ofa poa kwa matumizi ya kila siku.	<i>poa</i>	Get a cool offer for everyday use.
Airtel	Huduma zetu ni freshi muda wote.	<i>freshi</i>	Our services are always excellent.
Airtel	Next time tulifanye bongwe la party mshakaji wangu.	<i>mshakaji</i>	Next time, let's organise a huge party, my friend.
Airtel	Mzee wangu hapa tunadondosha taa.	<i>mzee wangu</i>	My friend, we are having a great time here.
Airtel	Lakini tusivuke mipaka maana simba we ninavyokujua huna dogo.	<i>simba, dogo</i>	But let's not go too far because, champ, knowing you, you never do things halfway.
Vodacom	Warawaraaa! Niambie kakaangu, kama kawa karibu.	<i>kama kawa</i>	What's up, brother? As usual, welcome.
Vodacom	Naomba niwekee hii hela kwenye M-Pesa fasta.	<i>fasta</i>	Please deposit this money into my M-Pesa account quickly.
Vodacom	Eeh kumbe naweza kupata mkopo wa fasta nikaboost mtaji wangu?	<i>fasta</i>	Really, can I get a quick loan and boost my capital?
Yas (Tigo)	Mzee wangu, ukiwa na Yas unapata ofa kali kila siku.	<i>mzee wangu</i>	My friend, with Yas, you get great offers every day.
Yas (Tigo)	Mshakaji wangu, hamia Yas upate intaneti ya uhakika.	<i>mshakaji</i>	My friend, switch to Yas and enjoy reliable internet.
Yas (Tigo)	Ofa za Yas ni bomba kwa vijana wa mjini	<i>bomba</i>	Yas offers are excellent for urban youth.

Source: YouTube & Instagram

The analysis in Table 2 reveals the extensive use of *Kiswahili cha Mtaani* and urban colloquial expressions in telecommunications advertisements. The data contain forms such as *bomba*, *poa*, *freshi*, *mshakaji*, *mzee wangu*, *simba*, *dogo*, *fasta*, and *kama kawa*, all of which function as

socially marked expressions associated with urban youth speech. Consistent with Eckert's (2000) notion of social indexing, these expressions allow advertisers to project youthful identities, social relevance, and group affiliation.

From the perspective of Myers-Scotton's (1993, 2006) Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model, Kiswahili remains the matrix language throughout the constructions observed in the data. Expressions such as *Mtandao huu ni bomba sana*, *Pata ofa poa kwa matumizi ya kila siku*, and *Mzee wangu, ukiwa na Yas unapata ofa kali kila siku* maintain Kiswahili grammatical structure despite incorporating socially marked urban forms. The inserted expressions do not alter clause organisation or grammatical relations; rather, they contribute stylistic and interpersonal meaning. Consequently, register mixing in these advertisements operates primarily at the discourse level rather than the morpho-syntactic level. This finding supports Muysken's (2000) observation that language mixing may serve pragmatic and identity-related functions beyond the transfer of lexical meaning.

A closer examination of the individual forms demonstrates how advertisers exploit *Kiswahili cha Mtaani* to create social proximity with audiences. The expression *bomba*, found in examples such as *Mtandao huu ni bomba sana* and *Ofa za Yas ni bomba kwa vijana wa mjini*, functions as a colloquial adjective meaning "excellent" or "high quality." Although its literal meaning in standard Kiswahili is "pipe," it has undergone semantic extension and now serves as a positive evaluative term in urban discourse. By selecting *bomba* rather than a more formal equivalent such as *bora* or *nzuri*, advertisers align their messages with contemporary youth language and create a more conversational tone. Similarly, *poa* functions as a colloquial evaluative adjective meaning "cool" or "good" and reinforces the informal, youth-oriented tone created by expressions such as *bomba*.

The expression *freshi* illustrates another important dimension of register mixing. Although historically derived from the English adjective *fresh*, its widespread circulation in *Kiswahili cha Mtaani* has given it a distinct social function within local speech communities. In the statement *Huduma zetu ni freshi muda wote*, the word operates as a colloquial adjective meaning "excellent," "fashionable," or "up-to-date." Its significance lies less in its English origin than in its association with youthful urban identity. This demonstrates that register mixing may involve forms that have become socially embedded and are valued primarily for their stylistic effect rather than their foreign source.

