

TURN-TAKING IN NDEBELE: AN APPLICATION OF CONVERSATION ANALYSIS.*

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ABSTRACT

This paper will demonstrate the extent to which conversation analysis, especially turn taking applies in Ndebele. The paper will first test whether conversation analysis is a method or theory. It however, has largely been viewed as a method of analysing linguistic recordings. On the other hand, it has been viewed as an alternative to Grice's notion of maxims. The paper will, therefore, test whether it is a theory or method. The paper will then test the universal applicability of this method/theory. Tape recording was done to get speech samples. Using extracts of these recordings, the essay will then analyse turn-taking especially the role played by overlaps and silence in Ndebele discourse. The paper will concentrate on the properties of turn-taking called local management, party-administering and interactional control, that is, on the degree of freedom in allocating turns. It is our hypothesis that these properties of turn taking are not applicable in Ndebele. This is because we will argue in this paper that turn taking in Ndebele is largely predetermined in terms of age and social position.

KEYWORDS: CONVERSTION ANALYSIS, TURN-TAKING, SILENCE, OVERLAPS.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Conversation analysis is an empirical approach to naturally occurring conversations. Search is made for recurring patterns across many records of everyday conversation. In this approach, the main emphasis is on what can be found to occur in everyday conversation. Many instances of particular phenomena are examined across texts to discover the systematic properties of the sequential organisation of talk, and the ways in which utterances are designed to manage such sequences. Conversation analysis has:

...most to offer in the way of substantial insight
into the nature of conversation. (Levinson 1983:294)

In conversation analysis, data consist of tape-recorded material and transcripts of naturally occurring conversation. Little attention is paid to the nature of the context as that might be

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theoretically conceived within sociolinguistics or social psychology. (Ibid:1983). Levinson admits that the data he has reviewed is almost entirely on English:

...and we simply do not know at the present to what extent these findings extend to other languages and cultures. ...although the findings here may be in part culturally specific, the methods employed should be of quite general application. Levinson (1983:296)

It is against this background, therefore, that this study seeks to test the applicability of this method to other languages or cultures, that is, Ndebele language.

Nofsinger (1991) observes that in our everyday lives we notice how various participants become speakers. That is, how one “gets the floor” as a speaker to produce the first pair part of an adjacency pair, or the required second part, or to make some other contribution.

The organisation of social or communicative actions into pairs, or sequences depends on some way of changing or alternating speakers. E.g. the adjacency pair depends on two speakers co-ordinating the production of at least one utterance apiece. Presequences and insertion sequences further extend the number of times participants must exchange talk.

Positioning an utterance adjacent to another just-completed one can be very important, since that new utterance is normally interpreted as responding to the adjacently prior one and serves to display its speaker’s interpretation of that prior utterance. This means getting a turn -when one needs- can be a serious issue. In conversation, these matters are dealt with by organising participants’ utterances into sequential turns.

The basic sequence is a two-unit sequence. The two turns in which the parts of the sequence occur are placed adjacently to each other. For all of them, you can discriminate what is usually referred to as the ‘first pair parts’ from the ‘second pair parts,’ so that the parts are relatively ordered (Schegloff & Sacks 1973).

The first and second pair parts are 'type-connected'. This means that if a party does a first pair part of some type, such as greeting, question, offer, request, compliment, complaint, etc, then the party who is going to do a second pair part picks it from the sorts of alternatives that fit the type. For example, for greetings this involves greetings; for questions, various sorts of answers; for offers, acceptances and rejections, etc.

So you have a turn and in it a first pair part and a next turn and in it second pair part, and furthermore, the second pair part is type-related to the first pair part. (Sacks 1987).

Organisation of turns in a conversation is not determined ahead of time, nor is it fundamentally determined by wealth or fame (although these may influence taking turns), nor is it determined by order of arrival, in the broad sense "we do not take numbers or stand in line to talk." Nofsinger (1991:80).

1.0 Turn-Taking

Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) proposed a model of how conversational turn taking is organised. This model focuses on the message units turns are constructed from and the methods or techniques that turns are allocated to one participant or another.

Sacks et al. claim that turns are constructed out of the any of four different-sized units of talk. These include a word long unit, a phrase unit turn, a clause unit turn and finally a full sentence unit. For detailed discussion see Nofsinger (1991:80ff).

Each turn constructional unit is important in that participants can project where they will end- and thus where a particular turn might possibly be complete. Sacks et al. call the spot that participants recognise as the potential end of a turn, the place where a transition from one speaker to another becomes relevant, a "transition relevance place", the TRP.

In conversational turn taking, the various practices that participants use to change from one speaker to another (or to give another turn to the same speaker) operate at the TRP. This makes the TRP a very important concept in our understanding of the conduct of conversation.

Sacks et al. identified three techniques by which participants determine who gets the next turn. These are, *current speaker selects next*, any listener may *self select* and *current speaker may continue*. They proposed a set of rules fixing the rights and responsibilities of the participants. (See Nofsinger 1991:82ff).

The Sacks et al. model portrays conversational turn taking as locally managed, party administered, interactionally controlled and sensitive to recipient design. They argue that:

The turn-taking system under examination can be further characterised for the kind of local management system it is. The character and organisation of the rules that constitute it as a local management system themselves determine its more particular organisation in not only allowing and/or requiring turn-size and turn-order to vary, but in subjecting their variability to the control of the parties to any conversation. It is, therefore, among local management systems, a party administered system. Sacks et al. (1974:726).

What Sack et al. mean is that conversational turn taking operates on a turn-by-turn basis. Hence organising, by itself, the transition from current speaker to next. This is to say, it is the participants themselves, through the various practices they employ, who determine who shall speak next. The same may not be said for Ndebele as it would seem that turn-taking is influenced by exterior factors from the organisation of talk itself. Such factors would be age and/or social position.

By referring to the system as interactionally managed, Sacks et al. mean the way in which the turn-taking system, in its local-management, participant-administered form, fits in conversational interaction:

...that a speaker can talk in such a way as to permit projection of possible completion to be made from his talk, from its start, allowing others to use its transition places to start talk, to pass up talk, to affect directions of talk etc.; and that their starting to talk, if properly placed, can determine where he ought to stop talk. That is, the turn as a unit is interactively determined. Sacks et al. (1974:727).

Essentially, what one participant does affects what the others may acceptably do following that they fix the rights and responsibilities of the participants. This locally, interactionally, participant-managed turn system, with its turn allocation operating at the TRP, is one of the defining characteristics of conversation. (Nofsinger 1991).

1.1 *Motivation for Listening*

According to Sacks et al. there is an intrinsic motivation for listening independent of other possible motivations, such as interest and politeness. They argue that in the variety of techniques for arriving at a next speaker, and in their ordered character, it obliges any willing or potentially intending speaker to listen to and analyse each utterance across its delivery. Thus a participant willing to speak next if selected to do so will need to listen to each utterance and analyse it at least to find whether or not it selects him as next speaker. And any potentially intending speaker will have to listen to any utterance after which he might want to speak, to find, that no one has been selected as next speaker. Under either of these circumstances, a willing or potentially intending next speaker will have to listen through the end of the current utterance in order to effect turn-transfer properly and in order to secure the turn.

By maximising the set of potential next speakers for any next turn ... the system translates a willingness or potential desire to speak into a corollary obligation to listen. Sacks et al. (1974:728)

Another motivation advanced by Sacks et al. is that turn-taking obliges its participants to display to each other, in a turn's talk, their understanding of other turns' talk. A turn's talk

will, therefore, display its speaker's understanding of a prior turn's talk, and whatever other talk it marks itself as directed to. This is, they argue, a methodological resource for the investigation of conversation, a resource provided by the thoroughly interactional character of conversation.

Nofsinger (1991) provides another motivation for listening: that participants who do not wish to be called to account for violations of conversational norms have a reason for listening that stems from the turn system, independently of whether the speaker's talk is interesting in the broader sense.

1.2 Competition of Turns

Conversational turns are valued, sought after (and sometimes avoided, negatively valued). When the current speaker has not selected next, there is frequently competition for the next turn. When participants wish to respond to, comment about, or elaborate on what the current speaker is saying, they strive to obtain the very next turn.

