

FANAKALO AS A TRADE LANGUAGE IN KWAZULU-NATAL

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- A: But I think it's good. It's good that you know the language, because in the end they're your customers.
- H: Uhm.
- A: They tend to take it on a better note...
- H: Yes.
- A: ...that you know the language...and you speak it to them in their own language...
- H: Properly. They, they prefer that?
- A: They prefer.
- H: OH. Alright, well, thank you. That's all we need to know. We're asking all over the place...
- A: No, it's good, it's good that you...especially when you're trading...in areas like Hammarsdale, in the rural areas, not only in the rural areas but in areas like Hammarsdale. It's good that you know the language. Because, if you're willing to learn the language...
- H: Mmm.
- A: And let's be honest, we, we rely on them on business, and we have to be honest about it. And if you learn something of theirs...they appreciate it more!
- H: Yes.
- A: I mean, I get along very well with the old ladies...because I speak Zulu.
- H: Yes.
- A: And they tend to appreciate me more.
- H: Yes
- A; Where they become more loyal to me, because they walk into a store knowing...they walk into a store and there's SOMEONE there...
- H: Who actually understand EXACTLY what they...
- A: What they want...
- H: It's not a broken thing, it's not just...OK, Alright, well, great! Thank you, thanks very much!
- A: Not a problem!

INFORMANT I. - SHAKASKRAAL

- H: OK, so, were you born here?
I: Ja.
H: In South Africa
I: Yes.
H: And, have you always traded, like this.
I: Yes.
H: OK< and what languages do you speak?
I: We speak English, Zulu, and Gujarati, Urdu also.
H: Oh you also speak Urdu.
I: Ja...and a little of Arabic.
H: A little Arabic. And...when you speak to your customers.
I: Mostly English and Zulu.
H: Mostly English and Zulu. And the Zulu, where did you learn it?
I: We learnt it here.
H: As a child? Or...
I: As a child, ja.
H: As a child. I see, Do you speak mixed Zulu, Is it...pure Zulu
I: No we can speak...no, not pure. Not properly, no.
H: Oh
I: But we are speaking Zulu...
H: I see. And they understand you.
I: They understand and...
H: I see. What do they speak back? To you?
I: Either English or Zulu.
H: Either English or Zulu. I See. OK. And in this area you say there are no...new people.
I: No new people at this moment.
H: At this moment. Have there been?
I: Well they come in and they go, because I don't think they can do anything here.
H: I see, and when they go, where do they go?
I: I don't know.
H: But they come in...
I: Well we haven't seen anybody coming in. They just come for a few days and they're gone.
H: Really? OK. Because in Newcastle and those places there are lots...
I: There are plenty of them.
H: There are plenty of them. And why do they come, do you think?
I: I won't know. Maybe they might be cross fellows, better...cross place in South Africa, that may be the reason.

B2: INTERVIEWS WITH IMMIGRANT GUJARATIS

INFORMANT F. - KRANSKOP

- H: Ok tell me, where are you from?
F: s...India
H: Where in India?
F: Indian...in Gujarat.
H: Aha. Which village?
F: It's ah...Ankrishwar. Gujarat, Ankrishwar.
H: OK. And how long have you been in South Africa?
F: Me, in South Africa, six years.
H: Six years. And why did you come here?
F: I come here...the...problem...India...is a crime too much. Also something also...a thing also, this is problem.
H: OK. And when you speak...how long have you had this shop.
F: No, me is work in the shop.
H: Me is work in the shop.
H: You work in the shop.
F: Me is work ja, in shop.
H: I see. Who does the shop belong to?
F: Shop here? Me only one here.
H: I see...so...this is hour shop?
F: No, is my brother big hop. My brother.
H: Your brother's shop. OK, OK, OK. Now, when you speak to your customers...
F: Customer, eh, my girl is help, anything customer talks, in shop, me little bit understand...Zulu, understand Zulu but I can't talk.
H: You can't talk.
F: Yes, Zulu understand little bit.
H: Uhuh.
F: Zulu understand but talk I can't. Little bit talk.
H: Little bit talk? OK, maybe just now when you talk I can hear...
F: Ja, me understand anything also ja.
H: Alright, now, the Zulu that you can talk...where did you learn this?
F: Ja, Zulu little bit also talk.
F: Is a learn my girl.
H: From your girl. OK. How...alright, OK. And, what do you think of the Zulu people?
F: Zulu is right, nothing also...

H: And your girl, is she Zulu?

F: Zulu girl.

H: That girl?

F: Yes, that girl is Zulu one. This a my girl.

H: Oh, the girl who works for you. She. OK, and what do you speak to her?

F: Is a Zulu, English...a little bit all I speak

H: OK, alright. Alright so, can I speak to her also?

F: Yes, no problem.

H: OK, thank you very much.

INFORMANT S. - POMEROY 1

- H: Where are you from?
S: From India.
H: Where in India?
S: Surat.
H: OK and how long have you been in South Africa?
S: Seven years.
H: Seven years. OK< and have you always had this store here?
S: Yes, always work here, seven years.
H: OK, so what do you speak, when you speak to your customers?
S: Ja, Zulu and English.
H: Zulu and English. Can you tell me, if you tell them "This one is a good one", how would that say in Zulu?
S: Not talk fast, a little bit.
Assistant: If something is nice one, how would you say.
S: Mncandi [insert a click that isn't there in Zulu].
H: OK, but you, when you speak, if you say...this is bread, here is your bread.
S: *Sinkwa*.
H: And if you say, here is your bread?
S: (indistinct) tom...*sinkwa*.
H: OK, I'm just trying to find what kind of Zulu you speak. OK, that's why I'm asking.
S: Little bit, little bit. Not much Zulu, but I know... customer...I know Zulu.
H: You know enough to...
S: Customer talk Zulu, I understand, but I don't talk fast Zulu.
H: OK, that's great. But you've been here seven years? All right, OK.