Interpersonal expressions such as *mshakaji* and *mzee wangu* further highlight the social role of register mixing. In standard commercial communication, advertisers would normally employ neutral or formal forms of address. However, utterances such as *Next time tulifanye bongwe la party mshakaji wangu* and *Mzee wangu, ukiwa na Yas unapata ofa kali kila siku* deliberately adopt the language of friendship and peer interaction. *Mshakaji* functions as an informal equivalent of "friend" or "buddy," while *mzee wangu* literally means "my elder" but is used pragmatically to express familiarity, respect, and camaraderie. Their use transforms the advertiser-consumer relationship from a formal transactional encounter into a more personal and socially intimate interaction.

Similarly, *simba* "champion" or "hero" and *dogo* "young person" function as informal address terms that reinforce social identity and reproduce the conversational style of urban youth interaction. Another notable example is *kama kawa*, which appears in the Vodacom advertisement *Warawaraaa! Niambie kakaangu, kama kawa karibu*. Literally meaning "as usual," the expression has become a conventional colloquial marker of familiarity and routine interaction. It thus creates a sense of continuity and establishes a social connection between the speaker and the audience in these advertisements. The phrase, therefore, contributes to the

conversational authenticity that advertisers seek to achieve in audience-oriented communication.

Particularly interesting is the form *fasta*, which occupies a hybrid position between nonce borrowing and register mixing. Structurally, it originates from the English adjective *fast* and exhibits phonological adaptation through the addition of the final vowel *-a*, consistent with Kiswahili phonotactic patterns. However, its widespread use in urban speech has transformed it into a recognised feature of *Kiswahili cha Mtaani*. In expressions such as *Naomba niwekee hii hela kwenye M-Pesa fasta* and *Naweza kupata mkopo wa fasta nikaboost mtaji wangu*, the term functions as a colloquial adverb meaning “quickly” or “immediately.” Its presence demonstrates how linguistic forms may move across categories, evolving from borrowed items into socially meaningful register markers.

The findings support observations by Githiora (2002) and Githinji (2008) that urban linguistic varieties serve as important resources for identity construction and social affiliation. The *Kiswahili cha Mtaani* forms identified in Table 2 are therefore not random slang expressions but socially meaningful linguistic resources that advertisers appropriate to enhance audience engagement, project authenticity, and strengthen brand appeal. Through register mixing, telecommunication companies successfully position themselves as modern, accessible, and closely connected to the everyday experiences of urban consumers.

5.3 Lexical borrowing

Lexical borrowing refers to the process through which lexical items from one language become incorporated into another language and gradually acquire acceptance within the recipient language community. Unlike nonce borrowings, which remain partially assimilated and context-dependent, lexical borrowings exhibit a greater degree of phonological, orthographic, and semantic integration and often become established elements of everyday usage (Matras, 2009; Myers-Scotton, 2006). In Kiswahili, extensive contact with English has contributed to the incorporation of numerous lexical items, particularly within technological, commercial, educational, and digital domains.

Within Myers-Scotton’s Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model, lexical borrowings differ from code-switches because they function as accepted lexical items within the matrix language rather than as temporary insertions from an embedded language. Such forms are frequently encountered in telecommunication discourse, where technological innovation introduces concepts that may lack widely used indigenous equivalents. Consequently, advertisers often employ established borrowed forms to communicate technical information efficiently while ensuring audience comprehension. The presence of these forms illustrates the dynamic nature of language contact and demonstrates how Kiswahili continues to expand its lexical inventory in response to technological and socio-economic developments. Table 3 presents examples of lexical borrowings identified in the analysed telecommunication advertisements.

Table 3: Lexical borrowing forms in telecommunications advertisements

Company	Kiswahili sentence	Borrowed form	English meaning
Vodacom	Kutuma na kupokea email au barua pepe zenye viambatanisho vyenye <i>saizi</i> kubwa.	<i>Saizi</i>	To send and receive emails with large attachments.