This is so because it is easier to show the relationship of one's talk to what the current speaker is saying if one can get the very next turn. But the constraint imposed by the turn system is also a major influence on turn competition. If a participant does not successfully self-select for the next turn, then whoever does become next speaker may select someone else as the following speaker: that person may select still another participant, and so on. The availability of the current speaker selects next technique means that a participant can count on his or her impending utterance being relevant to ongoing talk only if it is done in the very next turn. After that the conversation may take other directions not related to what he/she was going to say. This, therefore, can be a major contributor to competition for turns. Intuitively, it would seem that such competition does not occur in Ndebele since turns are largely "pre-allocated" according to age or social position.

1.3 *Treatment of Silences*

It is imperative to point out now that silence plays a different role in Ndebele turn-taking than it does in English. Sacks et al. distinguish among three different types of silence. That is lapse, gap and pause. (See Nofsinger 1991:94ff).

Levinson (1983) and others, treat silence as a dispreference marker. This makes silence an interesting phenomenon in this essay because this view is not compatible with the role of silence in Ndebele. It is, in fact, not used in the same way across languages. Silence in Ndebele, just as in Japanese (Wierzbicka 1991:82ff), is often admired and desirable. In addition, one is expected not to interrupt other people, and not to speak at the same time as other people. Silence therefore does not play a straightforward role as a dispreference marker in Ndebele.

1.4 *Overlaps and Interruptions*

Overlap, in Ndebele conversation is important in so far as it projects the extent to which turn-taking is free in Ndebele, hence relevant to this study. Participants in everyday conversation apparently use the term *interruption* in a variety of ways. E.g. (i) a current speaker might regard a listener's slightly premature self-selection (just before the TRP) as an interruption if it is critical or unsupportive of the speaker, but not an interruption if it is supportive (ii) if current speaker selects a next speaker who pauses before starting, participants might regard a third party's self-selection during that pause as an interruption even if no actual overlapping talk resulted (iii) if participants in a discussion regard themselves as being on opposite sides of the issue, they may feel interrupted by overlapping talk. But if the conversation is a generally co-operative one among friends, they may not feel that overlapping talk is a violation of their turn taking rights.

The point is that *interruption*, as used by ordinary members of society, seems related not only to conversational structure, but to such factors as whether the participants like or agree with

each other. Bennett (1981) says interruption is “an interpretive category which participants can make use of to deal with currently prevailing rights and obligations in actual situations.” This use of term can be a source of confusion in studies of conversation when researchers use interruption in the vernacular.

Overlap refers to simultaneous talk that arises from the normal operation of the conversational turn system (where two or more participants in a single conversation end up talking at the same time). (i) a listener can self-select prematurely (e.g. under the pressure of trying to be first or by misjudging the extent of the current turn) (ii) more than one listener could self-select at the same moment. This would also occur at the TRP (iii) a listener could self-select at the same time that the current speaker elects to continue. Again this type of simultaneous talk would cluster at the TRP. In each of these categories, overlap occurs even though all participants are orienting toward compliance with turn-taking norms. Used this way, **overlap** is a generic term for simultaneous talk. **Interruption** on the other hand is used to refer to simultaneous talk that does not occur at or near a TRP.

It has therefore been demonstrated that the conversational turn-taking system is a major source of orderliness in everyday talk. The next part of the thesis seeks to test this model.

METHODOLOGY

It is our argument that freedom of turn-taking is very limited in Ndebele. This section will test this hypothesis by examining to what extent the turns are predictable in Ndebele. This section is designed to examine whether the CA model can be applicable to Ndebele language. It will also test the role of silence and overlap in Ndebele language vis-à-vis its characterisation in the CA model. The analysis seeks to examine the freedom of turn-taking in Ndebele, whether or not turn-taking is pre-allocated in Ndebele conversation. It will take into account social variables that are listed in Table 1 below.

Data was collected from recordings at home in Zimbabwe and in London and Cambridge in the United Kingdom. Conversation was recorded onto cassette tapes under as natural conditions as possible. Nine different social settings of various degrees of formality, that is social and psychological distance, were selected for the purpose of examining turn-taking in natural Ndebele conversation and whether or not the constraints as settings, content of talk, age and social position affect turn-taking. For further details please refer to table 1 below.

In addition to the conversation recordings, the essay will also look at a published drama text to assess how Ndebele turn-taking is projected. The role of literature in every society is to mirror the everyday life of a people. As a result, published material is by its very nature standard and hence prescriptive. This text will therefore, help us examine how Ndebele ideally views turn-taking in everyday conversation. The drama text to be discussed was published in 1988 by one of the leading authors in Ndebele, D.E. Ndoda and the title of the text is *Indabikhona*. It is written in standard everyday jargon.

It is imperative to point out that this is a pilot study and that the researcher had limited access to data. This is so because the research was carried out in a predominantly English speaking community where there are very few Ndebele speaking families. It can also be observed that these families have had an influence of English culture, that is acculturation. Hence some recordings were made at home in Zimbabwe. The researcher supplemented this limited data with published material in Ndebele. It is for this reason that the results of the study can only be tentative, since this is a preliminary study, and that they will have to be confirmed by a larger project.

The kinds of settings and details are shown below.

Table 1.

Setting	Home: 1	Meeting	Country-side	Home: 2	Work	Walk	After service	Home: 3	Breakfast
Situation	Mother talking to her children	A boy summoned before elders	Talk under a tree shade	Talk at home relaxing	Talk on general chores	Talk on the way to a bus stop	Talk after service	Relaxing at home	Talk before & over breakfast
Gender, Age & number of participants	F: (Nn) [†] F: (Nn) M: (Nn) 3.	M: (Nn) M: (Nn) M: (Nn) 3.	M: 80 M: 25 2.	F: 27 F: 26 M: 24 M: 8mths 4.	F: 26 F: 23 2.	F: 20 F: 22 F: 23 3.	M: 35 M: 30 2.	M: 27 F: 25 2.	M: 28 F: 26 F: 25 3.
Content of Talk	How their day had been	The behaviour of the boy	Funeral & history of the communal area	The baby, I.D.s & voting	How to do everyday tasks	Home, school & work	Rules governing uniforms & gifts	The phone & mother's outfit	Food, parties & culture
Relationship	Family	Family	Family	Family	Employer/employee	Friends	Friends	Couple	Friends
Location	Drama text	Drama text	Donsa, Zimbabwe	Harare, Zimbabwe	Harare, Zimbabwe	London, U.K.	London, U.K.	Cambridge, U.K.	London, U.K.
Recorded by	Published text	Published text	ALLEX [‡]	Informant	Informant	Informant	Informant	Informant	Writer
Length of recording	N/A [§]	N/A	35min	32min	25min	30min	35min	50min	40min

The recorded material consists of a total of 590 adjacency pairs, which is a total of 4 hours and 7 minutes of recording. A total of 236 adjacency pairs were selected from the overall data recorded and examined regarding turn-taking among friends, colleagues, elders, at work and whether or not there was silence and overlaps between pairs and their treatment in Ndebele natural conversation. The selected adjacency pairs were primarily those that the researcher thought to be interesting, exhibiting striking patterns and essentially relevant to the discussion. Since there was no laboratory testing of silence or other sophisticated ways of measuring it, what counted as silence was “noticeable” silence that would be a half a second count. In our transcriptions below (.) would count as noticeable silence and (4) is an arbitrary

[†] Nn means not known, since this is an extract from the text.

[‡] ALLEX is the African Languages & Lexical project which is doing Ndebele corpus building.

[§] N/A means not applicable

timing of silence in seconds, hence silence of 4 seconds. All the instances of silences listed in table 2 below are the ones relevant to this discussion.

Number of pairs with overlaps, with and without silence between them:

Table 2.