INFORMANT J. - POMEROY 2

- H: Hello. Are you...related to people in Kranskop?
- J: Ja.
- H: Oh...Police? [a surname in Kranskop]
- J: No Police. Red Mink.
- H: Red Mink, OK! And you are South African? Or you came...India? Gujarat? So because you're new, it's a good thing, because there's lots of old people, but I need new people. All I will ask you, if it's ok, at the end you can sign. I want to know: how long have you been here.
- J: Long...three years.
- H: Three years. And from which part in Gujarat ?
- J: Surat district.
- H: And why did you come?
- J: ...I lost my sister and my brother...small business there, my brother also is in Canada and I'm here.
- H: I See, Do you have relatives here?
- J: Yeah. My cousin.
- H: And he came first?
- J: First. Maybe fifteen years, ten years.
- H: OK, when you speak to the customers...
- J: I, a little bit English and Zulu but my...is working for...(indistinct) he speaking Zulu. And the people is Zulu (indistinct).
- H: Yes, yes, and for example, if you say something like..."This is a good one", how will say in Zulu?
- J: Same.
- H: Same. OK, So what Zulu will you speak, for example, what...
- J: Say *faka la, fika la*, little words.
- H: Small words. OK, *kipha la, faka la*, that sort of thing. OK, that's all, that's all I need to know. So will you just please sign for me. Related to Red Mink...just so I can remember where you are. You can put your first name and sign. One more question, I forgot to ask...eh, where do you live? Here in Pomeroy?
- J: Stay in Dundee.
- H: In Dundee. And your relationship with Zulu people, how do you...do you do only business with them? Or do...?
- J: Only business.
- H: Only business, nothing else, nothing social, nothing...
- J: My wife and children...
- H: And they, to what school do they go?
- J: Is a Indian Primary School.
- H: Indian primary school. OK, that's all, thank you.

INFORMANT O. - POMEROY 3

- H: Where are you from?
O: From Gujarat, India.
H: Where in Gujarat?
O: Surat.
H: How long have you been in South Africa?
O: Fourteen years.
H: Why did you come? For business? For...?
O: Ja.
H: Did you...were you always in Pomeroy? Or were you in other places?
O: Stay in Dundee.
H: In Dundee. OK and this shop, how long have you had this shop?
O: One and a half year.
H: One and a half year. And before that?
O: Before I was in Kranskop.
H: In Krans...you were in Kranskop. Oh really, how long? I lived in Kranskop...
O: Two years.
H: Two years. And when you speak to your customers, what language do you speak?
O: English Zulu.
H: English and Zulu. Do you mix it? Not?
O: Ja, I mix it.
H: So your Zulu is maybe not...
O: Not very good ja.
H: Where did you learn your Zulu?
O: Ja. In here.
H: In here. From other shopkeepers also, or just from customers?
O: No, just from customers.
H: Just from customers. And that man, for example, is he, is he family of yours?
O: Yes.
H: And what does he speak?
O: All same: English, Zulu.
H: Mixed.
O: Ja.
H: OK. And the Zulu people, do you deal with them socially? Or, as only business.
O: No, only business.
H: Only business. OK. Are you married?
O: Yes.
H: With Gujarati girl of local girl.

O: Ja, local girl.
H: Indian girl.
O: Ja.
H: So you wouldn't marry a Zulu girl?
O: No.
H: OK, that's all I need.

INFORMANT AH. - POMEROY 4

- H: So if you will sign there...Now. Where in Gujarat are you from?
AH: Kosani.
H: And how long have you been in South Africa?
AH: Thirteen years.
H: Thirteen years. OK, and why did you come?
AH: Because they got too much fighting, and all that. That's why we can...come here.
H: OK and did you have relatives here? When you came? Or did you come on your own.
AH: No, come own.
H: You didn't know anybody.
AH: No.
H: No friends, nothing?
AH: No I got the friends!
H: Aha. So they said come, and OK, have you...this shop is not yours, you work here?
AH: (Yes)
H: OK and where do you live?
AH: In Dundee.
H: In Dundee. Now, when you speak to customers, what do you speak?
AH: Any! English or Zulu...
H: Do you mix them?
AH: No, no, we can talk properly, no problem.
H: Really? So if you ay, to a customer...or if you say to your employee, put that box there, what do you say?
AH: What language?
H: Zulu. If you speak to one employee, one Zulu employee.
AH: Uhm...*tata* cardboard an *faka* on the back.
H: *Tata* cardboard and *faka* on the back. OK. You don't maybe say *tata LO cardboard* or...
AH: No, no.
H: Not that...if you say: This bread is a fresh one, in Zulu...how do you say it?
AH: Eh...fresh one I don't know, but we just tell it, this one is a...*khona fikile manje, masi thatha, khona* fresh one.
H: Oh really...is that...
AH: Yeah.
H: And...have you always been in this supermarket or did you work in another place?

AH: No, if I work in Durban, I work in Nquthu...

H: That, in Nquthu...

AH: Yeah in Nquthu also I work five years now is here.

H: OK, how long? Here?

AH: Six years now.

H: In this supermarket, working for Mr...OK, OK, I see. I'm trying to find out, maybe I can just listen, I won't record, I just want to stand here five minutes, and just hear how people are talking, OK, is that alright?

AH: OK, alright.

INFORMANT M. - POMEROY 5

- H: So you said you were here how long?
M: Eight years.
H: Eight years. From which village in Gujarat, or which town?
M: Also Kosani.
H: Sorry? Same. OK, are you family?
M: No.
H: Not family. OK, and why did you come?
M: For a good life.
H: To look for a good life. What is life like there?
M: (after long silence) Like employees' lives, you know...
H: And, have you always worked in this supermarket?
M: No, no, no, I've been to Gauteng, I've been to Limpopo.
H: I see. And when you speak to the customers, what do you speak tot them?
M: Actually, here one year, so...
H: Well that doesn't matter, I still...
M: I also talk Sepedi, when I was in ...town...
H: Oh, really, fluently?
M: Fluently.
H: Really. And now here, how, what are you talking?
M: What they want...
H: And...
M: No particular thing.
H: Yes, and you live in Dundee.
M: Yes.
H: And what other relations do you have with Zulu people. Only business, or...anything else?
M: Ja, business.
H: Business. Are you married?
M: I was.
H: Oh, OK.
M: To a South African.
H: To a South African...was it a paper marriage?
M: Nooo, it not worked it out.
H: Sorry? It didn't work out. Was it an Indian girl?
M: Ja.
H: Oh, OK. Would you marry a Zulu girl?
M: I don't mind. (H:You don't mind) They are a human being!