Vodacom	Kutembelea mitandao ya kijamii bila kudhibiti <i>data</i> .	<i>Data</i>	Data used through the network may affect your usage.
Vodacom	Jumbe mbalimbali za <i>aplikesheni</i> kutoka mitandao ya kijamii.	<i>Aplikesheni</i>	Various application messages from social media platforms arrive quickly.
Yas	Hakikisha <i>wifi</i> yako inalindwa kwa neno la siri.	<i>Wifi</i>	Ensure that your Wi-Fi is protected with a password.
Vodacom	Unaweza kucheza michezo ya <i>kompyuta</i> moja kwa moja mtandaoni.	<i>Kompyuta</i>	You can play computer games directly online.
Vodacom	Unaweza kutazama <i>video</i> moja kwa moja kupitia intaneti ya kasi	<i>Video</i>	You can watch videos directly through high-speed internet.
Yas	Tuma taarifa zako kupitia <i>aplikesheni</i> ya Yas kwa urahisi zaidi.	<i>Aplikesheni</i>	Send your information through the Yas application more easily.
Yas	Furahia matumizi ya intaneti yenye kasi ya 5G.	<i>Intaneti</i>	Enjoy high-speed 5G internet services.
Airtel	Leo nitakueleza vitu vya msingi kuhusiana na intaneti yako ya 4G.	<i>Intaneti</i>	Today, I will explain the basics of your 4G internet.
Airtel	Ongeza ubora wa video unazozistirim.	<i>Video</i>	Improve the video quality you stream.
Airtel	Zuia simu yako kupokea barua pepe bila ruhusa.	<i>barua pepe</i>	Prevent your phone from receiving emails without permission
Vodacom	Data zinazotumika kupitia virtual private network zinaweza kuathiri matumizi yako.	<i>Data</i>	Data used through a virtual private network may affect your usage.
Vodacom	Hakikisha <i>wifi</i> yako inalindwa kwa neno la siri.	<i>Wifi</i>	Ensure your Wi-Fi is protected with a password.
Vodacom	Unaweza kucheza michezo ya kompyuta moja kwa moja mtandaoni.	<i>Kompyuta</i>	You can play computer games directly online.
Yas (Tigo)	Furahia matumizi ya intaneti yenye kasi ya 5G.	<i>Intaneti</i>	Enjoy high-speed 5G internet services.
Yas (Tigo)	Pakua apps zako zote kwa haraka zaidi kupitia mtandao wa Yas.	<i>Apps</i>	Download all your apps faster through the Yas network
Yas (Tigo)	Tazama video zako bila kukatika kwa kutumia bando la Yas.	<i>Video</i>	Watch your videos uninterrupted with a Yas bundle.

Source: YouTube & Instagram

The analysis in Table 3 demonstrates that lexical borrowing is one of the most prominent forms of language contact observed in Tanzanian telecommunication advertisements. The table presents English-derived lexical items that have undergone sufficient phonological,

orthographic, and semantic adaptation to function as established elements in Kiswahili discourse. The borrowed forms identified in the advertisements occur naturally within Kiswahili sentence structures and primarily denote technological and digital concepts associated with telecommunication services. Their recurrent use across advertisements suggests that they are no longer perceived merely as foreign insertions but have become part of the lexical resources available to Kiswahili speakers in contemporary communication.

Evidence in Table 3 shows frequent lexical borrowings such as *intaneti*, *kompyuta*, *waijai*, *data*, *video*, *aplikesheni*, and *saizi*. Although these forms originated from English, they have become established elements of contemporary Kiswahili discourse and occur naturally within Kiswahili grammatical structures. Their widespread use reflects the expansion of Kiswahili technological vocabulary and supports observations that technological innovation accelerates lexical borrowing and lexical integration (Mdee & Abdulaziz, 2001; Mwadilile & Mwakapima, 2018). Consistent with Myers-Scotton's (1993, 2006) Matrix Language Frame model, Kiswahili provides the grammatical framework while the borrowed forms contribute lexical content associated with technology and digital communication. Expressions such as *intaneti* and *kompyuta* function as ordinary nouns within Kiswahili sentence structures, confirming the dominant morpho-syntactic role of Kiswahili. A closer examination of the borrowed forms reveals varying degrees of adaptation. The form *intaneti*, derived from the English word *internet*, exhibits clear orthographic and phonological modification. The insertion of vowels between consonant clusters reflects adaptation to Kiswahili phonotactic constraints, which generally favour open syllables and vowel-final structures. Similarly, *kompyuta* originates from the English word *computer* but has undergone substantial phonological reshaping to conform to Kiswahili pronunciation patterns. The transformation from *computer* to *kompyuta* illustrates a high degree of lexical integration, indicating that the form has become an established borrowing rather than a temporary code-mixed insertion.