	Overlaps observed	Silences observed	Adjacency pairs without silence & Overlaps	Total
Home: 1	1	0	14	15
Meeting	2	0	2	4
Countryside	0	2	18	20
Home: 2	6	3	45	54
Work	0	0	23	23
Walk	16	2	32	50
After service	4	0	23	27
Home: 3	1	2	20	23
Dinner	1	0	17	18
				236

2.1 Transcription Conventions

The following transcription conventions were used to transcribe the data. This transcription format follows Nofsinger's (1991).

Symbol	Meaning
...	These ellipses indicate talk omitted from the data segment.
[]	The square brackets between lines or bracketing two lines of talk indicate the beginning and end of overlapping talk.
(4)	Numbers in parentheses represent arbitrarily timed silence.
(.)	A dot enclosed in parentheses indicates a short, untimed, but noticeable silence.
End of line= =start of line	Equal signs are latching symbols. When attached to the end of one line and beginning of another, they indicate that the later talk was "latched onto" the earlier talk without hesitation, perhaps without even waiting the normal conversational rhythm or "beat."
<u>Wena</u> uthini	Underlining shows vocal stress or emphasis.
MANA	All-uppercasc letters represent noticeable loudness.
Maye: mina:::	Colons indicate an elongated syllable; the more colons, the more the syllable or sound is stretched.
Ngithe ngi-	A hyphen shows a sudden cutoff of speech.

- () Empty parentheses indicate that some talk was not audible or interpretable at all.
- ((bahleka)) Double parentheses enclose transcriber comments.
- Ng'the wena! The apostrophe (') indicates missing speech sounds and normal contractions. The exclamation point (!) shows "lively" or animated speech.
- 8.A: For easy of identification in the discussion, speakers are identified by letters,
9.B: and each line is numbered.

AURGUMENT

2.1 Turns In Ndebele

It is probably fitting to commence this discussion by quoting the dialogue below:

8. **A:** Khumalo lo Masuku, kanti abenu abantwana libafundisa njani?
Khumalo and Masuku, how do you teach you children?
9. **B:** Ubuza lokho ngoba uboneni makhelwana?
Why are you asking that what have you seen my neighbour?
10. **A:** Ngibona phela uLindiwe ethula zwi nxa umnewabo esakhuluma lani.
11. Njalo uze wakhululwa yini ukuba abingelele umnewabo.
I see Lindiwe quite when his brother is talking to you.
And she only spoke when you had given her the permission to greet his brother.
12. **C:** Kambe makhelwana ubezakuba ngumntwana onjani obezancintisana lathi angathi
13. singosowabo...
How on earth would she compete with us my neighbour as if we are her agemates...

This extract demonstrates that in Ndebele children are not expected to compete for turns with the elders. The elderly people seem to have turns pre-allocated to them hence freedom of turn-taking is very limited in Ndebele. This is essentially because of the fact that age plays a vital role among the Ndebele people. Hence seniority according to age and social position is very crucial in determining turn-taking in Ndebele. Let us take a look at the following example:

1. **A:** Kuyaqanda, alibone sengigaye owekhanka nje.
2. Uyihlo usezafika evela komalumakhe uDlodlo...
3. Belisenzani ngane zami?
It is very cold, this is why I have made such a huge fire.
Your father is just about to arrive from his Uncle's Dlodlo...
What were you doing my children?
4. **B:** Mina ngitshone ngibhaqa insemala labanye abafana mama, lokuzingela.
I spent the whole day playing, mother, and hunting with other boys.
5. **C:** Asijubane likaNdabayakhe mama nxa bezingela.
Ndabayakhe has so much speed when they are hunting, mother.
6. **A:** Iyakhula indodana yami...
My son is growing up...

7.B: Mama, ngiyawukholisa umlilo lo...Mama, kungani ungasitsheli indaba?
Mother, I am enjoying this fire ... Mother, why don't you tell us a story?

When children are among elders, the elders initiate conversation. It would seem from the above excerpt that children in Ndebele speak among elders only when they are being addressed or spoken to. This again is a pointer to the fact that turn-taking is pre-allocated according to age hence limiting the freedom of turn-taking. Elderly people speak uninterrupted by the younger people. Because elderly people control turn-taking, they seem to have the right to interrupt younger speakers willy-nilly (see appendix B lines 21-25). However, the opposite seems not to be permissible as is demonstrated by the following example:

14.A: Mnewe- Ndaba...
My bro- Ndaba...

15.B: Thula wena, ngubani othe phendula?
You shut up, who said you should answer?

It would seem that if a child inadvertently interrupts an elderly person's turn, or overlaps or speak without an invitation to do so, they are quickly admonished. Because of this seemingly strict rule in turn-taking, overlaps in Ndebele are very rare. Turn-taking is fixed to a very large extent in Ndebele.

Data reveals a single instance when a child interrupts an elderly person. This incident is let go without a comment (see appendix A lines 17-19). The child, D, is interrupting her mother, C, and there is no comment. One is tempted to speculate that in moments of excitement, such as this one, rules for turn-taking in Ndebele can be relaxed and such instances go unnoticed. It is difficult for one to generalise, as this is the only instance in the whole data. In the twenty turns where children are in conversation with elders (appendix A & B), 25% of the turns children speak when they are spoken to, 20% of the turns elders speak uninterrupted by children, 45% of the turns children are interrupted by elders. All these are predictable. Only in 10% of the turns children overlap the turns of the elders and this is not predictable. (In one of the two instances where this occurs the child is admonished).

An interesting phenomenon is also demonstrated in appendix D. Speaker A is the oldest in the house followed by speaker C and then speaker B. The distribution of turns indicates that the oldest dominate the turns. However, strikingly, there is a little baby in the house that can not speak. This child is not hers, the mother of the child is speaker C. It is however, speaker A who takes the baby's turns when conversation shifts to the baby. (See lines 58 and 105). It would seem that this is so because by virtue of her age she drives the conversation and hence it is easy for her to take the baby's turns. Of the first fifteen turns that were sampled, speaker A takes 47%, while speaker B and C take 26.5%. It should be noted that speaker C steadily dominates speaker B as the conversation progresses while A maintains the dominance. This pattern is again predictable in Ndebele conversation. This again is a pointer to the fact that age licences one to dominate turn-taking in Ndebele.

2.2 Overlaps and Interruptions

The data indicates that we have fewer instances of overlaps that involve people of different age groups than those that involve peers. In instances that involve children and elders, there is a single overlap (appendix A lines 17-19), and as has been mentioned above, this is occasioned by the fact that the girl self-selects ahead of her mother because she cannot contain the excitement of meeting her brother. This overlap, which can be viewed as interruption because of the fixed nature of turns in Ndebele, goes unnoticed.

In conversation that involves older people only, there seems to be no overlaps. The only overlaps that are observed are when the second speaker is in agreement with the first and prematurely self-selects towards the TRP to say the last word that the first speaker says. (See appendix G lines, 254&255, 259&260). Sometimes when they are in total agreement both speakers simultaneously take the next turn (line 250). Hence overlap among old people mostly occurs when speakers are in agreement or are emphasising a point.

On the contrary, there are so many overlaps in conversation that involves young people alone as is shown in appendix F. It would seem that young people do not respect the strict turn order that is characteristic of Ndebele, and because they are peers, they compete for turns evenly. Their utterances are so fast. They speak almost at the same time, and they are eager to finish each other's utterances. Overlaps among young people, therefore, would suggest to me the extent to which the speakers are close to each other. It would appear as if young people have total disregard for conventions that generally govern turn-taking in Ndebele.

It is also interesting to note the conversation in appendix H. One would expect a conversation between young couples to be a lively and an exciting discussion with many overlaps. On the contrary, the conversation is rather subdued. We note only the following overlap:

287B: Mina ngihlala ngimbona ezigqokele itradiational [outfit

I always see her wearing her traditional outfit

288A: Awu] uqamba amanga! Itraditional outfit yangaphi , vele kakaze ayiqgoke.

Oh you are just lying. What traditional outfit, she has never worn any.

It is pertinent to observe that this is an overlap primarily inspired by a need to correct the assertion made by speaker B's utterance. Hence this is a repair, rather than just a premature self-selection.

