UNDERSTANDING THE HISTORY OF WOMEN'S LIVES IN ZANZIBAR THROUGH SONG AND STORY: A GENDERED PERSPECTIVE

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Dedicated to the memory of Babu Bindu (Ameir Ameir bin Sudi)

DECLARATION

I, Bronwen Clacherty, hereby declare that the work on which this dissertation is based is my original work (except where acknowledgements indicate otherwise) and that neither the whole work nor any part of it has been, is being, or is to be submitted for another degree in this or any other university. I authorise the University to reproduce for the purpose of research either the whole or any portion of the contents in any manner whatsoever.

Signed by candidate

Signature: Date: 19 October 2020

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation and the accompanying performance explore women's history through the song genre *dandaro* learned from women's singing groups in present-day Zanzibar. The study aims to show that songs, a part of oral tradition, are an effective way of adding to the minimal understanding we have of women's lives in Zanzibar and the Indian Ocean. The dissertation transcribes both the lyrics and the music of the *dandaro* songs and analyses them in relation to theoretical perspectives on archive and gender realities, as well as in the context of the history of Zanzibar. It also describes how and why I created a performance that reflected both the journey of my research as well as what the women and men I met shared with me. The dissertation and performance form a whole and the performed work is incorporated into the dissertation to show how the performance deepened the approach to the theory and data and vice versa. This study of *dandaro* songs reveals the existence of a transgenerational archive of information that preserves and transmits the image of strong womanhood and woman's agency, where women subvert gender norms and express their solidarity with each other.

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HOW TO READ THIS DISSERTATION

This doctoral work is made up of two parts: one is this written text, referred to throughout as the dissertation, and the other is a performance. Throughout the dissertation I refer to the performance, exploring how it weaves and interprets the theory, the fieldwork and the data, whilst also reflecting on how the performance informed the theory and the written work. I have included different styles of writing in the dissertation that indicate different components of this research:

- Text sections surrounded by a border are reflections on the performance and how it interacts with the written text of the dissertation.
- Fieldnotes made in the course of the research are italicised and include the date that the note was made. Links to sound and film extracts of recordings from my fieldwork are provided where relevant.
- Quotes from the research participants are presented in italics.
- Creative writing texts, which function as reflections on the research, are italicised and presented separately from the main text in each chapter.

The performance is also represented by:

- a film of the entire performance which can be viewed here (click link);
- a sound composition which can be heard here (click link).

The performance is divided into five sections:

1. Prelude 00:00
2. 1st Movement 10:15
3. 2nd Movement 21:05
4. Interlude 44:58
5. 3rd Movement. 50:56

Links to extracts from the sound composition and the performance also appear throughout the main text of the dissertation.

The performers are Bronwen Clacherty and Qondiswa James, who are referred to as B and Q in the performance descriptions. The vibraphone player is Frank Mallows. The sound designers are Izan Greyling and Denise Onen and the lighting designer is Lesego

Chauke, assisted by Bamanye Yeko. The videographers are Dex Goodman and Dillon Brown.

Qondiswa James

Qondiswa James is a Black, Queer Femme from the rural Transkei. She is a theatre-maker, performance artist, film and theatre performer, writer and liberation activist.

Frank Mallows

Frank Mallows is a percussionist and teacher based in Cape Town. He is the head of the percussion department at the South African College of Music, University of Cape Town.

Performance Details

The performance, named *Tia Maji*[1], was staged at the Centre for African Studies Gallery, University of Cape Town, on 30 September 2019 as part of the annual Recentring AfroAsia Conference. It was also staged at Theatre Arts Admin Collective, Observatory on 2, 3 and 4 October 2019 for members of the public. The programme notes and poster for the performances are included in Appendix A.

[1] *Tia maji* (pour water) is a lyric from one of the *dandaro* songs, Song no. 4, which is explained in detail in Chapter Four of this dissertation. The metaphorical meaning of *Tia Maji* (pour water) represents a woman's freedom.

PROLOGUE

Hodi hodi[2] *…*

Karibu …

Entering a space unknown

I announce my presence and you welcome me inside

I see your shoes at the door … next to the children's shoes

1,2,3,4,5,6 pairs

The floor swept to a shine

Hot feet, cold floor

Karibu … welcome

Hodi hodi tena …

Karibu ndani …

Welcome inside my history the woman says

The history woven together by notes in a song

A song that is a thread into my mind

A song that weaves itself to my vocal cords

Out of my mouth

Into the air

A thread

A thre

A th

A

[2] "*Hodi hodi"* (knock knock) is a Kiswahili phrase that is said when asking to enter someone's home. In the formal use of the phrase, the visitor says "*hodi hodi"* once and then, after the person inside has said "*karibu"* (welcome), the visitor asks again, "*hodi hodi tena*" (knock knock again), and the person inside replies, *"karibu ndani"* (welcome inside).

This dissertation and the performance I created as part of my research process explore the journey I made from my initial interest in why women were hidden from our view in the history of trade across the Indian Ocean, to a number of women's singing groups in present-day Zanzibar. They describe how I realised that songs, a part of the oral tradition, are one of the most effective ways of finding out about women's lives in the distant past. The dissertation and the performance tell the story of how I set off for Zanzibar to find songs that would contain traces of women's lives from long, long ago, as far back as I could reach into the period 700–1500 CE, because that period was the focus of the inter-institutional research project, "Recentring Afro-Asia", that funded my work. In the course of the narrative of this journey I relate how I realised that there were not even "traces" for me to find; so, I began to ask only if anyone knew songs from "*zamani, zamani*" (of old, or long, long ago). I did not find songs that I could prove originated before 1500, but I did meet women singers in the village of Jambiani who sang a very old song genre that had been passed down from one generation to another. These songs, which the women called *dandaro*, hold meanings that cast light on the lived experiences of women, now and in the past. *Dandaro* is a deeply metaphorical genre of songs sung that often function as social commentary. They were performed by men and women at various celebrations and events but are no longer performed publicly. The dissertation transcribes both the lyrics and the music of these songs and analyses them in relation to theoretical perspectives on archive and gender realities, as well as in the context of the history of Zanzibar. It also describes how and why I created a performance that reflected both the journey of my research as well as what the women and men I met shared with me. It describes how I did not find the actual traces of the songs those "invisible" women of the pre-1500s might have sung, but instead achieved a small glimpse into what it means to be a woman on the east coast of Africa, now and in the past.

Maps of Zanzibar

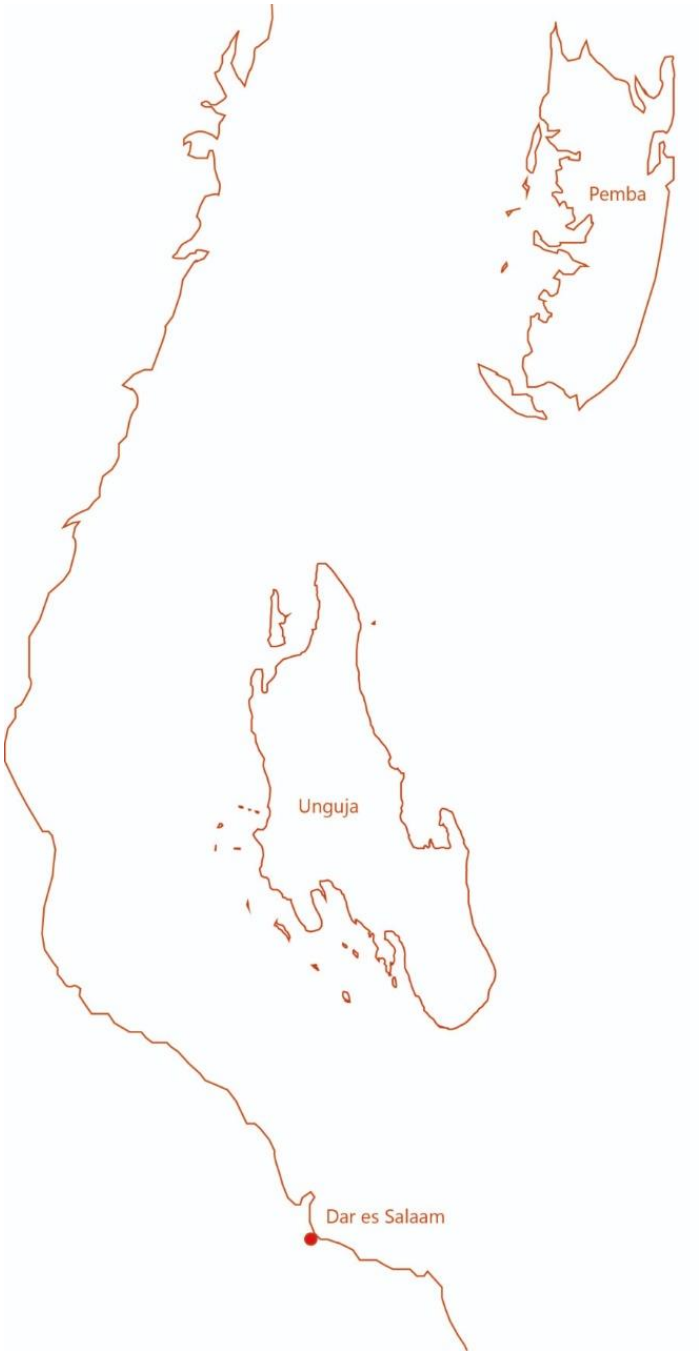

Figure i.1: Map of Unguja and Pemba Islands (Illustration: James Clacherty)

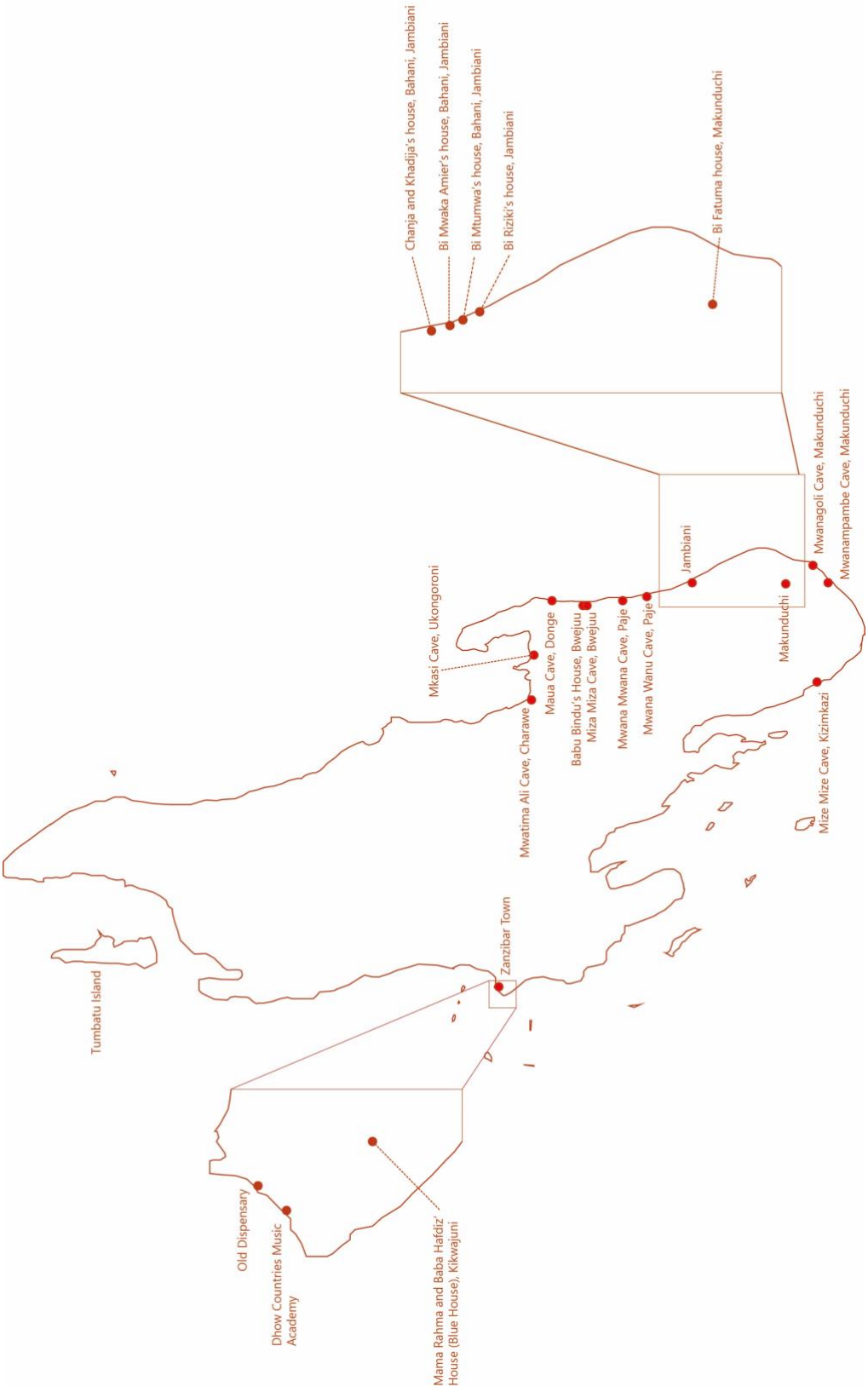

Figure i.2: Map of Zanzibar Town and Jambiani (Illustration: James Clacherty)

CHAPTER ONE

CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND

I am sitting with Bi Mwaka Ameir in the shade of the front porch outside her house.[3] *She lives in the area called Bahani, which is part of the sprawling village of Jambiani on the south-east coast of Unguja Island, Zanzibar. We sit on a mat covering the floor, both thankful for the coolness of the shade on this hot afternoon. As we speak her wrinkled and sun-aged hands are rolling coconut fibre against her shins into twine. Her head is partially covered by a* kanga *cloth.*[4] *We are talking about the many old songs she knows. I ask her where she learnt them. She answers:* "Wakati uyo nyiwa kijana bibi yangu akenda ngomani kevu kananchukua. Tena bibi naweziwe wakacheza nami nawafatiliazia na kevga nakaa pembeni yake kwa urahisi naweza kuiga. Na nyengine akawa kananfundisha njo mpaka leo na mimi nawafundisha vijana wangu wano kidogo kidogo wavijua kama haba na haba hujaza kibaba na mengine." *"When I was young my grandmother went to sing with her group. She carried me with her daily to the singing group and she kept me by her side where I learnt by imitating them. She also used to teach me at home, that's why now, I know many of the songs and I'm teaching my granddaughters. They know some of them but not much, only little by little, because 'little by little you fill the container'."*[5]

(Interview, Bi Mwaka, November 2017, Jambiani)

[3] *Bi* is short for *Bibi*, meaning Grandmother, just as *Ba* is short for *Babu*, meaning Grandfather.
[4] *Kanga* cloths are brightly coloured, originally block-printed, cloths that women wear in Zanzibar. The cloths are sold in two parts: one part is worn around the waist and the second part is worn to cover the head. *Kanga* cloths carry proverbs and patterns that have particular meanings.
[5] This phrase, *haba na haba hujaza kibaba* (little by little you fill the container), is a common proverb used in Kiswahili.

Figure 1.1: Bi Mwaka Ameir on her front veranda. (Photo: Bronwen Clacherty)

This chapter describes how I came to focus on a particular song tradition sung by women in a village on Zanzibar Island, and examines my positionality as a researcher as well as why I chose to focus on an oral tradition. It also describes the historical context and the present socio-legal context of women on the island.

BEGINNING THE JOURNEY

The research inquiry that led me to Bi Mwaka Ameir began when I joined the inter-institutional research project "Recentring Afro-Asia: Musical and Human Migrations in the pre-colonial period 700–1500 AD", which provided funding for my doctoral research. The Recentring Afro-Asia project aims to document the movement of knowledge, ideas, religions and artistic forms and the people who carried them between

Africa and Asia during the period 700–1500 CE. Through this documentation, the project aims to "recentre" information about these movements of people and cultures in the Afro-Asian context, as a response to the Eurocentric scholarship that focuses on the transatlantic migrations in the period beginning with European colonisation of territories around the world. In line with the focus of the Recentring Afro-Asia project, I began exploring the scholarly literature on the East African coast and the movement of people across the Indian Ocean. I read about the "sailors, traders, religious men, and migrants in search of goods and new lands" (Beaujard 2005:441) and about the "network of family relationships" (Ottenheimer 1991:132) that formed the basis of long-distance trade in the Indian Ocean (Askew 1999; Spear 2000). What I found was not evidence of a holistic "network of family relationships" (Ottenheimer 1991:132) but a "male seascape" (Basu 2008:228). There was little acknowledgement of women nor of the relevance of gender in the creation of the "littoral cosmopolitanisms" (Abdul Sheriff 2008:613) of the East African coast. I was curious to know the women's stories, and to find out about their lives and the roles they played in facilitating migration and exchange. I began by reading the historical texts that documented voyages in the region, such as the "*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*" (Schoff 1912), the writings of Ibn Battuta, a Moroccan scholar and explorer (Battuta 2004), and texts by the colonial writers Greville Freeman-Grenville (1962) and William Ingrams (1967).

I soon realised that the information about women in historical texts was fragmentary at best, and that if I were to rely on this information my results would also present a fragment of the "herstory".[6] I realised that focusing only on the *roles* women played in these cross-oceanic interactions would reduce them to supporting figures in the seemingly male story of East African trade, and obscure the agency of these women and the details of their lives. The fragmentary nature of the sources available put me at risk of generalising about women's experiences, something scholars such as Lila Abu-Lughod (1993), Signe Arnfred (2011) and Kathleen Sheldon (2005) warn against.

Abu-Lughod (1993), in particular, reflects on how vital it is in feminist writing to include more about the individual and collective experiences of women themselves, in

[6] Of course, there is contemporary literature that explores the lives of women in East Africa (see Askew 1999, 2002, 2003; Ottenheimer 1991; Topp Fargion 2014).

order to break down the dominance of the male story: "Telling stories, it has seemed to me, could be a powerful tool for unsettling the culture concept and subverting the process of 'othering' it entails" (Abu-Lughod 1993:13). The point is made perfectly by Calaguas et al. (2007:478), who argue that

> in relation to the issue of sexual equality, the one-dimensional portrayal of women as long-suffering victims of pre-modern custom ignores the agency of individuals who live out each day ably negotiating their roles across the social landscape.

The type of language used when writing about women in an Islamic context can extend this power dynamic of "othering". My research explores the topic of gender segregation and women's lives in an Islamic society and I am, therefore, wary of perpetuating the idea of the oppressed "Muslimwoman" (Cooke 2007:139). Miriam Cooke uses the term "Muslimwoman" as a way of describing how Muslim women can be both insiders and outsiders in their own communities, part of a Muslim, cosmopolitan world, but at the same time objects of Western thought. She argues that "[t]he 'Muslimwoman' is not a description of a reality; it is the ascription of a label that reduces all diversity to a single image" (2007:140). I observed how Muslim women were viewed with a strong sense of pity by Europeans in Zanzibar, and I am wary of becoming another outsider looking at the disenfranchised "Muslimwoman" who needs saving from her man (Cooke 2007). It is with this awareness that I motivate my incorporation of the words of the research participants into this dissertation and the related performance, to allow as much as possible for them to speak of their experiences. In ethnographic research the relationship between researcher and research participant can be problematic; as researchers we need to pay attention to "unequal power relations, contested notions of truth and knowledge … and the politics of voice and representation in meaning making" (Creese and Frisby 2011:3). Here Gillian Creese and Wendy Frisby are writing specifically about the context of feminist community research, but the ideals that motivate their approach align strongly with what I am attempting to do in my research. Feminist community research attempts, "however partially, to transcend colonising research relations, bring to the surface voices that are often excluded from knowledge production … and critically reflect on how it can all be done better" (Creese and Frisby 2011:3). These reflections on my role as an ethnomusicologist, together with the writings of Creese and Frisby, motivated me to change my original lens for analysing the women's songs from a historical one to one that could provide a more personal and

individual view. This was in order to counter, to some extent, my position as an outsider to the community I was researching, and to partially subvert my position in the strange hierarchy of the anthropologist/ethnomusicologist and her research participants. James Clifford and George Marcus (1986:23) show the importance of reflexivity in research, describing how "[e]thnography in the service of anthropology once looked out at clearly defined others … now ethnography encounters others in relation to itself, while seeing itself as other". Gregory Barz and Timothy Cooley expand on this point, stating that

> reflexive ethnography rejects the modern-era science paradigm that human culture is wholly objectively observable. Instead, ethnographers attempt reflexively to understand their positions and to represent these positions in ethnographies, including their epistemological stances, their relations to the cultural practices and individuals studied and their relationships to their own cultural practices. (2008:19–20)

Inspired by the work of Abu-Lughod (1993), I decided to focus my research on activities that would give me access to the women's individual experiences. I was also motivated by the research that recognises oral tradition as a form that holds rich information about women's lives (Impey 2008; Ogbomo 1994; Vaughan 1987). The idea of using songs and stories to understand more about women's lives resonated with my own experiences as a musician and student of African music, and with previous work I have done with isiXhosa women's songs, which I describe below. Before exploring this personal history, it is useful to explain where I chose to work, and how.

My exploration of the historical literature on Indian Ocean trade networks and life on the east coast of Africa had led me to identify the island of Zanzibar as an important part of these networks. Trade ships sought shelter on the west coast of the island to wait for the monsoon winds that would carry them across the ocean (Chittick 1968; Gray 1962; Sheriff 2008). This aspect of the island's past, together with my own family connections to the island, which I describe in Chapter Three, influenced my decision to focus on Zanzibar. Influenced by feminist ethnohistorians such as Abu-Lughod (1993), I decided to take an ethnographic approach to my research and work with present-day women in Zanzibar, hoping to find traces of songs and stories that would take me back to the past, and perhaps to find traces of the lives of women in the period before Zanzibar was colonised in 1500 by the Portuguese (Chittick 1968).

As I have suggested above, one influence on the research approach I took was my previous performance of isiXhosa women's bow songs. In fact, my personal history and positionality have been an important influence on this work. I am a white, South African musician and ethnomusicologist. I studied African music under the Xhosa musician Dizu Plaatjies at the South African College of Music. After graduating, I went on to lead a project that collaborated with the Maskanda[7] musicians Comeladies Mtolo, Sipho "Lahl' umlense" Nxumalo and Aaron "Maqhude" Mkhize, and with other musicians including Judith Somhlaba, Xolani Gongxeka, Michael Ludonga, Shane Cooper, Rob Watson, Texito Langa, Buddy Wells and Adrian Muparutsa. We arranged music based on isiXhosa women's songs that I learnt to play on two isiXhosa musical bows, the *uhadi* and *umrhubhe*. I spent time immersed in studying the song lyrics and melodies and discussing them with the collaborating musicians, and then arranged them for performance. This process gave me an understanding of the complexity of hidden meanings within the words and the performative character of the songs, something I have built on in this research. I also composed original songs inspired by the strong visual imagery present in the songs. I performed this music with the other musicians and as a solo artist for several years, although the complexity of my position as a privileged white South African, and moreover one performing music that originated from a culture that I could not call my own, was a constant concern. Although I respected and acknowledged the origin of the music I performed, I felt at odds with my position and so decided to stop performing this music for some time. This experience of struggling with my positionality as a South African musician has influenced how I have approached this doctoral research. It has given me an awareness of the need to listen to and represent as diligently as I can the voices of the women who shared their songs with me, and to try and understand the songs they shared from within their own context.