- H: Yes, no of course, I think so. But my Pakistani friend in Kranskop says: No way, no way, no way!
- M: There are good people also.
- H: Yes, of course, everywhere. And would you require her to convert to Islam.
- M: Yes, of course. I will marry a Muslim.
- H: She must be a Muslim.
- M: Must be Muslim. If I don't, it's against our religion.
- H: I see, so for you to marry her she would have to convert.
- M: Definitely.
- H: Definitely. Oh, OK. Alright, well, thank you.

INFORMANT Mr P. - DUNDEE

- H: Where in India.
P: Gujarat.
H: Oh really! Right, OK, please can I talk to you also...I'm asking, I am doing research at the University of Stellenbosch about what immigrants here speak to their customers. OK, this is now a very good place because I have Pakistanis and Gujaratis together in one place so that's quite nice! What shop do you have? Or is this your shop?
P: No. His (indicates Pakistani).
H: OK and where is your shop?
P: Pandor's (indicates shop across the street.)
H: OK. And when did you come from India?
P: I came from, '91.
H: 91. And, and why?
P: I got my relatives here...my own family.
H: You got relatives here. When did they come?
P: They came from grandfather and grandfather...
H: Oh I see, so you maintained contact with this family...
P: Family...
H: And you came...which village?
P: Ankrishwar.
H: I've met some other people from Ankrishwar. OK and...OK that's your shop so you have a lot of Zulu customers who come in and buy things.
P: Ja, Ja.
H: And what language do you speak to them?
P: We speak normal English, and (indistinct) try to Zulu also.
H: Some words (Ja) and this Zulu that you speak, where did you learn it?
P: From here.
H: From your family? Did they tell you word...word...
P: Ja.
H: They taught you. Oh I see. OK, and I was just asking...the relations that you have with Zulu people, is it only business relations, or do you have any other kind of social contact?
P: No.
H: Nothing. Just the business relations.
P: Just business relations.
H: OK, alright, well thank you, that's all I need to know, thanks very much for your time I really appreciate it.

Then, later, the conversation resumed:

P: My work start in Vryheid.

H: OK, yes?

P: Right? Now my boss opened a shop in Nquthu, that time. That time, I had (indistinct) a fresh, maybe three, four months, he opened a shop in Nquthu. And I went to Nquthu, that shop, I in this shop, and I tried to that language, Zulu. That's why I can little bit speak now Zulu and all.

H: But you asked you boss, you asked your family...what is word for? How to say this thing?

P: No, he got the one man from here.

H: Yes.

P: South African. And he...

H: Put with you. I see, OK.

P: He teach me...

H: He taught you.

P: He taught me.

H: OK, wonderful, OK.

P: That's why I little bit know Zulu, and English.

H: And how many...I know you can't have a proper figure but how many Gujaratis do you think are in Dundee.

P: Ten families maybe, round about.

H: New families?

P: Old, no, little bit old...

H: And new ones that came in. I hear that in Newcastle there are a lot.

P: Ja, ja. (M& I in background: Ja, ja)

H: How many do you think.

P: I don't know.

H: You don't know but a lot. And they only came in like the last five years or so?

P: Starting in 90. 1990.

H: Why? Why then?

P: Because I think the before...that...

H: Because of apartheid? Or...? Things like that, and when things changed, then...

P: Open that thing...

H: I see. Did it have anything to do with...circumstances in Gujarat?

P: No.

H: Was there a reason they came from there?

P: I think for sometimes, so people visit us...they want to visit for new country, after come here and see its' a nice country...and witness all good they try to stay...

B3: PAKISTANI INTERVIEWEES

INFORMANT W. - KRANSKOP

- H: Why are you here? Why are you in South Africa? For what reason?
W: What I gave you question, now that...
H: Just tell me. Because you like animals so much? (Laugh)
W: (chuckles) I like YOU so much, that's why!
H: OK, but you didn't know about me when you came. So why did you come? For trading? Hmm??
W: Ja. This, that, that, trouble for us.
H: No, ja, I see.
W: And you know, is trouble, don't know what they are doing there, and, now I not working my phone, you see?

LONG SILENCE

- H: When you speak to your customers, what do you speak?
W: Speak Zulu. Speaking Zulu here, with the customer, because it's Zululand.
H: Mmm.
W: So, most customer our customer is Zulu. Speaking with them Zulu.
H: OK, so, OK, so, do you read Zulu, do you...?
W: No, I can't read Zulu, but I can speak Zulu.
H: You can speak, OK, and do you sometimes speak English to them?
W: Ja, some customers, if some customer speak English...
H: OK, but do some of the Zulu customers speak English?
W: Mostly, ja, mostly, Zulu customers they don't want to speak English. They want to speak Zulu only.
H: Hmm. And, what do you think of Zulu people?
W: General? General...nice people all, but...they don't want to speak English. I don't know why. Especially...outside, they'll speak English nicely, with us...but when they come in s hop, to buy something, they want to speak a Zulu.
H: OK, and do they speak the same kind of Zulu back to you or do they speak...their own kind of Zulu.
W: No, the same kind that they teach us, we learn from them...they speak the same way.
H: The same one.
W: Ja...same.

- H: And would you marry a Zulu girl?
W: Me? How come?
H: I'm just asking!
W: No way!
H: Why?
W: No. We can't marry them, we can't...because she is, they're not our relation [religion], no, I can't marry with Zulu girl...I to marry Muslim Indian. Ja.
H: OK, and, if you don't speak Zulu properly, do they mind? Do they help you, or...
W: They help me.
H: They help you.
W: They help me nicely. Ja. They...they, first they laugh, and after that they tell, no, it's this way. This word is like this.
H: Mmm. OK, and your assistant, does she sometimes...why do you have one like that? To have another person in the shop, or someone to speak proper...
W: No, they they they...only these two (indistinct) sometimes, I can't understand what they say, especially in the back world...they come from the...I can't understand what that old mama want...and then...
H: So did you learn any Zulu from anybody else, did anybody, other Pakistanis, or other...the Indians, did they teach you some words, did...
W: No.
H: Nothing at all.
W: Nothing.
H: Nothing, you just heard from them.
W: Ja, from the customer, because three year, almost three and a half year I been in this town, so, this is Zululand, so all, everyone here, come to buy, they speak Zulu. So...
H: (OK)
W: Ja, if we speak English to them they say, you know you are in Zululand.
H: OK, well that's all, thank you....if you say, I am hungry in Zulu, what do you say?
W: *Lambile manje*, like that, what...
H: OK, and if you say...take this one?
W: *Tata lalo* phone...*tata le* phone.
H: *Tata le* phone?
W: Ja, this one.
H: OK this one. And if you say...you must pay me tomorrow.
W: No, not this question...because this one never happen in this store.
H: OK, they pay you always...OK...if you say you must pay me now...
W: Ja.