In appendix B, while elders largely dominate turns, data also reveals that the elders feel at ease in interrupting younger speakers. In lines 21-25 the boy is twice interrupted. This is again because older people and in this context the chief, use their age and social position to their advantage in turn-taking. This is the only instance where we note interruption. One is tempted to assume therefore, that overlap indicates compatibility and agreement. Interruption on the other hand depicts one speaker's power over the other or domination of one utterance by the next. Table 3 sums up the occurrences of overlaps and interruptions.

Table 3.

Setting	Overlap Percentage	Interruption Percentage	Predictability
Home: 1	7%	7%	Not Predictable
Meeting	Nil	50%	Predictable
Countryside	Nil	Nil	Predictable
Home: 2	11%	Nil	Predictable
Work	Nil	Nil	Predictable
Walk	32%	Nil	Predictable
After Service	15%	Nil	Predictable
Home: 3	4%	Nil	Not Predictable
Dinner	6%	Nil	Predictable

2.3 Silence

There are a few instances of silence as is shown in table 2. In appendix C line 26 and 27, we observe one thing that is characteristic of the Ndebele people. Ndebele people, especially the elderly people, value taking their time when they speak. Silence is clearly noticed between turns. This is viewed as a virtue in Ndebele as it is often emphasised that one should reflect, clear their minds and put their words together in their minds before they utter anything. This is based on the traditional notion that an utterance is binding. This is also exhibited in appendix D lines 106-107. It is usually utterances that are statements of facts or clarification that follow such silences. However, about 4% of turns exhibit silence.

In appendix C, D, F and H we also note silences. In all these instances silence occurs within a speaker's turn and is attributable to that speaker. This is as a result of a pause arising when after the TRP, no listener self-selects and the current speaker elects to continue.

The other instance of silence occurs in appendix D between lines 66-67 where at the TRP silence is followed by repair. It is usually the case that when a speaker says something that is unclear or has used a wrong word, this is followed by silence and then the next speaker may fix the problem by clarifying the utterance made by the first speaker. This is commonly referred to as repair, and used in Ndebele the same way as in English.

2.4 Agreement and Contiguity

As was stated by Sacks (1992), conversation often begins with greeting exchanges. This can be observed in appendix C (lines 26 & 27). However, as it has already been stated above, children are the ones who greet older people first in Ndebele, so the first turn is fixed (i.e. it is the younger person who has the exclusive right to the first turn). It can be further observed that throughout conversation data that was recorded, an attempt is made by the second speaker to relate their utterance to the first speaker. Such that the second pair part is “type-related” to the first pair part. While this phenomenon was not noticed in the data, Ndebele generally does not have the same preference for turn types as in English. For example, if one is invited for dinner, a denial is a preferred answer.

It can be noted that from Sacks’s model, there is preference for agreement. It is generally the case that when a question occurs in a turn that includes other things, or when an answer does, the question goes at the end of its turn, and the answer at the beginning of its turn as can be seen below:

127A: Sitheni bengisithi okwanamuhla kesikhulume ngedlela osebenza ngayo lapha endlini.

128 Ukuthi uyakuzwisisa yini konke omele ukwenze njalo lami ngikutshele engifuna

129 ukwenze. Okwakhathesi esingaqalisa ngakho, uyakuzwisisa yini konke okumele

130 ukwenze nxa uhlanza endlini?

Sitheni I thought maybe today we may talk the way you work in the house.

To find out whether you understand everything that you are supposed to do and to allow me to tell you what I want you to do.

For starters, do you understand everything that you are supposed to do when cleaning?

131B: Ye, ngiyakuzwisisa

Yes, I understand.

Hence Sacks (1987) observes that the juxtaposition or contiguity of question and answer across successive turns takes collaboration too, as does producing an answer that “agrees” with its question. There is a clear interaction between the preference for contiguity and the preference for agreement, such that, if an agreeing answer occurs, it occurs contiguously, whereas if a disagreement answer occurs, it may well be pushed deep into the turn that it occupies. This also obtains in Ndebele as is demonstrated in appendix E lines 170-178. The response is made so that the disagreement is made weak as possible and is also held off for a better part of the turn.

It can also be observed in appendix E lines 127-138, that there is disagreement in the initial version of the question and that speaker A reformulates it in the direction of possible agreement so as to avoid a dispreferred response and to ensure that the agreement that follows makes, with the question, a contiguous pair. This seems to be in line with Sacks’s model.

It is however interesting to note that whereas there is preference for agreement and contiguity in successive turn-taking, Ndebele exhibits a striking pattern. In appendix C lines 34-39, instead of answering the last question first to preserve contiguity, speaker B answers the first question that is answered first. One could argue that this could be because of the chronological order required by the question. However, further inquiry with a larger body of data would be required to test this claim. Again in appendix F we note the following:

180A: Wahamba njani ekhaya?=
How did you travel home?

181B: Hayi ekhaya kwakukuhle sibili. Mmm (.) Kwakukuhle uh umm.
No, home was so beautiful. Mmm (.) It was beautiful uh umm.

Speaker B does not answer the question at all. This seems to violate Sacks’s model of agreement and contiguity.

CONCLUSION

The paper has been an attempt to apply Sacks's model of conversation analysis in the discussion of the freedom of turn-taking in Ndebele. The paper demonstrated that turn-taking in Ndebele is to some extent fixed as discussed in section 2.1 above. It was noted that while in greetings, young people have an exclusive right to the first turn, elderly people largely dominate turn-taking. This is because age and social position licences them to dominate turn-taking. Turns in Ndebele, therefore, seem to be pre-allocated according to seniority. The essay also discussed the role of silence, overlaps and interruptions in Ndebele. (viz. section 2.2 & 2.3 and table 3.) While overlap seems to be a common occurrence that conforms to the CA principles, silence and interruptions have their peculiarities in Ndebele. Silence is viewed as a respectable phenomenon, while interruption seems to be a phenomenon that projects "control" in conversation that pits elderly people and younger people.

It can also be concluded that while Ndebele seems to fall within the CA model of agreement and contiguity principles, there is some startling evidence, though not conclusive, that seems not to conform to Sacks's model. These are instances that seem to compromise juxtaposition of turns in conversation, or contiguity. These conclusions, however, can only remain tentative since the researcher had a very limited access to data and a limited amount of time to carry out a conclusive research exercise.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

- 1.A: Kuyaqanda, alibone sengigaye owekhanka nje.
2. Uyihlo usezafika evela komalumakhe uDlodlo...
3. Belisenzani ngane zami?
*It is very cold, this is why I have made such a huge fire.
Your father is just about to arrive from his Uncle's Dlodlo...
What were you doing my children?*
- 4.B: Mina ngitshone ngibhaqa insema labanye abafana mama, lokuzingela.
I spent the whole day playing mother, and hunting with other boys.
- 5.C: Asijubane likaNdabayakhe mama nxa bezingela.
Ndabayakhe has so much speed when they are hunting mother.
- 6.A: Iyakhula indodana yami...
My son is growing up...
- 7.B: Mama, ngiyawukholisa umlilo lo...Mama, kungani ungasitsheli indaba?
Mother I am enjoying this fire ... Mother, why don't you tell us a story?

Home 1: Mother and her children: a boy & a girl.
Extract from D. E. Ndoda (1998) Indabikhona Gweru: Mambo Press.

8. A: Khumalo lo Masuku, kanti abenu abantwana libafundisa njani?
Khumalo and Masuku, how do you teach you children?
9. B: Ubuza lokho ngoba uboneni makhelwana?
Why are you asking that what have you seen my neighbour?
- 10.A: Ngibona phela uLindiwe ethula zwi nxa umnewabo esakhuluma lani.
11. Njalo uze wakhululwa yini ukuba abingelele umnewabo.
*I see Lindiwe quite when his brother is talking to you.
And she only spoke when you had given her the permission to greet his brother.*
- 12.C: Kambe makhelwana ubezakuba ngumntwana onjani obezancintisana lathi angathi
13. singosowabo...
How on earth would she compete with us my neighbour as if we are her agemates...
- 14.A: Mnewe- Ndaba...
My bro- Ndaba...
- 15.B: Thula wena, ngubani othe phendula?
You shut up, who said you should answer?
- 16.A: Ngena muntu wenkosi...
Come in my kinsman...
- 17.B: Nansi indoda engiyikhaphayo.
Here is the man I am accompanying.
- 18.C: Umntanami:::[U-
My child::: My-
- 19.D: Umne]wethu!
My brother
- 20.A: Kuzwa, kuzwa, langena ithole undlangamandla...
Hear, hear, here enters the son of, the eater of man...