This sensibility was also honed through my training in community music practice.[8] This training gave me both the theoretical and practical experience of collaborative music-making that influenced the research approach I took in the field. This is described in

[7] Maskanda is a genre of Zulu music, characterised by a distinctive guitar-playing style.

[8] I completed a master's degree in Participatory and Community Arts from Goldsmiths, University of London, and have worked in various projects as a community music workshop facilitator.

greater detail in Chapter Three. I also discuss throughout this dissertation how my previous experiences influenced my approach when directing and creating my doctoral performance.

Box 1: In performance – opening sequence – women's stories

A dark gallery space greets the audience in the hallway to the performance stage, video flickering on two walls, the sound of the sea lapping. To one side a woman harvests seaweed while she sings in the shallow sea water. On the other side a boat arrives at a cave half-filled with water; red and white strips of fabric hang from the entrance, flapping in the wind.

These videos introduce the audience to two important images in my research: a woman working and a spiritual and historical cave. The one video shows Bi Mwaka Amier working in the shallow sea water, tying fronds of seaweed to long lines of twine where they will grow and be harvested. The other video shows my arrival at Mwatima Ali cave, the high tide filling the cave with water and the strips of fabric hanging from the entrance of the cave as gestures of thanks, tied there by people who have received the blessings of the cave. The significance of this cave will later be revealed. These two videos prepare the audience for the imagery and physical movement they will see in the performance: the hanging strips of cloth at the entrance of the cave and the movements of a woman planting seaweed.

ORAL HISTORY AS A SOURCE OF "HERSTORY"

As I have explained above, evidence of women's lives is not readily available in official and political historical narratives. African historian Onaiwu Ogbomo suggests that what he calls "historical truths … of 'herstory'" (1994:21) are not found in formal histories and historical sources but in "non-traditional sources… [that] include the recording and analysis of songs, poems, observance of marriage ceremonies and festivals. A number of historical truths often surface in these sources" (Ogbomo 1994:21). The danger of relying exclusively on more conventional historical texts and formal political narratives about the trade networks of the Indian Ocean, such as the "*Periplus of the Erythraean*

Sea" (Schoff 1912), Ibn Battuta (2004), Freeman-Grenville (1962) and Ingrams (1967), is that the everyday lives of women are excluded from them, thus reducing women to supporting figures in the larger process of cross-oceanic interaction. As Ogbomo suggests, one way to access the details of women's daily lives is by looking at the oral traditions and activities that women take part in and have taken part in through the generations. In the context of Zanzibar, songs and stories passed down through the generations are one such activity. The songs that I have chosen to focus on are *dandaro* songs, located in a particular song tradition passed on from one generation to the next, that function as a form of knowledge and social commentary. I explain in detail in Chapter Four what *dandaro* songs are, and why I have chosen to focus on this particular song tradition.

There is a body of literature that discusses the legitimacy of using contemporary musical oral tradition to seek out the past. Philip Bohlman, for example, makes a case for "interpreting the music of the present as linked to something previous … to read backwards through the past. In this way oral tradition may render the past timeless" (Bohlman 1997:151). He goes on to suggest that the ethnomusicologist is well placed to bring us "closer to the fluidity and experiences on the boundaries between past and present" (1997:141–42). Many scholars have used songs and performance practice as a way of accessing historical information about East Africa. An example of this is how Terence Ranger (1975:141) studied *beni ngoma* as a "decoder" of social processes such as "colonialism, industrialisation, secularisation, increasing cultural autonomy, and decolonisation" (Askew 1999:90).[9] Kelly Askew, through her research on *ngoma*, was able to propose that gender segregation is "a relatively recent phenomenon, dating back only to the last century" (1999:91).[10] She also argues against the assumption that "women have lacked social autonomy and political/economic strength" (1999:91) since the introduction of Islam to the East African coast in the ninth century. She claims that

[9] *Beni ngoma* is a men's dance band practice that was highly influenced by the European military brass band tradition (Ranger 1975). *Beni ngoma* is similar to *lelemama* a women's dance practice (Strobel 1975). *Beni ngoma* and *lelemama ngoma* "originated in the late 19th century on the Swahili coast near Mombasa (Kenya) and Tanga (Tanzania) before sweeping through wide swaths of East Africa" (Askew 2003:614).

[10] *Ngoma* translates as "drum", "music", or "dance", and is also commonly used with reference to performance events that include all of these elements, as well as song (Askew 1999:94).

studying the musical practice of *ngoma* was the only way of coming to this conclusion, because the available literature did not present this information.

Elizabeth Gunner's work with Zulu women (Gunner 1979) reveals how song is used as an expression of agency. It is in praise poetry that statements of accusation or complaint are communicated, giving women a "socially acceptable way of publicly announcing one's anger" (1979:241) when negotiating tensions between co-wives and family members. Mary Bill (1994) and Joseph Mbele (1996) have discussed similar points in their work on Tsonga folktales and Swahili[11] women's poetry respectively. Bill shows how refusal to eat or drink is used as a metaphor for safe sex in Tsonga folktales (1994:66), while Mbele describes an allegorical poem which uses metaphorical language to teach a lesson and ask for advice (1996:80). Katherine Hoffman's research shows that "for women and men of the Anti-Atlas Mountains of Southwestern Morocco, community song serves as a discursive medium for expressing displacement and social conflict in ways that Ishelhin (Tashelhit-speaking 'Berbers') consider unacceptable in conversational speech" (Hoffman 2002:510). Rosemary Joseph's research on Zulu women's bow songs shows that some subjects can be uncovered and, hopefully, understood only if researchers use oral tradition and/or "artistic behaviour" (Joseph 1987:94) as a source. This is because songs or poems are often an outlet for subjects or ideas that are not communicated in other ways. She explores how the absence of reference to the concept of love in the oral literature of Zulu people does not necessarily mean that it does not exist, and speculates that the reason why the concept of love did not come up in the course of her research is because "ideas of a more personal and intimate nature would not be discussed freely" (1987:94). She argues that "such ideas are, however, often expressed in various forms of artistic behaviour" (1987:94). In relation to her research, Joseph says that "apart from the repertory of bow songs, there would seem to be little other direct evidence of a concept of romantic love in Zulu society" (1987:98). Her research has "implications for the way in which the role and status of women in traditional Zulu society have been viewed" (1987:114).

[11] I use the term Swahili to refer to Swahili people, similarly I also refer to Xhosa, Zulu and Tsonga people. I use the term Kiswahili to refer to the language. In Chapter Three, I add a note on the use of the term kiJambiani, a dialect of Kiswahili spoken in Jambiani, Zanzibar.

In this section I have provided examples of literature where the study of oral traditions has uncovered meaning and expression not readily available from other sources. I am, however, aware that researching oral tradition comes with its own complexities of understanding and interpretation. Jan Vansina (1985:5) notes that oral accounts can be influenced by memory and perception. One is faced with the challenge of the past being reinterpreted through retelling in the present. Despite this distortion, Vansina suggests that oral history (including tales and songs) can be a valuable source of people's interpretation of the past, especially if understood in context. Ogbomo (1994) highlights how even oral traditions such as myth can inform us about the past. He argues that "[a]dmittedly myths are not historical facts, but they represent symbols of a people's consciousness. As cultural symbols, myths say more than what is possible in terms of rational interpretation" (1994:20). For Thomas Spear, "[t]he values expressed in traditions, the structure delineated, and the idioms and models used are all cultural products of history" (1981:170–71).

One of the challenges of researching oral tradition is the issue of memory and the complexity linked to "remembering" (Vansina 1985). In the next section I explore some of the literature that examines this complexity in relation to songs and music, the focus of this dissertation.

ORAL HISTORY AND REMEMBERING THE PAST

Kay Shelemay's research on *Pizmon* songs sung by Syrian Jews (Shelemay 1998) is particularly helpful when thinking about songs as carriers of memory and historical information. The collection of *dandaro* songs that I will focus on in this dissertation, like the *Pizmon,* "is located at the juncture of several domains of memory. It brings the past into the present through both its content and the act of performance, while also serving as a device through which long-forgotten aspects of the past and information unconsciously carried can be evoked, accessed and remembered" (Shelemay 1998:7). It is not only the actual songs that can inform us about the past, therefore, but their performance too. Birgit Neumann and Ansgar Nünning (2012) argue that music performance practices can function as collections of people's memories, and Shelemay (2006) adds that musical performance practice not only holds collective memory but

functions as a vehicle to perpetuate peoples' memories. It is important to note that the boundaries between history and memory are unclear and "tricky to negotiate" (Shelemay 2006:18). Shelemay defines memory as "first and foremost an individual cognitive faculty in which reside traces of one's personal and autobiographical experiences" (2006:18). She goes on to say that memory is "shaped by collective experience" and "'collective memory' is knowledge that is shared with others through various forms of expression, including speech, music, dance and other expressive media" (2006:18). History, as Shelemay defines it,

> constitutes narratives about the past (often, but not always, in chronological order) that are constructed and/or acknowledged by virtue of institutional sanction, scholarly hypothesis or broad-based social acceptance; these same narratives are often revised or reconstructed in the same contexts that validated them in the first place. (2006:18)

Shelemay argues that through the investigation of musical performance practices and "testimony about music" one can access memories that can uncover new "historical theories". The indistinct boundary between memory and history is a result of the fact that a collection of memories may also elicit new memories and create new historical narratives. This simulates the chicken-and-egg analogy: what comes first, memory or history? And is memory what creates history, and vice versa?

Despite these indistinct boundaries, Shelemay argues that ethnomusicologists should be "empowered to study history and to explore fully the ability of music to inform us about the past", and as ethnomusicologists we should explore the "dialectic between memory and history, looking for the hidden, the silent and the unsuspected" (2006:33). Similarly, Angela Impey argues that music can function as "an archive of experiences: a site of collective memory or a primary symbolic landscape of a people" (Impey 2008:35). Impey's study was based in the borderlands of South Africa, Mozambique and Swaziland; her focus was on women's narratives, particularly the sound, song and performance linked to "two traditional mouthbows and the jews harp – instruments once played by young Nguni women while walking, but remembered now by elderly women" (Impey 2006:55). Impey suggests "that the sonic qualities of physical spaces and the affective aspects of sound and music-making influence how experiences are remembered at particular historical and geographical junctures" (2006:73), thus showing the function of sound, song and performance as a form of oral history.

Impey makes reference to Megan Vaughan's (1987) research on women's coping strategies during the famine in Malawi in 1949. Vaughan studied women's pounding songs,[12] which contained mostly content that criticised their husbands' lack of support during the famine. Vaughan cautions that "[t]he stress on the behaviour of men, which emerges so clearly in the songs, could be interpreted as being in the nature of the genre rather than being a true reflection of events" (Vaughan 1987:121). What became apparent to Vaughan was that most men migrated in search of work and food, some never returning. Thus, the songs sung by the women that were about "how harrowing it was to be left responsible for their suffering and dying children … and how they were humiliated by the feeding system" (1987:123) reflect the wider context at that time. Impey says that Vaughan's research "highlights the significance of song lyrics as a vital form of oral testimony, and calls particular attention to the value of a body of songs as evidence of social processes over time" (Impey 2008:40). One of my own observations about Vaughan's work is that her discussion of songs suggests that they communicate exact historical details. In my own research I found that what songs and words meant in the past may not be the same as what they mean in the present. Despite this point of difference, the insights provided by Vaughan (1987), Shelemay (2006) and Impey (2008) are valuable for my own analysis of *dandaro* songs as a record of Zanzibari women's memories and pasts.

Box 2: In performance – entering the theatre – entering another time

The audience is led from the dark gallery space through a dark passageway, strips of red and white fabric above their heads – are they in a cave? What is this mystical space? What do these cloths mean? They enter the main theatre space and the sound of the umrhubhe *greets them as they take their seats. There is the faint sound of sea water lapping in the distance, and sometimes just faintly the sound of women speaking … faint … and in the distance.*

[12] Pounding songs are "sung by two or more women while they pound maize in mortars" (Vaughan 1987:181)

Taking the audience through the passageway of cloths is designed to prepare them for a transformation, a shift to a different time and place. To that indeterminate space between memory and history.

> Time and space are key components of ritualization, not just that rituals may occur in specific places or at specific times, but also in the sense that in ritual time and space are experienced in very different ways which create distance from the everyday. (Moyes 2012:64)

The essence of ritual and a slowing down of time were important to communicate at this point in the performance. The audience needed to be ready to be transported to a different time in history, and to a place in people's memories where everyday time no longer applies. The faint sound of the sea can be heard, and voices reminiscent of the memories people hold, sometimes remembering, sometimes forgetting.

LOOKING FOR SONGS OF *ZAMANI, ZAMANI* (LONG, LONG AGO)

Today as I sat on the third-floor veranda of the Dhow Countries Music Academy, looking out over the Zanzibar Town harbour, practising tablah *(*darabukka*),*[13] *a student came up to me and asked what brought me to Zanzibar. I explained that I am researching old songs of Zanzibar and he said, "Oh taarab?" And I replied, "No, before the time of taarab" and he responded with a look of confusion, saying "I don't know much of the music from that time." (Fieldnotes, 4 October 2017)*

I met with Bi Nasra in her home in Zanzibar Town today. I sat on her couch with my clothes almost soaked through from the rain that poured down on the way there. The rain continued to hammer at the corrugated roof and so I had to listen carefully as she quietly told me all about the many amazing women of TANU[14] *and the women who had started their own taarab clubs. I asked her if she knew anything about the music before taarab was introduced to Zanzibar and she looked apologetic and said, "Unfortunately I don't know much about that time." (Fieldnotes, 15 November 2017)*

[13] *Tablah* is the Kiswahili word for a *darabukka* drum. The *darabukka* is a goblet drum played throughout North Africa, Central Asia and the Middle East.
[14] The Tangayika African National Union.

Today I travelled from Zanzibar Town to Jambiani. During the hour-long journey I thought about my month of language studies and acclimatisation in Zanzibar. It was time to start my fieldwork in the village of Jambiani. While the car drove out of town through suburbs to the villages my head was full of questions. Would people understand what I meant when I said I was looking for songs from long ago? Would people in Jambiani view the past differently to the people in Zanzibar Town? Would people know songs from before the time of taarab*?*

I arrived in Jambiani and it looked so different from the last time I was here in 2010. I can hardly find my way to Changa's house. I will be staying with Changa, an old friend whom I know through my parents,[15] *and his wife Khadija and their children. For now, Changa's home is my home in Jambiani. (Fieldnotes, 2 November 2017)*

I sat with Khadija as she cooked supper for the family. I enjoyed this time to talk to her and practise Kiswahili. She laughed at me for my halting conversational skills but patiently helped me with words I might not know. We talked about the music she liked, and she sang me some taarab *songs that she loved. I asked her if she knew older songs and she started singing a song that sounded quite different from the* taarab *songs she had sung. I asked, "Is this song from before the time of* taarab*?" And she replied, "Yes this song is very old! My grandmother taught me and her grandmother probably taught her." (Fieldnotes, 26 February 2018)*

These conversations helped me to realised that there is a pattern to people's understanding of the music of long ago. If people know a lot about taarab *music and the period of Omani reign, their connection to the music and general history before that time period (pre-1800s) is not very substantial. Only a selection of the people I have asked know a significant amount about the music before* taarab*. It seems the further away from Zanzibar Town and the closer to the villages you go, the more people know about the oral history and oral traditions from before the time of the Omani Sultanate. (Fieldnotes, 3 March 2018)*

[15] As I explain in more detail in Chapter Three, my parents and brother lived in Jambiani for six months in 2006 and made strong connections with people living there. They made good friends with Changa, who ran a restaurant from his home and who sometimes borrowed chairs from my parents' house if he had extra guests booked for dinner. I visited my family there in September 2006, and met Changa and his family. We returned as a family to visit Jambiani in 2010.

KABLA YA TAARAB (BEFORE *TAARAB*)

My decision to look for music "before *taarab*" was motivated by the initial focus of my research on the period from 700 to 1500 CE. My original aim was to research music from as close to this time period as possible, but I soon realised that asking people about music from before the 1500s was not specific enough, because for most of them dates were just numbers. I needed to link that time period to events that related to people's lives.

I began my field research with language study in Zanzibar Town, the capital of Zanzibar. I spent much of this time with musicians at the Dhow Countries Music Academy. When I explained that I was studying the music of Zanzibar, most people assumed I was studying *taarab*, an extremely popular genre of music in East Africa, particularly Kenya and Tanzania which was influenced by Egyptian *takht*[16] music introduced during the Omani Sultanate in the 1800s.[17] I soon realised that I needed to use the Omani period as an historical marker to help people understand the time period that interested me. I began to describe my work as research into the music "before *taarab*" because this would at least lead me to the time before the 1800s. Usually the response was a puzzled one – was there anything before *taarab*? This pillar of time in people's minds showed how strong the influence of the Omani Sultanate has been in Zanzibar. It was clear that "links with Oman have become part of families' histories, and a strong Omani influence is discernible at many levels of Swahili society" (Topp Fargion 2014:22). Peoples' knowledge of the time before the Omani Sultanate was limited; only a select few that I asked knew about the music before this time. It was also clear that, amongst the urbanised and educated, at least, the link to Oman had significantly shaped their identity. It was a socially shared representation of "history that had been important in creating, maintaining and changing a people's identity" (Liu and Hilton 2005:537).

[16]"The word *takht* – of Persian origin – designates the stage or podium: a wooden platform slightly higher than the ground where the members of the ensemble sit. With time, *takht* became the title of the musical ensemble itself" (Amar Foundation n.d.).

[17] The exact origin of *taarab* music in Zanzibar is debated, but it is widely accepted that it was introduced to the island during the Omani Sultanate (Topp Fargion 2014).

It was only when I got to the villages and came into contact with a more vital oral tradition that the time "before *taraab*" became apparent in discourse and practice. The identity of people in the areas outside of Zanzibar Town was shaped more by the period that people in the village called *zamani zamani* (of old or long, long ago) than by the era of the Omani Sultanate. Looking at a simple chronology of Zanzibari history allows one to understand this pattern more easily. It also shows how the complex political history of Zanzibar has left a mark on the way people live and function as a society today. In the next section of this chapter I present a brief overview of this history.

Box 3: In performance – prelude – walking together, casting shadows and creating the performance space

B and Q sit together on chairs, upstage right. They are ready to start their journey together. B stands and Q follows, B playing the umrhubhe and Q listening. They walk in slow motion, the subtle lights just showing their movements … so slow … almost still … is time slowing down? Their long shadows are cast onto the stage and each other. They are walking together; they follow the same path and they each cast their own shadow.

These opening scenes prepare the audience for the ritual space that is being created in the theatre – the space that is being created for the voices of the past to speak through the voices in the present. The performance plays with time, the time in the past and in the present, but also how different people experience time. My aim was to create a dreamlike space in the theatre, one where people felt they were in a place where time slowed down, where they could just listen and not have to hurry on with their normal lives. We wanted to transport the audience away from their own lives so that they had the space in their minds to listen, to hear the past, to hear the present.

The opening scene shows how Bronwen and Qondiswa worked together to create the performance, allowing Bronwen's interpretations of the research data to lead the work while still collaborating with each other. Casting their own shadows on each other's practice, negotiating a performance space where an actor and a musician both belong, while also casting their own shadows on the research data.

There is a heightened creativity that comes with collaboration. Helka-Maria Kinnunen suggests that artistic collaboration allows one to search "unknown paths – following the passion and curiosity for change … seeking for the essentials of artistic collaboration" to create "a shared moment, an intangible whole" (Kinnunen 2010:30). *Tia Maji* was created in collaboration with Qondiswa James, an actress, director and theatre practitioner. Qondiswa's role in the creation of the performance was to support the creative process of forming the research findings and theory into a performance. She explained in an interview how she understood her role in the process:

> I am interested in decolonial research methodologies especially in relation to ethnographic studies. I have always been troubled by the idea that an outsider comes with a lens to dissect the indigenous in order to draw conclusions about what these "others" might or might not be. Even if it is to try and understand others, I have always been troubled by the colonial gaze of ethnographic studies and have often wondered whether it might not be more honest for the researcher to declare themselves present, turning the gaze on themselves as they move through this new place. In that way, the researcher does not ask of themselves to make conclusions (often blind, assumptive and politically incorrect) but accepts that what they have experienced of that place are only impressions: feelings, pictures, smells, like memory. And that memory is the only thing they can make conclusions about, the thing that is theirs. So, my role in this piece with Bronwen is to together turn the gaze on us, the outsiders while honestly presenting what it felt like for Bronwen to be there. My work here, besides being an outside eye and ear, is to balance the space with Bronwen, bringing attention to the soft presence of black women everywhere, especially as women who ourselves hold space for so many others at work, at home, at play, at school. Also, to give context and frame, to be present for Bronwen to get to grips with her story. (Interview, Qondiswa James, 3 October 2019, Observatory, Cape Town)

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

On arriving in Zanzibar Town in 2017, I felt a very strange sense of both familiarity and alienation. I had been there five times during my teenage years, on holidays with my family, who eventually lived in Zanzibar for six months in 2006, hence the familiarity. I describe my family's connections to Zanzibar in Chapter Three. On 26 September 2017, I arrived there on my own to start my fieldwork as part of my research on the role of women in the trade across the Indian Ocean. I had filled my mind with the literature about this ancient town, stories and histories dating back to the first century CE. I started my fieldwork in Zanzibar Town so that I could learn enough Kiswahili to communicate in everyday interactions. Each day that I went through my routine in Zanzibar Town I was struck by the collision of fiction and fact, old and new, political histories and lived experiences, the reality of present-day Zanzibar Town, the stories of the Persian travellers and African slaves that I had read about, and the reality of my day. These parallel and intertwined worlds were reflected in a moment of my day when *bongo flava* and *taarab* music came in distorted form out of the speakers next to an old mosque on the corner of two roads, one named after the former president of Tanzania (Benjamin Mkapa) and the second named after an ancient city on the East African coast (Malindi).

In this section I provide some historical background information in order for the reader to understand the long and complex past of Zanzibar that affects Zanzibari society to this day. I explain the connections between Zanzibar and mainland Africa, and across the western Indian Ocean. I also give a brief description of Zanzibar's political history from the 1800s to the present time, which is important for an understanding of the dynamics that exist between different ethnicities on the island, and of how people's identities are affected by a complex and sometimes traumatic past.

I have included information about the trajectory of *taarab* music in Zanzibar within this historical background, because it provides insight into the ubiquitous presence of *taarab* in popular culture in Zanzibar today. *Taarab* has taken on many roles in the course of time. It has been a signifier of class and status, a signifier of Swahili culture, a form of social commentary, a sign of unification amongst women, and a tool of

communication used by the revolutionary Afro-Shirazi Party.

Zanzibar and the Indian Ocean: prehistoric and precolonial times

Zanzibar appears as two small dots on the map, but these two islands, Unguja and Pemba, formed an integral part of a network of trade and exchange of goods and ideas that extended from the hinterland of Africa out across the western Indian Ocean. These threads of exchange date back thousands of years, but still contribute to the complex and cosmopolitan lived experience and identity of present-day Zanzibaris.