- H: What do you say?
W: *Khokhile manje...khokha la manje.*
H: *Khokha la manje.*
W: *Manje.*
H: Alright, thanks. They taught you to say that.
W: Ja, to say that.
H: OK, and if you say something like do you like this phone or do you like that phone or this is a...
W: Ja, which...like that. Like means *thanda*. What phone you *thanda*. Like that.
H: Ja.
W: We ask like that.
H: How do you ask?
W: Which phone...*thanda iphi phone*.
H: Aha.
W: Ja, *thanda iphi phone*.
H: Alright.

INFORMANTS M. & I. - DUNDEE

- H: Where are you from?
M&I: Pakistan.
H: Where in Pakistan.
M&I: Pakistan, Punjab. Same place.
H: Same place, same town. OK, and when did you come to South Africa.
M&I: 2009.
H: OK, and why?
M&I: For, Pakistan is too much bomb blasts, something...and kill da people...no life.
H: No life. And when you came, did you have relatives here? Did you have family here or did you have friends? How did you know to come?
M&I: Ja, is a friends for...Standerton, Rustenburg...
H: OK, so you came via that way. And how long have you been here in this shop?
M&I Three years
H: In this shop. OK and when you speak to customers, to Zulu customers...
M&I: Ja, I...if you speak to...English something, little for Zulu.
H: Little for Zulu? OK, like what? What do you say to them?
M&I: For...someone *kanjani*? *Ngisaphila*, you see.
H: OK, and if you say to them...do you cut hair, also?
M&I: Ja.
H: So, if you cut their hair, you cut with razor, or...
M&I: Comb, machine...
H: With the machine. And so: what do you ask them? I mean, do they speak English to you, or do you speak Zulu about the hair.
M&I: Sometime is *s'gunda*, we talking both for Zulu, *s'gunda*. I speak to OK *diskop*, *bleskop*, you see.
H: Oh, I see, words like that, I see. OK, and you, what do you do? Same?
M&I: Same like.
H: And where did you learn that? Just from the customers?
M&I: Ja, just some...
H: Did any other Pakistanis tell you you must use this word, or did you learn from other...
M&I: For I, listening and learning. If you...talk and you listen what he talking I'm learning.
H: OK, aha. So you didn't have a friend who said to you...you must use this word...
M&O: Ja, sometimes for friend teach me that and that.

H: OK, alright, so they did teach you, and your...Zulu people, what do you think of them? Do you have...do you do only business with them or do you have any other...

M&I: No, only this business also.

H: Really.

M: Ja, I have friend also, I live in shop.

H: I see. And do you do anything else with them...do you go to...restaurants with them...

M*I: Ja, if you sometime go restaurant...

H: I mean with the Zulu people...

Mr P. enters and conversation takes different turn. See interview with Mr. P.

INFORMANT HM. - GREYTOWN 1

- H: Right, so, where are you from?
HM: Pakistan.
H: Where in Pakistan?
HM: Punjab.
H: Where in Punjab?
HM: No, sorry (indicates paper and declines to answer). I'm here from six years.
H: Six years, and why did you come here?
HM: You see the Pakistan, the situation is not right, fighting, what what, now economy is going down...we can't do nothing in Pakistan.
H: Six years ago, was it also like that?
HM: Ja...
H: The economy down and so on.
HM: Everything.
H: And what do you have here?
HM: I run my business.
H: And who are your customers? Mostly?
HM: Zulu people.
H: And what do you speak with them.
HM: I can speak English, I can speak Zulu.
H: Where did you learn this Zulu?
HM: From the people.
H: From the people. OK, so if you say something like...this phone is a good phone, how do you say?
HM: Can say, this is *mnandi, mama* and (indistinct) like that when I deal with the customer.
H: OK, so you mix.
HM: Ja.
H: English...
HM: English, Zulu, sometimes English, Sometime Zulu...
H: Did you learn anything from people, from other Pakistanis who were here before? Did they teach you some words? Did they say to you you must use this word, this word.
HM: Ja, I...people teach me sometime.
H: Really.
HM: Cos if I came, I don't know nothing...(indistinct)...I ask them how I can speak, what what, and they say, this way.
H: This way. And do you have any other social relations or so with the Zulu people or is it only business?

HM: No, only business.

H: Only business. And what do you think of them? I mean how...

HM: People is OK.

H: Is OK.

HM: Is nice people.

INFORMANT V. - GREYTOWN 2

- H: May I just ask you, where are you from?
V: Ja.
H: Where are you from?
V: Pakistan.
H: Where in Pakistan?
V: No (declines to answer)
H: And, how long have you been here?
V: Nine years.
H: Nine years and why did you come? What reason did you come to South Africa?
V: For doing business.
H: Business, OK, now when you speak...you're here in Zululand, in Natal, KwaZulu-Natal and when you speak to your customers...most of your customers are what? What do they speak?
V: Speaking Zulu.
H: OK and what do you speak to them?
V: I just speak a little bit of Zulu.
H: A little bit of Zulu...OK, and where did you learn that little bit of Zulu?
V: From the customer.
H: From the customer! And other people...oh the workers, and did any other Pakistani teach you any words, like did they say to you, you must use this word or did anybody teach you, or tell you what to...
V: No, because Pakistani no can teach the people, they don't know the Zulu?
H: No no but here, the ones who were here before you? You know, when you came new...
V: Ja, I was learn from them also.
H: Them also, OK, and do you have any other relations with the Zulu people except business?
V: What you mean about the business...not all the people have...
H: No, I mean social, do you do things together with the Zulu people?
V: No, not staying together.
H: Not? But you don't go out together? Just in the business, that's where you see them, no other place. Alright, thanks.