The forms *aplikesheni* and *saizi* display comparable patterns of adaptation. *aplikesheni*, derived from *application*, has been restructured to align with Kiswahili orthographic conventions and syllable structure, while *saizi*, derived from *size*, demonstrates phonological modification through vowel insertion and orthographic adjustment. These adaptations enable the borrowed forms to conform more closely to Kiswahili pronunciation patterns while preserving their original meanings. Their repeated occurrence across advertisements suggests that they are widely recognised and understood by audiences, thereby facilitating efficient communication of technical concepts. Forms such as *video*, *data*, and *wifi* retain closer resemblance to their English source forms but function as accepted lexical items within Kiswahili discourse. Their integration into Kiswahili grammatical structures demonstrates that extensive phonological adaptation is not a prerequisite for lexical borrowing, particularly in rapidly evolving technological domains.

The findings indicate that lexical borrowing exists along a continuum of integration, ranging from highly assimilated forms such as *intaneti* and *kompyuta* to less adapted items such as *apps* and *wifi*. This supports Matras' (2009) view that language-contact phenomena evolve gradually through repeated use and social acceptance.

5.4 Intra-word mixing

Intra-word mixing refers to a form of code-mixing in which morphemes from different languages occur within a single lexical item. This phenomenon is particularly evident when grammatical morphemes from a matrix language combine with lexical roots derived from an embedded language to form hybrid linguistic constructions (Myers-Scotton, 1993; Muysken, 2000). Such forms provide important evidence of structural interaction between languages

because the mixing occurs within word boundaries rather than between separate words or phrases.

According to Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model, intra-word mixing illustrates the dominance of the matrix language in governing grammatical structure while permitting the insertion of lexical material from an embedded language. In Kiswahili-English contact situations, this process commonly involves attaching Kiswahili verbal morphology to English lexical roots, resulting in hybrid forms that conform to Kiswahili grammatical requirements while retaining English lexical meaning. The occurrence of such constructions in telecommunication advertisements reflects the influence of technological discourse, globalisation, and digital communication practices. These mixed forms allow advertisers to express technologically relevant concepts while simultaneously maintaining the grammatical integrity of Kiswahili. Table 4 presents examples of intra-word mixing identified in the analysed telecommunication advertisements.

Table 4: Intra-word mixing forms

Company	Kiswahili sentence	Intra-word form	English meaning
Vodacom	4G ya ukweli ni kustrimu bila wasiwasi.	<i>kustrimu</i>	True 4G means streaming without worry.
Vodacom	Unaweza kuapdeti programu zako bila kutumia muda mwingi.	<i>kuapdeti</i>	You can update your applications without spending much time.
Airtel	Kuperuzi kwa spidi ya juu.	<i>kuperuzi</i>	Browsing at high speed.
Airtel	Wateja wanaweza kuchat na marafiki wao bila kikomo.	<i>kuchati</i>	Customers can chat with their friends without limits.
Vodacom	Kudownloadi na kuangalia video online.	<i>kudownloadi</i>	To download and watch videos online.
Airtel	Kuperuzi, kustrimu na kudownloadi kwa spidi ya juu ukitumia Airtel 5G.	<i>kuperuzi/kustrimu kudownloadi</i>	Browse, stream and download at speed
Airtel	Na hapo bado kuna cha kudownloadi na kuchati.	<i>kudownloadi, kuchati</i>	There is still enough to download and chat.
Yas	Na hiyo elfu nne niliyosevu kila wiki imenisaidia sana.	<i>niliyosevu</i>	And that four thousand I saved every week has helped me greatly.
Airtel	Baby umeenjoy kasi ya Airtel 5G?	<i>umeenjoyi</i>	Baby, have you enjoyed Airtel 5 G's speed?

Source: YouTube and Instagram

The analysis in Table 4 demonstrates intra-word mixing through hybrid constructions in which Kiswahili morphology combines with English lexical roots within a single lexical item. Unlike lexical borrowing, where an entire lexical item is incorporated into the recipient language, intra-word mixing involves the interaction of morphemes from two linguistic systems within the same word boundary. The forms identified in the table illustrate the operation of Myers-

Scotton's (1993, 2006) Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model, whereby Kiswahili supplies the grammatical structure while English contributes lexical content. The resulting constructions conform to Kiswahili morpho-syntactic requirements and exemplify how telecommunication advertisements exploit linguistic hybridity to communicate technological concepts in a manner that is both accessible and socially relevant to target audiences.