From the fourth century BCE to the fourteenth century CE, the Arab world, India, China, South East Asia and Africa were connected across the Indian Ocean. The shores of the Indian Ocean were linked not only by the sea but also by sailors, traders, religious men and migrants travelling in search of goods and new lands (Beaujard 2005:411). According to Fernand Braudel, "[o]ver the centuries, these exchanges transformed the Indian Ocean into a unified space" (Braudel 1990:253 in Beaujard 2005:411), with the flow of people, motivated by trade, leading to the development of urban centres and complex trade networks characterised by a mix of cultures and the exchange of goods, knowledge and beliefs (Beaujard 2005). Although the focus of this background section is on the East African coast in relation to the Indian Ocean trade system, it is important to keep in mind that there was trade and interaction that extended beyond the borders of the Indian Ocean, "reaching from China to Europe and Africa" and over time extending to the Mediterranean (Beaujard 2005:412).

Trade in the Indian Ocean was organised in a hierarchy of importance of trading centres, depending on each centre's economic and geographical positioning, systems of ideas and political powers. Philippe Beaujard describes how over time, commercial centres "rose, fell, and replaced one another, such changes accompanying a restructuring of networks and hierarchies" (2005: 452). Beaujard describes the movement of the commercial centre in East Africa

> from Rhapta (at the mouth of the Rufiji River, from the first century) to the archipelago of Lamu, Pemba, and Zanzibar (ninth through tenth centuries especially) then to Kilwa (after the eleventh century, and especially from the fourteenth through fifteenth centuries), then to Mogadishu and Mombasa (in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries). (2005:452)

The earliest written evidence of East Africa's interaction with Asia is in *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea,* written in abut 60 CE by an unknown Greek merchant living in Egypt (Chittick 1968:102). The document developed out of the need for "a guide and pilot for traders" (1968:102) of the Indian Ocean (known to Greeks and Romans as the Erythraean Sea). Sir John Gray makes reference to one of the early mentions of the East African coast in *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*:

> In this description of the East African coast the author tells us that: the Marpharic Chief governs it under some ancient right, that subjects it to the sovereignty of the State that has become the first in Arabia. The people of Muza (Mocha?) [sic] now hold it under his authority, and send thither many large ships, using Arab captains and agents, who are familiar with the natives and intermarry with them and who know the whole coast and understand the language. (Gray 1962:11)

Another written source documenting the interactions across the Indian Ocean, dating from the fifth century CE, is *Geography* by the Roman author Ptolemy. Ptolemy writes of Muza (Mocha) in Yemen as the port that most ships came from and says that "the goods they came to barter for were those typical of the exports of East Africa" (Chittick 1968:103) such as ivory and tortoise-shell.

> The East African coast was known as Azania to these writers, and as the land of the Zenj to the Arabs. Its chief town was Rhapta, so called from the word "sewn", in reference to the sewn boats which were a feature of this place and of the island of Menouthias (probably Mafia, standing for all the islands of the Zanzibar group). (Chittick 1968:102)

Though the status of these secondary accounts as "literal historical accounts" is questioned (Juma 2004:13), there are a growing number of archaeological sources that provide useful frames of "archaeological argumentation" (Juma 2004:13) and allow for these accounts to be taken seriously.

Archaeological sites in Zanzibar date back to the Paleolithic period. An excavation in Kuumbi Cave in south-east Zanzibar found evidence of stone tools that suggests inhabitancy from 20 000 years ago (Chami 2009). An ancient pendant found in Eshnaunna, a Sumerian city, dated to ca. 2500–2400 BCE, contains copal, a resin that can be traced back to Zanzibar, showing evidence of traded goods from Zanzibar (Meyer et al. 1991). There are particular archaeological sites that show the links that Zanzibar had within the trade network of the western Indian Ocean. These are Kizimkazi and

Unguja Ukuu, both on Unguja Island, Jongowe Makutani on Tumbatu Island, and Mtambwe Mkuu on Pemba Island (Juma 2004). Unfortunately, no musical instruments or symbols of music have been found in the archaeological sites of Zanzibar. A major problem with material culture research is the decay of artefacts manufactured from organic materials, which is true of most musical instruments dating from before the 1500s. Organic materials leave far less obvious traces than ceramic, metal, shell, stone or other durable materials. Roger Blench points out the difficulty of researching the music of the Indian Ocean littoral before the 1500s because "synchronic material culture has almost vanished as an academic discipline, regrettably along with much of its subject matter" (Blench 2014:678). He says that

> [t]he transfer of immaterial culture such as religion, artistic forms and social praxis is often easy to see, but harder to model. Reconstructing a narrative involves binding together very different classes of evidence and reaching conclusions with lower levels of certainty than can be expected from "scientific" archaeology. Arguably though, these topics are of greater importance, since societies are not ceramics but nexuses of complex behaviour for which pottery may be a limited proxy. The more life that can be breathed into these reconstructions, the richer will be our understanding of the past. (Blench 2014:677)

There are also oral sources for history of the East African coast, including local chronicles that have recorded oral traditions and "reflect elite attempts to make sense of the past and relate to events during the 8–10th centuries AD" (Juma 2004:17). These chronicles are the Kilwa Chronicle, the Pate Chronicle and the Tumbatu Chronicle. They describe various early Muslim migrations from Syria and Persia, with specific reference to the Shirazi migration that formed such an important part of local East African histories from the 1100s. The chronicles include a story of "Muslim Caliph Abdul Malik Marwan of Syria, who is said to have dispatched religious emissaries to propagate Islam and establish towns on the east African coast during the 8th century AD" (Juma 2004:17). And the Kilwa Chronicle records the account of

> princes from the City of Shiraz in Persia (c. late 10th century) who under the patronage of Hassan bin Ali, landed at different places on the Swahili coast to establish towns such as Manda, Shanga, Kilwa, and others located on the Islands of Zanzibar and Comoros, as given in the Chronicle of Pate. (Juma 2004:17)

The many different versions of these accounts still told in Zanzibar suggest, as with all oral history, that a critical approach is important (*Conversation with oral historian Babu*

Bindu, 2017, Bwejuu, Zanzibar). Nevertheless, the oral chronicles are useful for reconstructing the history of the growth of urban centres and the patterns of trade associated with them. In all these chronicles the Zanzibar Islands are central during the period ca. 500–1000 CE (Juma 2004).

Using these oral chronicles, together with questioning of "Arabs and natives", Ingrams (1967:124) writes of three aboriginal tribes of Zanzibar, the Wahadimu (known for their agricultural abilities), the Watumbatu (known for producing great sailors) and the Wapemba (known for being great fishermen). Ingrams suggests that these aboriginal tribes originated from various places on the mainland, and came to the islands to create temporary settlements to fish and farm:

> No doubt this was the way the first Africans came to Zanzibar and Pemba on their own, unless some were brought as slaves. Zanzibar and Pemba are not far from the mainland, and not too far to preclude these temporary inhabitants from making settlements. As the fishermen, pressed with the good fishing round the shores, stayed longer, their settlements grew into permanent villages, and the men brought their women-folk, who would also bring their manioc to plant. (Ingrams 1967:124)

Ingrams also describes groups of people called the Wavumba, the Wasegeju, the Wadiba and the Wadebuli. In the oral history of Zanzibar there is reference to these groups, although it is unclear who their exact ancestors were or what their origins are. What is clear is that the Wavumba are said to be descendants of the Shirazi who settled on the East African coast in 1200 CE, on the delta of the Umba River (Ingrams 1967). The Wapemba, Wahadimu and Watumbatu claim Shirazi origin, a significant ancestry that current Zanzibaris still claim. This theory of Shirazi origin has been discussed and explored by scholars such as J. De V. Allen and Thomas Wilson (1982), Neville Chittick (1968) and Freeman-Grenville (1962), with opinions differing on the matter.

As stated above, the Indian Ocean was connected by a network of trade; movement across the ocean would have been facilitated by the monsoon winds. Both Ptolemy and the author of the *Periplus* write of the monsoon winds that allowed for the movement across the Indian Ocean: the north-east monsoon that brought ships to East Africa and the south-west monsoon that took them back to India and Arabia. The months between these monsoon winds meant that Indian and Arab traders would be stationed on the East African coast for months at a time before they could return to their home ports.

Thus, it makes sense to assume that the "Arab captains and agents, who are familiar with the natives and intermarry with them" referred to in the *Periplus* (Gray 1962: 11) would have integrated into the society they encountered on the East African coast, creating a cosmopolitan mixture of people. Zanzibar was an important part of this network, because ships could find shelter on the west coast of the island, in the area which is now Zanzibar Town. Traders from the Persian Gulf, Arabia and western India visited Zanzibar from about the first century CE. Zanzibar itself did not at that time offer resources to trade but offered a good point from which to trade with settlements along the Swahili coast and in the interior of mainland Africa.

Colonial powers and the Omani legacy

When the Portuguese arrived in the Indian Ocean at the end of the fifteenth century, they found a "flourishing world-economy" (Wallerstein 1974:331). The Portuguese saw opportunity in this "flourishing world-economy" and began taking over important nodes of trade along the East African coast. Zanzibar became part of the Portuguese empire by force in 1503 (Ingrams 1967). The Portuguese held on to their rule in East Africa for 200 years from 1498. The weakening of Portuguese rule on the East African coast occurred at different places over time, from 1594 to around 1800, although it is not clear exactly when the Portuguese gave up their control of Zanzibar. It is clear, though, that "[t]hey were finally ousted after a series of revolts aided by Arabs from Oman" (Topp Fargion 2014:21). These revolts started in Zanzibar in 1652, but the initial request to Oman for assistance came from Mombasa: "When the Imam Sultan bin Seif defeated the Portuguese at Muscat in 1650, the chiefs of Mombasa appealed to him for aid" (Ingrams 1967:119).

The aid provided by Oman initiated a political relationship with Zanzibar that would later lead to Sultan Said bin Sultan moving his headquarters from Muscat to Zanzibar Town in 1832 (Gray 1962; Juma 2004). Gray describes how the sultan saw Zanzibar's potential "as an emporium for trade with the interior of Africa" (1962:218). This interest encouraged the revival of old trade routes with the hinterland of Africa (Juma 2004), which centred on the trade of slaves and ivory from mainland Africa. The growing number of clove plantations on the island also provided an export product. The

sultan maximised trade profits by channelling goods from mainland Africa bound for overseas markets through the Zanzibar port, so that they could be taxed by the royal customs authority there, which at this time was under Indian management (Juma 2004). Zanzibar and the rest of East Africa were merged into the Omani imperial state, and Zanzibar Town remained the capital until 1856 (Juma 2004).

The slave trade that took place in Zanzibar played an important role in the formation of its cosmopolitan culture. There were "two major periods of slave trade, the seventh to ninth centuries, and the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries" (Sheriff 1987). In the nineteenth century slaves came from the mainland, and Zanzibar functioned as a major depot for this trade that reached out across the western Indian Ocean (Juma 2004). The expansion of clove farming in the 1800s changed the nature of the slave trade significantly: "[t]he slaves that were taken from the continent were no longer solely a trade item for the island merchants; they became a source of production labour on plantations" (Depelchin 1991:14).

During this time in the 1800s, Great Britain started to play an administrative role in Zanzibar and in other countries of the Arab East African empire. The influence of Great Britain over Zanzibar came about partly because of its increasing involvement in the trade in the Indian Ocean, and partly because of the "signing of a series of 'Amity and Commerce' treaties with the United States of America (1833), Great Britain (1839) and France (1844) giving them 'most favoured nation' privileges" (Depelchin 1991:15). Slavery continued in Zanzibar until 1897, when it was abolished entirely (Depelchin 1991; Sheriff and Ferguson 1991).

The sultanate of Oman was responsible for introducing a remarkable musical legacy of *taarab* that is present to this day, although *how* it was introduced by the sultanate is still a matter of debate. The introduction of the musical style of *taarab* to Zanzibar is not easy to describe, because there are differing opinions and oral accounts about how this happened. Janet Topp Fargion states that "as with many attempts to trace the history of social phenomena, the facts are difficult to discern through variations of experience and personal interpretations over time"(2014:45) and "when trying to document the origins of a style that pre-dates living memory, we normally have to rely solely on second hand

accounts of events" (2014:43). However, there is a first-hand account from a respected *taarab* musician, Shaib Abeid (born in Zanzibar in 1890, he died in 1974) that sheds light on the introduction of *taarab* to Zanzibar (Topp Fargion 2014). Shaib Abeid's account formed the "popular historical narrative" that many other musicians such as Idi Farhan, Seif Salim Saleh and Mohammed Khatib now tell (Topp Fargion 2014:43).

Sultan Barghash bin Said (1870–1888) is believed to be the person responsible for introducing *taarab* to Zanzibar. He was the third sultan to make Zanzibar the seat of the Omani Sultanate. In a personal communication with Idi Farhan (25 May 1989), Topp Fargion records him saying the following:

> Seyyid Barghash in 1870 … was the person who sent a man from Zanzibar, called Mohammed bin Ibrahim, to Cairo to study this taarab music. When he came back he brought a lot of Arabic music … Mohammed bin Ibrahim is said to have taught other Zanzibari musicians the music he learnt in Cairo. (Topp Fargion 2014:44)

Another account suggests that in fact Sultan Barghash actually "received musicians sent to him from Egypt after his visit there" (2014:45). According to Douglas Daniels, "[b]y 1905, the first music club, *Nadi Ikhwan Safaa* (Enlightened Brotherhood), was formed. Within a few years, women started a sisterhood for the same purposes. Taarab was featured in both" (Daniels 1996:418).

Taarab was most often associated with the palaces of the sultan, giving it an elitist reputation. In 1920 this all changed with Siti binti Saad, who "made *taarab* accessible to the general public not only linguistically by singing in Kiswahili, but also socially by penetrating its elitist veneer" (Askew 2002:109). Siti binti Saad also made *taarab* more accessible, because "the themes of the songs concerned everyday life in Zanzibar and often related to actual stories and events, offering critiques on injustices, social actions and local values" (Topp Fargion 2014:50). The subject matter of *taarab* songs was generally hidden in metaphor, a topic that I write about extensively in Chapter Four of this dissertation. This use of metaphor meant that these songs were effective in dealing with difficult topics. The songs that were performed in the 1980s typically dealt with issues of love and personal relationships (Topp Fargion 2014:59), but over time the songs dealt more with social issues. Siti binti Saad was one of the first lyricists to write songs that addressed social issues directly.

The postcolonial period: nationalism, party politics and ethnic division

The early 1900s marked a period when political discourse in Zanzibar centred on race, ethnicity and class, and this had a significant influence on the future of social and political structures in Zanzibar. Amongst the ethnic divisions on the island there were four main ones: Arab, African, Shirazi and Indian. Although there was conflict between these groups, it must be noted that the political unrest and the revolution were not solely the result of race and class divisions. However, in order to understand the politics of race and class in present-day Zanzibar, it is necessary to acknowledge the various different peoples that lived and worked on the islands before the revolution. As a result of Zanzibar being a "Commercial Empire based on the twin foundations of commerce and a plantation economy" (Sheriff 2001:301), in the nineteenth century people from the Arab Gulf states, India, and inland Africa migrated there (by choice or force) to take part in the activities of this commercial empire. According to Abdul Sheriff,

> [t]he first sector [of the commercial empire] had centralized the foreign trade of much of eastern Africa on Zanzibar, and it gave rise to a prosperous mercantile state and a merchant class which was notably though not entirely Indian, and the beginnings of an urban working class that was partly servile, handling the commercial economy. The plantation economy, on the other hand, created a slave society with rich land-owners many though not all of whom were Arabs, and slaves imported from the mainland. (Sheriff 2001:301)

This division of labour led to the development of a racial paradigm where "the population was labelled by race, and race denoted function; Arabs were landowners and clove-planters, Indians were traders and financiers, and Africans were labourers" (Flint 1965:655). These race and class divisions are an oversimplification of the situation in Zanzibar. Furthermore, there were not simply "Arabs", but Hadhrami Arabs and Omani Arabs; and the Africans would have been from Tanganyika, Kenya, Congo, Sudan and beyond. The Shirazi identity is an interesting one in relation to the race politics of Zanzibar; the Shirazi identify as the descendants of the original inhabitants of Zanzibar, "who intermarried with early Arab immigrants (in the eleventh and twelfth centuries) said to have come from Shiraz in present day Iran" (Topp Fargion 2014:60).

Over time the labelling of race groups did lead to various associations being formed. The African Association was one such group, which formed in the 1930s "in response to the

hardships of the Depression felt by the urban working population, most of whom were Africans of mainland origin" (Sheriff 2001:308). The African Association was not as successful as the Arab and Shirazi Associations (discussed below) in gaining followers, because it was seen as a foreign organisation from the mainland; this was due to its close connection to the African Association in Tanganyika, and also because it was predominantly a Christian and urban organisation. In opposition to the African Association, the Shirazi Association was formed in the 1940s in Pemba, representing farm owners and "a class of middle and rich peasants" (Sheriff 2001:309). The Shirazi were considered the indigenous population of Zanzibar, and thus the forming of the Shirazi Association was a way for the indigenous peasant population to assert its economic interests in opposition to the largely urban, working population that was represented by the African Association.

The Arab Association, "which was formed early in the twentieth century to protect the interests of the declining landowning class" (Sheriff 2001:307), was responsible for starting a Zanzibari nationalist movement in 1954 (Lofchie 2015:9). This was despite the Arab population being the minority in Zanzibar and the African population the majority at the time. The Arab Association started this nationalist movement by holding a boycott of the Legislative Council to pressure the British government to allow self-governance. After a year-and-a-half, the British government conceded and allowed a common-roll election to be held. During this time other nationalist organisations emerged; one of particular importance was called "*Hizbu I'Watan Raia Sultan Zanzibar* – the 'Nationalist Party of Subjects of His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar'" (Lofchie 1963:191). It was formed in 1955 in the village of Kiembe Samaki (close to Chukwani and Zanzibar Town). In 1956 two members of the Arab Association joined the *Hizbu I'Watan Raia Sultan Zanzibar* and shortened the name to *Hizbu I'Watan*; this eventually became the Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP). As a result of "the active encouragement of Tanganyika's president Julius Nyerere, the African Association combined on the eve of the 1957 elections with the Shirazi Association to form the Afro-Shirazi Party" (Sheriff 2001:310).

In 1958 political awareness heightened; this period is often referred to as "*wakati wa siasa* (lit., period of political activity) … [t]his period saw the formation of several

politically orientated *taarab* groups" (Topp Fargion 2014:60). These groups utilised performances and fee-paying members to raise money for their political causes. *Taarab* continued to be used to communicate messages about love and personal relationships, but it also became a tool for communicating political agendas.

In December 1963 Zanzibar gained independence from Great Britain but continued to be ruled by the Sultan of Oman. Shortly after, on 12 January 1964, there was a violent revolution "in which an estimated ten to twelve thousand 'Arabs' lost their lives" (Askew 2002:47). According to Sheriff, "[t]he primary justification for the revolution was the redressing of imbalances left over by colonialism" (Sheriff 2001:315), although its causes were complex and the result of a long history of colonial influence and ethnic divide. Sheriff criticised Michael Lofchie's (1965) interpretation of the revolution, because, he argued, Lofchie "ignored the significant differences between the indigenous people of Zanzibar and the more recent immigrants from the mainland, treating them all as an undifferentiated African majority" (Sheriff 2001:306). Sheriff suggests that this interpretation of the revolution was very popular and dominated the discourse on its causes. He argues that it was not as simple as

> an overthrow of an Arab oligarchy by an African majority as is commonly claimed, but [should be understood] as a civil war in a society that could not find enough common national ground. To explain the ethnic-cum-class content of the Zanzibar revolution one has to focus more narrowly on Unguja where class differences were sharper and the ethnic tendency was stronger. (Sheriff 2001:313)

The debate about whether Swahili identity stems from African or Arab ancestry emerged in the 1960s and reached its height in the 1970s. At this point it is important to note the general influence of diffusionist theories that were prevalent in the explanation of how African civilisation generally came about. These theories put forward the problematic idea that much of the civilisation in Africa originated from Asian sources (Blench 2014; Nurse and Spear 2017). The debate around Swahili identity and its Arab versus African origin was reflected in the politics of Zanzibar, where "race and culture became essentialised" and Arabs were viewed as the race that brought civilisation to the African "barbarians" (Ivanov 2014:213).

Alongside this, and adding to the complexity of the debates, was the rhetoric of the African Association (a pan-African nationalist opposition party to the pro-Sultanate Zanzibar National Party), which took advantage of the "racial undertones" of this "elite historical narrative". It was constructed to emphasise and make explicit the history of "'Arab' enslavement, oppression and exploitation of the 'Africans' that had been brought to an end" (Ivanov 2014:213) by the nationalist mobilisation. Not only have the political parties influenced how Arabs and Africans are viewed, but there is also an obvious discomfort between mainlanders and islanders that was clearly enhanced by the rhetoric of Zanzibari President Abeid Karume, of Malawian heritage, who "privileged mainlander Africans over Zanzibari Africans (who self-identified as 'Shirazi') and those of Arab and Asian descent" (Askew 2006:26–27).[18]

Paola Ivanov, in her discussion of the use of the terms "Arab", "African", "urban" and "rural" to describe East Africans, suggests that these "Western dichotomising terms can't adequately express non-binary identity formations" (Ivanov 2014:233). The Swahili identity can be multi-layered, complex, changing and multiple. This was very much what I experienced. Through my observations of daily life in Zanzibar, and conversations with Zanzibari friends and colleagues, I became aware that everyday interactions are fraught with the underlying tensions of this complex sense of history and identity.

If you want to find out the real news you have to have conversations with people and not take the news from the newspaper. That's why so many men gather together and talk about politics, because that is like their newspaper. We don't trust what the newspapers say because the government influences them. (Conversation with a businessman at a kahawa(coffee) station at the Zanzibar Town Harbour, October 2017, Zanzibar Town.)

According to Ivanov,

> [t]he rhetoric of the [pro-sultanate] Zanzibar National Party, which aimed at excluding recently immigrated mainlanders from the electoral rolls and thus from citizenship, in particular also re-elaborated deep-seated local notions of what Glassman [2004] calls "coastal exceptionalism" [736], that is, the way in which Muslim coastal urban-centred societies have distinguished themselves for

[18] Karume was president of Zanzibar from 1964 to 1972.

> centuries as epitomes of 'civilisation' from the non-Muslim "barbarians" (*washenzi*) of the hinterland and the interior. During Omani domination in the 19th century this ideal of civilisation had become associated with "Arabness" and subsumed under the term of *ustaarabu.*[19] (Ivanov 2014:212)

The discourse of the revolution was one that rejected Omani rule and, along with the broader Tanzanian political programme, adopted *Ujamaa* (familyhood/ brotherhood/ socialism), a term describing a time before Omani colonisation which "referenced a mythic past when people lived a harmonious, cooperative existence" (Askew 2006:21).[20] The revolution, in which many thousands lost their lives, and the oppressive nature of the Eastern European-influenced scientific socialism that was pursued in the Karume years, was vastly different from this mythic past. This period of socialist reform and revolution has left Zanzibar with a trauma linked to issues of identity politics that lies under the surface of people's daily existence today.

