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Documenting conversational conventions in Swahili

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1. Introduction

Many features of discourse are language-specific and part of the linguistic competence of speakers, yet are rarely documented in grammars. These include phenomena like turn-taking and overlap, self- and other-repair, manners of hesitation, formulaic language (greetings, hedgings, etc.), reactive tokens, pre-requests (e.g. *I was wondering if I could...*), methods of speaker selection or holding the floor, and many others. There are also features of grammar that do not operate at the level of discourse *per se*, but whose functions only become apparent in conversational or narrative data. Certain linguistic features which would rarely appear in elicitation also occur with regularity in spontaneous discourse (Chelliah & De Reuse 2011:423). Beyond expanding the descriptive adequacy of our grammatical descriptions, documenting conversational practice is also essential for language revitalization efforts. Conversational conventions are precisely the linguistic features that new speakers will find most useful (Bowern 2008:122; Amery 2009:139). This paper therefore aims to describe a portion of the discourse conventions for Swahili conversation (Bantu, Niger-Congo; Kenya: swh) to show how documentary linguists can apply the principles of discourse transcription to enhance their linguistic descriptions while simultaneously supporting the needs of language revitalization efforts.

The present research is a pilot project which aims to show how one might describe these conversational conventions using Du Bois' Discourse Transcription 2 (DT2) transcription system (Du Bois et al. 1993; Du Bois in progress). The fundamental unit of analysis in this system is the Intonation Unit (IU), defined as a stretch of speech under a single intonation contour. A focus on the IU allows for the correlation of prosodic structure with other grammatical structures. Another convenient feature of the DT2 system is the consistency with which it represents various features of speech, allowing for easy concordance searching. This pilot project focuses narrowly on just three features of discourse: silence, overlap, and hesitation. Each feature will be investigated for their manner of expression, timing, and placement in the discourse. *Appendix I: DT2 Transcription Conventions* shows how these and other basic features are represented in the DT2 system.

2. Data & Methodology

The data for this pilot project is a 4-minute segment of Swahili conversation between two native speakers, Hanif and Mtoro, recorded on reel tape at the UCLA Phonetics Lab in 1980.

This recording is a section of one of two Swahili conversations held in the archives, 8 and 12 minutes in length respectively. These recordings have since been digitized and are available under a Creative Common License on the website of the UCLA Phonetics Lab Archive (2007).¹ The two speakers in the research segment are from neighboring areas of western Kenya and share a similar dialect. This conversation is their first meeting, and contains basic introductions, questions about each other's backgrounds, and shared stories of their travels from Kenya to the U.S. The conversation was recorded specifically for the purpose of gathering conversational data as a part of research at UCLA, and so lacks somewhat in naturalness. The second conversation in the archive, however, takes place between two female acquaintances who are clearly known to each other before the time of the recording. Later stages of this research will expand to include the entirety of both conversations.

The 4-minute research segment was transcribed at a high level of delicacy (Level 5 in DT2). Part of the goal of this pilot project is to determine which of these discourse features are most relevant. Later stages of this research can then utilize a lower delicacy level for transcriptions, making the project more scalable.

When examining the phenomena of silence, overlap, and hesitation, I found a number of notational symbols to be potentially representative of these features in discourse, specifically: pauses less than 0.3 seconds, represented by two dots (..); pauses longer than 0.3 seconds, represented by a duration within parentheses (0.3); overlap, represented by brackets ([brackets]); lengthening, represented by a colon (wo:rd); word truncation, represented with a final dash (wor-); and IU-truncation, represented with two dashes (word- --). Pauses may be noted on a separate PAUSES tier of the transcription, or may be attributed to a specific speaker.