Home with a neighbour
Extract from D. E. Ndoda (1998) Indabikhona Gweru: Mambo Press.

Appendix B

21. **Ndabayakhe:** ... Iqhawe libonakala ngo-
...*The hero is seem by-*
22. **Father:** Ndabayakhe, ubangelwa yini ukuphupha emini?
Ndabayakhe, why do you day dream like this?

AND

23. **Boy:** Ngiyabonga baba Dlodlo, into na-
I thank you my father Dlodlo, the thing is-
24. **Chief:** Akusimkhuba wethu njalo akwenzeki ukuthi amamdoda aziwayo,
25. abantu abazi ngempi sithule, kuthi ubusuku busibhixe sehluleke lokuzigezisa...
It is not our custom and it is not possible that prominent men like us, who know a lot about wars, should be silent and allow this little kid to tarnish us to an extent that we fail to absolve ourselves...

A boy in a Meeting with elders
Extract from D. E. Ndoda (1998) Indabikhona Gweru: Mambo Press.

Appendix C

26. **A:** Litshone njani khulu?
How was your day grandfather?
(4)
27. **B:** Ngitshonile.
I had a day.
28. **A:** Uh lihambe njani khonale lapho e:sithole kuthiwa beliye khona?
Uh how did you go where we heard you had gone when we arrived?
29. **B:** Uh sihambile sibili.
Uh we went for sure.
30. **A:** Uh lithole sebesenzani?
Uh what did you find them doing?
31. **B:** Sithole sebeza geda ukugebha
We found them just finishing digging.
32. **A:** Okwakhathi sebemlahlile?
Have they buried him yet?
33. **B:** Ye Uh khathi sebemlahlile sibili
Yes Uh now they have buried him for sure
34. **A:** Ye hayi kulungile siyabonga.
35. Umm bengicela ukengazi uh ngembali yokukhula kwakho ukuthi ukhulelengaphi?
36. Uzalwa ngaphi? Welusangaphi? Esigodini sakuphi kumbe ungaphansi kwayiphi
37. induna? Nje usithi fahlafahla ulande indab- imbali yakho.
Yes, no it is alright thank you.
Umm may I know uh some history of your childhood where you grew up?
Where you were born? Where you herded cattle? In which district under which chief?
Just tell us in brief, your history.
38. **B:** Ngizalelwe eMbagwe koTshitshi () PLUMTREE uh lapho engizalelwe khona.
I was born at Mbagwe at Tshitshi's () PLUMTREE uh that where I was born.
39. **A:** Ye, uTshitshi wayeyini, yinduna yakuleso sigaba?
Yes, what was Tshitshi, was he the chief of that district?
40. **B:** Ye
Yes

- 41.A: Ye, Uh kutsho ukuthi ukhulele koyihlo omkhulu wena?
Yes, that means you grew up at your grandfather's?
- 42.B: Ngikhulele kobaba omdala.
I grew up at my uncle's.
- 43.A: Ye, hayi kuyezwakala
Yes, no it is understandable.
(4)
44. Uh ekufikeni kwenu lapha kwakunjani esigabeni seDonsa lapha?
45. Ungakusitshela ukuthi lathola kunjani?
46. Kwakuvele sekunje sekugcwele imizi, kumbe kwakunjani?
Uh when you arrived here how was the Donsa district?
Can you tell us how you found it?
Was it already like this with many homes, or what?
- 47.B: Kwakungela mizi ukufika kwami mina lapha eDonsa...
There were no homes when I arrived here at eDonsa...
- 48.A: Ye kuyezwakala siyabonga.
49. Nxa uqathanisa indawo ye::Ntabazinduna leyalapha eDonsa ubona angathi
50. okwakungcono khona kungaphi kwakhona, kungaphaaaa kumbe kungale?
Yes it is understandable, thank you.
If you compare the place:: Ntabazinduna and here at Donsa which one do you think is Better, here or there?
- 51.B: KuseNtabazinduna
It is at Ntabazinduna.
- 52.A: Ye, ubungcono bakhona bungabe busezifuyweni kumbe emhlabeni, umhlabathi
53. wakhona, umhlabathi ungasi::: linganisela nje?
Yes, is it better in terms of livestock or the land, the soil itself, the soil can you:::
Explain?
- 54.B: Imithetho yalapha sibili ayihambelani, inxele.
55. Ye, ayiqondananga.
The law here is not consistent, it is wrong.
Yes, it is not straight.

Countryside
Extract from the recordings

Appendix D

- 56.A: Thabo ngizwa kuthiwa ulimele emini
Thabo I hear that you were injured in the afternoon
- 57.B: Usenzani?
What were you doing?
- 58.A: Wothi ngiwile
Say I fell
- 59.B: Ewiswa ngubani?
Who fell him?
- 60.C: Uziwele yedwa. Kade eyame etafuleni lapha ()
61. Uwile wasetshayeka waziluma.
62. So mina ngimfice elele ebhazalele ngesisu ekhala...
He fell on his own. He was learning here on the table ()
He fell and hit against something and then bit his lip.
So I found him laying down on his stomach crying...
- 63.A: Kambe Bheki umama abethumeza incwadi ekade- engangithe bangithumezele
64. bengithumele zona=

- You know what Bheki mother sent the letters that- that I had asked her to send to send me=*
- 65.B: = He,e?
= what?
- 66.A: Bengafaki incwadi zami engizifunayo (.)
And they did not send the letters I wanted
- 67.B: Bathumezeni?
What did they send?
- 68.A: Bathumeze isithupha sabo, esikamama, esikababa,
They sent their identity cards, mother's, father's
- 69.C: LesikaThulani
And Thulani's
- 70.A: UThulani kalasithupha kathunyezelwanga lutho
Thulani does not have an identity card he didn't have anything sent
- 71.C: Hanti lokhe esala
It is because he is still refusing=
- 72.A: Mekele uzaswela imali
Leave him like that he won't get money
- 73.C: =Lokhe esala phela ukuyathatha
He is still refusing to go and get one
- 74.A: Uzaswela imali ()
He won't get money
- 75.B: Manje uzakuthini esikolo?
What is he then going to do at school?
- 76.A: Hmm
- 77.C: Hayi, okwezikolo akulandaba, obhala e:elokhuzeni, [i:::
No, school is not a problem, when you are writing, uh:::
- 78.B: Abanga]fundi khonapho?
Those who do not go to that school?
- 79.C: Ye, abangafundi khonapho, ababuya labana abazefunda ebusuku kumbe nxa
80. ungabhaleli esikolo ubhalela lukhuyana abakubiza bethi ngamaKheleji: (0.4)
81. Nxa ungafundi khonapho esikolo, angathi kwesinye isikhathi baya bayacela ibirth
82. certificate, so akufanani.
*Yes, those who do not go to that school, those who go to night schools or when you are not taking youre exams at your school, taking them at a College: (0.4)
If you do not learn at that school, sometimes they even ask for a birth certificate, so it is not the same.*
- 83.A: Manje, khonapho ugcine isithupha sikababa.
84. Ukuthi akwenze, ukuthi athathe esakhe, lokhe engakathathi kumbe sehlezi inyanga
85. laso.
*Now, he is keeping father's identity card.
He can't seem to, he can't seem to take his own, he has not taken his and he has kept it for a month now.*
- 86.C: Hayi, livila nje. Lawe uyamazi umnawakho ukuthi unjani.
No, he is just a lazy person. You know how your young brother is like.
- 87.A: Ah uye[hluleka
Uh he is a failure then
- 88.C: Usukha]lelani baba?
Why are you crying love?
- 89.A: Uyehluleka lokuthi avote ngokuthi kala sithupha.
He is failing to even vote because he does not have an identity card
- 90.C: Ufunani Thabo?
What do you want Thabo?
- 91.A: So, silapha nje kazange evote esisekelweni sombuso.
So he did not vote for the constitution