INFORMANT R. - SHAKASKRAAL

- H: All right, will you sign for me here? Just there, that you give me permission to talk to you. OK, R___ has been here for seven years.
- R/AS: Yes.
- H: OK, have you worked for him all that time?
- AS: Ah yes, from the time...
- H: From the time that he came.
- AS: Yes.
- H: And, when he came, did he speak any Zulu?
- AS: No.
- H: No oh and now?
- AS: Now he speaks a little of Zulu.
- H: Can you confirm this, R___?
- R: Yes, mam?
- H: That you speak a little bit of Zulu?
- R: Just a little, not too good, I would like to say...I...(indistinct)...hear the fellow.
- AS+H: what he wants, ja...
- R: But I can't speak to back to him.
- H: You can't speak back. So who speaks back? You have people who work for you who speak back?
- AS: Sometimes the girl or I, if I understand I speak back.
- H: I see, so you use...
- R: Most of, lot of people (+ A) talking English, most of them.
- R: And sometimes is come for...talking Zulu...then don't understand you ask, also this...
- H: I see. How is your Zulu (to assistant).
- AS: Mine is ...all mixed up.
- H: It's all mixed up.
- AS: But I, like, understand.
- R: Here, Hindi, Urdu, Pakistani, everything can...
- H: Everything, so everything is talked here.
- R: We talk here.
- H: And do you think you will ever learn, Zulu fluently?
- R: No.
- H: Not?
- R: But I try, I try, I have to learn Zulu slowly, but it's hard for me.
- H: Yes.
- R: Things like that, hard for me is a, I HAVE to learn slowly, slowly.
- H: Even if something, even if you mix. Do you know some words?

- R: Nooo...
- H: Just some words you know.
- AS: Like tell us some...tell us some words that you know.
- R: Ahhh, sometimes, you know, I talking...laughing talking *Woza la*. In Zulu *woza la* is come here, like that I just talking (indistinct)...together, not talking to outside for Zulu people.
- H: I see, so you only speak to them here in the shop.
- R: Here, is a my...*woza la*, other something, like *buka*, OK
- H: *Khokha?* (A laughs). I see OK. Thank you, I think that's all I need to know? More or less...and do you live here in Shakaskraal? Where do you live?
- AS: In Shakas.
- H: You don't have, you only deal with Zulu people inside the shop, not outside.
- AS: Not outside, just at the premises, if they're here.
- H: So there are like different living areas...? Is there a living area where you stay which is different from theirs?
- AS: No, where he stays is completely cultural, only Indian there...
- H: Only Indians.
- AS: Yes
- H: Mostly Muslims?
- AS: Mostly Moslems.
- R: Muslim.
- H: OK so you stay in a separate area and you (to assistant)?
- AS: I stay in Stanger.

B4: ZULU INTERVIEWEES

INFORMANT J. – SITHUNDU HILLS

D = Dudu, research assistant. Participants indicated with initials.

- J: Ngihlala khona la.
D: Lapha esitolo? Nigzwe ubaba ethi khona owaye-owner isitolo.
J: Kwaku-umlungu ngalesosikhathi.
D: Yini into egenza ukuthi nivale?
J: Angazi.
D: Awazi.
J: Ngoba sayekwa yilomlungu, sathathwa omunye umlungu walapha eduzane.
D: Babe-communicata kanjani mhlambe, phakathi kwakhe, nababethenga esitolo, babe-communicata kanjani? Babekhuluma ini?
J: Babekhuluma isi-Fanakalo
D: Yini eyenza ukuthi bakhulume isi-Fanakalo?
J: Kwakukuthi bathole izingane nabantu abadala abangazane baye esikoleni, ukuthi bafunde.
D: Abangasazi isingisi? Babenzela ukuthi bakwazi ukuxhumanana?
J: Yebo
D: Mawucabanga wena babemthatha njengamuntu onjani, lo owayephetha isitolo? Babukhona ubudlelwane, babunjani? Phakathi kwakhe nabantu abathengayo.
J: Mina ngangibona ku-right, anazi ke.
D: Wayeba-treat-a kanjani kodwa abantu?
J: Ukuthi okuningi nganginakuboni.
D: Kodwa waye-umuntu o-friendly?
J: Yebo.
D: Uthe awunayo idea ukuthi bavalelani?
J: Cha.
D: Zazingaku izitolo ezivuliwe ngalesosikhathi?
J: Zazingekho.
D: So kwakuphoqeleka ukuthi nithenge khona?
J: Zazingekho impela ezinye.
D: So, abantu babephokile ukuthi bathenge khona. Sasinayo yonke into?
J: Yebo, kwakhukhona konke.
D: Kwakhugekho mhlambe ukhlukumezeka ebantwini, emphakathini wendawo? Ucabanga ukuthi yini into eyadala ukuthi isitolo size sivalwe?

J: Angikho sure, kodwa ngibona engathi kyini eyenza ukuthi sivaliwe isitolo kwaku-ukulwisana nje.

D: Ngabe yini eyenza ukuthi sivaliwe isitolo uma ucabanga?

(The rest of the interview is most indistinct with considerable background noise.)

INFORMANT M. – HAMMARSDALE 1

- D: Ebengifisa ukukwazi baba, ukuthi niyithenga kuphi i-groceri?
M: Sithenga kwa-Boxer.
D: Izinto ezinje ngoma-cellphone, ukulungisa amacellphone, airtime.
M: I-cellphone ngayithenga kwaRoy.
D: Ikhona indawo yokulungisa amacellphone la?
M: Yebo, ikhona indawo, kwa-Azad.
D: I-religion ubani?
M: Yisulumane.
D: Isulumane lelili, ucabangani ngalo, nokubakhona kwalo la endaweni? Libaphethe kanjani abantu?
M: Li-right, libaphethe kahle abantu.
D: U-communicata kanjani nabantu?
M: Ay yena ukhuluma i-English.
D: Kulaba abangafundile uyenzenjani?
M: Kukhona umsizi wakhe uMsimango, engicabanga kukthi uyena omsizayo.
D: Mhlambe uma kuthiwa akekho, naba abantu bafuna ukuthenga uye enzenjani?
M: Uyaluzwa kancani ulimi kodwa akakwazi kahle hle, uyabhidhilisha.
D: Isi-Fanakalo, uyasazi, uyasizama?
M: Yebo, uyasizama, akasazi, uyasizama.
D: Uyasikhuluma isi-Fanakalo?
M: Yebo, kodwa not kahle, uyasizama nje.
D: But abantu bayamthanda?
M: Yebo bayamthanda futhi bayamsaphotha.
D: Niyamsaphotha nonke?
M: Yebo.
D: Uyena yedwa o-runna isitolo njengaye la endaweni?
M: Sikhona esinye , nasi (pointing)
D: Sireligion yini ke zona?
M: Nakohna yisulumane, kodwa khona isupermarket.
D: Nicabangani naye, ubudlelwane bakhe ne-communication yakhe nabantu injani?
M: Bayafana nje bonke, uma sebela ezindaweni zabantu bayashintsha.
D: Bafriendly?
M: Yebo, bafriendly.
D: Yena ke ucommunicata kanjani, wenzenjani kulaba abangafundile?
M: Lona ke uyasazi isiZulu!
D: Uyasazi isiZulu?
M: Yebo.