Each notation is relevant to different features of the discourse. Pauses are potentially relevant to the phenomena of silence, overlap, and hesitation. Notational overlap is, obviously, indicative of conversational overlap, but also indicative of (non-)silence. Lengthening is here investigated as a potential realization of hesitation in speech. Another cue examined here, not technically a notational convention, is quasi-words such as *um* and *uh*. Other notational symbols and discourse features are certainly also relevant to the phenomena under investigation, but for this pilot project I focus on the five listed above. Likewise, since most aspects of language are multifunctional, each of these discourse features may be used to

¹ The research segment for this project comes from the 8-minute conversation, given the identifier *swh_conversation_1980_01* in the archive. The second, 12-minute conversation is labeled *swh_conversation_1980_02*. Both were digitized in .wav format at 44.1 kHz, at a 16-bit sound depth (bit rate = 705 kbps) and are accessible at <http://archive.phonetics.ucla.edu/Language/SWH/swh.html>.

accomplish other ends than the conventions being studied here, but such uses are beyond the scope of the present study.

3. Data Analysis

Each of the relevant discourse features (pauses, overlap, truncation, lengthening, and quasi-words) were examined for what they reveal regarding the phenomena of silence, overlap, and hesitation. The corpus contained a total of 119 turns (including instances of backchanneling) and 222 intonation units (not including the 53 timed pauses that were given their own intonation unit).

3.1. Pauses

There were a total of 85 pauses in the corpus, of which 32 were short pauses shorter than 0.2 second in duration, and 53 were pauses longer than 0.2 seconds. Long pauses are given a duration in the transcript, short pauses are not.

Looking first at short pauses, it was found that turn-initial uses accounted for 40% of cases (n=13). Of the remaining turn-medial occurrences, another 13 were used as hesitations when planning an utterance, as the very tortured turn in (1) shows.²

<p>(1) HANIF; ^Hapa; ni `mahali, .. pengine ^mbaya sana. (H) Mimi `pia siku nilifika ^hapa, `ilichukua; (0.3) #kazin%- -- .. Nili- Nilikaa <L2>^airport</L2> na; (H) Nilikuwa ^nikakaa kua%-, .. na ^kuangalia tu `vile; `vitu ^naendelea. .. Ili ^pia, karibu nisim- ^simbuliwa `sana.</p>	<p>Here is a place sometimes very bad. Me too the day I arrived here, it took, ## I did- I sat at the airport and, I was sitting there doing and just watching those, things going along. Also in order to not be near to being very noticeable.</p>
--	---

(65)

Additional evidence for turn-medial short pauses as hesitation devices is that their appearance correlates somewhat with the discourse connective *na* 'and' (occurring 11 times in the immediate vicinity of the short pauses).

² Numbers in parentheses at the end of examples refer to the turn numbers from *Appendix II: Transcript*.

These two functions – beginning a turn and hesitating – account for 81% of instances of short pauses in the corpus. Interestingly, short pauses only occur at the beginning of intonation units. The speakers do not pause IU-internally.

Turning now to long pauses, they were found to occur twice as frequently with Mtoro than Hanif. Mtoro’s conversation style might in general be described as relaxed and unhurried. The average length of long pauses was 0.4 seconds. 68% of cases (n=36) were found to occur at the beginning of turns. This is much more frequent than the 40% of short pauses that were turn-initial. However, long pauses were used much less frequently for IU-internal hesitations (only 8% of the time, or 4 instances). Like with short pauses, long pauses also co-occurred with *na* ‘and’ 11 times (21% of cases), again indicating their hesitating function.

Another use of turn-internal long (and short) pauses was as a stylistic device with continuing contours. This occurred 5 times in the corpus, all uttered by Mtoro. (2) provides an example, with the relevant pauses underlined and bolded.

- (2) HANIF; ^Alinisaidia, She helped me.
(0.4)
 ^Alinitafutia;, She found for me
 .. <L2>taksi ^driva:;</L2> a taxi driver,
(1.2)
 MTORO; (0.3)
 ^jMhm? Mhm?
 HANIF; <P>^Basi bahati ^yangu, So my luck
 `nafikiri `ilikuwa.</P></FAST> I think it was.
 (69)

Long pauses also occurred with many of the accidental simultaneous starts (5 cases). Both speakers would start talking, overlap, truncate their IUs, and then pause, waiting to see if the other would resume speaking. This is shown in (3).