- 92.C: Ahaa, uthi ku- ku-lendaba. Thina sisesengakana, asizangesivote.
93. Thina siqalisa ibanga [lakhona, mina] ngize ngavota khathesi.
*Aha, you think he cares. When we were his age we did not vote too.
 When we entered his age, I started voting recently.*
- 94.A: [si, singa-]
We, we did-
- 95.C: Mina ngize ngavota khathesi.
I started voting now.
- 96.A: Sasingakwazi ukuthi sizavotela bani
We did not know who to vote for
- 97.B: Mina kangikaqalisi
*I haven't started***
- 98.C: Oh ye, abanye lokhe besala khona ukuqalisa
Oh yes, some are still yet to begin
- 99.A: Sasingakwazi ukuthi sizavotela bani.
- 100 Nanku phela khathesi ngivotile ngoba sengisazi ukuthi ngiyasifuna isisekelo kumbe
 101 angisifuni
*We did not know who to vote for.
 Now I voted because I knew whether I wanted the constitution or not*
- 102C: Ah, ha, Thabo ukhalelani kanti?
Ah ha Thabo why are you crying?
- 103A: Kwehlukene
It is different
- 104C: Ubona angathi abantu abaladaba lawe?
You think people are not paying attention to you?
- 105A: Wothi lakhathesi abalandaba lami
Say that certainly you are not paying attention to me
- 106C: AH, kambe ukhona umuntu onanzwa njengawe khonapha endlini?
AH, is there any person who is cared for like you in this house?
 (4)
- 107A: Yikho uBoni esithi ha, uya- umntwana lo uhlala ephethwe esandleni.
 Uyambona nje ukuthi abantu la- uhlala esezandleni kuphela.
*This is why Boni says uh, you- this child is always carried in people's arms.
 You can just see that these people- is always in arms all the times.*
- 108C: Uthi ukhanya ngani ah?=
She says how is this the case?
- 109A: = Awuzwanga esithi- hanti khathesi kafuni kuya komunye umuntu.
- 110 Kuthiwa angezwa ilizwi lakho uyatshibilika masinyane ukuthi umama uyakhuluma.
*Didn't you hear her say- even now she is refusing to go to anyone else but you.
 It is said that if he hears your voice he quickly turns around knowing that mother is Talking.*
- 111C: Yee, lamuhla atshone ekwenza, ekuseni ubesala ukuya kuSitheni.
- 112 From sivuka ekuseni uh, uh esala ukuhamba hanti wancina emthatha ngenkani ngisithi
 113 ayemgezisa. Wabekhala ngazengahamba mina [ngamgezisa wa, wangikhona ethula
*Yee, today you know what he did, in the morning he was refusing to go to Sitheni.
 From the time we woke up uh, uh he was refusing to go to her, she ended up taking him
 against his will because I wanted her to bath him.
 He cried until I went myself to bath him that's, that's when he kept quite.*
- 114A: Mfanami unyoko uyemsebenzini kunyanga ezayo.
My boy your mother is going back to work next month
- 115C: Hayi, into emphambanisileyo kuyini, angilalanga laye
No, the thing that disturbed him is that I didn't sleep with him
- 116C: Oh! =

** Speaker A & B spoke concurrently.

- 117A: = Ye ulele [lami-
Yes she slept with me
- 118C: So] ngimfake eceleni hanti so ubelokhe ezibona ukuthi kakho kimi.
- 119 Ngimthulise ngimbuyisele futhi.
- 120 Avuke aphumpithe aphumpithe azwe angikho azame ukubuya futhi=
So I put him next to her so he could feel that he was not with me.
I would take him to sleep and take him back each time he awoke.
He would wake up again and feel that I am not there and try to come to me.
- 121A: = Ekuseni nje wamfaka phakathi kwethu [walala bakithi wakholisa
In the morning she put him in between us and he slept soundly
- 122B: So ube]sekhwitshiza
So he was taking full advantage
- 123C: Ehe
Yes
- 124A: Mmm
- 125C: Inhliziyo ibisiphonguthi wo kade ungibalekela ngakuthola kuhle.
- 126 Sokuza kusa ngimfake embhedeni, awu walala behla.
He was inwardly saying oh you have been dogging me all night, I have found you well.
Just before dawn I put him on the bed, and he slept soundly.

Home 2
Extract from the recordings.

Appendix E

- 127A: Sitheni bengisithi okwanamuhla kesikhulume ngedlela osebenza ngayo lapha endlini.
 131 Ukuthi uyakuzwisisa yini konke omele ukwenze njalo lami ngikutshela engifuna
 132 ukwenze. Okwakhathi esingaqalisa ngakho, uyakuzwisisa yini konke okumele
 133 ukwenze nxa uhlanza endlini?
Sitheni I thought maybe today we may talk the way you work in the house.
To find out whether you understand everything that you are supposed to do and to
allow me to tell you what I want you to do.
For starters, do you understand everything that you are supposed to do when
cleaning?
- 131B: Ye ngiyakuzwisisa
Yes I understand.
- 132A: Okokuthi akula yini into ofuna ukuyibuzisa.
 133 Ukuthi kumbe nxa ngesikhathi usebenza kulokunye ongela qiniso lakho ukuthi
 134 lokhu ngikwenze ngandlela bani?
That you have no question at all.
That probably during the time you are working you find something that you are not
sure of how it is done?
- 135B: Kuse::: lapho engingazwisisi khona kuhle kusekulanzeni izinto ezinjengabo TV labo
 136 rediyo lezinye izinto ezifanayo.
It is::: what I don't understand very well is how to clean things like the TV and Hi-fi
and other related things.
- 137A: Hayi, kuyezwakala. Into eqakathekileyo kakhulu yikuthi unanzelele ukuthi nxa
 138 uphakamisa uzobeka singathi ethebunini lapha, ... Uyakuzwisisa lokhu?
No, I understand. The most important thing is that you should be very careful when
lifting them to, say, on top of this table here, ... Do you understand this?
- 139B: Ehe, ngiyakuzwisisa, ikakhulu kade ngisesabela ukuthi ngibe ngiphakamisa oTV
 140 laborediyo. Kade ngisesabela khonale entanjeni zanogetsi.
Yes, I understand, I was especially uncomfortable with lifting TVs and Hi-fis. I was
scared of the electric cables.