The analysis presented in Table 4 reveals several instances in which English-derived lexical verbs occur in predominantly Kiswahili utterances. Representative examples include *kustrimu*, *kudownloadi*, *kuperuzi*, *kuapdati*, *kuchati*, *niliyosevu*, and *umeenjoyi*. These forms are structurally significant because they combine English lexical roots with Kiswahili grammatical morphology. In *kustrimu*, for example, the Kiswahili infinitive marker *ku-* is attached to the English-derived root *strimu* (stream), creating a hybrid verb that functions according to Kiswahili grammatical conventions. Similarly, *kudownloadi* combines the Kiswahili infinitive marker with the English root *download*, while *kuapdati* incorporates the English lexical root *update* into a Kiswahili verbal structure. These constructions illustrate a high degree of grammatical integration and provide clear evidence of interaction between Kiswahili and English within a single lexical unit.

Particularly revealing are forms such as *niliyosevu* and *umeenjoyi*, which exhibit more complex levels of morphological integration. In *niliyosevu*, the English root *save* occurs within a Kiswahili relative construction. The form contains Kiswahili subject agreement and tense markers that indicate a completed action while simultaneously embedding the English lexical root. Likewise, *umeenjoyi* combines the English root *enjoy* with the Kiswahili perfect aspect marker *ume-*, producing a hybrid verb meaning "you have enjoyed." These examples demonstrate that English lexical material can be incorporated into highly complex Kiswahili verbal structures without disrupting grammatical well-formedness. There is also often an internal vowel change or vowel epenthesis to conform to the Swahili to satisfy Kiswahili phonotactic constraints. This explains the changes, for example, from *save* to *sevu* or from *update* to *apdeti*. The change from *stream* to *strimu* or *save* to *sevu* is explained by the phonological adaptation, in this case, where diphthongs are monophthongised in Swahili. Such constructions provide strong evidence for the dominance of Kiswahili as the matrix language, as the grammatical information required for sentence interpretation is supplied entirely by Kiswahili morphology.

The form *kuperuzi* deserves particular attention because it represents a more advanced stage of integration than some of the other examples. Derived from the English verb *browse*, the form has undergone substantial phonological and orthographic adaptation in addition to receiving the Kiswahili infinitive marker *ku-*. Unlike forms such as *kudownloadi* and *kuapdeti*, which retain much of their English orthographic appearance, *kuperuzi* reflects greater conformity to Kiswahili phonological patterns. This suggests that intra-word mixing itself may occur along a continuum, with some forms exhibiting minimal adaptation and others showing considerable assimilation into Kiswahili linguistic structures.

The findings support Omondi's (1999) observation that Kiswahili verbal morphology strongly constrains grammatical well-formedness even in mixed constructions. Kiswahili verbs follow an agglutinative structure consisting of prefixes, infixes, roots, and suffixes, with each component contributing specific grammatical information. When English lexical verbs are incorporated into Kiswahili discourse, they occupy the verb-root position while Kiswahili affixes remain intact. This means that the grammatical integrity of the clause is maintained regardless of the language from which the lexical root originates.

The prevalence of intra-word mixing in the advertisements is closely related to the technological nature of telecommunication discourse. Many of the concepts promoted by mobile network providers originate from digital environments where English terminology dominates globally. As a result, advertisers frequently employ English lexical roots while adapting them to Kiswahili grammatical structures to ensure both accuracy and audience accessibility. Forms such as *kustrim*, *kudownloadi*, and *kuchati* allow advertisers to communicate technological actions efficiently while preserving the grammatical familiarity of Kiswahili. This strategy enables audiences to understand modern technological concepts without requiring complete reliance on English.

The recurrent use of these hybrid forms also demonstrates that intra-word mixing serves important communicative and stylistic functions. Beyond their grammatical significance, the forms project modernity, technological sophistication, and contemporary urban identity. Similar observations have been made in studies of digital communication and social media discourse, where English technological vocabulary is frequently integrated into local grammatical systems (Tabe, 2023; Putri et al., 2024). In the context of telecommunication advertising, such forms help position the advertised products and services as innovative and technologically advanced while remaining accessible to Kiswahili-speaking audiences.

6 Discussion

The findings demonstrate that code-mixing in Tanzanian telecommunication advertisements functions as both a linguistic phenomenon and a strategic communicative resource. Across all four forms identified—transitional/nonce forms, register mixing, lexical borrowing, and intra-word mixing—Kiswahili consistently provides the grammatical framework within which English-derived lexical items and *Kiswahili cha Mtaani* expressions are embedded. This pattern supports Myers-Scotton's (1993, 2006) Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model, which predicts that the matrix language supplies the morpho-syntactic structure while the embedded language contributes lexical content. The findings, therefore, confirm that code-mixing in advertising discourse is systematic and constrained by grammatical principles rather than occurring randomly.