- (3) MTORO; (0.2)
 [A- Mi%-] I-
 HANIF; [(H) Kwa%-] -- Wh-
 PAUSES; (0.3)
 (27)

Taken together, these four functions (turn-initial, turn-medial hesitation, continuing style, and simultaneous starts) account for 94% of long pauses in the corpus. Like short pauses, long pauses never occur IU-internally.

Taking long and short pauses together, several patterns emerge. First, the most frequent use of pauses is at the beginning of a turn, accounting for 58% of the uses of pause (n=49), and 41% of all turns. It was also shown that this correlation is much stronger for long pauses than

short pauses. At the same time, long pauses did not frequently have a hesitation function. Long pauses were also much more frequent in the corpus. I therefore suggest that one conversational convention for Swahili is to complete a long pause (averaging 0.5 seconds) after another speaker's turn before you begin your own. Short pauses, by contrast, were shown to correlate much more strongly with turn-internal hesitations. Thus the primary function of short pauses in Swahili appears to be for hesitation. Both short and long pauses had a tendency to co-occur with the discourse connective *na* 'and'. In all, the functions of turn-initial pause, hesitations, stylistic continuing contours, and reactions to simultaneous starts accounts for 89% (n=76) of all instances of pause in the corpus.

3.2. Overlap

Overlap occurs 25 times, on 12% of intonation units. Two functions fully explain the occurrence of overlap in this corpus: accidental simultaneous start (56% of cases; n=14), and new turns that start while the preceding speaker is finishing their turn with an exhalation (44% of cases; n=11). The average length of overlap is very brief (0.3 seconds), and always occurs at the beginning or end of the overlapped intonation unit. That is, overlap never begins in the middle of someone else's intonation unit. Likewise, overlap does not occur in the middle of another speaker's turn unless it is accidental (simultaneous start) or a reactive token (*mhm* or *yeah*). Put simply, speakers seem to avoid interrupting each other whenever possible. I suggest that this is another conversational convention in Swahili. This fact comports nicely with the existence of pauses between speaker turns, suggesting that the reason for their pauses is that speakers wish to check that their conversational partner has finished their turn before beginning.

The occurrence of overlap with turn-final exhalation only occurs at the end of Mtoro's turn. A regular feature of Mtoro's speech is that he ends his turns on an outbreath. Hanif, however, appears to take the end of Mtoro's intonation unit as being the end of Mtoro's final word rather than his outbreath, and thus begins speaking as Mtoro is still exhaling. An example is shown in (4).

- (4) MTORO; Nilitoka ^Kenya mwaka mwezi `jana. [(Hx)] I came from Kenya this year last month.
 HANIF; [Mwez]i ^jana. Last month? (18)

This analysis has an important implication. If Hanif treats all Mtoro's word-final breaths as conversational silence, then each of these breath-final instances of overlap becomes instead another instance of turn-intial pause, providing even stronger evidence for the convention of starting one's turn with a pause.

d. .. ku- → kutoka <L2>`airport</L2> mpaka ^hapa <#>`bwana</#>. (50)
to (INF) to (INF)

e. ^Pengine wali- wali:-, → ^walijua kama `wewe si `iMwamerika? (56)
they (PST) they (PST)

(6) Truncated words with truncated IUs

a. .. Nilip- -- → Ni:- ^Nilichukua:, (34)
when I (PST) I (PST)

b. Wali- U%- -- → ^Pengine wali- wali:-, (56)
they (PST) maybe they (PST)

c. Wali- Wali%- -- → ^Niliwaambia mimi si `Mwamerika. (57)
they (PST) I to them (1sg>3pl; PST)

d. #kazin%- -- → .. Nili- Nilikaa <L2>^airport</L2> na;, (65)
?work I stayed

e. ^Hiyo nim- -- → .. Niko ^na viyo. (Hx) (110)
These (N-CLASS) I've I have those (KI/VI-CLASS)

Truncated intonation units do not appear to correlate with hesitation, or overlap other than accidental simultaneous starts. In sum, the primary function of truncated intonation units is to change the content of one's utterance.