- 141A: Hayi kuqondile. Khona ukuphakimisa kwang'khona asiyo into ongayenza nsuku
 142 zonke. Ungananzelela ukuthi kanye ngeviki yikho ongaphakamisa khona...
*No it's all right. However lifting itself is not something you can do everyday.
 You just note that once a week is the time you do the lifting...*
- 143B: Hayi sengizwile.
No I have understood.
- 144A: Kukhona okunye yini ofuna ukukubuza?
Do you have something else that you want to ask?
- 145B: Yiku::nhlanza umduli, ukuthi ekuhlanzeni umduli lo ngibona kulohlupho kakhulu
 14 ngoba nxa uwuhlanza kwesinye isikhathi kuyaphuma i: i::: penda yakhona.
 147 Ngibona nxa unga- nxa uhlikihla ngama- ngelembu elimanzi ikakhulu ipenda yakhona
 148 iyaphuma?
*It is:::cleaning walls, that when cleaning this wall there is a serious problem because
 when cleaning it sometimes the::: paint comes off.
 I observe that when cleaning the wall using a damp cloth the paint comes off?*
- 149A: Lokho ngiyakunanzelela lami. Yikuthi abantu abapenda lapha basebenzisa ipenda
 150 yohlobo o, ongaqondanga kuhle kodwa akudingeki ukuthi lathi sekele ingcekeza
 151 ibekhona. Uyananzelela lawe nje ekuhlikihleni kwakho ungaze wafaka amandla
 152 kakhulu...Angitsho?
*I notice that also. This is because people who painted here used the wrong quality of
 paint but we are not supposed to allow dirt on the walls.
 You must be careful when scribing the walls not to use too much force... is that
 so?*
- 153B: Hayi, sengizwile.
No, I have understood.
- 154A: Okutsho futhi lokuthi kumele unanzelele, ikakhulu nxa kumbe uThabo eyedwa lapha
 155 ukuthi kadlala dlaleli emdulwini kakhulu ubuye ungcule ngamandla ukwedlula lokhu
 156 kungcola okwansukuzonke. Sikunanzelele ukuthi lathi asiwungcolisi okwedlulisileyo.
*This also means that you must be careful, especially when baby Thabo is alone here
 that he is not playing on the wall that it gets more dirty. We should also be careful that
 we ourselves do not make it dirty.*
- 157B: Hayi, sengizwile. Kubesekusiza:: lapha ku:: ekuhlanzeni amawindi.
 158 Ngibona amawindi, kutsho ukuthi ayiwo ahlala isikhathi eside enga: engahlanzwa.
 159 Ukuthi yini akungeke kwadingeka umuthi wang'khona lowana wokukilina amawindi?
*No, I have understood. And then comes:: here in cleaning windows.
 I notice that windows stay a long time without being cleaned.
 That is it possible to have a detergent for cleaning windows?*
- 160A: Ukudingeka wona ngokwawo uqondile. Kodwa okwakhathesi nxa usebenzisa wonalo
 161 esiwusebenzisa ekuhlanzeni imiganu, lawo uyasebenza uh uh uh ulakho sibili 162
 162 ukuhlanza...Kukhona okunye?
*That we should have it is correct. But in the mean time use the one that we use in
 cleaning plates, it also works well uh uh uh it has the capacity to clean well... Is there
 any thing else?*
- 163B: Hayi, sengizwile
No, I have understood.
- 164A: ... Uyakuzwisisa lokhu?
... Do you understand that?
- 165B: Hayi, lokhu ngiyakuzwisisa
No, I understand that
- 166A: Kukhona okunye, engxenyengokwezinye izindlu...Asingene ngale endlini yokulala.
 167 Ekuhlanzeni khonangale uyakuzwisisa okumele ukwenze?
*Is there anything else, maybe that relates to other rooms... Let us get to the main
 bedroom. In cleaning there do you understand that which you are expected to do?*

- 168B: Ayi, ngiyakuzwisisa, kodwa mmm ekutshediseni imibheda yikho lapho enginga::
 169 engingathi angenelisi ukutshedisa imibheda leyana.
No, I understand, but mmm in moving the beds that is were I have::: were I do not manage to move them.
- 170B: Hayi ngiyakuzwisisa. Kodwa embhedeni leyi, imbheda le kukhanya engathi inzima
 171 kakhulu kambe kuyabe kungafuni ukuthi ngincedisane, sincedisane ekuphakamiseni
 172 imbheda?
No, I understand. But with regards to beds, it seems that they are heavy doesn't it require that I help, we help each other in lifting them?
- 173A: Mina esengakubonayo yikuthi ngesikhathi ngikwenza ngingedwa uyakwenelisa
 174 ukukwenza wedwa.
 175 Hanti yikuphanyeka kuphela uvele useceleni komunye, useduze. Akusindi kangako.
 176 Kodwa nxa ekhona umuntu ongakuphathisa ngaleso sikhathi kuhle ukuthi ucele
 177 uncedo ukuze kungabi lalutho olufayo. Kodwa nje wena wedwa ungenza ngonanzelelo
 178 () uyakwenelisa uku: uyiphakamise kakuhle...
*What I noticed at the time when I was doing it alone was that it is possible to do it alone. It is a matter of putting one bed on top of the other which is next to it. It is not that heavy. But if there is someone who can help you at the time it is a good thing to ask for help so that you do not break anything.
 But you alone if you do it carefully () can manage to: to lift it well...*
- 179B: Hatshi sengizwile.
No, I have understood.

Work
Extract from the recordings.

Appendix F

- 180A: Wahamba njani ekhaya?=
How did you travel home?
- 181B: Hayi ekhaya kwakukuhle sibili. Mmm (.) Kwakukuhle uh umm.
No, home was so beautiful. Mmm (.) It was beautiful uh umm.
- 182A: Lachazeka?
You enjoyed?
- 183B: Njengoba ubonile amafotho kwakukuhle sibili.
As you saw the photographs it was really beautiful.
- 184A: Bonk' obani, oNdlela: Laba ngobani?
All the others, the Ndlela's::: Who are these?
- 185B: Ngamakhazini ami lawa, bahlala eMasvingo
These are my cousins, they stay in Masvingo
 (4)
 ((I assume there are looking at the photographs))
- 186A: Umm oNdlela labo, imain youth choir, ihhh! [bakithi
Umm the Ndlela's, the main youth choir, wow! my people
- 187B: Uyambo]na, hanti uyambona ukuthi ngangimuhle njani?
Do you see me, do you see how beautiful I was?
- 188A: Eh, ende kwakukuhle. Ngize, lami ngize ngi: ngifisa ukuthi lami ngangikhona
 189 [ngomhla-
Uh, and it was beautiful. I wish I was: I wish I was there to at the celebra-
- 190B: Wawu]khona
That you were there
- 191A: Sekugcwele aba[tsha::: abanengi bodwa
There are so many knew faces now
- 192B: Mina la]pha akula bantu engibaziyo, ngikwazi yenalo kuphela

- I don't know anyone here, I know only this one*
- 193A: uPre[cious?
Precious?
- 194B: uPre[cious
Precious
- 195A: Lolokhuzeni, lowu ngiyamazi kodwa ibizo lakhe angimazi.
And that one, this one I know him but I don't know his name
- 196B: Umm
- 197A: Lo, uh, abanengi vele angibazi, [abanengi bakhona
This one, uh, I don't know most of them, most of them
- 198B: Lo ngiya]mazi kodwa ibizo lakhe angimazi.
I know this one but I do not know his name
- 199A: Ummm
- 200B: Umm
- 201A: USheila lapha kakho
Sheila does not appear here.
- 202B: AH! USheila hanti wahamba eSouth Africa [kudala vele
Ah! Sheila went to South Africa a long time ago
- 203C: Usheila] kanje ngubani?
By the way who is Sheila?
- 204B: Usisi kalokhuzeni, [ka:::
The sister of:::
- 205C: Wo::] lowana owayemude so eyiblack beauty lowana hanti?
Ooh that one who was tall and a black beauty right?
- 206B: I hi. Wahamba elokhuzeni, wahamba eSouth Africa kudala ngingakaqedi Isikolo mina.
Yes. She went to, she went to South Africa a long time ago before I even finished school.
- 207A: USHEILA! Hayi, hayi ngu:: ngulokhu[zeni u:: uConstance
SHEILA! No, no that's::: that is::: Constance
- 208B: Oh;] udadewabo
Oh, her sister
- 209A: Ye udadewabo
Yes her sister
- 210B: UConstance. USheila laye wahamba kodwa eSouth
Constance. Sheila however also went to South
- 211A: Ye[bo?
Is that so?
- 212B: Mina] ngibona angathi wahamba ngoba wayengekho.
I think she went because she was not there.
- 213C: Ha[wu yebo
Oh is that so
- 214A: Uyazi] ukuthi kwakumatsha amadrums majorettes e, ayelokhuzeni, awe: aweHarare?
You that drums majorettes fro, from Harare were the ones that were marching?
- 215B: Awe Harare!
From Harare!
- 216A: Ummh
- 217B: () ende [kwaku-
() and it was beau-
- 218C: Awe] Bulawayo ke?
How about those from Bulawayo?
- 219B: Abenelisanga ukuhamba?
Didn't they manage to go?
- 220A: Babekhona kodwa babebalutshwana.
- 221 Ngabona bathatha abalutshwana abeBulawayo then abanengi [basebethatha-
They were there but very few.