INFORMANT N. – HAMMARSDALE 2

- D: Into engifisa kukyazi baba ukuthi abantu bathenga kuphi isikhathi esiningi?
N: Bathenga kwa-Boxer.
D: Sikhona esinye isitolo esila eduze ngaphandle kwalesi?
N: Cha asikho.
D: Yilesi kuphela.
N: Yebo.
D: OK! Umuntu orunnishwa isitolo, yini yisulumane noma yini?
M: Yebo, yisulumane.
D: Awekho amaPakistanians.
N: Cha awekho.
D: Ubudlelwane benu njengabantu bendawo nobalaba abaphethe isitolo bunjani?
N: Akulula ukuthi ngichaze kahle hle lapho.
D: Kodwa niyamazi angithi, ningamsiza?
N: Abantu abanjengathi njengoba singama. Guard nje, isikhathi esiningi asihlali ndawonye, njengamanje nami niglindele imoto ukuthi ifike ingithathe.
D: Kodwa uma ni-communicata naye? Niyamazi angithi umqashi wenu! Uwumuntu onjani?
N: Miina angisebenzi lana.
D: Kodwa anikaze nimbone u- Onlystone?
N: u-Onlystone ukhona la, umuzi wakhe nangu la ngphakathi.
D: OK...
N: Thina nje sifana nabantu abangama-visitor afikayo ahambe.
D: Ngokumazi kwenu nina, u-communicata kanjani yena?
N: Ukhuluma isizulu, nabasebenzi bakhe basazi njengoba sinjalo.
D: Nabaqashi babo? Abantu ababasebenzelayo?
N: Yebo.
D: Isi-Fanakalo abasikhulumi?
N: Abantu abakhulela lana, ngakho isizulu basifunda kudala kusekhona umkhulu wakhona, kwasekuba amadodana ke, nezingane zakhona zakhula zasifunda.
D: Okushukuthi bangama Muslim akhulela khona la?
N: Yebo.
D: Abanye abantu eceleni baye bathini ngabo? Baphatheke kahle?
N: Nigye nginaweza amacomplaint ngaphandle uma kwenzekile kwantshontshwa, ngale kwalokho k echa.

INFORMANT D. - KRANSKOP

- H: D, how long have you been working with F?
D: One year (indistinct)...
H: One year. Three years? In this shop? OK. And what does he speak to his customers?
D: Me? Or F?
H: F.
D: Some speak English, sometimes speak Zulu.
H: Does he speak proper Zulu?
D: No.
H: What does he speak?
D: English.
D: OK, but when he speaks Zulu, what kind of Zulu does he speak?
D: Hmm...come customer here: *Ngena mama*, like that.
H: That sort of thing. OK, alright, and does he sometimes speak Fanakalo?
D: Ja sometimes.
H: He sometimes speaks Fanakalo. OK, now when he speaks Fanakalo to the customers, what do they...
D: If customers not understand for...Zulu, customers come and talk Fanakalo.
H: Really? The customers also talk? And, do they mind?
D: No.
H: They don't mind. What do the customers think of these people, these immigrants, that come here (shrug from N)
H: No problem? And if they speak Fanakalo to them, It's not a problem? No problem? They speak back?
D: Ja.
H: They speak Fanakalo back?
D: Ja.
H: Oh really. And what do YOU think of that?
D: (shrugs)
H: Nothing? It's OK? Not a problem? Really?
D: Ja.
H: So do you think the people in this place, in Kranskop, do they have a problem to speak Fanakalo to the shopkeepers.
D: No...most speak for Fanakalo.
H: Mmm.
D: Sometimes, talk for English sometimes talk for Zulu.
H: OK, but sometimes they speak Fanakalo.
D: Ja.

INFORMANT L. - KRANSKOP 2

Diacritic marks for Afrikaans have been left out of the transcription.

- H: OK, oraait, wat ek wil weet, ne, waar koop jy jou groceries?
L: Enige plek!
H: Maar hierso...
L: Greytown, hierso, Siyabonga...
H: Hoekom koop jy by siyabonga? As jy hier koop?
L: SPAR, OK...
H: OK, maar as jy hier is.
L: Ek het nie een plek nie.
H: Jy't nie een plek nie.
L: Ja.
H: Maar as jy hier is, dan koop jy by Siyabonga?
L: Ja.
H: Want? Hoekom? Want...daar's nie 'n ander plek nie? OF...?
L: Daar is plek, maar my huis is daar, daardie kant...ek gaan maar net Greytown toe, nie altyd nie> Ja, ek koop maar net hierso, dan gaan ek huis toe.
H: OK, wat dink jy van Siyabonga?
L: Dink ek...?
H: Ek bedoel, wat dink jy van hulle, van daai lot?
L: Ek dink dis maar net...soos die ander winkel? Hulle werk maar soos die ander winkel.
H: En die mense?
L: Die mense daarso?
H: Ja.
L: Nee, hulle werk maar net baie mooi. Ja, ook die boss.
H: Aha. Hy's...is hy 'n goeie ou, wat's sy...
L: 'n Goeie oubaas, ja.
H: Watsynaam, Ismail.
L: Ismail.
H: En wat...
L: As jy wil maar net iets he, jy het nie genoeg geld nie, ja, hy gee maar net vir jou, kom maar net wanneer jy die geld gekry het. Ja.
H: Ja, hy's nice in daai...
L: Hy's baie mooi.
H: En waar bly hy? Weet jy?
L: Hy bly in Greytown, ek weet nie waar nie.
H: En die ander mense wat hier bly, winkeleienaars...bly hulle hierso in Kranskop?