3.5. Lengthening

There are 87 instances of lengthening in the corpus. Stressed syllables (always the penultimate) are naturally lengthened, and so lengthening was not marked on stressed syllables unless it was unusually long relevant to the context. That said, a number of stressed syllables still received notation for lengthening, many of which were the primary accent for the intonation unit. Lengthened vowels comprise 83% of lengthened segments (n=72), and lengthened consonants 25% (n=22). Lengthened consonants were either /n/ (6 instances; 7%), /m/ (6 instances; 7%).

More interesting than manner of lengthening, however, is its placement. The discourse connective *na* made up 10% of cases of lengthening (n=9). Lengthening on the first person singular prefix *ni-* constituted another 11% (n=10), and the discourse connective *sasa* 'now, so' another 7% (n=6). Fully 48% of lengthened segments (n=42) occur at the end of a continuing contour, while only 9% (n=8) occur at the end of a final contour. I interpret these data as signalling hesitation due to planning.

3.6. Quasi-Words

The present corpus contained five different quasi-words: *um*, *uh*, *mhm*, *eh*, and *mm(m)*. *eh* also has an affirmative functioning signalling ‘yes’, not examined here, which was coded in this transcript as *yeah* so as to distinguish its uses. Table 1 shows the frequencies of these these quasi-words.

Table 1. Frequencies of quasi-words

Quasi-Word	Frequency
<i>um</i>	3 (12%)
<i>uh</i>	2 (8%)
<i>mhm</i>	9 (35%)
<i>eh</i>	7 (27%)
<i>mm(m)</i>	5 (19%)

A common location for a speaker to use a quasi-word is at the end of another speaker’s turn (12 instances, or 46% of the time). I interpret these as instances of reactive tokens. In addition, every one of these turn-final uses was either *mhm* or *mm(m)*. Whereas *um*, *uh*, and *eh* function primarily as hesitation devices, *mhm* and *mm(m)* function exclusively as reactive tokens. This analysis is further supported by the presence of distinctive intonation contours for these words but not the hesitators. *mhm* and *mm(m)* can show either appeal or final contours, whereas hesitators, if they have a notable contour at all, have a continuing contour. Thus the class of quasi-words divides rather neatly into two different functions: hesitation and backchanneling.

3.7. Summary & Conclusions

Examining five features of Swahili discourse – pauses, overlap, truncation, lengthening, and quasi-words – has revealed a number of patterns regarding the phenomena of silence, overlap, and hesitation. Unlike English, which follows a “no gap, no overlap” rule that results in minimal or no silence in conversation, this paper has shown that Swahili conversation is motivated in large part by just the rule, “no overlap”. Speakers are thus cautious when beginning new turns, allowing for a half-second pause on average before they begin speaking. Accidental overlaps caused by simultaneous starts always occur at approximately this 0.5-second point, and speakers rapidly (0.3 seconds on average) cut themselves off to end the overlap, then wait again for 0.5 seconds before one speaker resumes. Short periods of silence, then, are not just acceptable but actually prevalent in Swahili conversation.

It was also shown that speakers use short periods of silence in planning utterances, pausing frequently at intonation unit boundaries. Unlike English, where such silences are

unacceptable, pauses in Swahili are an acceptable form of hesitation. These hesitating pauses tend to be short pauses, with long pauses reserved for turn boundaries. Another hesitation strategy examined in this paper was the use of certain quasi-words, especially *um*, *uh*, and *eh*. Other quasi-words, *mhm* and *mm(m)*, were not used as hesitation devices but rather for backchanneling, primarily at the end of the other speaker's intonation unit. However, the discourse connective *na* 'and' was found to correlate to several different features of discourse indicative of hesitation (pauses, truncated intonation units, and lengthening). A final hesitation device is lengthening, which correlated strongly with continuing contours.

One feature that was not found to correlate with hesitations was truncated words. Instead, word truncation in Swahili appears to be a self-repair strategy, occurring IU-internally rather than at the boundaries, usually when the speaker is having difficulty articulating the utterance. Truncated intonation units, by contrast, are used when the speaker changes the intended content of their utterance. Again, however, truncated intonations units do not appear to correlate with hesitation strategies other than *na* 'and'.