- I think they took a few from Bulawayo and then the rest they took-*
- 222C: Yinda]ba?
Why?
- 223B: Behlanganisa
Combined them
- 224C: Okay ngoba iNyazura iseduze leHarare
Okay because Nyazura is near Harare
- 225B: Ye
Yes
- 226A: Ngoba babe-
Because they were-^{††}
- 227A: Ukubapha ithuba [labo beke-
To give them a chance also to-
- 228B: -labo] bema[tshe
-them to march
- 229C: Okay]
- 230A: Uyabona phela
You see
- 231B&C: ehhe
Yah
- 232A: Umm

Walk
Extract form the recordings.

Appendix G

- 233A: EGuta nxa ugqoke iyunifomu uyavunyelwa ukuya esibhedlela?
234 Ngeyinye into esike sayikhuluma ngacabanga ukuthi nxa kodwa uyiSithunywa
235 akumelanga.
*In Guta are you allowed to pass through the hospital with your uniform on?
This is another thing that we discussed and I thought that if you are a Holy Messenger
you are not supposed to.*
- 236B: Nxa uyiSithunywa usiya ngomsebenzi kuqondile.
237 Kodwa ngenxa yokuthi iZithunywa zisebenza zigqoke uJanet, uJanet kadluli kweyinye
238 Indawo.
*If you are a Holy Messenger and you are on duty it is permissible.
But because the Holy Messengers are always on duty in their Janet uniform, janet
uniform does not pass through any other place.*
- 239A: Ye
Yes
- 240B: Thina kodwa hayi siya, siyahamba
But we can, we can go
- 241A: Siyahamba ye, hayi, hayi, hayi lami bengingela qiniso khonapho...
We can go yes, no, no, no I wasn't sure on that point...
- 242A: IMasvingo iyazakala ngoku, ngoku, nxa ekuhlabeni laphana.
243 Bayagida okokuthi uNkulunkulu uyakuthanda khonokhuyana=
*Masvingo is well known for its-, for its-, when singing.
They dance in such a way that God is pleased with it.*
- 244B: = Uyakuthanda khonokhuyana.
He pleased with that.
- 245A: Kodwa-ke kwake kwaphuma amazwi okuthi hayi linalidla lodwa.

^{††} Speaker A and B spoke concurrently.

- But the words were said to the effect that you eat alone.*
- 246B: Ehe
Yes
- 247A: Hatsho uyabona!
You see that!
- 248B: Uyabona-ke!
You see now!
- 249A: Izipho kazikho, bona banjani?
The gifts are not there, but what are they?
- 250A&B: Badla bodwa. ((laugh))
They eat alone
- 251B: Hlanganisani lihambise kwabanengi
Put your gifts together and take them to the others
- 252A: Ye
Yes
- 253B: Kuhle [kabi
That is very good
- 254A: Engxe]nye khonokhuyana esakwenzayo ukuthi hayi loba kuku]ncinyane kuzwakele
255 ukuthi ah!]
May be what we did although small as it was, was heard that!
- 256B: Ncinyane! Kukhulu ku]Mnikazi
Small! It is big to the Owner
- 257A: KuNkulunkulu ye () ukukhuluma kodwa kuNkulunkulu [kuyafika
To God yes () just by talking it gets to God.
- 258B: Kufi]kile
It has got to Him
- 259A: Ngoba iZithunywa [ziyagijima ayi-
Because Holy Messengers fly –
- 260B: Ziyagijima] ziyekuthi abantwana benze lokhu.
261 Awu siyadumisa Mvangeli amazwi anje.
*They run and say the children have done this.
Oh we praise God for these beautiful words.*
- 262A: So uNkulunkulu izibusiso-
So to God the blessings-
- 263B: Ziyanda
They multiply
- 264A: Ye
Yes
- 265B: Ye lakhethesi
Yes it is so.
- 266A: Ziyanda
They multiply

After Service
Extract from the recordings.

Appendix H

- 267A: Amanye uzahamba lawo hanti?
You will take some with you right?
- 268B: Amani?
What?
- 269A: Amakheyisi akho
Your cases
- 270B: ngizanjani?
What will I do?

- 271A: Ngithi uzahamba lawo amanye?
I am saying are you going to take some with you?
- 272B: Wo, ye
Oh yes.
(4)
- 273A: But hayikhona wonke. Lawana amanye ngiyawafuna ()
(4)
- 274 Ubonile ukuthi khona ifoni bayikhiphile?
But not all of them. Those other ones I want them
(4)
Did you notice that the phone was disconnected
- 275B: Hi hi?
What?
- 276A: Awubonanga? Ayisekho.
- 277 Umama hanti uthanda ukufona ubesengitshela sisekhitshini esithi ubonile ukuthi ifoni
278 ayisekho. Ubonile? Yikuthi ubuye usugijima.
Didn't you see? It is not there.
Mother likes phoning she is the one who told me while we in the kitchen that did you see that the phone is not there. Did you see? It's because you came in running.
- 279B: Umama nguye ogqoka amajini?
Mother is the one who wears jeans?
- 280A: Hi hi?
What?
- 281B: Umama nguye ogqoka amajini?
Mother is the one who wears jeans?
- 282A: Osekhitshini?
The one in the kitchen?
- 283B: Hi hi?
What?
- 284A: Awuzake umbone egqoke amajini?
Haven't you seen her wearing her jeans?
- 285B: Hi hi?
What?
- 286A: Ha Thulani!
Hey you Thulani!
- 287B: Mina ngihlala ngimbona eziqgokele itradiational [outfit
I always see her wearing her traditional outfit
- 288A: Awu] uqamba amanga! Itradiational outfit yangaphi , vele kakaze ayiqgoke.
Oh you are just lying. What traditional outfit, she has never worn any.
- 289B: ((laugh))
- 290A: Itradiational outfit enjani?
What kind of traditional outfit?
- 291B: Yonaleyo ahlala eyiqgokile
The one that she always wears
- 292A: Hayi, uhlala egqoke ijini, lethishethi lejakhethi.
- 293 Angizake ngimbone egqoke okunye.
No, she is always wearing her jeans, a T-shirt and a jacket.
I have never seen her wearing any other things.

Home 3
Extract from the recordings.

Appendix I

- 294A: Wena uma usebenza=
You when you are working,
- 295B: =Hmm
- 296A: Usebenza ukwenzani?
What will you be doing?
- 297B: Abangena kulabour ward sebelabonana
People who come to the labour ward having given birth
- 298A: Yebo, bayabe, uyabe ubenzani khonapho?
Okay, what would they, what would you be doing to them?
- 299B: Ngiyabe ngibafundisa ukumunyisa.
- 300 Ukuexpressor, bakuthi yikuexpressor.
I would be teaching them how to express.
To express, they refer to it as expressing.

They continue at the table:

- 301A: Uyizwanjani isoseji?
What do you think of the sausage?
- 302B: Ngizabaleqinisa, ngizakhuluma iqinisa ngokudla lami.
I will truthful, I will tell you the truth about food and me.
- 303C: Hmm
- 304B: Mina ngibona angani kwenziwa yikuthi ngihlala ngipheka.
- 305 Ngingabangekhaya, yimi engiphekayo.
- 306 Ngingavakatsha emalayinini bacela ukuthi ngipheke.
- 307 Ngingaya ngaphi ngiyapheka.
I think it is because I am always cooking.
If I am at home, I am the one who is cooking.
If I visit other people, they always ask me to cook.
If I go anywhere I cook.
- 308C: Pho-ke utsho [ukuth-
So then what are you sayi-
- 309B: Pho-ke] khonokho sokwenza ukuthi ngingabi lokukholisa ukudla.
- 310 Sengidlela ukuthi kumele ngidle.
- 311 Nxa abantu bejabula bekuthokozelela lami ngiyajabula...
So that has resulted in me not enjoying food.
I now eat because I have to.
When people tell me that they enjoy the food I am happy too...
- 312C: Okay
- 313A: Esami isinkwa kade singatshanga.
My toast was not burnt.
- 314B: Sisenze ngonanzelelo...
We did it with care...
- 315A: Esakho ungathi sitshile lesi.
Yours looks burnt.
- 316B: Ungathi sitshile ne? Esika Qondi is even lighter.
It looks burnt right? Qondi's looks even lighter.
- 317C: Mine is okay.

Breakfast
Extract from the recordings.