- L: Ja, hulle huis...hulle ry maar net met die kar in die aande...in sy kar.
- H: OK, OK. En, en, die mense hie, OK, ek vra nie net van jou nie, ek vra oor die algemeen, hoe voel hulle oor DIE mense wat hier bly, in Kranskop.
- L: Die ander mense hierso, het hulle huise. En as ek 'n huis soek, ek wil maar net 'n kamer he, ek soek 'n kamer om te slap, kan ek net die geld rent, in die kamers.
- H: Ja maar, die Indiers wat die winkels het, wat hier bly. Hoe voel die Zoeloemense van Kranskop oor hulle?
- L: Nee ek, ek voel maar net lekker, maar ek weet nie die ander ene nie. Ons koop maar net, maar...
- H: Maar maar maar, hoe sal...wat praat die mense, as hulle praat van die Indiers, was se hulle van hulle?
- L: Hulle praat maar net Zoeloe?
- H: Nee nee maar kyk, as julle onder mekaar praat, oor se nou maar, oor Siyabonga, of oor Kwasizabantu, daai, hoe praat julle...wat se naam gebruik julle vir daai ouens. Die eienaars? Wat praat julle? Noem julle hulle Indiers? Of noem julle hulle...
- L: Suleman. Indians...hulle vloek nie.
- H: Nee nee nee nee ek weet, ek wil net weet watter naam gebruik julle vir hulle? En en en, wat wou ek gese het...wat praat hulle, as hulle met hulle customers praat? Wat praat...
- L: O, hulle praat maar net hulle tale. Soos wanneer, hulle praat nie Engels nie, hulle praat maar net daai Indian language.
- H: Nee, nee maar, as hulle met die customers praat.
- L: Zoeloe.
- H: Praat hulle Zoeloe?
- L: Ja!
- H: Of praat hulle Fanakalo?
- L: Nee, ek...Fanakalo, die ander ene praat Zoeloe soos ek.
- H: Watter ene?
- L: By die winkels? Baie, en dis Fanakalo, die ander ene is Fanakalo. Want die ander ene, hy praat maar net soos ek praat.
- H: Soos jy praat. En en as hulle, se nou maar jy kry 'n ou wat net Fanakalo praat, wat praat jy met hom terug?
- L: Ek praat maar net soos ek praat.
- H: Jy praat soos jy praat.
- L: Ja, ek praat nie Fanakalo nie.
- H: Jy praat nie...jy praat soos jy praat. En by Siyabonga? Wat praat hulle?

- L: Hulle praat Zoeloe. En die ander ene wat nou gekom, hulle is ander manier wat hou gekom...hulle ken nie Zoeloe nie. Hulle praat maar net Engels, jy sien, of Fanakalo. Ja.
- H: En Salim?
- L: Salim praat maar net i(si)Zoeloe.
- H: Praat hy Zoeloe?
- L: Zoeloe.
- H: Ordentlike Zoeloe, of...?
- L: Ja! Ja! Zoeloe, nie Fanakalo nie.
- H: Nie.
- L: Maar die ander een...Fanakalo, maar HY praat Zoeloe.
- H: So hy praat Fanakalo woorde.
- L: Ja, die woorde, hy's...hy kan nie, hy praat Fanakalo, maar die ander een, hy praat maar net Zoeloe.
- H: Nee, dis oraait, so daar is wel 'n...en as die ouens met julle Fanakalo praat, gee julle om?
- L: As hulle praat?
- H: As hulle Fanakalo praat. Raak julle...maak dit julle vies? Of...?
- L: Nee.
- H: Wat dink julle? Hoekom doen hulle dit?
- L: Want hulle, hulle het nie hierso gebore nie, jy weet.
- H: Hmm.
- L: Hulle praat maar net die Fanakalao, hulle VRA, as hy wil maar net se, wat moet jy se met Zoeloe? Ja, hy vra. As jy sien maar net, hy wil maar net iets se, hy weet nie wat moet hy se, hy moet maar net vir my vra: Kyk hier, ek wil maar net se met Zoeloe, wat moet ek se? Hulle vra maar net so.
- H: Hulle vra so. En dan se hulle dit.
- L: Ja, hulle se maar net so soos hulle moet se.
- H: O OK. Wel baie van hulle...wat ek probeer uitvind...wat ek wil weet ne...is...baiekere hierso as ek 'n mens gekry het om vir my te kom werk, ne, dan praat die Zoeloemens met my Fanakalo.
- L: Ja.
- H: Hoekom?
- L: HOEKOM? Dis wat ek vra.
- H: Maar hoekom? Wat dink hulle? Dink hulle...ek kan dit net praat?
- L: Of jy kan dit nie praat nie. Dit is wat ek nie wil he nie. Ek wil praat nie Fanakalo nie!
- H: Nee ek ook nie, maar...

- L: As ek wil maar net Zoeloe praat, ek praat Zoeloe met jou en jy vra...hoe...as jy nie verstaan nie, jy moet maar net stadig praat, dan se ek vir jou as ek se maar net so, ek bedoel DIT!
- H: Ja. Maar hoekom kom die ouens na my toe, se nou maar die ouens vir wie ek werk gegee het, hoekom praat hulle met my Fanakalo?
- L: Nee ek weet nie! Hulle dink jy is TOE!

INFORMANT L. - MOOIRIVIER

- H: Do most of them speak Fanakalo or do most of them speak perfect Zulu?
L: Most of them.
H: What?
L: Speaking Fanakalo?
H: Really?
L: Ja.
H: And, if they speak in Fanakalo, do you, what do you people speak back to them?
L: Eish, but I'm not sure, but...
H: I mean you for instance, let's say you go into a shop, and the guy speak to you in Fanakalo, what do you speak back?
L: No, I speaking Zulu, for they understand what I'm trying to say.
H: Oh, they understand, OK. Do you MIND if they speak Fanakalo?
L: Ey, I don't mind.
H: You don't mind. And what do you think about having these people around? The fact that there are so many Indian shops, what do you think of that?
L: It's not my problem...I used to buy something, I don't stay with them...I used...
H: Sorry?
L: I used to buy some stuff to them...I used to buy something, I don't stay with them.
H: Why?
L: Because I'm staying far away.
H: OH, I see! So where do you buy?
L: Sometimes I used to buy, there by a...Foodzone, Sharp there, PK Store...
H: And why did you buy at these stores?
L: You know, sometimes, if I went to SPAR, they don't have some stuff, I suppose to go there.
H: So do they have stuff that other shops don't have?
L: Sometimes ja.
H: OK like what stuff?
L: Like if I want milk, they don't have there, I have to go there.
H: So where do you go first? If you decide, OK, I'm now going to buy.
L: Sometimes in the price does something.
H: So are they cheaper?
L: Ja, sometimes they're cheaper, sometimes they're too expensive.