The use or non-use of all of these features, and the functions they are conventionally allowed to perform or not perform, are an important part of the linguistic competence of speakers, and therefore merit inclusion in the documentary linguist's agenda for both data collection and analysis. For language revitalization projects with communicative fluency as their goal, grammatical descriptions of these kinds of conversational practice are essential. This pilot project has shown how to use the principles of discourse transcription to provide simple descriptions of precisely these kinds of conversational phenomena in a way that will be useful to any second-language learner.

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Appendix I: DT2 Transcription Conventions

Below is a small subset of the most relevant transcription conventions used in DT2. For the complete list, see Du Bois (in progress).

Symbol	Meaning
name;	speaker label
[new line]	intonation unit (IU)
[white space]	word boundary
Initial capital.	sentence beginning
.	final contour
?	appeal contour
,	continuing contour
(0.3)	timed pause, duration in parentheses
wor-	truncated word
word --	truncated IU
((COMMENT))	comments
# OR #word	unintelligible syllable or word
[₁ the] original utterance on [₂ one line] [₁ overlapping] utterance [₂ second overlap]	overlap
(H)	in-breath
(Hx)	out-breath
:	lengthening
..	hold / micro-pause
(TSK)	vocalism
(%)	glottal / laryngeal constriction
%word	creaky word
kwa <L2>airport</L2>	code-switch
<FAST>words words words</FAST>	manner
^word	primary accent
`word	secondary accent
¿word	appeal onset

Appendix II: Transcript

Below is the complete transcript of the 4-minute research segment transcribed for this pilot project. The numbers next to each example in the body of this paper refer to line numbers from this transcript.

- | | | |
|-------------|---|--|
| (1) HANIF; | <L2>The `following recording of `Swahili was ^ma:de,
on October ^twenty-sixth,
nineteen-^eighty.</L2> | The following recording of Swahili was made,
on October twenty-sixth,
nineteen-eighty. |
| (2) PAUSES; | (0.9) | |
| (3) HANIF; | (H) O: `habari ^%ndugu. (Hx) | How are you? |
| (4) MTORO; | .. ^Nzuri bwana[(Hx)]. | Good sir. |
| (5) HANIF; | [(H)] `Kwani ^¿unaitwaje? | What's your name? |
| (6) MTORO; | (0.3)
[ji]na `yangu inaitwa ^Mtoro. (Hx) | I am called Mtoro. |
| (7) HANIF; | [(H)] ((BACKCHANNELING))
^Mtoro. | Mtoro. |
| (8) MTORO; | [.. ^Yeah.] | Yeah. |
| (9) HANIF; | [.. Uh ^huh,
^Mimi pia `naitwa;
^Hani:f. (Hx) [i(H)] | Uh huh.
I myself am called..
Hanif. |
| (10) MTORO; | [i^Mhm.]
Habari ^yako bw[2]ana. (Hx)] | Mhm.
How are you sir? |
| (11) HANIF; | [2^O] ^%salama:..
[3^Habari] iko% -- | Oh well.
How is- |
| (12) MTORO; | [3^Mhm.] | Mhm. |
| (13) HANIF; | Ul%- `Ulitoka ^Kenya; | You came from Kenya |
| (14) MTORO; | (0.4) | |
| (15) HANIF; | (0.4) | |
| (16) MTORO; | [i(%)] | |
| (17) HANIF; | [i^¿lini]? | when? |
| (18) MTORO; | Nilitoka ^Kenya mwaka mwezi `jana. [2(Hx)] | I came from Kenya this year last month. |