The revolution resulted in the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) taking power, and a few months after the revolution Julius Nyerere, the president of the ruling Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), and Abeid Karume, the president of the ASP, merged Zanzibar with Tanganyika to become the United Republic of Tanzania. The two parties, TANU and ASP, merged to become Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) (Party of the Revolution) (Askew 2002). These political developments had consequences for *taarab*:

> For a short period immediately following the revolution, taarab was banned entirely, for allegedly being un-African. The argument put forth by those who supported the ban was that taarab had its origins among the Arab ruling class in Zanzibar, and because the aim of the revolution was to overthrow them, "Arab" culture should be overthrown too. (Fair 2002:77–78)

The ban on *taarab* music was eventually lifted, but "the only songs that were allowed for many years after the revolution were those that either praised the revolution or promoted the new revolutionary government's policies and programs" (Fair 2002:78). Though the revolution brought the identity debate to a violent head, the complexity of

[19] *Ustaarabu* (civilisation) is a cultural ideal, meaning literally (the act of) "becoming/behaving like an Arab", of more or less refined culture – according to the dichotomy of civilised versus non-civilised (Ivanov 2014:213).

[20] Ujamaa is "a concept which Nyerere developed back in 1962 in his outline of an African brand of socialism. Ujamaa is the obligation of all to work and implies a just distribution of the social product and, finally, the common ownership of the means of production"(Kürschner 1974:89).

Zanzibari identity has a long history (Sheriff 2001), as I have shown in this section. Historians have described Zanzibaris and East Africans and their heritage in many ways over time, with various political agendas framing these descriptions. For many years there have been "asymmetrical antonyms" (Kosseleck 1979:211–59) present in discussions about people of East Africa – Arab (high-status, civilised), African (low-status, uncivilised), urban (high-status, sophisticated), rural (low-status, crude, *mshamba*, i.e. farmers) – that still exist in contemporary conversations (Ivanov 2012:644).

WOMEN'S LIVES IN PRESENT-DAY ZANZIBAR

Walking through the village of Jambiani I see women going about their daily lives, washing clothes just outside their front doors, chatting to each other on the doorstep, sitting making rope. If I went inside their homes, I would probably see women cooking food, cleaning their homes and looking after the young children while the older children are at school. On the beaches I see women walking from one hotel to the next offering massages and henna. When the tide is low, I see women farming seaweed in the shallow water, and in the late afternoons I see women collecting small shellfish to cook. These are some of the many activities done by women. (Fieldnotes, 15 November 2017)

The daily rhythm in Jambiani is set by the high and low tide of the sea. When the tide goes out there is a very shallow sea for kilometres, because of a coral shelf that surrounds most of Unguja Island. When the tide is out one sees women planting rows of seaweed all along the coast. This agricultural practice has existed for the last 20 years, mostly on the east coast and particularly in Jambiani and Paje. (Fieldnotes, 20 November 2017)

Women's roles in Jambiani are mostly agricultural or domestic. Farming seaweed, making rope from coconut husk fibre, baking and selling mandazi (fried dough usually eaten for breakfast), visheti (sugary deep-fried dough), boflo (fluffy white bread) or chapati (round flat bread similar to roti), selling fruit, vegetables and supplies in little stores, as well as domestic roles with the children and grandchildren in the home. (Fieldnotes, 1 March 2018)

Khadija started her day at 5:30 am sweeping the compound, cooking uji (porridge) or buying mandazi from the local shop. Then she woke up the children and got the eldest (four-year-old Ali) bathed and ready for school. The rest of her day was spent cleaning the house, cooking food for lunch and dinner and looking after her youngest (two-year-old Shadia). Her daily life is common to many women in Jambiani and many other women in rural Zanzibar. (Fieldnotes, 5 March 2018)

To understand the oral tradition I came to know through the women singers I met, we need to understand not only the historical context but also something about the way women live in present-day Zanzibar. Above I have given a few examples of the activities that women in Jambiani participate in daily; these are helpful in revealing the different roles and spaces that women move through, which in turn helps in understanding the idea of gendered public and private domains. I will discuss and problematise the concept of gendered public and private domains in Chapter Two, but it is useful here to understand how the public and private play out in the lives of the particular women I met and worked alongside.

In Zanzibar, many communities view the woman's domain as domestic, and any labour associated with the domestic realm is women's work – for example, caring for children, cleaning the home, cooking food, and other activities outside the home related to domestic life such as selling food and supplies in small shops, farming for family consumption, or making rope to be used in the home. Staying in the domestic realm enables women to keep out of the public eye, and thus to maintain *heshima* or respectability (which I discuss in the next chapter). Nelly Samson Maliva (2016) writes that these expectations of women's behaviour have developed in line with the Islamisation of Zanzibari culture in the last century. And Thembi Mutch states that "[t]he competing notions of female identity and performativity are interwoven into 'the truth' of Islamic womanhood for young women, a model which they themselves are keen to uphold" (Mutch 2012:116). Going against this expected behaviour would tarnish their reputation, as well as that of their families. This has a profound effect on which labour sectors women become involved in, and makes women, especially in rural areas, less likely to work in the public sector (Maliva 2016). On an island that has a flourishing tourist industry, for example, Zanzibari women are the least likely to work

in this sector mostly because, according to public opinion, a job in the public eye is not respectable for a Muslim woman. This public opinion is apparent in the following quote from a male, Muslim, Zanzibari hotel manager:

> Our religion does not forbid a woman to work, but it is better for her to have work that maintains her dignity. Women are not expected to be put to work in a crowded place, this humiliates her. There are so many jobs that women can take, but those should be within moral limits. (Quoted in Maliva 2016:73)

Mutch discusses how some women do work in the public sector, but this decision "rests on several contingencies: social status, retaining one's purity, managing gossip, and managing one's reputation" (Mutch 2012:111). She also states that some women who wish to work will leave the island to escape shame and gossip.

One particularly effective way of understanding women's lives in present-day Zanzibar is to examine the laws that affect women's lives. There are three different legal systems in operation in Zanzibar: Sharia, national and village law (Calaguas et al. 2007). Salma Maoulidi (2011) identifies some important changes in national law and politics that have had a positive effect on women's rights in Zanzibar. She says that women are now recognised as important stakeholders and policy makers in local politics, and that the "enactment of the Sexual Offenses (Special Provisions) Act [1985]… reflects development in human rights law and advocacy for woman's human rights" (Maoulidi 2011:49). An important advancement in the law was the inclusion of "marital rape" and "sexual harassment" in the Penal Act of 2004, thereby recognising a woman as someone with a choice over participation in the sexual act. The inclusion of these acts in the Tanzanian legal system meant that women and parents were empowered to "break the silence against crimes previously considered *aibu* (shameful)" (Maoulidi 2011:50). The relevance of this, in the context of the songs I analyse in this dissertation, is discussed in Chapter Five.

A significant law that was changed in 2005 was the 1985 Spinsters, Widows and Female Divorcee Protection Act, which originally stated that women who became pregnant out of wedlock would serve two years in prison before or after the birth of their child. This law was changed in 2005 so that women who became pregnant out of wedlock would only have to serve six months of community service; however, the man involved would

not be found responsible for any aspect of the pregnancy. The consequences for men in the 2005 version contrast strongly with the 1985 version of the law, which stated that men, if found guilty, would spend a few months in a correctional facility or a reform school (Maoulidi 2011:51). This change in the law is a move towards a freer life for women, but the criminalisation of pregnancy out of wedlock for women creates severe social and legal pressure for them. There are some national laws, particularly those dating from the early 1900s, that challenge women's rights; Maoulidi (2011:39) describes these laws as "examples of how the female subject was controlled by the state":

> The concern with and regulation of women's bodies during this period [of British colonial rule (1890–1963)] is evident in the introduction of offences against morality in the Penal decree of 1934. About 31 provisions in the law detailed various forms of carnal crimes against women's chastity. The prevailing sense of morality in colonial Zanzibar was conveyed by what was prohibited or permitted by law. Any sex outside marriage, whether incest, adultery, or any act that suggested that a girl was involved in illegal sexual activity (for example, abortion), was criminalized. The moral integrity of unmarried women between sixteen and twenty-one was left not to themselves or their parents but to the state, despite the fact that [from age sixteen to twenty-one] the women were technically considered adults. (Maoulidi 2011:39)

As Maoulidi states, the Penal Decree of 1934 criminalised sex outside of marriage particularly for a girl or woman. And Section 7 of Chapter 91 of the Marriage and Divorce (Muslim) Registration Act in the Penal Decree of 1934, which appears to protect girls, shows the extent of the violation of girls' and women's rights with regard to marriage. This law requires a wife to be above the age of puberty (the age is not specified). It also permits child marriages, and states that a female child can only have sex if she is above the age of thirteen, even if she is married, thus indicating that child marriages were still legal at the time.

Elizabeth Thompson notes that "state-building and class politics are integral to understanding who wins the discursive competition for women's bodies and the soul of the nation" (Thompson 2003:60). Although Thompson is referring to Islamic contexts in general, this point was particularly valid in Zanzibar when the nationalist governing party, the Afro-Shirazi Party, implemented the "Equality, Reconciliation of Zanzibar People's Decree (No. 6 of 1964), which sought to abolish the racial and class system in Zanzibar" (Maoulidi 2011:44). The name of this decree appears to be positive in the

light of the nationalist agenda, but one of the motivations for passing this law was to allow African men access to non-African women. The law essentially meant that men and women could marry without parental consent, which meant that women were no longer protected by the Islamic Sharia law that required the consent and presence of a legal guardian for marriage. According to Maoulidi, "[m]embers of the Revolutionary Council led by example, many forcibly marrying women previously denied them, especially Arab and Indian girls and some women from prominent Shirazi families" (Maoulidi 2011:45). Although in this specific situation the government was opposing Islamic law, the state won the "discursive competition for women's bodies" (Thompson 2003:60).

Despite advancements in women's rights and the passing of new laws designed to protect women, there are other factors at play that continue to affect women's rights in Zanzibar. To this day, according to Maoulidi, Zanzibari women's "lived realities are a negotiation between" the legal advancements according to international human rights standards "and a more transnational understanding of Islam, an increasingly political Islam that has a universal appeal, relevance and impact" (Maoulidi 2011:53). Maoulidi describes a study in Zanzibar that focuses on women's rights and gender-based violence and writes that

> the study found that local government and religious officials regularly inhibit the law from taking its course. In case of rape or sexual assault they preside over hastily arranged marriages on the demand of the girl's parents, the concern being to save the situation at hand not to comply with the law. (Maoulidi 2009:11)

She also suggests that the Islamic notion that describes women as *fitna* "(commonly translated as chaos but in this context as temptresses)" is a possible reason why cases of gender-based violence are not followed through in the courts. She suggests that if men were convicted of such gender-based crimes they would lose their position of power over women and forfeit their "role of moral policemen to women" (Maoulidi 2009:10).

CONCLUSION

To conclude, it became clear to me early on in my fieldwork that all the complexities of identity and the way the past is remembered weave together in the performance practices that form the main focus of this study. I came to learn through my fieldwork, too, that the institutions that dominate women's lives are also evident in the *dandaro* songs that were shared with me by women singers. The performance practices I explored are an important way of accessing information about people's negotiation of their roles in society, and their identity in relation to current issues and the past. This is because performance of music is "the crucible in which time and its memories are collected, reconstituted, and preserved" (Blum et al. 1993:269).

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

I booked Airbnb accommodation for the first few nights in Zanzibar Town, not sure what to expect. I was greeted by my host at the airport when I arrived. He was called Salum, but he told me everyone knew him as Okidoki. Okidoki was an amazing host; I hadn't expected to be shown around town as soon as I arrived, but he took it on as his role! He took me around Zanzibar Town on my first day, showing me where to draw money, where to buy a SIM card, where to buy food, and how to avoid being harassed by beach boys who "work with tourists but many of them are looking for a European woman to fall in love with them" (Okidoki, personal communication). I did think to myself after some time that Okidoki might be a "beach boy" himself, but he offered an insight into the world of Zanzibar that I greatly appreciated and knew I wouldn't easily access.[21] *As I walked around town with Okidoki, I realised that many people knew him. He greeted everyone who walked past and they greeted him, the young boys we passed looked up to him, Babu Chai (Grandfather Tea) at the Forodhani night market greeted him enthusiastically, and an old man at Jaws Corner, a public square, told me (through hand signals and much laughter) that Okidoki was crazy. Jaws Corner is a well-known spot in Zanzibar Town where men gather to chat, drink coffee, watch football and play dominoes. This was one of the more explicit examples of a male space I encountered in Zanzibar, and the only reasons I could be part of it were because Okidoki welcomed me into the space and made my presence acceptable, and because I was an outsider. The men must have thought it strange that I sat there drinking coffee and playing dominoes with Okidoki, but I trusted (slightly naively) that he would guide me through what was acceptable and what was not. Because he was a man, the only spaces he could take me to were where men gathered; he didn't*

[21] Young men who take part informally in the tourist industry are often referred to as "beach boys". Their job "involves taking tourists to snorkeling and swimming spots, showing them around the village and making transport and excursion arrangements, facilitating bicycle or motorbike rentals" (Mutayoba and Mbwete 2013:114). This kind of informal tourism work is "congruent in many ways with the phenomenon of beach boys in the anthropology of tourism literature broadly, including participation in 'romance tourism' with visiting women" (Demovic 2016:5). See Kempadoo (2001); Nyanzi et al. (2005). "Beach boys" gather around tourist areas to solicit work from tourists, and often to find women who are looking for a local man to be their partner. This phenomenon is viewed by locals with mixed opinions, but I suggest that this is a form of sex work, and that beach boys see themselves either as entrepreneurs making the most of the booming tourist industry in Zanzibar or really hope for a connection with a European woman that could lead to a better life.

seem to have any family in town and so my experience of his life was masculine and urban. I appreciated the stories and background information he provided, which gave me a view into the world of an urban Zanzibari man making his way in a tourist-driven economy.

After a week of exploring Zanzibar Town and acclimatising to life in Zanzibar, I moved in with Mama Rahma and Baba Hafidz, who owned the blue house — a five-storey blue building that towered over the houses next to it in Kikwajuni, Ng'ambo, the newer part of Zanzibar Town.[22] Baba Hafidz and Mama Rahma welcomed me into their home on the bottom floor of the building. I was included in the family meals, which most often meant eating with Asmah, the twelve-year-old daughter, while Mama Rahma spoke to me in slow and considered Kiswahili so that I could understand. Baba Hafidz had another wife who lived in a different house, and he was also a businessman, so I saw him infrequently. This space was a stark contrast to the male spaces that I had encountered with Okidoki. My inclusion in the household changed my experience from a mostly male one with Okidoki to a mostly female one with Mama Rahma and her daughter. I spent most of my time with them either eating meals or chatting in the lounge. The only time I interacted with Baba Hafidz was when he came home from work, in the evenings. The other women I interacted with were the women cleaning the house and helping Mama Rahma in the kitchen, where she ran her catering business. These interactions made me aware of the freedom with which I could communicate with women in this space, a freedom which I had not yet experienced.

In the previous chapter, I explained the motivation behind this research project and provided a contextual and socio-historical background to researching oral history and women's songs in Zanzibar. I also discussed some of the implications of this contextual and historical background for my investigation of *dandaro* songs, which are the focus of this study.

[22] Kikwajuni is a neighbourhood in Ng'ambo, Zanzibar town. After the Zanzibar Revolution, the revolutionary government, with assistance from the German Democratic Republic, initiated the 1968 New Zanzibar Project (Myers 1994). The aim of the project was to provide Western-style apartments for the entire populationof Zanzibar (Myers 1994:453). Kikwajuni was developed earlier in the project, and then later the area called Michenzani. The East German influence can be seen in the *plattenbauten* (prefabricated concrete slabs) style. The apartment blocks and neighbourhoods were developed "along the lines of the Strumilin model then popular in the soviet bloc" (Myers 1994:453–54).

In this chapter, I outline the theoretical framework that guided my research and the structure of analysis which follows. I begin by exploring the feminist theories that informed my approach to fieldwork and continue by interrogating the idea of public and private domains in relation to gendered spaces and Islam. I then explore the theory relating to the production of an integrated (performance and written) PhD, with particular reference to ritual and performance. I also draw on the writings of Dwight Conquergood (1995, 1998, 2013, 2002), Michel Foucault (1980) and Anna Grimshaw, Elspeth Owen and Amanda Ravetz (2010) to explain my interdisciplinary approach and the liminal and challenging space of creating a performance that influences academic writing and vice versa. This chapter ends by describing how I have related the concept of the archive (Derrida 1996) to my work, and in particular how I see songs as archives as well as mechanisms to influence identity through intergenerational transmission.

THE COMPLEXITY OF GENDERED EXPERIENCE

Writing about women and women's history requires that, in order to provide a thorough, scholarly inquiry, I turn to feminist theory. This theory spans a range of topics that would be impossible to cover here, and so I have chosen to highlight two particular elements of feminist theory related to the East African, Swahili context that have influenced my approach to my research in the course of my fieldwork, analysis and writing.

Elizabeth Thompson (2003) explores the historical research on gender segregation in Islam and the "conceptual framework of public and private spheres" (2003:52). She argues that despite the current scholarly interest in the revival of veiling in the Middle East, Middle Eastern scholars have not debated "the usefulness of the terms 'private' and 'public'" with regard to veiling and Islam. Thompson suggests that this "may simply reflect the thin ranks of historians who specialize in the Middle East" and that "[i]t also likely reflects postcolonial scholars' general distrust of terms that carry the baggage of Western imperial hegemony" (2003:52). Thompson does suggest, however, that

> [i]t is only through the direct interrogation of the concepts [of public and private domains] in local historical contexts, and through direct scholarly debate about their merits, that we may succeed in redefining them in truly universal terms or in identifying new conceptual frameworks that foster comparative and transnational historical understanding. (2003:52)

In the rest of this section I attempt to directly interrogate what I experienced in Zanzibar, in order to build a deeper understanding of the gendered domains of public and private space. As the description with which I open this chapter shows, I did encounter male and female domains of public and private life respectively. I also found, though, that the dichotomy is not as simple as much of the earlier literature suggests it is, and that the reality of the gendered division between public and private space is much more complex.

Today, Khadija is going to town to meet friends. The drive from Jambiani to Zanzibar town takes an hour but it is a journey that men in the community make daily to collect tourists, to shop for food supplies for hotels, or to do business in town. It's not often that women in the community go to town. This morning I hear Khadija getting ready in the bedroom she shares with Changa, her husband and their two children. She comes out of the room a different woman. I'm used to seeing her in her brightly coloured house dress and head wrap, but today she is wearing town clothes – a deep blue full-length, long-sleeved dress. I am wearing a kanga and a T-shirt (my house clothes), and already sweating from the 7 a.m. humidity; I wonder how she is feeling in her long-sleeved full-length dress! She has covered her head with a black hijab (a change from the usual brightly coloured kanga with which she covers her head within the village), fastened firmly under her chin. She looks beautiful, and so happy. Khadija's sister is staying with the children today and will clean and cook for the household. Outside, the dala dala[23] hoots and Khadija excitedly runs out the door and shouts goodbye to everyone. (Fieldnotes, 10 March 2018)

The work of Saba Mahmood on the agency of women in Muslim societies has been particularly helpful in giving me insight into the "vexed relationship between feminism and religious traditions" (Mahmood 2001:202). Mahmood suggests that "we [as feminist scholars] think of agency not as a synonym for resistance to relations of domination, but as a capacity for action that historically specific relations of subordination enable and create" (2001:203). What may be seen as "deplorable passivity and docility from a progressivist point of view" can be seen as a "form of

[23] A *dala dala* is a form of minibus public transport in Zanzibar.

agency" depending on the context. "In this sense, agentival capacity is entailed not only in those acts that result in (progressive) change but also those that aim toward continuity, stasis, and stability" (2001:212).

Mahmood stresses the importance of understanding the social context within which women live and understanding their agency in relation to this social context. She also points out that the researcher's perspective influences the way women are viewed, and that as researchers we "might think of agency not only as the capacity for progressive change but also, importantly, as the capacity to endure, suffer, and persist" (2001:217). Gower et al. (1996) make a similar point about understanding the diverse contexts in which Swahili women live that form a multifaceted identity, one which is not only influenced by gender:

> Feminist scholars now realize that it is overly simplistic to universalize the position and experiences of women. The status of women is not determined solely by sex; diverse factors including location, race, sexuality, religion, and class are also important in the analysis of gender identity. Consequently, it is important to recognize that Swahili women have not occupied a static identity in terms of spatial and temporal factors. (Gower et al. 1996:265)

I acknowledge that my own feminist politics may have been at odds with the world of the women with whom I worked. Despite this difference in feminist politics, I hope that I am able to portray their world with sensitivity, and without allowing my own politics to detract from the nuanced, gendered experience that the *dandaro* songs and the women who sing them present.

I will now discuss veiling, a particularly gendered experience in Zanzibar. I am well aware that the Western world may be preoccupied by the veil and am wary of perpetuating this stereotype of the disenfranchised veiled Muslimwoman. However, I found the veil an effective image to draw together the metaphorical nature of the songs (discussed in Chapter Four) and the gendered experience of women in Zanzibar. I found that in the same way that women veil in public, the meaning of the songs is "veiled" in metaphor and performed in public. This visual metaphor, drawing a parallel between women and words, came to mind later in the process of writing this dissertation and was interestingly not something that I thought of during my fieldwork, because the women never spoke of veiling as an important matter. I will now explore the use of

veils in Zanzibar, to explain how I employ it as a visual metaphor.

Veiling – a gendered experience

Veiling is one example of the fact that Swahili women do not occupy a static identity. Wearing a veil is common practice throughout the Zanzibar islands; girls start wearing veils as part of their school uniforms when they are as young as seven years old. One of my favourite things to see in Zanzibar Town early in the morning was a group of little girls on their way to school, all in blue dresses with a white hijab. As women leave their school hijab behind, they may choose to wear a kanga cloth, an adult *hijab*[24] or a *niqab*,[25] or even the older *buibui*[26] style of veil. In the world of Islam, veils are an indicator of the public and private domains, because women wear a veil when they are in public and don't wear a veil when they are at home, unless they have a man visiting the home who is not a family member.

Many scholars of gender practices in Islam (Aydin 2013; El Guindi 1999; Fair et al. 2013; Mernissi 1991; Milani 1992) use veiling as an indicator of changes that have occurred as a result of the influence of Islam on communities throughout their history. These changes over time are particularly evident in Zanzibar. The use of different veils there shows the influence of Omani cultural and religious practices during the Omani reign, and currently, the influence of global Muslim culture on veiling trends. Scholarly discussion on the use of veils also shows that women wearing the veil are not using it only for religious purposes, but also to indicate a larger sense of identity unrelated to religion (El Guindi 1999; Fair et al. 2013; Yahya-Othman 1997).