- H: I see, so, do you go and see where things are cheaper then you decide where to buy?
But there are a lot of shops in Mooi River. Indian shops.
- L: Not too lot.
- H: If I stand here, I see...
- L: Ah but you can count them, there are not a lot, there are not too many, we can even count.
- H: Yes but what I mean is, in relation to other shops. Are there more Indian shops, or are there more other shops.
- L: More Indian shops.
- H: And do you know where these Indians are from?
- L: Mooi River.
- H: Sorry?
- L: There is a location for Indians here.
- H: Really? Where?
- L: When you go straight in your right, at the bridge there's a T-junction Greytown, on your right hand side...
- H: Aha, that's the location? And the ones that are here? Are they new from India? Or were they born in South Africa?
- L: They born here.
- H: All of them?
- L: Ja.
- H: Because some of them dress like the come from Indian? That's why I'm asking.
- L: That's our traditional.
- H: What is your traditional?
- L: Oh the Indian. They wear that one, specially on Friday, when they go to pray.

INFORMANT I. - TUGELA FERRY

- H: So you say...what do they speak to you? I'm talking Pakistanis...yes you name and signature. They speak English, and Fanakalo?
- I: They speak English, and Fanakalo.
- H: OK. And which languages do you know? You know Zulu and English?
- I: Me? I know Zulu and English yes.
- H: OK and if they speak to you in Fanakalo...what do you speak back?
- I: I speak English...Zulu, I mean, the Zulu people speak Zulu and English.
- H: So you speak Zulu back to them. Do they live here, these people? These Pakistanis. Do they live in Tugela Ferry?
- I: Yes.
- H: And how do people feel about them.
- I: People they feel...like other people who ...(indistinct)...sometimes they do on Zulu problem, we, sometimes we treat these people like: Go to your home...sometimes you (indistinct) other brother, other places, and here, we're doing that thing.
- H: That same thing. Would you prefer to deal with them in English, or in Zulu.
- I: I prefer in Zulu.
- H: You prefer in Zulu.
- I: Yes..
- H: OK.
- I: All other people in Tugela Ferry they talking Zulu.
- H: The White people, what do they talk?
- I: In Tugela Ferry? Mostly, the White people less than the Black people.
- H: But the White people in the stores, for example, what do they speak?
- I: Oh some, in the stores, they speaking English.
- H: They speak English. They don't speak Zulu, or...
- I: Some other one they speaking Zulu, because they know Zulu, or...is Fanakalo.
- H: They also speak.
- I: Yes.

INFORMANT A. - DUNDEE

- H: Right. Are you from Dundee?
- A: Mmmmm, ja. From Nquthu actually.
- H: OK, and are there Indian shops in Nquthu?
- A: Ja, there is now.
- H: For how long? Long time?
- A: A's long time.
- H: Really. And these people, what do they speak to the customers?
- A: When the black customer comes in the shop?
- H: Yes.
- A: Actually, they, they find it hard to learn the Zulu, but the Zulu is a easy, what can I say, it's the easiest language...for the outside people when they come here to learn, because most of the people are in South Africa, they speaking Zulu. And English.
- H: Hmm.
- A: Those are the two languages that are most important here. Ja. O, like when the pronounce the way, it's hard for them, like q, instead of saying *qa*, they say *ca*, they saying about eggs, they not saying *amaqanda* they say *amacanda*. You see, so if you is telling them, you go to the shop, for me, you'll find the Zulu is also hard to lean than English, they say *mina hambile lapha*, I heard that way, you see, so they find it hard.
- H: So they speak like that: *mina hambile lapha*.
- A: Ja, ja, they speak like that.
- H: All of them?
- A: Ja, most of them. Lots of, most of them, but, there IS some people who are learning Zulu properly.
- H: OK, but the new ones who come in, not the South Africans...
- A: Oh the Pakistanis.
- H: Ja.
- A: Ja.
- H: Well, what do they do? They speak like that, *mina hambile lapha*. Or what do they do?
- A: Eish, I don't know, I never come across, I normally speak to them in English...
- H: In English. OK you speak to them...
- A: But for sure, they also do the same way.
- H: They do the same way when they speak to people who can't speak English.
- A: Ja...but I think for them it's easy co...those who are here from South Africa...some of them like the Chinese they the Chinese, they can speak Zulu, do you know that?

- H: Really? Oh, OK.
- A: Ja, they, Chinese can speak Zulu, you tell the word, they said that word...
- H: OK but it's not just words, huh, I mean words are easy to learn...and that is why...
- A: Ja. They speak Fanakalo, isn't it, but when it comes to the conversation they find it hard.
- H: Really. And oh, what was I, do people MIND. Let's say, people who don't speak English, they go to the shop, and these people speak to them in *mina hambile lapha* language, do people mind that?
- A: Ja, you see as blacks you normally find that we, we do understand them 'cause...even they...even their English, you'll find it hard for me, if I speak English to you, if I don't know it, you see.
- H: Yes, yes.
- A: Like my grandfathers, they didn't went to school, you find the way they talk to somebody, in English, they'll find it hard.
- H: Yes.
- A: But when they speaking to Fanakalo, I wonder who created that Fanakalo, really, that language, I don't know, but it's easy for the communication...for old people.
- H: OK
- A: So that's why the Indian people (indistinct) Fanakalo, it's coming from the old people where they didn't know how to speaka the...English very well.
- H: Yes. But maybe now these people can also not speak English well, always...
- A: Which ones? Oh those ones. Ja, they can't speak English very well.
- H: So do you think...do you think...this is just another question...that for a long time still people will speak Fanakalo? Or what do you think?
- A: As from now...(indistinct)...I don't think, 'cause actually when they speaking Fanakalo, our generation, it's easy, because we've been to school and learning English, we've been learning other languages you see so I don't think, easily, for us, unlike our grandfathers.
- H: Not you, but like, some people will still speak it, people in areas where...
- A: No, I don't think.
- H: You don't think so...OK not you, but the Indians. Do you think they will still speak?
- A: Eh...eish!
- H: What do you think will happen if the Indians come, they can't speak English very well...
- A: They will learn, they will learn.
- H: They will learn? OK, you think so, Alright, thanks.