(19) HANIF;	[₂ Mwez]i ^jana. [₃ O: ^mzu]ri.	Last month. Oh good.
(20) MTORO;	[₃ Mmm.]	Mmm.
(21) HANIF;	Mimi ^pia nishaishi `hapa sasa; .. karibu `mwaka, ^mwili%.	I myself entered here now.. nearly years.. two.
(22) MTORO;	(0.4) Miaka ^miwili ^sasa; umeshakua ^Mmarekana ^bwana. (Hx)	Two years now, you have become an American sir.
(23) HANIF;	.. Ah; ^Bado `isha. `Sijakuwa ^%Amerikana. [₁ %Ata; nafik ₁]iri ^sitaki kuwa `Mmerika.	Ah Not yet. I have not become an American. Even, I think I don't want to be an American.
(24) MTORO;	[₁ Mmm. (Hx) ₁] (H) ^Kweli. (Hx)	Mmm. Really.
(25) HANIF;	Uh ^huh.	Uh huh.
(26) MTORO;	(0.2) [A- Mi%-]	I-
(27) HANIF;	[(H) Kwa%-] --	Wh-
(28) PAUSES;	(0.3)	
(29) HANIF;	Safari ^yako kutoka `Kenya ¿`ilikuaje?	How was your trip from Kenya?
(30) MTORO;	(0.3) Ya: ^safari ilikuwa `mzuri. Ni- ni- ni- `nilicukua karibu saa ishirini na ^moja, `kufika ^hapo,	(Things) about the trip were good. I- I- I- I took nearly hours twenty na moja. to arrive there.
(31) HANIF;	.. Uh ^huh,	Uh huh.
(32) MTORO;	[`fik]a ^hapa. (Hx)	arrive here.
(33) HANIF;	[We-] -- (0.2)	You

	`Ulichukua,	You took
	njia ¿^gani kuja `hapa?	which countries to come here?
(34) MTORO;	.. Nilip- --	I did-
	Ni:- ^Nilichukua,;	I- I took
	^ile,;	that
	<L2>Kenya ^Airways.</L2>	Kenya Airways
	mpaka ^London,	until London
	`halafu ^n:ikachukua,;	then I took
	<L2>^British Airways.</L2>	British Airways
	mpaka ^hapa.	to here.
(35) HANIF;	.. (LIPS) Uh ^huh.	Uh huh.
(36) MTORO;	.. M[m:].	Mmm.
(37) HANIF;	[S]al- uh,	Good- uh,
	^Safari ilikuwa `njema:.,	The trip was good,
	¿huh?	huh?
(38) MTORO;	.. Eh:.	Yeah,
	`likuwa mzuri ^sa[na].	it was very good.
(39) HANIF;	[Eh%-] --	Eh-
	Mimi `pia nilichukua `safari kama ^yako tu:.	I myself took a trip just like yours.
	Ku[toka ^Ken]ya mpaka:,	From Kenya to
(40) MTORO;	[.. (H)] ((BACKCHANNELING))	
(41) HANIF;	^Ulaya,;	Europe
	kutoka ^Ulaya mpaka hapa ^Amerika [(Hx)].	from Europe to here (in) America.
(42) MTORO;	[(0.3)]	
	^¿Mhm? (LIPS)	Mhm?
	.. ^Lakini wajua `mimi nilipofika ^huko,;	But you know, me, when I arrived here,
	kwa ^airport (Hx).	at the airport.
(43) HANIF;	.. ^¿Wapi?	Where?
(44) MTORO;	(0.3)	
	(%) Hapa ^airport ya <L2>`L.A.</L2>	The airport here at L.A.
(45) HANIF;	Uh ^¿huh?	Uh huh?

(46) MTORO;	(0.3)	(H) Ni- Ni- `Nikapata wakora ^wegine `bwana [(Hx)].	I- I- I then found many robbers, sir.
(47) HANIF;		[Uh] ^¿huh?	Uh huh?
(48) MTORO;	(0.6)	`Wakanidanganya, .. # ^dola sitini `bwana. [(Hx)]	Then they tricked me (out of), sixty dollars, sir.
(49) HANIF;		[(0.3)] ^Oh, namna ^¿gani?	Oh, how?
(50) MTORO;		Ati ^hiyo ni <L2>`fare</L2> ya `hapa. (Hx) .. ku- kutoka <L2>`airport</L2> mpaka ^hapa <#>`bwana</#>.	They said this is the fare to here. from the airport to here, sir.
(51) MTORO;		#[###].	
(52) HANIF;		[Ya ^¿taksi?]	By taxi?
(53) PAUSES;	(0.2)		
(54) HANIF;		U%- Uh, Watu wa ^¿taksi?	Uh, The taxi drivers?
(55) MTORO;		.. ^Yeah[:. (Hx)]	Yeah.
(56) HANIF;		[Uh] ^huh. Wali- U%- -- ^Pengine wali- wali-; ^walijua kama `wewe si `¿Mwamerika?	Uh huh. They did- Maybe they- they, they knew that you aren't an American.
(57) MTORO;		Wali- Wali%- -- ^Niliwaambia mimi si `Mwamerika.	They They I told them I'm not an American.
(58) HANIF;		[Uh ^huh].	Uh huh.
(59) MTORO;		[N- <SLUR>`Nilisema</SLUR>] mimi ni ^mugeni. (0.8) (LIPS)	I said I am a visitor.
(60) HANIF;	(0.5)	<P>Uh [^huh]</P>.	Uh huh.
(61) MTORO;		[A- ^Nil]itaka `wanilete huko kwa <L2>`Student `Center</L2>.	I wanted them to bring me there to the Student Center.