There is a long history of veiling in Zanzibar that dates to the period before Omani reign in the early 1800s (Fair et al. 2013). During the Omani reign, the abolition of slavery was an important historical reference point for the identity of Zanzibaris, such that many freed slaves dressed in a way that reflected their movement from slave to free person. People adopted a style of dress that reflected the elite and upper classes and served as an "expression of social and economic autonomy" (Fair et al. 2013:24). Thus,

[24] A *hijab* is a head scarf that leaves the face open.
[25] A *niqab* is a head scarf that covers the whole face except the eyes.
[26] A *buibui* is a head scarf that either leaves the face open or covers the face completely with a sheer veil.

the *kanzu* and *kofia* became the common outfit for men, and women adopted the *kanga,* a brightly coloured block-printed cloth made locally in Zanzibar, as a veil.[27] The *kanga* was the most common form of veil until the mid-1900s, but another veil, the *buibui,* was also in use from the beginning of the twentieth century. The *buibui* is a full-length veil which Laura Fair describes as

> a long piece of dark silk or cotton cloth sewn in a circle and then tied around the head with a sewn-in string. The *buibui* also had a sheer veil, known as *ukaya,* that could be draped in front of the face under the eyes, thrown over the face completely, or worn down the back of the head, leaving the face open and exposed. (Fair 2013:25)

The *buibui* was at first worn only by women in the urban elite class but was quickly adopted by women of other classes. Just as freed slaves adopted fashion styles that represented upward social mobility, the *buibui* was adopted by women as an indication of their economic autonomy. Similarly, another type of veil, the *hijab*, was adopted in the 2000s because it represented desired membership of a social and economic middle class. A *hijab* is viewed as more conservative than a *buibui* because it fits more tightly around the face and does not allow for the fabric to fall to one side. While being more conservative, the *hijab* is seen as an international/cosmopolitan look, one which connects younger women in East Africa with a look that other Muslim women around the world adopt. The *buibui* has become associated with a more traditional look that older women tend to prefer.

During my fieldwork in the villages I saw women wearing *kanga*s covering their heads. Not once did I see a *buibui* or *hijab*. I did see a variation of these kinds of veils in Zanzibar Town, which could indicate that the town context is more influenced by cosmopolitan, Muslim fashion trends. I must, however, point out that many women who veiled with the *kanga* in Jambiani wore a *hijab* when they went into town. Khadija, the mother of the family I lived with in Jambiani, wore a *kanga* or a head wrap at home and in the village, but if she went into town, she wore a *hijab*. This change in attire may have been her way of showing her class status; she may not have wanted to use a *hijab* in the

[27] The *kanzu* is an ankle-length shirt dress worn by Muslim men in East Africa. It is most often white or cream-coloured and is worn to mosque or when formal attire is required. It is often worn with a *kofia*, an intricately embroidered skullcap.

village because she did not want to appear to place herself in a higher class than the rest of the villagers, possibly leading them to gossip about her. However, when she went into town, she wore the *hijab* to show that even though she was from the village she had class and style and was familiar with the current trends of *hijab*-wearing. This is, of course, my own analysis of the situation, but I make the point about Khadija choosing to wear a different veil for different situations because it demonstrates that "[c]lass, urbanization, Islam, and slavery" (Gower et al. 1996:265) all have an effect on the socio-economic status of Swahili women, historically and in the present, resulting in the existence of different freedoms in and restrictions on their lives.

As the story of Khadija illustrates, what I found was the kind of complexity that Gower et al. (1996) describe. While I noted that my movement through public spaces meant that I interacted more with men than with women in urban spaces such as Zanzibar Town, this was not the case in rural areas such as Jambiani. In Jambiani, the boundaries between domestic life and the public realm were not always apparent to an outsider. As Jill Dubisch states:

> Domesticity, then, and its degree of separateness from other realms of social life, needs to be explored in the context of social settings. In addition, the boundaries between domestic life and the public realm, the nature of the interrelationships, and the symbols that express these boundaries and interrelationships may vary considerably from one society to another. (Dubisch 2019:10)

In rural areas women often fulfil roles that are part of the domestic realm: cooking, looking after children, caring for the house. But there are other gendered activities that women take part in such as seaweed farming, which is very much a female activity but done in public, on the beaches. This indicates either that they take part in the public realm as agriculturalists or that the domestic realm extends to include the agricultural work they do. The space outside people's houses – front steps, *baraza*[28] or veranda – also function as a bridge between the public and domestic realms. Women sit in front of their homes making *kamba* (coconut-fibre rope), watching their children play, or talking to each other and to anyone who passes by, men included. The domestic realm may be viewed as a place where women are kept away from society, but people's homes are open to visitors of any gender, although there is a limit to what is considered

[28] The word *baraza* translates as "meeting place", and often refers to a step or veranda area at the entrance to a home where people sit and talk.

respectable in this regard. Men from the family will be welcomed into the home more freely than a man who is not a family member.

It is important to consider another aspect of gendered identity in Zanzibar. The veil may be part of women's means of identity creation (Fair et al. 2013) as I discuss above, but other theorists (Susan F. Hirsch 1998; Ivanov 2012; McMahon 2006; Thompson 2003) relate the veil to religious pressures, particularly in regard to women maintaining *heshima* within their families and the broader community. *Heshima* is a Swahili word for the personal attribute of honour, respect, dignity, modesty or reputation, aspired to by people in Muslim society. Although *heshima* is a personal attribute that both men and women aspire to, the means to attain *heshima* require different actions for men and women. To explain this double standard, it is helpful to understand that men and women are viewed differently in the eyes of Islam, although each sect of Islam has its own interpretations of these differences. In Zanzibar, a predominantly Shia Muslim population, the practice of *Qawamah* (guardianship or male protection, as set out in the Qur'an) has been adopted in local law and practice since the mid-1800s. Verse 4:34 of the Qur'an states that women are the "weaker sex" and men are considered their protectors and maintainers (Hodgson 2011:37). Here I will include a quote from Mtoro bin Mwinyi Bakari, a scholar from East Africa who wrote the work *Desturi za Waswahili* (Customs of the Swahili), that provides an example of this interpretation in a Swahili context:

> When a man lives with his wife, she is allowed to do nothing whatever without her husband's consent. If he forbids something that he does not like, that is the end of it, and if the woman does it she is called recalcitrant, because she does not obey her husband. A free woman may not go out by day without excuse, except for natural calls. She must be veiled if she wants to go for a talk at a friend's house, accompanied by a slave girl. If a woman disobeys her husband, it is for him to correct her; but [for] serious offences he takes her to the magistrate for correction. (Bin Mwinyi Bakari 1981:78)

This example, which describes the life of an elite Arab woman during the period of Omani reign in Zanzibar, is an indication of the stark hierarchy that existed at that time between men and women. It is clear from this statement that men were viewed as superior to women, and women needed men or an accompanying woman to keep them accountable for their actions. This implies that women are not able to control their behaviour. It is more challenging for women than for men to attain *heshima*, because

there is an assumption on the part of society that women are "vulnerable to sexual temptation" and "of weak character" (Susan F. Hirsch 1998:49). After discussions with the research participants and female friends in Zanzibar, I realised that the belief that men are guardians of women continues today. In this context, Jeena Suha described men as, "*Qawwamun,* the monitors of women" (personal communication, June 2020). I have identified a similar theme in the *dandaro* songs and have identified its sub-theme (explained in the thematic analysis in Chapter Four) as implying that women are evil/up to no good/unfaithful partners. There is an expectation that women will experience weakness in the face of temptation, which ultimately sets them up as the weaker sex, and supports the hierarchy of men's authority over women: "male control is directed towards ensuring women's propriety, although the behaviours that establish *heshima*, such as veiling, are embedded in complex systems of socio-political meaning that link gender with other relations of power" (Susan F. Hirsch 1998:49). Women are thus placed in a contradictory position where acquiring *heshima* is essential for their survival, but because they are women attaining *heshima* is more challenging than it is for men.

Box 4: In performance – the female presence

The sound of a bowed vibraphone fills the space at different times throughout the second movement – it is an unusual but beautiful sound. Subtle, hardly there, and then suddenly piercing. The sound floats and threads through the soundscape, sewing together the sounds of Zanzibar Town.

These bowed notes signify the female characters and female spaces that I encountered during my fieldwork – when at home at Mama Rahma's , with Khadija in the village, at Dhow Countries Music Academy with female students, walking past veiled women in the streets, and sometimes when there were no women around, because the divide between gendered spaces was sometimes fluid and not always apparent to me.

INTEGRATING PERFORMANCE AND WRITTEN WORK IN A PHD DISSERTATION

In this section I move "beyond the text" (Conquergood 1998:25) to explore how theory and research data can be expressed through performance. Conquergood's work was of particular use to me in this regard, as he explores the dilemmas of representing data collected from others through the researcher's own body, voice and musicianship in the public space of performance:

> When ethnographers of performance complement their participant observation fieldwork by actually performing for different audiences the verbal art they have studied *in situ,* they expose themselves to double jeopardy. They become keenly aware that performance does not proceed in ideological innocence and axiological purity. (Conquergood 2013:67)

As I worked to develop the performance, I became acutely aware that "ethnographic performance is a form of conduct deeply enmeshed in moral matters" (Conquergood 2013:67). For me as a musician, one of the "moral matters" was that in the performance and in the written work I would be representing a music and ideas that were not my own. I knew from the start that I would have to acknowledge my presence as an outsider in the performance, just as I would have to write reflexively in the dissertation. The process of creating as a reflexive and, hopefully, self-aware and self-critical academic involves inhabiting a liminal space where the boundaries between what is ethically acceptable and performatively effective in ethnographic performance are not always clear. I did, though, find this a creative space, because, as Conquergood (1998:32) suggests, "[p]erformance flourishes in the liminal, contested, and re-creative space between deconstruction and reconstruction, crisis and redress".

Box 5: In performance – the outsider follows the thread between the blue house and the sea

Q and B stand upstage next to four strings hanging from the ceiling. They gently take hold of a line of string each and start unravelling the ball of string across the stage. They are creating a map for B to follow as she makes her way around Zanzibar Town. A map for an outsider to follow.

[The reader can listen to the soundscape for the second movement here while reading

the following creative writing piece.]

Directions to Kiswahili lessons from Mama Rahma's house, also known as the blue house: Walk out of the front door of Mama Rahma's house, turn right and then directly left onto the dust road, walk past the washing hanging on the line and the little children playing outside their house … greet the children and their mother, who is washing up after breakfast, Wasalaam aleikum, aleikum salaam, Salama? Salama*. Walk until you meet the tarred road, the laughter of children left behind you. Turn right past the men's barber shop that plays Diamond Platnumz and other Bongo Flava hits throughout the day. Walk past the men and women going to work and the children walking to shuli (school) in their blue and white uniforms. Walk until you reach Jamhuri Gardens on your left, across from the store that sells* visheti *(sweet, deep-fried dough), soap, peanuts and soda. Walk diagonally across Jamhuri Gardens towards the junction of Karuma Road and Benjamin Mkapa Road. Turn right down Benjamin Mkapa Road and feel the sun beating down on your face. Walk along the dusty sidewalk past all the people going to work or to the market, notice Darajani market on your left, the fruit sellers outside, the meat and fish markets inside. Smell the air to see if you can catch a whiff of fresh fish, you smell only dust and car fumes and a happy sweetness in the air. On your right you hear shop owners calling out through loudhailers to customers, selling clothes from their tiny stalls along the road. Keep walking down Benjamin Mkapa Road until you reach the cell phone shops on your right, traffic whizzing by you on your left and the* dala dala *station across the road on your right. Cross the road towards the Barclays Bank and down Malindi Street, which leads you into the warren of streets of Zanzibar Town that are too narrow for cars. Continue down Malindi Street past Kokoni Mosque on your left. The cool shade of the two- and three-storey buildings around you brings relief from the harsh sun. Continue past the tailor who shortened your trousers last week, and past the man who sells amazing* urojo *(Zanzibar soup). Turn left and immediately right, past the family enjoying their breakfast* uji *(a fermented gruel), although you are in a public alleyway you feel as if you are interrupting a family's breakfast routine. Keep walking, the cool air between the tall buildings chills your sweaty arms. Walk past the mosque, now empty after the first morning prayer. Turn left where poles propping up the crumbling buildings block the street. As you turn left, greet the Maasai man employed as a security guard at the hotel on the corner. Walk down the*

street, where the sun can now reach you between the buildings, sweat starts dripping down your front. Keep walking until you reach a T-junction and you hear the noise from the main street close by, turn right towards the kahawa *(coffee) and* chai *(tea) man who sells coffee and ginger tea throughout the day (you will return to him later in your break). Nod your head at the men looking at you from their morning* chai tangawizi *(ginger tea) and turn into the cool air of the Old Dispensary. You have arrived at your Kiswahili lesson for the morning.*

This was my daily morning routine for the first month of my stay in Zanzibar Town. Each day the route and routine became more familiar, seeing the same faces of shop owners, walking down the same streets and hearing the same call to prayer. The sights and sounds marking my slow integration from being an outsider who doesn't know her way to an outsider who knows her way.

When moving to a new place, the surrounding sounds and spaces feel very alien, but slowly one starts to become more comfortable and move through them with more ease. After leaving Zanzibar at the end of my four-and-a-half months of fieldwork, I would have numerous dreams about walking through Zanzibar Town's winding streets, trying to find my way somewhere. These dreams reflected my experience during my time there, because physically finding my way around was challenging as Google maps did not work in Zanzibar Town, and no printed map could really help; I had to wander around until I became familiar with the narrow, winding street system.

My dreams also represented the psychological experience of arriving in a place to do fieldwork and being very aware that I was searching for particular information, but also aware that plans can change, and other information may present itself that could alter the framing or direction of my research. In the performance, I chose to capture this experience by showing myself moving through different spaces, completing daily tasks. Each day that went by, my movement through the spaces became more fluid and easier, but I was still moving through the winding streets to find my way somewhere. No matter how much I learnt and how fluid my movements became, I was still an outsider to the space. Bruno Nettl (1964) would regard this outsider status (also discussed by Abu-Lughod (1993) and Headland et al. (1990)) as an

advantage in objectivity, however this outsider status is also the reason why I acknowledge that I can only present "partial truths" (Clifford 1986) as an ethnographer. What I experienced as an outsider in Zanzibar was mostly frustration at moments of misunderstanding and self-doubt, asking myself "how could I ever truly understand the depth of the language and the music if I hadn't grown up there?" However, despite the frustration of being an outsider, existing in an in-between space allowed for a certain creative reflection – "the capacity to [attempt to] move between structures, to forge connections … to speak with instead of simply speaking about or for others" (Conquergood 1995:137).

In addition to the work of Conquergood (1995, 1998, 2013, 2002), my research also draws on other theoretical texts that explore performance, namely Foucault (1980), Grimshaw et al. (2010) and Schechner (2013). I explore some of these texts below.

Richard Schechner's work, which describes performance in the context of aesthetic performance (arts) and social performance (social drama), suggests that performance can be unsettling as well as "open, diverse, and multiple in its methods [and] themes" (Schechner 2017:x). In the creation of the performance and writing of this dissertation, I drew particularly on his ideas about ritual and how theatre reflects the social dramas of a society. He describes this interaction as a figure-of-eight feedback loop, in which social drama is reflected in stage drama and stage drama then feeds back into social drama. Victor Turner (1990) suggests that the interrelation of social drama and stage drama creates "an endless cyclical repetitive pattern or a stable cosmology. The cosmology has always been destabilised, and society has always had to make efforts, through social dramas and esthetic dramas, to restabilize and actually produce cosmos" (Turner 1990:17–18).

The performance of *Tia Maji* is in a way a cosmos that was created to express the social dramas that were my fieldwork experiences, the songs and the archive they hold, the theories I explore in the written text, and what all this may mean for the research participants. I am not suggesting that the performance of *Tia Maji* reflected the lives of the research participants perfectly, but that the performance presented a dreamlike, ritualised representation of the reality, one that was highly influenced by my own

perception. According to Schechner,

> [t]he great dreamers are those people who can tolerate the most porosity – the greatest ambiguity about what was dreamt and what is combined from other realms – while being able to call on a strict discipline when it is time to perform the dream. Thus, three classes of events become performatively possible: what was, what is imaginary (dream, fantasies, fiction) and events between history and imagination. This third class of events, sharing the authority of recollection with the creativity of imagination, is very powerful. Once a single realm of virtual actuality is given concrete existence, then there can be a third, and so on … The future of ritual is actually the future of the encounter between imagination and memory translated into doable acts of the body. (Schechner 1987:30)

With this quote Schechner captures very accurately the process I went through in creating *Tia Maji*: firstly, the choices that had to be made in the creation process about "what was, what is imaginary (dream, fantasies, fiction) and events between history and imagination" (Schechner 1987:30); and secondly, how the performance became in essence a recollection of my fieldwork experiences and the data I had collected – it became an "encounter between imagination and memory translated into doable acts of the body" (Schechner 1987:30), a ritual that fed back into the written work of this dissertation, and vice versa.

Box 6: In performance – a web of movement through space

B and Q continue to lay out string, they are creating a map of Zanzibar Town, a map that will lead B through the second movement. This movement shows B moving through a typical day during her first few weeks in Zanzibar Town. She repeats this day three times, each time the movements become more fluid and the mime becomes more like a dance.

A soundscape plays throughout this movement, with sounds that represent different parts of the day and different places that B moves through. The day starts with the sound of the early morning call to prayer, B brushes her teeth and washes her face, each day this movement becomes more abstract, the repetition abstracting the movements of washing her face and brushing her teeth until it becomes more and more like a dance. B then sits down for breakfast with Mama Rahma (Q), they mime eating breakfast, each day interacting more and sharing food by the third. The next sound you hear is the

sound of the street as B walks to Kiswahili class, the sound of people on scooters, music playing from stores and children chatting and laughing as they walk to school. B arrives at class and takes out her books, the call to prayer at midday marks the end of class and B walks to the coffee stand outside the building. You can hear the sound of men chatting about politics and other news while B greets the coffee man and drinks her coffee. She then carries on with her day and arrives at the Dhow Countries Music Academy (DCMA), where she is learning to play the tablah *(also called* darabukka*). The sounds of students practising their instruments and chatting, all on the same veranda due to lack of practice space, weave into a cacophony while B grapples with rhythms and technique that are new to her. She leaves the DCMA and heads down the road that runs along the beachfront; the audience hears the sound of the sea and boys playing on the beach, doing somersaults and acrobatics in competition with each other. As B walks home you can hear a peanut seller percussively shaking his coins and children playing in the street. Once B reaches home, the sound of someone sweeping their yard and the meowing of stray kittens fill the space. This is the end of the day, and B lies in bed until she is once again woken by the early morning call to prayer.*

As B moves through her days, she sings. Not much at first, she is still finding her voice in this place … slowly her voice comes to her as she finds herself becoming more comfortable with this routine.

Throughout the second movement, there are a few mimed vignettes that signify different parts of the day. The movements become more abstract and dance-like as each day passes. As a researcher, one needs to pay attention to every detail of every interaction, noting down observations in fieldnotes. This process is necessary because the smallest details of a simple interaction could uncover an important aspect of one's research or could become an important detail to note when writing up a dissertation. This process of noting down the minutiae of everyday interactions can feel repetitive, as if the rhythm of life morphs into a strange abstract representation of reality. The abstraction of movements such as brushing teeth, eating food, drinking coffee, playing the drum, taking photographs, represents this abstraction of reality and the attention to detail which is unusual in one's normal life. The abstraction of the movement signifies this unusual attention to detail while one becomes more familiar with the

space and less like an outsider, all while grappling with what it means to be an observer, someone on the outside looking in.

Apart from the soundscape that signified different aspects of each day, a recorded piano track also played; I had improvised and recorded this in the studio while listening to the soundscape of the day. Frank also bowed the vibraphone very sparsely throughout this movement, to signify the moments when I came across women. During this second movement I sang, very little at first and then slowly more and more. I improvised these parts in reaction to the physical movements, the piano part and vibraphone part. The singing signified my becoming more comfortable in my role as a researcher, slowly finding my way in my research journey. I also included my voice in this section of the performance because this movement reflected my positionality and reflexivity, acknowledging my presence in this research.

This reflexivity is not an apology for my presence but an acknowledgement of my responsibility as a researcher, while still remembering "the power of performance to enable individuals and collectives to reimagine and restage the social rules, codes, and conventions that prove most oppressive and damaging" (Taylor 2016:xiv). I am interested in how performance can be powerful, but also in how performance is able to communicate what cannot be communicated in academic texts, and I am further encouraged to explore performance as an academic output because, as Conquergood argues, performance can be used as a "lever to decenter… the visualist/textualist bias of western intellectual systems" (Conquergood 1998; see also Michael Jackson 1989; Said 1979).

In terms of memory, another theory that influenced my approach in the creation of *Tia Maji* was "hauntology" (Derrida 1994; Taylor 1999), which deals with the paradox of the ghost being both present and absent. I will explain in Chapter Three how the idea of hauntology is applied in the context of the performance of *Tia Maji*. Essentially the performance plays with the idea of the past being present but also absent in the moment, the voices of the research participants are heard and also not there, the voices of ancestors sing through their voices but at the same time are absent from the theatre space.

The work described in this dissertation fits comfortably within what Schechner calls "performance studies", which are "interdisciplinary" and "multiple in [their] methods" (Schechner 2013:ix), it explores the liminal space between academic writing and performance (theatre, music, art) which enables the performance to inform the academic research and vice versa. Grimshaw et al. (2010:160) highlight the importance of this liminal space that performance inhabits, arguing that "[c]onceiving of the two practices [performance and academic research] as either perfectly analogous or categorically distinct results in an erasure of the critical rhythm – the blockages and flows – between them". This dissertation focuses largely on the performance of academic data as an alternative form for the output of knowledge.

I was particularly interested in exploring how I could perform "localised, vernacular data" (Stacey 2017:19) and how I could bring the "subjugated knowledge" (Foucault 1980:82) that forms the song archive into an academic or public context through performance. Foucault defines "subjugated knowledge" as firstly, "those blocks of historical knowledge which were present but disguised within the body of functionalist and systemising theory and which criticism – which obviously draws upon scholarship – has been able to reveal", and secondly as "a whole set of knowledges that have been disqualified as inadequate to their task or insufficiently elaborated … low-ranking knowledges" (1980:82). I am attempting to render these "subjugated knowledges" visible within the academic/historical project by straddling the boundary between performance and academic writing. Conquergood (2002:151) argues that "the constitutive liminality of performance studies lies in its capacity to bridge segregated and differently valued knowledges, drawing together legitimated as well as subjugated modes of inquiry". Through a performance in an academic context I aimed to amplify the accumulated knowledge of generations of women in order to make the academic work richer and analytically useful.

As such, this dissertation is placed in the space of "critical rhythm" (Grimshaw et al. 2010:160) between performance and research. As a musician and performer, I have sought to intertwine the two, because this allows me to use my long-honed musical craft and it also allows me to approach my data from a performative perspective – I can

explore the data I collected through the lens of both research theory and performance creation. I hope that the theory I have explored "is enlivened and most rigorously tested when it hits the ground in practice" (Conquergood 1995:139), that is, in my performance, and that my "artistic practice [is] deepened, complicated, and challenged in meaningful ways by engaging critical theory" (Conquergood 1995:139). I have chosen to articulate my research intentions and my field documentation in performance, which means I have had to reflect critically on the theory that locates my work and then produce an "art-product … that is academically as well as aesthetically appropriate" (Freeman 2010:5). One of the greatest challenges of this approach has been that the performance and the written text have had to inform each other and exist as a whole piece of work, but the performance also needed to exist on its own as a performed piece. I explore this further in Chapter Five.