The prominence of lexical borrowing further supports observations by Muysken (2000) and Myers-Scotton (2006) that lexical items, particularly nouns, are highly transferable in language-contact situations. Borrowed forms such as *data*, *wifi*, *intaneti*, *kompyuta*, *apps*, *video*, and *aplikesheni* occur naturally within Kiswahili grammatical structures and are primarily associated with technology and digital communication. Similar patterns have been reported in media and advertising discourse, where English-derived lexical items are used to index innovation, modernity, and global connectivity while remaining accessible to local audiences (Dzahene-Quarshie & Sosoo, 2023; Mpofu, 2023). The findings, therefore, suggest that lexical borrowing has become an important mechanism through which Kiswahili expands its technological vocabulary in response to contemporary communication needs.

The occurrence of intra-word mixing further demonstrates the structural flexibility of Kiswahili. Forms such as *kustrimu*, *kudownloadi*, *kuapdati*, *kuchati*, *niliyosevu*, and *umeenjoy* show that English lexical roots can be integrated into Kiswahili verbal morphology without disrupting grammatical well-formedness. These findings are consistent with studies of digital communication and social media discourse, which show that English technological vocabulary is frequently incorporated into local grammatical systems through hybrid constructions (Tabe, 2023; Putri et al., 2024). The findings, therefore, highlight the adaptability of Kiswahili in accommodating emerging technological concepts while maintaining its grammatical integrity.

Another significant finding is the role of *Kiswahili cha Mtaani* in advertising discourse. Expressions such as *bomba*, *poa*, *freshi*, *mshakaji*, *mzee wangu*, and *fasta* contribute informality, social proximity, and urban youth identity. Their use enables advertisers to align their products with the linguistic practices of target audiences while reducing the social distance between brands and consumers. These findings support studies that view language mixing in advertising as a persuasive strategy for audience engagement, consumer identification, and brand positioning (Dzahene-Quarshie & Sosoo, 2023; Jimoh et al., 2025; Oso & Babalola, 2025).

The study also provides evidence that borrowing, code-mixing, and lexical adaptation operate along a continuum rather than as discrete categories. Transitional forms such as *cheki*, *spidi*, *supa*, *fasta*, *boost*, and *float* exhibit different levels of assimilation into Kiswahili while maintaining identifiable links to English. This observation supports Matras' (2009) continuum model and suggests that media discourse plays an important role in accelerating linguistic innovation. By focusing on telecommunication advertisements, the study extends existing scholarship on language contact in African multilingual settings and demonstrates how linguistic choices simultaneously serve communicative, social, and commercial purposes.

7 Conclusion

This study examined the structural forms of code-mixing in Tanzanian telecommunication advertisements, focusing on the interaction between English, Standard Kiswahili, and *Kiswahili cha Mtaani*. Guided by Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model, the analysis identified four major forms of code-mixing: transitional/nonce forms, register mixing, lexical borrowing, and intra-word mixing. Among these, lexical borrowing emerged as the most frequent pattern, particularly in relation to technological and digital vocabulary. The findings further revealed that English-derived lexical items and *Kiswahili cha Mtaani* expressions are systematically incorporated into Kiswahili grammatical structures, with Kiswahili consistently functioning as the matrix language.

The study demonstrates that code-mixing in telecommunication advertising is not random but a structured linguistic practice that serves important communicative and commercial functions. Through the strategic combination of English, Standard Kiswahili, and *Kiswahili cha Mtaani*, advertisers project modernity, technological relevance, youth identity, and local cultural affiliation. These linguistic choices enable telecommunication companies to make their messages more relatable, persuasive, and accessible to diverse audiences.

The findings have important implications for advertising practice, language planning, and communication research. For advertisers, the results suggest that controlled and audience-sensitive code-mixing can enhance consumer engagement and brand positioning. For language planners and regulatory bodies, the findings demonstrate that code-mixing should be understood as a functional communicative resource that reflects contemporary language use rather than as a deviation from linguistic norms. The study, therefore, highlights the need for greater recognition of multilingual communication practices in media and advertising contexts.

The study contributes to scholarship on language contact by demonstrating the applicability of the Matrix Language Frame model to advertising discourse and by showing how borrowing, code-mixing, and lexical adaptation operate along a continuum. Future studies may extend this research to other advertising sectors, investigate audience attitudes towards mixed-language advertisements, and explore how factors such as age, education, and geographical location influence the interpretation and effectiveness of code-mixed messages.

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