(62) HANIF;	(0.3)	
	(H) Eh ^hapo `lazima,;	Eh, there it's necessary
	(0.3) (H)	
	^ujichunge,	that you guard yourself.
(63) HANIF;	Kuna wak- wakora ^wengi sana `hapa.	There are rob- very many robbers here.
(64) MTORO;	(0.4)	
	##- --	##
	%^Silikujua,;	I did not know that.
	`Nilifikiri hawa ^jamaa,;	I thought these fellows,
	`wanaweza ku,;	they were able to,
	(Hx)(H)(Hx)	
	`kuwa wa,;	to be,
	^minifu.	trustworthy.
	^Lakin:i,;	But,
	^sasa ni, (Hx)	now I...
	(Hx)(H)	
(65) HANIF;	^Hapa,;	Here
	ni `mahali,;	is a place
	.. pengine ^mbaya sana.	sometimes very bad.
	(H) Mimi `pia siku nilifika ^hapa,;	Me too the day I arrived here,
	`ilichukua,;	it took,
	(0.3)	
	#kazin%- --	##
	.. Nili- Nilikaa <L2>^airport</L2> na,;	I did- I sat at the airport and,
	(H) Nilikuwa ^nikakaa kua%-,;	I was sitting there doing
	.. na ^kuangalia tu `vile,;	and just watching those,
	`vitu ^naendelea.	things going along.
	.. [iIli ^pia,;	Also in order to
	karib,i]u nisim- ^simbuliwa `sana.	not be near to being very noticeable.
(66) MTORO;	[iMhm_i]?	Mhm?
	^iMhm?	Mhm?

	Nikipata ^kazi toka `njema:.	If I get work it would come off well.
	Mi `nipate ^pesa;, (0.2)	If I were to get money,
	ya ^kutumia `hivyo na `hivyo, (0.2)	for using for this and that.
(79) MTORO;	^Kwe:li.	Really.
(80) PAUSES;	(0.6)	
(81) HANIF;	(LIPS) Na: `darasa ^zako;, ^zinaendeleaje.	And your classes, how are they going?
(82) MTORO;	(0.6) (LIPS) Um;, ^zinaendelea `vizuri. .. Kuna um; (Hx) (H) (LIPS) ^Isipokuwa n:- ni- nim:- `nimeshakuwa na `tabu ya ^nyumba lakini;, (Hx) .. [`sasa n]imepata ^nyu:mba na;, (83) HANIF; [##-]	Um, things are going well. There's um, Except I- I- I've- I had some trouble with housing but, now I've got a house and ##
(84) MTORO;	(0.3) (LIPS)(H) nafikiri ^nitakaa: vizuri `nisome.	I think I will continue to learn well.
(85) HANIF;	(H) <FAST>Uh ^huh. Sasa `una-mepata ^nyumba, `unakaa peke ^;yako? ama `unaishi na; </FAST> (0.5)	Uh huh. Now (that) you're-'ve got a house, are you staying by yourself or are you living with
(86) MTORO;	(0.5)	
(87) HANIF;	[₁ ^rafiki.]	a friend.
(88) MTORO;	[₁ Eh: s]asa `ninakaa peke ^yangu n-. ^Hiyo ndiyo `mimi nilikuwa `natafuta. [₂ (Hx) ₂]	Yeah now I'm staying by myself. That's what I was looking for.
(89) HANIF;	[₂ Eh, ^vizur ₂]i.	Yeah, good.