THE ARCHIVE

Alongside the theory on performance and text discussed in the previous section, my work has been informed by the concept of the archive. I use the term archive in the sense that it is not merely a record of the past, something that "has material status" (Mbembe 2002:20), but also a more ephemeral space, such as a song in people's memories. The *dandaro* songs collected are one such living archive of memories, experiences and lived realities. I came to understand them in the way that Jacques Derrida suggests, as an indefinite process:

> "Archive" is only a notion, an impression associated with a word and for which … we do not have a concept. We only have an impression, an insistent impression through the unstable feeling of a shifting figure, of a schema, or of an infinite or indefinite process. (Derrida 1996:24)

The archive does not necessarily have to be materialised, it is an externalisation of inner thoughts/ ideas/ memories/histories, the "domestic outside" (Derrida 1996: 19), the private made public, or the inner self made exterior.

Box 7: In performance – the suitcase as a symbol of the archive

Q and B have walked the border of the stage, enclosing and creating the ritual stage space (Box 3). They return to their chairs, sitting still and ready to continue together.

They reach in front of them and each pick up a suitcase. Opening the suitcases … zip … zip … zip.

These suitcases are imaginary, they can hold whatever you want them to, inside the suitcases that B and Q hold you can find memories and experiences that hide inside words; ideas and inner thoughts that hide under the veil of metaphor. These suitcases contain an archive – not a physical archive but an ethereal archive made up of words and thoughts. An archive that travels through time.

Understanding songs and music, and the oral traditions that preserve them as an archive, has become an accepted concept in ethnomusicology. For example, Carol Muller suggests that "we begin to consider certain kinds of music composition as archival practice: as constituting valued sites for the deposit and retrieval of historical styles and practices in both literate and pre-literate contexts" (Muller 2002:410). This opens up the option to acknowledge the oral traditions archived by pre-literate societies as valid sources of archivable information, even though there are no written documents included in these kinds of archives.

In addition to understanding that songs can be an archive, it is crucial in the context of my work to understand the human need to create archives. Why do people preserve information and pass it on? Derrida suggests that the need for the archive exists because of the threat of forgetting or the threat of destruction; he refers to this as "archive fever", what Freud calls the "death drive" (Derrida 1996: 19), and argues that "[t]he archive has always been a pledge, and like every pledge, a token of the future. To put it more trivially: what is no longer archived in the same way is no longer lived in the same way" (1996:18). As songs are sung and taught to younger generations, the archive is kept as intact as possible, through performance and transmission of the songs. The *dandaro* songs are an archive of peoples' memories. The process of listening to and singing the songs in the course of my research allowed for an interplay, between the archive and human memory (Muller 2002). This suggests that the archival process continues through time; the archive is reformed and added to as it is remembered and performed, and thus it is continually being updated to include current topics and to shift meaning through time.

Box 8: In performance – ritual and remembering – a repeated ritual

This is now the time to start the ritual of the kangas*. B and Q stand tall on chairs, they slowly unwrap the* kangas *around their waists and let them fall as if they were water, shaking them to imitate flowing water. A sound recording starts … the sound of water lapping at their feet, drops of water and bubbles finding their way to the surface. Still shaking the* kangas *as if they were water, they step down from their chairs. They fold the* kangas *again and lay them down gently in a basket.*

This *kanga* ritual reminds the audience that they are in a ritual space. A space where performance is a ritual of remembering. Just as the cloth is layered with the sound of the water, there are many layers to this performance by B and Q. There are, too, many layers to the *dandaro* songs the women perform and transmit to the younger generation.[29] They are a living archive of memories, experiences and lived realities, they are a pledge to keep the past alive and to share what has been learnt with the future generation. Their performance is part of an indefinite process – an archive. And here is another layer: the *kanga* too is part of the archive. (This idea is discussed further in Chapter Four).

In my research on archives I came across another term, transgenerational transmission, that is of relevance to my work with the *dandaro* songs. The term is used in the field of psychoanalysis, and much of the literature on transgenerational transmission is concerned with the transmission of trauma (De Mendelssohn 2008; Frankish and Bradbury 2012; Volkan 2001; Weingarten 2004). But there are elements of these theories that I found helpful in formulating my own ideas about transgenerational transmission of knowledge through song.

Vamik Volkan suggests that there is a type of transgenerational transmission that can occur between a parent and a child which informs the identity of the child on an individual level: "[t]his form of transgenerational transmission involves the depositing

[29] I use the term transmission to describe the education process that occurs between a person who knows a song and a person who is being taught the song.

of an already formed self or object image into the developing self-representation of a child under the premise that there it can be kept safe" (Volkan 2001:86). He refers to this phenomenon as the "deposited image" that "influences the child's identity" (2001:86). I explore, in Chapter Four, how I think the *dandaro* songs that I collected from the women worked in a similar way.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have described how I experienced the complexities of gendered private and public life during the time that I lived in Zanzibar, and presented some of the theoretical work on gender that allowed me to make sense of this experience, and thereby of the songs which form the heart of my research. The two particular theories that influenced my approach were concerned with women's agency (Mahmoud 2001) and the concepts of public and private domains (Thompson 2003). Mahmood's writing assisted in shaping my approach to the concept of agency, particularly with regard to religion and women's lives. Another theory that I realised I should pay special attention to is the concept of gendered spaces and public and private domains. The theory relating to gender roles and gendered spaces helped me to understand some of the themes I found in the *dandaro* songs, and to represent the ideas of gender roles contextually and appropriately. Several feminist theorists assisted me in representing a nuanced and layered expression of the lives of the women with whom I worked (Abu-Lughod 1993; Aydin 2013; Calaguas et al. 2007; Dubisch 2019; El Guindi 1999; Susan F. Hirsch 1998; Hodgson 2011; Koskoff 2014; Mahmood 2001; McMahon 2006; Mojab 2001; Thompson 2003).

From the start of this project I was aware that my dissertation would be an interweaving of performance and written work, with all the complexity that this implies. In this chapter I show how I drew on the theories of Turner (1990), Conquergood (1995, 1998, 2002, 2013), and Schechner (1987, 2013, 2017) to inform the creation of the performance and the written work. These theories assisted in my approach to creating an embodied expression of my fieldwork, while creating a performed cosmos that integrated the voices of the research participants and my own experiences as an ethnomusicologist of this project.

The final theoretical concept that I describe in this chapter is the idea of the archive. I realised, as I began my fieldwork, that the songs I was collecting were an archive, a transgenerational one that transmitted the lived experiences of women from grandmother to granddaughter across time. I drew on the theories of Derrida (1996) and Volkan (2001) to assist my understanding of this transmitted song archive, which I explore further in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter I explain how I came to work in Jambiani village and describe some of my fieldwork experiences. I also describe the fieldwork methodology I used, which was strongly influenced by community arts theory in that I aimed to create a research space that encouraged equality and affirmation of the research participants.

PERSONAL CONNECTIONS IN BAHANI AND HISTORICAL CONNECTIONS IN JAMBIANI

I chose to do my fieldwork in the village of Jambiani, and specifically in the area called Bahani. Jambiani stretches along about five kilometres of the east coast of Unguja Island, and Bahani lies at the centre of this stretch (see the maps on pages 3 and 4). I am familiar with Bahani because my parents and brother James lived there for six months in 2006 and made strong connections with people living there, whom I met when visiting my family. These connections meant that I had a community of people to support me. I thought I might come across challenges as a single woman entering a Muslim community, bearing in mind the experience Abu-Lughod (1986) describes: she writes about the important role her father played in introducing her to the community she worked with, so that in their minds she was associated with him as his daughter, rather than being viewed as a woman without any legitimising social connections.

> Only after living with the Bedouins for a long time did I begin to comprehend some of what had underlain my father's quiet but firm insistence (to accompany me on my first visit). As an Arab, although by no means a Bedouin, he knew his own culture and society well enough to know that a young unmarried woman traveling alone on uncertain business was an anomaly. She would be suspect and would have a hard time persuading people of her respectability. (Abu-Lughod 1986:141)

After reading Abu-Lughod's work, I had the same questions about my introduction to the community in Jambiani. I was concerned that being an unmarried woman travelling on my own would make people suspicious of my background. In hindsight I now see that being called "dada Jemsi" (sister of James) showed that I was viewed as a woman attached to a brother and a family, therefore legitimising my respectability. More importantly, I see that these anxieties showed my grappling with my Western ideas of a

Muslim community, and my experience doing fieldwork challenged my perspective on Islam and how I would be received. After some time, as people got to know me, they started to call me *Bahati* (meaning "lucky" in Kiswahili), a name that was gifted to me by the family I lived with in Zanzibar Town while I was studying Kiswahili. To my delight, local children with whom I had made friends would see me walking through the village or along the beach and run towards me shouting "BAHATI! BAHATI!"

The motivation to do my research in Jambiani was not only based on my connections with the community, but also on my preliminary research into the history of Zanzibar. From this work I had seen that there was a strong link between the east coast of Unguja Island and the Shirazi migration in the 1100s. There is evidence of settlements dating from the twelfth century in Makunduchi, fourteen kilometres south of Jambiani, and in Kizimkazi, twelve kilometres west of Makunduchi. I had also heard a story told of the origin of the name Jambiani, linking it to an Arab man's *jambiya* (dagger) that had been left behind on the ground, where the village later emerged (this story can be found in Ingrams 1967:483). [Click here to listen to Bwana Suha (my family's Kiswahili teacher) as he tells the story of the jambiya and the history of Jambiani. The recording was made in 2006]. This historical information all pointed towards a link to the past I was interested in exploring.

BWANA ABASI AND HIS MOTHER: MEETING THE SINGING GROUPS[30]

Today is Sunday, the day that Bwana Abasi has set aside for me to meet the women's singing groups. I just met Bwana Abasi a few days ago; he works as a tour guide at a local Russian-owned hotel. My friend, Dada Zena,[31] who works at another local hotel, recommended I ask him to help me with my research because he knows so many people in the village, and she knew he would be willing to help me. Dada Zena was right about Bwana Abasi – I had been asking people in Bahani for two weeks about songs from long ago or songs that women sing, but no one was able to help me until I met him.

[30] *Bwana* means "mister" and is a term of respect.
[31] *Dada* means "sister" and is a term of respect.

He collected me from my accommodation, and we set off together. Walking through the village along the paths between houses, the hot sand slipping into our sandals, Bwana Abasi greets people sitting in the shade outside their homes. On the way we meet up with Maulidi Jerry,[32] who is affectionately known as Mau in the community. Maulidi and I discuss my work; I explain that I am going to ask the women about nimbo zamani *(old songs) and he will need to translate for me and for the women as we speak. He tells me not to worry, and that everything will be perfect. Maulidi, Bwana Abasi and I round a corner and I see a group of women sitting on the porch in front of a small house. "This is my mother's house," Bwana Abasi says.*

*Bi Mwaka, Bwana Abasi's mother, sits at the centre of this group of women. She is obviously the oldest person there. She pats the ground next to her, indicating that I should sit there. "*Shikamoo bibi*" (I respect you grandmother), I say. "*Marahaba*" (I receive your respect), she replies. I set up my recording equipment and ask her permission to record her. "*Sawa sawa, hamna shida*" (Okay, okay, no problem), she says. She starts to sing, one song after another tumbling out of her; the women in her group, mostly her daughters and granddaughters, listen. I ask someone to help me write down the songs and Khairat, one of the members of the group, offers to be the scribe.[33] She runs to her house around the corner to fetch a pen and paper. Have these songs ever been written down, I ask, or have they always remained in people's minds? Bi Mwaka sings and explains as Khairat writes.*

After an hour has passed and many songs have been written down and recorded, we thank Bi Mwaka and leave to make our way to the next singing group gathering that Bwana Abasi has organised. We arrive at Mtumwa's house to meet her singing group, and I greet her: "Shikamoo bibi", "Marahaba". *I am welcomed and invited to take off my shoes and enter her home. Inside, the dark, cool air is a welcome change from the intense heat outside.* "Jua Kali!" *(the sun is hot today!) she says. She leads me through her home, shooing her inquisitive grandchildren out of the way. Having an* mzungu *(white person) in your home is quite unusual!*

[32] I do not refer to Maulidi as Bwana Maulidi because we are of a similar age, and Bwana seems too formal for our relationship.
[33] Khairat is not related to Bi Mwaka Ameir but is part of the singing group. She is one of the younger members of the group (in her twenties) and lives close by.

Figure 3.1: Khairat writing down songs for Bi Mwaka. (Photo: Bronwen Clacherty)

As I enter the inner courtyard about ten women greet me. I sit down with them on the mats laid out on the cool courtyard floor and exchange greetings with them. "Karibu!" "Ahsante." "Salama?" "Salama!" "Habari za leo?" "Nzuri sana." "Habari za nyumbani?" "Nzuri, ahsante." *(Welcome! Thank you. Peace? Peace! How is your day? Very good. How is your home? Good, thank you.) I feel happy that I am able to greet them respectfully in Kiswahili and wish my vocabulary would extend to more detailed conversations. Bwana Abasi and Maulidi join the circle of women and me on the ground. Bwana Abasi explains to them that I am a musician from South Africa and that I am interested in hearing old songs that they sing:* nyimo za zamani *(songs from long, long ago).*

The next hour was spent with the women singing songs for me; they were my teachers for that hour, explaining the meanings of the songs and helping me to transcribe them. They laughed at me when I didn't understand what they had said in Kiswahili, and also laughed when I did understand. When they felt that they had shared what they could, they asked Bwana Abasi when I was coming back again because they had busy schedules, they needed to plan.

This Sunday was the first day of a month-long process of listening to the songs the women sang and asking them to translate and explain the deeper meanings of the songs. There were two groups that I met with on this Sunday, Bi Mwaka Ameir's group and Bi Mtumwa's group. Bi Mwaka Ameir's group was made up of her daughters and their daughters, and a few friends. There were about ten to fifteen members in this group. Bi Mtumwa's group was made up of her friends and some family members, but the group was so large, numbering twenty to thirty, that I was not able to meet each one individually. The third group I met on another day later that week was Bi Fatuma's group in Makunduchi. This group was much smaller than the others, made up of four members including Bi Fatuma. The fourth group, Bi Riziki's group, was interviewed and recorded by Jeena Suha. I did not get the chance to meet Bi Riziki and her group in person, and later in this chapter I describe how this affected my interpretation of the material they shared. When I first started working with the women's groups, I had asked for *nyimbo za zamani* (songs of old) that were *kabla ya taarab* (before *taarab*). They shared many different types of songs with me, and at such a fast pace that I struggled to know sometimes whether they were singing a new song or another verse of the same song they had just sung. This was also because many of the *dandaro* songs share similar melodies, which I write about in Chapter Four. The women shared *msanja* songs, which are most frequently sung at weddings as a form of education for the bride and groom. They also sang *sikweli, kibungo* and *ushagaa* songs.[34]

As I spent time looking at the songs they had shared with me, I realised that I wanted to focus on the *dandaro* songs because I saw that they expressed details of women's lives. When I returned after the initial meetings to continue the discussions, I asked specifically about these songs. In addition to discussing the songs, we also spent time discussing their lives, the women recalling the times they had spent learning the songs from their grandparents, which I describe in Chapter Four. I spent weeks returning to Bi Mwaka's group, Bi Mtumwa's group and Bi Fatuma's group in Makunduchi. I needed to spend more time with them asking follow-up questions about the songs, partly because

[34] *Msanja, sikweli, kibungo* and *ushagaa* are all types of songs that serve different functions or have done so in the past. *Msanja* songs are typically sung before weddings as a form of education for the bride and groom. Determining the functions of *sikweli, kibungo and ushagaa* was beyond the scope of this research project; what I know, however, is that these types of songs are no longer performed at public events but still exist in people's memories.

I had to translate the meanings of the songs and make sure I had understood what the women had said to me, but also to ask them about the performance context of *dandaro* and how they had learnt the songs.

GATEKEEPERS TO THE PRIVATE DOMAIN

What is evident from the introductory stories presented in the previous section is that men such as Bwana Abasi, who connected me to the women's groups, and Maulidi, the translator, were often the first contacts I made in the course of the research process, despite my aim to find out about women. This is because men most commonly interact with tourists and fulfil roles in the community linked to tourism. As a white person, I was treated at first like a tourist until I integrated better into the local environment, and then was able to connect with women directly. I was still not able to find a female translator until later in the process, since men would more frequently speak English or European languages such as Italian, because of their contact with tourists.[35] Women seldom speak English, possibly because of the level of schooling that they complete, but also because in their lives there is no need for knowledge of English or other European languages. As a result of this phenomenon, men became the gatekeepers to the women's world for me. In Robert Burgess's words, "[g]atekeepers are those individuals in an organisation that have the power to withhold access to people or situations for the purposes of research" (Burgess 2002:39). The men did not choose to be gatekeepers in the sense that they were intentionally restricting the women's lives and spaces, but they were the only way I could access these spaces at first.

I do not think that the men I encountered intended to keep me away from the women in their community. I do, however, think that it is important to acknowledge the existence of this interaction. I was only able to connect with the women on a deeper level because of the men who enabled that connection. After realising, through experience, that the community expects women to behave in a particular way in public spaces, I could better understand why social roles in Zanzibari society are so gendered, and why at first I was limited to interactions with men. As I explained in Chapter One and will discuss further

[35] Jambiani is a popular holiday spot for Italian tourists, so many local men who work in the tourism industry speak Italian.

in the next chapter, the women's world is often confined to the domestic realm and women do not often work in the public domain, in order to maintain their dignity as devout Muslim women. By contrast, the kinds of jobs that men have are often in the public domain. This confirms that although I did not want to perpetuate the "male:female::culture:nature::public:domestic" paradigm, I was inevitably caught within it because of the gendered roles relating to labour in Zanzibar. As a white woman, I moved in the public domain and my only access to the women's world, despite being a woman myself, was through men who could take me from the public domain into the domestic one. This was extremely frustrating for me, considering that I had intentionally studied women's history and women's lives because I wanted to hear what women had to say. It affected my ability to have discussions with the women, because all the information I received came through male translators – Bwana Abasi at first and then Maulidi. I was able to find a way around this by recording and translating the discussions, making it possible for me to hear what the women had said in Kiswahili that had not been translated by men in the moment.[36] I was concerned that the women might have felt that they could not be completely open in front of Bwana Abasi and Maulidi. Ironically, however, most of the women seemed comfortable talking about issues relating to sex and marriage, and it was Bwana Abasi and Maulidi who seemed uncomfortable telling me the details of what the women had said.

BABU BINDU – SERENDIPITOUS MOMENTS IN THE FIELDWORK[37]

One evening while I was still living in Zanzibar Town, Baba Hafidz was at home and I was able to chat to him. He asked me about my research, and when I told him I was interested in the history of Jambiani and the neighbouring village, Makunduchi, he responded with excitement, "I am from Makunduchi!" Wow … what a coincidence … I asked him if he knew anyone who could help me with my research into women's history in these areas, and he immediately suggested an oral historian who was, as Baba Hafidz said, "famous in the area". I was astonished. I had heard of these serendipitous moments happening during

[36] The group discussions were fast-paced, which meant that, through no fault of their own, Bwana Abasi and Maulidi were not able to translate everything that was being said in the moment. This is why it was necessary to record the discussions and transcribe them afterwards.

[37] As Frank Pieke writes, "the essence of fieldwork research" (Pieke 2000:138) is the ability to follow its serendipitous nature.

fieldwork, but this really felt as if the golden goose had landed in my lap. I was only two weeks into my stay in Zanzibar, and I had already made a possibly important connection.

The oral historian was Babu Bindu,[38] or Mr Bindu, as he was known in the area. After a few weeks, Baba Hafidz organised a meeting with Mr Bindu, halfway between Zanzibar Town and the south-east coast in Jozani Forest. I did not realise, when the arrangement was being made, that this was also a chance for Baba Hafidz to show some tourists a new hotel and spa he and his sister were building, and so the gathering included some tourists who were paying US$40 for a lunch in Jozani Forest.[39] As many ethnographers know, doing research doesn't always go as planned, and so the lunch was almost over and I was growing weary and a little worried that Ba Bindu might never appear. Eventually, after waiting for two hours, we finally heard the putt-putt of Ba Bindu's scooter approaching. This would be my first official interview for this research, and I was suddenly very nervous. Ba Bindu arrived in formal attire, a smart shirt and kofia, greeted us all and sat down to eat lunch. Once he was done, he was ready to tell us the story of how Zanzibar became the place it is now. I was joined at the table by a tourist who spoke Kiswahili and by a friend of mine, Ally, who had agreed to translate for me (see Figure 3.2). Ba Bindu started from the very beginning. He spoke very clearly and loudly, as if this was a performance for him. He was a storyteller, and he was here to tell us the story he knew so well. He explained the history of Zanzibar from the time of the Shirazi settlers in the 1100s, giving detailed information down to the names of specific settlers. He continued in this fashion until he arrived at the time when the British arrived in Zanzibar… by this time one-and-a-half hours had passed, and I was wondering how it could be that he wasn't tired. He eventually stopped and asked, "Kuna suali?" *Are there any questions? I asked him if he would be able to meet again at another time, because I had enough questions to fill another day! He chuckled and said, "Of course! You are most welcome to visit my house in Bwejuu." The next interview date was set, and after a cold Coca Cola and a chat with Baba Hafidz, Ba Bindu was off on his scooter, back home to Bwejuu.*

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[38] As I have explained with regard to the term *Bibi, Babu* means grandfather and is a term of respect for elders. *Babu* and *Bibi* are often shortened to *Ba* and *Bi* respectiviely. This is why I refer to *Babu Bindu* as *Ba Bindu.* He introduced himself as Mr Bindu because this is his stage name when he tells stories, but out of respect I chose to call him *Ba Bindu.*

[39] Jozani Forest is a popular tourist destination in Zanzibar, particularly because of the endemic red colobus monkeys that inhabit the forest.

Figure 3.2: Ba Bindu (pictured left with a yellow *kofia* hat) recounting the history of Zanzibar, I am pictured to Ba Bindu's left and Ally to his right. The men sitting across from Ba Bindu are tourists who were part of the lunch group. (Photo: Morgan O'Kennedy)

Once I had started to understand the songs that the women had shared, I thought that maybe they would remember more songs from long ago if they heard some of the history of their area from Ba Bindu. I was also interested in what the women knew about the past, and how they perceived the stories that Ba Bindu told. This approach was influenced by my previous work in community arts (discussed in the next section of this chapter) because it allowed for a reciprocal research situation where the women could have a discussion based on the history Ba Bindu had shared with them. I wanted to encourage conversation, and maybe help the women to remember more songs that they had not remembered before. I arranged for Ba Bindu to meet with each singing group and talk to them about the history of Jambiani and Makunduchi. They enjoyed hearing the stories and had many questions for Ba Bindu about the past and how people lived then; the women also shared information that they knew about the past. Ba Bindu willingly answered their questions and I was happy to see that his stature in the community did not affect their readiness to interact with him.

Figure 3.3: Ba Bindu and Bi Mwaka Amier. (Photo: Bronwen Clacherty)

(Click here to see a video of this interaction.)

One story that Ba Bindu told me and each group of women, the *Story of the eight sisters*, encouraged much discussion and interaction. I explore this story in relation to the *dandaro* songs and the transgenerational archive in Chapter Four.

Story of the eight sisters as told by Babu Bindu[40]

The story of the eight sisters starts long before them, in the eleventh century, when four brothers, Muhammed Ali, Tunda Ali, Hassan Ali and Mussa Ali left Shiraz because of a family disagreement. They set sail in a dhow to the East African coast. On the way, they hit a storm and they were shipwrecked. Thankfully, they were able to swim to an island close by, Tumbatu Island. Tunda Ali was eaten by a shark but the rest made it to shore. They decided to settle on Tumbatu Island and start a new life there. They integrated with the locals and started families. Mussa Ali had two sons, Ali Muhammed the first and Ali Muhammed the second. Ali Muhammed the second had one son, Hassan bin Ali, who had seven children, Amour bin Hassan, Hijja bin Hassan, Hassan bin Hassan, Binti Hassan wa Binti Hassan, Binti Hassan hawa wa Binti Hassan and Hijja bin Hassan. All seven descendants of Ali Muhammed the second decided to leave Tumbatu Island to start another settlement. They travelled by dhow and ended up in Makunduchi, where they

[40] This story was translated by Maulidi Jerry.

decided to settle. The eight sisters are descendants of this group that settled in Makunduchi. So begins the story of the eight sisters …

Mwanagoli binti Ali,
Mize binti Ali,
Mwana Wanu binti Ali,
Miza Miza binti Ali,
Mkasi binti Ali,
Mwatima binti Ali,
Mwana Mwana binti Ali,
Maua binti Ali.

These are the names of the eight sisters whose ancestors originate from the island of Tumbatu just north of Unguja island, Zanzibar. They all have the same mother and the same father. When the daughters reached adulthood, they moved to the island of Unguja and started villages all over the island with their families. To this day there are still caves named after them in the villages that they started. People go there to ask for blessings and when the blessing is received return to hang cloths of thanks.

Mwanagoli cave at Makunduchi,
Mize cave at Kizimkazi,
Mwana Wanu cave at Paje,
Miza Miza cave at Bwejuu,
Mkasi cave at Ukongoroni,
Mwatima cave at Charawe,
Mwana Mwana cave at Paje,
Maua cave at Donge.

I asked Ba Bindu to tell the same story when we visited Bi Fatuma's group in Makunduchi. We arrived one afternoon; the children were home from school and the women had some time to spare before they had to prepare food for their families. We sat on mats on the floor in a small room decorated as the living room, wiping sweat from our faces. Bi Fatuma, Bi Salma and Bi Mwaka wore bright *kanga*s covering their

heads and shoulders. All of our faces turned towards Ba Bindu as we listened to the history of Makunduchi. Ba Bindu went on to tell the story of the eight sisters, and then he shared another story about Mize Mize, one of the eight sisters that had lived in Kizimkazi.

Figure 3.4: Bi Fatuma and her singing group listening to Ba Bindu. (Photo: Bronwen Clacherty)

Mize Mize [41] and Mariam walked towards the muddy entrance of the cave. Mize Mize held Mariam's hand and looked into the depths – the cave slanted downwards to the water right at the bottom of the cave. Mize Mize and Mariam were not friends, they were married to the same man. Mariam was the first wife and she was very jealous of Mize Mize. They both hated this cave and they came together because it was too scary to enter alone. The cave had many rules that everyone in the village was very careful to obey:

You cannot wear black inside the cave.

You cannot wear red inside the cave.

You cannot call out someone's name.

You cannot respond to your name being called.

Mize Mize and Mariam clambered down the steep entrance towards the water, pots in hand, ready to be filled. The cool water always amazed them – how was it so cold when the air outside was so hot? Mariam filled her pot with water and lifted it to

[41] I have re-written this story, for clarity, based on the translations that Maulidi Jerry and Jeena Suha provided. I have included the Kiswahili transcripts and translations of this story and the surrounding discussions in Appendix B.

her head. She made her way up out of the cave, leaving Mize Mize playing with the cool water. Wait for me! Mize Mize hurried to fill her pot and lifted it onto her head. She looked up at Mariam and saw that she had just left the cave. Mariam turned around and shouted "MIZE MIZE!" Mize Mize replied, "EE MARIAM?" the sound of her voice echoing through the coldness. Mize Mize froze in horror; her name had been called and she had answered …

To this day, Mize Mize stands just by the water's edge at the bottom of the cave … a pillar of stone.

As Ba Bindu finished his story, Bi Fatuma remembered a song with the same name as Mize Mize's name …

Mama ako anitaki	*My mother doesn't want me*
Kani chimbia andaki	*She built a basement for me*
Chini miba, juu moto	*With thorns on the bottom, fire on the top*
Nadonkokoni fukia	*And with the soil she is covering me*

(Click here to see a video of Bi Fatuma singing "Mize Mize".)

Bi Fatuma sang the song with great familiarity, and the others joined in and sang it a few times. I was delighted to hear a song prompted by the story Ba Bindu had told. I asked her, "Who taught you that song?" And she replied, "My grandmother!"

In this moment, the past and present connected, creating a thread – Mize Mize of the cave met Mize Mize who was buried underground. The song does not relate exactly to the story of the eight sisters, but it has a similar theme in which Mize Mize is a character that is put underground/buried/turned to stone by another woman. (Fieldnotes 27 November 2017)

Box 9: In performance – weaving threads between past and present

Q and B continue to unravel lines of string across the stage. While they unravel, Ba Bindu speaks, his voice weaving the story of the eight sisters.

The image of threads weaving recurs throughout the performance – the threads connect time and space. In this scene they weave connections between the past and the present: the story Ba Bindu tells connects the historical story of the eight sisters with the present of the women who remember the songs their grandmothers taught them. It is in this first movement that I play with the idea of "hauntology" (Derrida 1994). Diana Taylor describes this idea perfectly, confirming my point about Ba Bindu's voice weaving the past into the present, and the history he tells of the eight sisters weaving itself into the story I tell through the performance of *Tia Maji*. Taylor says that "performance makes visible (for an instant, 'live,' 'now') that which is always already there – the ghosts, the tropes, the scenarios that structure our individual and collective life" (Taylor 1999:64). The idea of "hauntology" recurs throughout the performance and will be highlighted in later reflections on the performance in this dissertation.

STRUCTURING THE RESEARCH SPACE

As the section above describes, my approach to fieldwork incorporated methods from both community arts practice and performance studies; essentially, I used my practice as a performing community artist as a research approach. I explore this approach in more detail below.

As Huib Schippers and Brydie-Leigh Bartleet (2013) suggest, finding a definition of what exactly community music is in practice is quite a challenge, and it often ends up being described in vague terms such as the following: "community music concerns people making music; community music is active participation in music-making" (Schippers and Bartleet 2013:455). This is because community music in practice is flexible, it changes depending on the context and ability of the people taking part. What is important is that the core values of community music are "equality, inclusion, participation [and] affirmation" (Prendiville 1995:14).

Lee Higgins (2012:15) suggests that the "*community* within *community music* is best understood as … 'an act of hospitality'". He suggests further that the core values of

community music align with the concept of hospitality, which Immanuel Kant defines as "the right of an alien [stranger] not to be treated as an enemy upon arrival in another's country" (Kant 1983:118). This concept of hospitality can be expanded in the community music context to include the following terms: "equality, inclusion, participation [and] affirmation" (Prendiville 1995:14). Phil Mullen defines the role of a community musician as that of a "boundaried facilitator convening the group, clarifying, acting as guardian to the process, not using their position to impose or to teach but to inquire, to echo and to affirm" (Mullen 2002:x). Patricia Prendiville adds that a community music facilitator "empowers people to carry out a task or perform an action [and] encourages people to share ideas, resources [and] opinions" (Prendiville 1995:13). These concepts are reflected in the way in which I view my work as a researcher: I aim to create a research environment where the research participants feel encouraged to share their "ideas, resources [and] opinions". In this section I will outline certain techniques that I used to do this, and also to create a sense of "equality, inclusion, participation [and] affirmation" (Prendiville 1995:14) for participants. These techniques might seem simple and obvious, but the subtlest of changes can affect a group's dynamic.

The first technique is to sit in a circle so that every person present can take part as equally as possible in the discussion or activities. The second is to make sure that everyone is sitting on the same level; the translator and I both sat on the floor with the participants. The third technique is for the researcher to be aware of her appearance. I made sure that I wore clothes that were respectable, covering my shoulders with a *kanga* and wearing a long skirt that covered my legs. The fourth technique is to make sure that the research participants know who the researcher is, and why she is there. Prendiville describes this as being a "directive facilitator", making sure the participants know what is going to happen and what they can expect from you, but also receiving their permission to continue. The other elements of my facilitation style that Prendiville outlines involve being:

> Directive: giving people information.
> Exploratory: asking questions, encouraging people to voice their experience and ideas.
> Participative: taking part in the discussion, sharing personal experiences and encouraging others to do likewise. (Prendiville 1995:14)

Once I had implemented all these basic techniques, the more complex workshop techniques could then take over. The fifth, less obvious, technique I used was allowing the process of sharing songs to be led by the research participants. I spoke only when I needed clarification or felt that the group needed encouragement, or ideas about what more they could share. The sixth technique I used was "active listening". Prendiville categorises active listening in terms of "non-verbal" and "verbal" forms of listening. The verbal techniques she describes, and the ones I used, are: "summarising", to draw together separate points made in order to check information; "clarifying", to further check information, in this instance song lyrics and meanings, and to prompt more discussion; "reflecting", to pick up on the "explicit or implicit feelings expressed by a [participant] and demonstrating an understanding and acceptance of these" (Prendiville 1995:48); "encouraging", by giving them praise for their contribution; and "silence", which allows for time to think and for the participants to add more. The last technique I used was to pay close attention to moments when the energy of the group started to wane, and to end the session when the activity started to feel laboured. This was usually after about 45 minutes. I would thank everyone for their participation and schedule another session if they were keen to continue.

Of course, these techniques are not exclusive to the community music approach, and there are many parallels with ethnographic methodologies such as the work of (amongst many others) Margaret Kovach (2018) and Valerie Janesick et al. (2000). Kovach discusses ways of undoing the hierarchy involved in "doing indigenous methodologies" (2018: 217) and explores storytelling as a research method (2018:225). Janesick et al. explore how planning research projects is similar to a choreographer designing a dance: "Just as dance mirrors and adapts to life, qualitative design is adapted, changed, and redesigned as the study proceeds, due to the social realities of doing research among and with the living" (2000: 394). Both Kovach and Janesick et al. discuss research spaces that create "equality, inclusion, participation [and] affirmation" (Prendiville 1995:14).

My key aim in the context of this research enquiry was to create an equal space in which everyone could contribute, with me as the facilitator of the process but not the leader. I thought very carefully about how to structure my approach and how I would come

across to the research participants. I wanted the women to feel that the information they held was important, and that I wasn't taking it away from them but rather that they were sharing it with me. I thought about how I could lead the interviews and group discussions in a way that felt as if we were just having conversations. I realised that I had to allow the women to make the rules for our interactions. If I asked for an hour of their time, I would have to fit into their day whenever and wherever they could accommodate me. We mostly ended up meeting in the afternoons, when the farming work was done for the day and before meal preparations began. This was probably the time of day when the women had their one moment to rest, so I tried to create a dynamic of interaction that valued their limited time and ensured a relaxed communicative environment.

During my interactions with the women in the singing groups, I was constantly reflexive about the danger of perpetuating the idea of the oppressed "Muslimwoman" (Cooke 2007:139). As I discuss in Chapter One, Cooke uses the term "Muslimwoman" as a way of describing how Muslim women can be both insiders and outsiders in their own communities, part of a Muslim, cosmopolitan world, but at the same time objects of Western thought. It was with this awareness that I wanted, as much as possible, to allow the women to speak for their experiences. I was aware of the need to pay attention to "unequal power relations, contested notions of truth and knowledge… and the politics of voice and representation in meaning making" (Creese and Frisby 2011:3). Here Creese and Frisby write specifically about the context of feminist community research, but the ideals of their approach align strongly with the community arts principles I applied. These reflections on my role as an ethnomusicologist and on the writing of Creese and Frisby motivated me to change my original lens from a historical one to one that would give a more personal and individual view of the women.

On an ethical note, the practice of giving financial contributions to research participants is historically not very common in ethnomusicological or anthropological fieldwork, although it has become more accepted in recent decades. Bruce Jackson suggests that payment of research participants should be guided by "local customs … in some places, payment isn't only expected but necessary; in others, payment would be insulting" (Jackson 1987:267). It became clear to me in the course of my interactions with the

women's groups that they felt strongly that they should be paid for their time. We came to an agreement as to what they should be paid for each session, and I think this at least made them feel that I wasn't taking advantage of their time. Beyond this financial arrangement, there was also discussion about what I would do with the songs and the information they shared with me. I had made it clear to the women in each group, before starting my research and throughout our discussions, that I was doing my doctoral research, which would be written up as a dissertation that I would make available to them. I also made it clear that I would return the recordings and transcriptions of the songs to them. During the research period I always printed any photographs I had taken and gave them to the research participants. As discussed above, I did everything I could to make sure that the inescapable hierarchical distance between researcher and participant was reduced.

One other element that helped to create a sense of collegiality was for us to make music together. This is a technique that many ethnomusicologist use (see Baily 2008; Koning 1980). Ethnomusicologists who learn from the musicians they are researching not only gain access to the technicalities of the music but can spend time conversing with their teachers about related topics. With this approach in mind, I aimed to share some of the music I knew with the singing groups. In addition, I aimed for us to write some songs together after some discussion and song sharing from them, which is something I have done frequently and successfully with other research groups and in various workshop settings. I thought that maybe the songs that emerged from the song writing sessions would give me access to another world of meaning. A few songs emerged from this process, and they are included and discussed in Chapter Four.

REPRESENTATION: THE TRANSLATED ARCHIVE

While reflecting on my position of privilege and the relationship between the research participants and me, it is vital that I also reflect on the use of translation for my fieldwork. Ingrid Palmary, acknowledging the work of Harish Trivedi and Susan Bassnett (1999) and Ruth Behar (2003), identifies the importance of unpacking the translation process in order to understand the power relations that exist in ethnographic research:

> I would suggest that attention to how writers and researchers deal with translation tells us about a theory of language at work in our studies that can be productive in unpacking the power relations inherent in doing research across linguistic contexts. (Palmary 2014:576–77)

Translation formed an essential part of my research into and analysis of the songs. As an English speaker with a basic understanding of Kiswahili, I relied heavily on translation during the interview process and for the analysis of the songs. It is important to acknowledge that I was working always through translators, and so I was one step removed from the information that was being shared by the women. In this section I explore the various challenges that I encountered in regard to translation, as well as the process that I went through to understand as much as I could. I explore the political nature of translation and of working across language barriers, and the political nature of the role of the researcher and research participants. Palmary (2014) highlights these considerations particularly in relation to feminist writing, which has helped me to understand how translation not only reflects the power relationship across languages but also across gendered experiences.

The Kiswahili dialect spoken in Jambiani is called kiJambiani; I will from now on refer to the language spoken in Jambiani by this name. To provide some background to this discussion I will explain the process of translation I used for my research. Beyond my own basic understanding of what was being said, the first layer of translation occurred during the group discussions and interviews. I worked with Maulidi Jerry as a translator; he translated what I said in English into kiJambiani for the women, and he then translated what they said and sang into English for me.[42] Jeena Suha did the second layer of translation; she transcribed the audio recordings of the interviews in kiJambiani, and then translated them into English.[43] Her translation focused on the literal meaning of the words, which created a base from which to interpret after further translation. Maulidi completed the third layer of translation; he translated the meanings of the metaphorical language used in the songs and conversations in consultation with

[42] Maulidi Jerry is from Bahani, Jambiani, and is in his thirties. He learnt English in school and was then able to practise with a friend from England; he has gone on to teach English at schools in Jambiani.

[43] Jeena Suha is from Mchangani, Jambiani, and is in her twenties. She learnt English in school and was able to practise with her father, who speaks English. She also studied for a master's degree in India, which was written in English.

the women's singing groups.[44] The importance of this third layer of meaning for the *dandaro* songs is discussed in Chapter Four. Taken together, these three layers of translation helped to create a fuller understanding of what was said explicitly by the research participants, and what was not said but could be inferred.

In this work, I see myself as an interpreter of different translations. I have not been able to choose the best words in English to translate the meaning that I want to communicate to my readers, but have had to rely on other people's translations, people who are first-language speakers of kiJambiani and second-language speakers of English. They have access to the deeper meanings of kiJambiani but may not be able to translate those meanings into English. I have to acknowledge here that through translation much is lost, and it is my hope that further work in this field will be undertaken by Kiswahili and kiJambiani speakers, because this will provide a richer analysis of the material. Palmary suggests that we should try to move away from the idea that a translation can be a perfect reflection of the meaning of a source text. She argues that language does not simply reflect reality, and that as ethnographers we move towards a kind of research that "understands that language does not simply mirror the world but constructs and negotiates it in a contextually bounded way" (Palmary 2014:577). This idea goes beyond the concept and politics of translation and incorporates the idea that as ethnographers we present what Clifford (1986) calls "partial truths" of the lives, musics, histories and stories we study. My analysis of the songs and discussions is essentially an analysis of the translations provided by Maulidi and Jeena. There is the possibility that their social and political perspectives could influence their translations, just as my social and political perspectives could influence my analysis and representation.

As I have explained, there were many layers to the translation process I followed in my research, and this extended beyond the actual words to include gestures, and *how*

[44] Althought this metaphorical translation (third layer) was in consultation with the women's singing groups, it was Maulidi who provided the final translations to me. I am aware that this could have limited the translation, especially because Maulidi is a man and may have interpreted the women's words differently. I would like to return to the women's singing groups and check the metaphorical translations with them in order to further the depth of this study.

words were spoken. Gayatri Spivak points out that spoken word only forms one part of communication, and so translations can also refer to gestures, inferences, and silences:

> Language is not everything. It is only a vital clue to where the self loses its boundaries. The ways in which rhetoric or figuration disrupt logic themselves point at the possibility of random contingency, beside language, around language. Such a dissemination cannot be under our control. Yet in translation, where meaning hops into the spacy emptiness between two named historical languages, we get perilously close to it. By juggling the disruptive rhetoricity that breaks the surface in not necessarily connected ways, we feel the selvedges of the language-textile give way, fray into frayages or facilitations. (Spivak 2000:398)

I realised the importance of understanding *how* things were communicated to me after receiving a recorded interview with Bi Riziki and her singing group that one of my research assistants (Jeena Suha) had completed in Jambiani. This was the only song-sharing session I had not been present at, and this one was the most difficult for me to interpret. I felt that all the other sessions where I had been present had allowed me to visualise the women speaking and singing, filling in for my subconscious but also my conscious brain pieces of information that the language itself could not communicate – those spaces between, the facial expressions and the parts where the "language-textile" frayed (Spivak 2000:398). In many ways the context of what was said was communicated in between the words. These pieces of visual information assisted me in reading the group and helped me to interpret what had later been translated for me.

Box 10: In performance – politics of translation (same video as Box 9)

B and Q continue to unravel the string across the stage, crossing over, knotting, pulling layers of string spread onto the stage. While they work, Ba Bindu narrates the story of the eight sisters.

This thread reflects the complexity of the ethnographer's role as well as the web of translation and interpretation necessary to understand the metaphorical *dandaro* songs. The web that pulls and knots reflects the challenge of understanding what is said and what is left unsaid. No translation will truly mirror its origin; it can only weave together another meaning that hints at the original meaning. The web of string across the stage reflects the self-conscious balance between curiosity and exploitation, representation and misunderstanding. Our silence

throughout the performance, apart from a few interjections, signifies our position of reflexivity: it is not our space to speak in, the recordings of the women need to be heard, not our voices.

Translation is a political act, and thus during the performance no translation was provided. Ba Bindu spoke, the women sang, and the audience did not understand what they were hearing unless they understood Kiswahili. This reflected my experience as I entered the field, unprepared for the knowledge that would be shared with me, only ever able to represent fragments of a reality and self-consciously aware of my positionality and shortcomings as a researcher.

THE POLITICS OF TRANSLATION

As the researcher relying on the translation from kiJambiani into English, my responsibility lies in knowing that I am representing people in a language that is not their own. This comes with serious political implications. Sandra Bermann and Michael Wood suggest that "[b]ecause of the growing power of English as a global lingua franca, the responsibility of the translator into English is increasingly complicated" (Bermann and Wood 2005:94). I am aware that using English in the translation process can replicate a colonial power relationship with regard to kiJambiani. This can happen because the translation of kiJambiani may appear as broken English, which in turn infantilises the research participant whose words are being translated. Of course, the intention is not to do this, but that is the result of presenting the translation verbatim. What can also result from the dominance of English in the translation is that the content of what people are talking about is viewed from a Western/English perspective, "recasting their experiences within the cultural boundaries of the English language" (Palmary 2014:577).

In this dissertation, I make the political decision to write the song lyrics in kiJambiani first, followed by the English translation. I include the kiJambiani so that someone else – a reader who knows this language – can have the opportunity to translate the lyrics themselves, and maybe find another truth or meaning in the words. In my preliminary research I experienced frustration when reading documents such as Jan Knappert's

(1972, 1982) writings on Kiswahili poetry, because only the English translations of the poems were provided – I couldn't check the translations for other possible meanings. After the kiJambiani text is presented in this dissertation, I then present the English translations (done by Maulidi or Jeena) so that an English reader can understand what I was working with in my interpretation and analysis of the songs and discussions.

I was constantly reminded in my fieldwork that I was working through a language barrier and needed to pay careful attention to my own assumptions about kiJambiani, and about people from Jambiani and how they viewed the world. The following interaction illustrates this point.

Bronwen: Who are your ancestors?
Maulidi: Um I'm not sure what you mean by that, I'm not sure how to translate it.
Bronwen: Who are the people in your family that came before you?
Maulidi: I'm struggling to understand what you want to ask.

Maulidi expressed confusion at my question about ancestors … I thought he wanted to understand so that he could answer the question, instead of asking the women. I thought that he wanted to answer because he didn't know if they would have the answer – I had started to sense that this was happening because Maulidi and Bwana Abasi wanted to make sure I got the "right" information. This wasn't the case at all; he actually didn't know how to translate the word or concept of ancestors. Coming from a South African context where one's ancestors hold great value in people's current lives and identities, I found it difficult to shift my mind to a place where there didn't seem to be a word for ancestor. I realised that this was the case when I spoke to other people like my Kenyan housemate, who said that she didn't know the word for ancestor in Kiswahili either and suggested that it wasn't a topic that people spoke about. I may have needed to use a different term, but even through explanation and discussion Maulidi struggled to understand me. (Fieldnotes, 26 November 2017)

These moments where translation is difficult, where words do not translate directly or "the meaning of a word differs despite there being a linguistic equivalent" (Palmary 2014:578), provide researchers with the opportunity to assess their assumptions. I

come from a South African context where discourse on ancestors is commonplace, but when I tried to apply the language or concepts I knew from my own context, they didn't translate. This made me realise that I had to assess all my assumptions in my interview questions. I had to be more careful to leave questions open and allow for people to express their own ideas, without me leading them to the answers I wanted.

In conclusion, if, as Spivak (2000) argues, language is one of many elements that allow us to make sense of ourselves and the social world, then it is a central part of the production of identity rather than a simple reflection of it. As researchers, we are required to pay attention to our role in the politics of knowledge creation and representation through language. In my research process, this meant that I had to make decisions about representation in my writing, about how I presented Kiswahili and the translated English, and how I explored the politics of language and representation in the performance which I discussed in Box 10 in this chapter.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has described my fieldwork experiences and the participatory approach I employed when working with the women's singing groups. It explored my main concern with designing a fieldwork approach that attempted to equalise the power relationship between myself and the research participants. I detailed the community arts, participatory approach and showed how I employed it during fieldwork. The chapter has given details of many fieldwork experiences to create a rich representation of my time doing this research.