(90) MTORO;	(0.2)		
		^Yea[h. (Hx)]	Yeah.
(91) HANIF;		[Yeah.]	Yeah.
		`Gharama bei ^,ghali?	Expensive rent?
		^ama;	or,
		ni ^sawa.	is it okay.
(92) MTORO;	(0.6)		
		Lakini ^wajua `huko;	But you know there,
		.. ^pale `ambapo.	that place where
		ni- `n:ilikuwa ^ju:zi.	I was before,
		`nilikuwa `nalipa pesa ^mengi sana. (Hx)	I was paying a lot of money.
	(0.2)		
		(LIPS) ^[La]ki:ni%,	But,
(93) HANIF;		[(%)]	(%)
(94) MTORO;	(%)		
		^sasa `ninalipa;	now I am paying
		%ni- `nimeshaongeza tu pesa ^kido:go,	I- I have saved a little money,
		na `sasa nina nyumba ^yo:te kupo `kwangu.	and now I have a house all to myself.
(95) HANIF;	(0.2)		
		^Mhm;	Mhm,
		`Nyumba ina ^jikoni;	The house has a kitchen
(96) MTORO;	(0.3)		
(97) HANIF;		na `nyumb[₁ a ^ka:-,]	and a room ?for-
(98) MTORO;		[₁ Ina% i]na% ina kila ^kitu	It it it has everything you (could) want.
		`unataka. [₂ (Hx)]	
(99) HANIF;		[₂ (0.5)]	
		Uh ^huh.	Uh huh.
		^Nzuri.	Great.
(100) HANIF;		[(H)]	
(101) MTORO;		[^Yea:h.]	Yeah.
(102) HANIF;	(0.3)		

- Na,
 .. uko na ^¿viombo?
 .. ^ama: utanunua ^viombo.
- (103) MTORO; (0.6)
 Eh: `nim-nimeshanunua ^viombo, (Hx)
 (0.2)
 %ah: ^muhimu.
- (104) HANIF; (0.5)
 Uh ^huh.
 ### #u[_1na ^¿sahani?:
 ^¿sufria?_1]
- (105) MTORO; [_1Na vingine vin_1]gine vita- --
- (106) PAUSES; (1.3)
- (107) HANIF; Uh ^huh.
 .. U[shana] ^¿sahani?
- (108) MTORO; [Mm.]
- (109) HANIF; ^¿sufria:?
- (110) MTORO; (0.3)
 ^Hiyo nim- --
 .. Niko ^na viyo. [(Hx)]
- (111) HANIF; [^¿Kiti:?]
- (112) MTORO; (0.5)
 ^Viti: viko `ndani.
- (113) HANIF; Uh ^huh,
 Na ^¿kitanda pia?
- (114) MTORO; (0.3)
 Hata `kitanda ^iko. (Hx)
- (115) HANIF; (0.3)
 Uh ^huh.
 ^Basi,
 ^sasa `usha:-,
- And
 do you have cooking utensils
 or will you buy cooking utensils?
 Uh huh.
 ## you have plates
 pots
 Uh huh.
 plates,
 Mm.
 pots?
 These I've-
 I have those.
 A chair?
 The chairs are (already) in there.
 Uh huh.
 And a couch too?
 Uh huh.
 So,
 now you've,

(116) HANIF; ^ushapoa kidogo `naona. you're just chilling some I see.

(117) MTORO; (0.2)
 ^Sasa n:imeshapoa ^sana na:, Now I'm relaxing a lot and
 ^nafikiri, (Hx) (H) (LIPS) I think,
 %eh, uh,
 .. ^sasa n:diyo ^naona `nim-meshaanza now indeed I see I've begun to live.
 kuishi.

(118) HANIF; (0.2)
 `Mhm (LIPS) [^nzuri]. Mhm great!

(119) MTORO; [^Mm.] Mm.

<T=00:03:58.0>