The chapter has also presented the translation methods I used, explaining the layers of translation from the literal meaning to the metaphorical meaning, and explored the associated issues of working in a language I do not speak fluently. It has included a discussion of the politics of translation within research work, whilst acknowledging that translation affected the hierarchy that structured the interactions between myself and my research participants.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF THE PRESENT, LIVING ARCHIVE

This chapter details the analysis of the lyrics and music of the *dandaro* songs that I researched during my stay in Jambiani. The chapter begins with a description of the performance context and the metaphorical content and function of the songs, and a discussion of the use of metaphor in other similar song genres. I then describe the methodology I used to do a thematic analysis of the songs; this is followed by the thematic analysis itself. I present a musical analysis of the songs, using examples from the same data set of songs collected in Jambiani. I end this chapter by showing how the *dandaro* songs form a transgenerational archive, and how the fieldwork methodology described in Chapter Three enabled the women to engage with the song archive.

Box 11: In performance – interlude – Zanzibar Town to Jambiani

Q rolls up the layers of string, we are moving to another time now, another space. The threads that wove B through the streets of Zanzibar Town now become the threads for planting seaweed and other women's work. B plays the umrhubhe *once again, preparing the audience for the sound of the* dandaro *songs; the song she has chosen to play is the song that speaks of water as freedom. "Pour water," the woman says to her husband, "give me freedom from the tightening rope that is squeezing me."*

Q lays out red and white strips of fabric across the front of the stage, as if they are seaweed swept up by high tide onto the beach.

The symbol of water features strongly throughout the performance. This is because the phrase *Tia Maji* (from Song no. 3), meaning "pour water", represents the freedom that a wife is requesting from her husband. This symbol of water represents the subversive nature of the *dandaro* songs. *Tia Maji* subtly highlights the theme of women subverting social norms in society. This chapter explains how the *dandaro* songs have this power in a woman's world.

DANDARO AS A MUSICAL PRACTICE

When I first met with the women singers in Jambiani they shared many songs with me. As they sang, they named the genre or type of song they were singing. They sang *msanja, sikweli, kibungo* and *ushagaa*, but it was the songs they called *dandaro* that interested me most because these songs seemed to be an important archive of women's lived experiences. The lyrical content of *dandaro* songs included deeply metaphorical language that communicated information about people's lives and specifically about the lives of the women with whom I worked.

I realised, after a broad search of the literature, that *dandaro* had not been explored in any depth or mentioned at all in the literature on the Swahili coast.[45] I did, however, find references to another musical practice in Zimbabwe called *dandaro*, "[a] contemporary mbira show commonly practiced in towns" (Matiure 2013: xiii). Perminus Matiure states that "[t]he word *dandaro* is derived from the word *kutandara* [Shona] which means to be entertained" (Matiure 2013:102). There are other scholars who have written about *dandaro* in the Zimbabwean context, for example Martin Scherzinger (2001) and Richard Muranda (2010). Thomas Turino (2000) writes of *dandanda,* a dance genre performed in Korekoreland, Northern Zimbabwe, that interestingly features a 12/8 time signature. I am not sure if this genre relates to the *dandaro* that Mutiure (2013), Schezinger (2001) and Muranda (2010) write about, or if it relates to the Zanzibari *dandaro*. Despite the similarities found in the Zimbabwean context, I did not find any literature on the Zanzibari song genre that the women called *dandaro.*

I chose, therefore, to focus on recording *dandaro* songs with the women, in part because this genre was something I could contribute to the academic archive, but mostly because I realised that these very personal songs, which the women described as being from "*zamani, zamani*", long ago, would help me to understand women's lived experience both now and in the past.

[45] A broad search of the literature on the Swahili coast for *dandaro* included the following: Allen and Wilson 1982; Askew 1999, 2003; Barz 2004; Campbell 1983; Campbell and Eastman 1984; Eastman 1984, 1988; Fair 2002; Freeman-Grenville 1962; Gunderson 2008; Ingrams 1967; Knappert 1972, 1982; Kubik 1962; Mazrui 1992; Mbele 1996; Ntarangwi 1999; Nurse and Spear 2017; Ranger 1975; Sheriff 1987, 2001, 2008; Strumpf 2012; Topp Fargion 2014.

When I first heard the term *dandaro*, it was used by the women in the singing groups to describe the type of song that they were going to sing; they would explain, "it's *dandaro*" or "this is a *dandaro* song". When I asked, "what is *dandaro*?" the definition became less definite, and different people gave many different descriptions of what this type of song was about. Bwana Abasi described *dandaro* as "kinds of groups of peoples of Zanzibar, especially the south-east coast of Jambiani. Those groups performed the songs of *dandaro … dandaro* were performed at weddings". The definition provided by one of the women, Bi Riziki, clearly describes *dandaro* as a specific type of song:

"Dandaro ni ngoma za kiasili, utamaduni ambazo hupijwa na kuchwazwa na wanawake ilikujifurahisha wao wenyewe na pia wakati wanapija nyimbo hizo lazima wapije na makofi ili kunogesha mchezo wao huo, vile vile nyimbo hizo hazina mda maalum hupijwa kutokana na wao wanapokuwa na shughuli na pia wakati wakiwa na furaha wenyewe wanakutana nakuanza kuimba na kila mmoja anatakiwa aimbe pia wanatunga hapo hapo sio kama mtu ametunga kutoka nyumbani."

*"*Dandaro *are the traditional songs which women sing without using drums, they are using their hands for clapping, at least to make the song tempting to others and to make a different sound. Also,* dandaro *has no specific time to be sung. It's sung at any time when they just feel like singing and when there is a function and also when they are free, they sing out and each person has to sing her own song. They are very creative because they each compose different songs but the chorus has to be the same to all." (Interview by Jeena Suha with Bi Riziki, January 2019, Jambiani)*

Bi Mtumwa explained why *dandaro* was performed (edited for clarity):

"Tunacheza ng'oma zetu lakini mtaani sio mwituni, tunacheza ng'oma yetu mpaka tunatosheka tukimaliza tunaenda kulala, wala hatugombani au mhhh! Tunatosheka na ng'oma yetu hata kama hamna harusi, tulikuwa tunajichezea ng'oma yetu hapo Mbuyuni na maalum ikiwa tumefurahi tunacheza dandaro mpaka saa tano usiku tunastop nakuenda kulala."

"We danced or performed our songs in the street and not in the bush, we danced until we were satisfied, when we were done, we went to bed while everyone is happy and enjoyed our time without any misunderstanding or any social event. We enjoyed our songs even when it wasn't a wedding but we danced at Mbuyuni especially when we were happy, dancing till 11 p.m. from there we stopped and went to sleep!" (Interview by Maulidi with Bi Mtumwa, May 2019, Jambiani)

Bi Mwaka shared another example of why *dandaro* is sung:

"Dandaro tulikuwa tunatumia akikukera maana amekukera na huwezi kumwambia kwa mdomo kwasababu mtagombana sana lakini unaendaa kumuimba mbele ya watu wote

wanasikia, kama amekukosea mwanao kama kamfanya vitendo au kama anakuibia mumeo tena hapo siku ya dandaro ndio unapoenda kumuimba."

"We used dandaro *when someone made you angry, that means when someone made you angry and you can't tell them face to face but you went to sing to her so that many people can get the message as she meant bad to your own daughter or she is taking your husband, so on the day of* dandaro *you can sing to her." (Interview by Maulidi with Bi Mwaka, May 2019, Jambiani)*

Bwana Abasi gave a specific example of why *dandaro* songs might be performed: "*Every year there was a practice to donate to peoples' homes. If you did not donate to them, they would perform bad songs for you like, 'you don't cut your hair' or 'you don't know how to clean your body'. It was very funny!*"

What was clear in Abasi's explanation was that *dandaro* songs sometimes use the technique of joking or taunting to communicate a message. Bi Fatuma also explained that *dandaro* songs could be used for social commentary:

"Dandaro *ni nyimbo ambayo mtu anakaa tu nakutunga hapo hapo na ilikuwa kama mtu anaukimba vibaya wewe basi na wewe unatunga ya kwako pale pale kwa ajili yake, ni ngoma za Kajengwa, wakati huo mimi sijui lakaini ilikuwa naskia bibi zetu,siku moja bibi yangu wamekaa wakasema walikuwa wameenda kwenye dandaro wamenunua kanzu zao wakashona sare lakini bibi yangu sare yake ameshona vibaya mpaka kucheza ngoma alikuwa anaona tabu kutokana na nguo yake ilivyoshonwa,wenzake wote wanacheza ngoma yeye kakaa tu, akasema akaunda ngoma yake nakuingia uwanjani ilikuwjitoa kimaso mason a papo akaanza kuimba:*

Kitambaa nnunu Mimi

Ino kanzu silikwazima

Mshoni kunshonee jaje wee

Nnaechekwa kae zima."

"Dandaro is a song that a person can just sit and sing. *Dandaro* songs can also be sung when someone sings about you and you can just respond to her in the moment. This *dandaro* song is from Kajengwa, I didn't know that this song was a *dandaro* song at the time, but I heard it from my grandmother.[46] She said she went to dance *dandaro* and many women there had the same dress as her, but her dressmaker had made the dress for her! My grandmother was sitting alone feeling self-conscious about her dress and other people were dancing and suddenly she went inside and sang the following song:

[46] Kajengwa is a neighbourhood in the town of Makunduchi, which is about thirteen kilometres south of Bahani, Jambiani.

I bought the material

I didn't borrow the dress

Why you made this design

All people from Kae were laughing at me."

The specific example Bi Fatuma gave shows that *dandaro* songs can be used to communicate a hidden message or to comment on a certain situation. Her grandmother was made fun of by people singing a song about her dress, and she responded, with a verse within the same song, in defence of her dress. Here we see a song that documents a woman's experience in song form, which was then passed on to her granddaughter, Bi Fatuma, now a grandmother herself. This four-line song holds the essence of that experience, and this is then sung by a woman two generations later. The idea of a song as a repository or an archive of experience that travels through generations is explored further in Chapter Five.

When I asked the women in the singing groups how old the songs were, they gave widely differing estimates of the ages of the songs. For example, Bi Mtumwa stated that the songs were from forty years ago, while Bi Mwaka suggested that they dated to one hundred years ago. The women I interviewed were in their seventies and grandmothers themselves; they had learnt the songs when they were between the ages of five and eighteen, which suggests that the songs date back at least a century.

When I explored with the women how the *dandaro* songs had changed over time, it was clear that they function as a living archive of experience relating to gender relations, but also as an archive of the influence that Islam has had on women's lives. When I asked Bwana Abasi if *dandaro* songs were still performed, he said, "dandaro*,* sikweli *and* msanja *are no longer performed except for [when] people like you ask them to. Now people perform* maulidi*, the celebration of Muhammad and* rusha roho*,*[47] *because people changed themselves. Muslims' situation changed."*

It seems, therefore, that *dandaro* does not belong to any specific celebration, but was sung spontaneously in the past at a range of celebrations. These songs, rather than

[47] *Rusha roho* is a sub-category of *taarab* music and is usually played as recorded music for dance purposes (Khamis 2001). *Maulidi* is a genre of music that celebrates the birth of Prophet Muhammad.

being specific to an occasion, have a specific function – to tell someone something without saying it outright. Bi Mwaka explained it succinctly: "*At that time (when I was younger) people used* dandaro *to express their anger towards someone. For example, someone did something bad to them, you can't tell them directly and so they used* dandaro *to express those feelings.*"

The figurative nature of the songs allowed for the meaning to be hidden, but also to communicate very particular messages while still protecting one's reputation. This technique of using metaphor to protect one's reputation is explored later in this chapter.

Before discussing the themes that emerged from the *dandaro* songs, it is important to understand the use of metaphor in the songs, as this is central to their purpose and meaning.

METAPHOR AS A TOOL FOR COMMUNICATING MEANING

Figurative language is a central characteristic of Swahili expressive culture. In this section I will explain the function of figurative language in expressive culture in a wider Muslim, Swahili context, and also specifically in the Zanzibari context.

There are many studies on the use of figurative language, particularly metaphor, in Swahili expressive culture (see for example Campbell 1983; Campbell and Eastman 1984; Mazrui 1992; Mbele 1996). In the Swahili context the most common function of metaphor is to communicate a concealed message:

> Many cultures prefer indirectness of figurative speech in giving advice and teaching good manners and behaviour. Swahili verbal culture is particularly well known for its love of… "enigmas, indirect speech" and multi-layered metaphors (e.g. Knappert 1983). (Kraska-Szlenk 2014:171)

Figure 4.1: A wedding *kanga* with an inscription translated as "Your problem is that you can't stop backbiting". (Source: "Kanga | British Museum" n.d.)

Figure 4.2: Women in Jambiani wearing *kanga* cloths. (Photo: Bronwen Clacherty)

Figure 4.3: The *kanga* ritual, *Tia Maji* performance. (Photo: Suzy Bernstein)

These "'enigmas, indirect speech' and multi-layered metaphors" (Kraska-Szlenk 2014:171) are found on *kanga* cloths, in songs, poetry, stories, riddles and daily language in the Swahili context. I will start by exploring how *kanga* cloths (Figures 4.1–4.3) use metaphor as a tool for communication.

Kangas and the use of metaphor

*Kanga*s are worn throughout the East African coast. They are brightly coloured cloths that are sold in two parts: one part is worn around the waist and the second part is worn to cover the head. *Kanga* cloths carry proverbs and patterns that have particular meanings, for example, "*Wema hauozi* [Kindness is never wasted], *Mcheza kwao hutunzwa* [A dancer among his/her own people will be rewarded], or *Kawia ujike* [Better late than never]" (Yahya-Othman 1997:137). The *kangas* are gifted from one woman to another, and in doing so the meaning is shared with the person receiving the gift. Rose Marie Beck (2001) gives the following example of how a *kanga* cloth is used as a communication tool:

> About fifteen years ago, Ms. Hafswa was given a *kanga* by her neighbour, Ms. Yasmin. It had the inscription *Ataka yote hukosa yote* – "Who wants all, usually loses all". Ms. Hafswa got very angry and went to confront Ms. Yasmin and ask her why she gave this particular *kanga*. But Ms. Yasmin denied a communicative

> intention by saying that because she was illiterate, she didn't know the meaning of the inscription. Ms. Hafswa did not believe Ms. Yasmin, because it is common knowledge that even illiterate women take part in kanga-communication. But she had to retreat, fuming and with feelings of utter impotence and loss of dignity. The incident occurred shortly before Ms. Hafswa separated from her husband, a distinguished member of the community. With the gift of this *kanga* she felt that the blame for the breakdown of her marriage was put on her, but also that people gossiped about her. She saw this gift as an unjustified intrusion into her privacy, and also that the other woman had probably been jealous and was now rejoicing at what she saw as her failure. (Beck 2001:158)

Beck discusses how the use of metaphor in the proverbs on *kanga* cloths functions to "compensate for communicative barriers" (Beck 2001:159) and how this form of communication has the potential to negotiate and possibly create areas of tension in society. The above example also shows how the gift-giver/communicator can save face if they are challenged about what they have communicated. Vierke (2012) quotes a description by Mtoro bin Mwingi Bakari (a scholar of Swahili customs) on the use of double meanings: "The reason why Swahili use double meanings is that if someone does something improper, people speak with double meaning so that he may not understand. If he knows the meaning, he can interpret it, and if he does not, he cannot (Allen 1981: 194)" (Vierke 2012:279).

Vierke goes on to describe the power of ambiguity in Swahili poetry. She gives examples of poetry used in different contexts, such as religious and philosophical poetry, erotic poetry and critical political poetry, where ambiguity is used to transfer a message while using the metaphor as a "face-protecting strategy" (2012:278). It is understandable that communication barriers arise in the context of Zanzibari society, where social hierarchy and an emphasis on social standing restrict people's freedom of expression. Politeness and respect are viewed as important values in this society, and these are often reflected in situations where there is hierarchy. According to Beck (2001:159), "[i]n the Swahili coastal context social hierarchy is perceived to exist between persons of varying age, descent and gender". Speech restrictions are experienced throughout the society; I focus here on women's experience of these restrictions. Due to the pressure to uphold honour, women's speech is restricted in daily life situations such as "conflicts, envy, jealousy, discontent, quarrels, but also sexuality and to a certain degree … advice" (Beck 2001:159), and this is where the figurative nature of expressive culture – song, poetry

and proverbs – finds its function.

Another form of Swahili expressive culture is found in the musical genre *taarab. Taarab* song lyrics use metaphor as a way of overcoming speech restrictions. James Zaja describes how the songs "are in essence subtle strategies deployed to question, analyze and reshape material and social relations" (Zaja 2008:2). In his discussion of this genre, he foregrounds the power that the *taarab* songs hold for women in negotiating their social environments, particularly how the songs subvert the patriarchal environment that the women experience:

> They are stratagems set out to publicize and politicize private struggles – thus bringing into the public domain subjects routinely muted, yet important at pointing out marginalized social actors and competing alliances … Any close analysis of the rich repertoire of taarab songs, presents one with an array of songs that not only problematize women's innumerable struggles and muted locutions, but that also critically interrogate women's marginalization, patriarchal dependence and social entrapment. (Zaja 2008:2–3)

Examples of *taarab* songs that illustrate Zaja's argument are "*Kijiti*" and "*Tutabanana Hapa Hapa*". "*Kijiti*" is a famous song composed by Siti binti Saad (1898–1950); it expresses her despair and anger about a situation in which a man had raped and murdered a woman. The man escaped to Dar es Salaam and wasn't charged with the crime; instead the women accompanying the victim were charged because they had organised the gathering where the crime had taken place (*Verba Africana* n.d.). Zaja provides the following explanation of "*Tutabanana Hapa Hapa*":

> "*Tutabanana Hapa Hapa*" is a private war of words (though now made public) between two women in a polygamous marriage, fighting to protect their perceived rights, entitlements and privileges of patriarchy such as getting their husband's undivided and exclusive attention, love and the fulfillment of economic and material needs. Each one of these women puts forward her case armed with reasons why she thinks she deserves the man's attention more than her rival. The reasons put forward for deserving the right of attention range from physical beauty, body figure, mastery of cooking – also seen as possession of culinary skills and inevitably the art of love making for benefit of the patriarch. All these reasons are laced with a high dose of sexual imagery like "cooking for him", "serving him raw food", "eating from the same plate", etc. (Zaja 2008:8)

Taarab music is not only an "integral part of popular culture" in Zanzibar, but also a political and "intellectual public space where gendered, social and political identities are

constructed, contested, shaped and manipulated and a central stage on which identity formation and negotiation are played out" (Zaja 2008:3). The messages communicated in the songs can be used by anyone to portray whatever meaning they intend; but I am particularly interested in how *taarab*, along with *dandaro*, can be utilised as a tool for women to "publicize and politicize private struggles" in a way that remains contained and safe for the person relaying the message.

Another song genre that is very similar in function to *taarab* and *dandaro* is *vugo*. *Vugo* is a type of song sung by women in East Africa and, like *dandaro,* it makes use of "skilled rhyming and clever messages" (Eastman 1984:325). Eastman states that "Vugo is the most oral literature-like type of *nyimbo za ngoma"* (1984:325).[48] Carol Campbell also writes about *vugo* as a type of song that is performed "for women to entertain themselves and at the same time, by the creation of lyrics, to air grievances, ventilate disputes, and reaffirm shared traditional values" (Campbell 1983:200). It is striking how these statements made about *vugo* resonate with what I have found in regard to *dandaro* songs.

I will now give an example of the function of metaphor in expressive culture in another African context, specifically the Zulu context, and show how it contributes to the understanding of *dandaro* songs in the Swahili context. Gunner's (1979) description of isiZulu *izibongo* aligns very closely with my description of the *dandaro* songs.[49] I compare the *izibongo* and the *dandaro* despite their being from different regions and rooted in different cultural practices, because there are many parallels between them that help us understand the use of figurative language in each practice. Reading Gunner's work allowed me to deepen my understanding of *dandaro* songs. She describes the language used in the *izibongo* songs as "highly figurative" and states that the use of metaphor in the songs has a "wide enough application to be recognisable", although in *izibongo* the metaphor requires some "inside knowledge" (Gunner 1979:240) for the meaning of the metaphor to be communicated. An example of a metaphor that requires "inside knowledge" is found in the following *izibongo*:

[48] Eastman explains *nyimbo za ngoma* as "'song performances' or 'literary songs' from a *ngoma,* 'happening'" (Eastman 1984:325).
[49] Gunner describes *izibongo* as "Zulu praise poetry" (Gunner 1979:239).

The Izibongo of Ngqumbazi of the Zungu Clan, Mother of King Cetshwayo

USogqayi UNgubo zenkonjane
UMsweyazi wakomgengeni
Uzincisha yena
Waze wancisha ngisho inkosi yohlanga
UMsizi wabakude abaseduze bekhala naye.

Close peerer, Swallows' clothes,
The needy one at the grain basket.
She stints herself,
She went even further and stinted the Royal One himself.
Helper of those far away, the close at hand cry with her.

The obscure metaphorical praise name "swallows' clothes" has its genesis in the fact that the queen liked at all times to wrap herself up, as if constantly feeling the cold. She would wear a black shawl, and two of the corners would hang behind her like the forked tail of a swallow. (Gunner 1979:254)

This quote from Gunners' analysis illustrates the extent to which the hidden meaning or metaphor relies on the knowledge of the audience. Knowledge of the queen and her habits is essential to an understanding of the link between the swallow and the clothes.

I suggest that "inside knowledge" (Gunner 1979:240) also assists in the understanding of *dandaro* songs. An example of hidden meaning in a *dandaro* song can be found in Song no. 6, quoted in full below:[50]

Song no. 6

Wanaume wanavyo elimu	Men have education
Kuchasoma mpaka uchoke	You study until you get tired
Ukakataa kuwa mjinga na ukadmba kuwa mpope	If you deny, you are stupid and if you agree, you are bogus.

Here the word *kuchasoma* (to have education/be learned) is used to describe the tactful or manipulative words used to coerce or encourage a woman to have sex with you. This kind of metaphor is used often in Zanzibar; for example, a similar metaphor, *kusoma*

[50] Songs discussed in this chapter are always presented in full.

qasida (to read the *qasida* of the Quran) is used to describe having sex.

Another shared feature of the two song genres (*izibongo* and *dandaro*) is the strong imagery related to the domestic realm, or linked to agriculture, a "part of every rural woman's life" (Gunner 1979:240). Many of the *dandaro* songs include domestic and agricultural imagery, for example household items (cooking pot, machete, rice, house) and agricultural and natural items (rope, water, seedling, tree, growing harvest, leopard, bed bug). Many of the items had metaphorical meanings that were used repeatedly through the songs. The translators, Maulidi and Jeena, provided the metaphorical meanings of the songs in their translations, and some metaphorical meanings were also explained by the women's singing groups:

machete – feelings
dandaro – love (specific to Song no. 1)
rope squeezing me – rules
pouring water – freedom
education – tactful or coercive words
house – message/relationship
seedling – boyfriend
tree – boyfriend
growing harvest – relationship
cooking pot – relationship/marriage
leopard – boyfriend

It is evident that *dandaro* songs fit into a larger body of Swahili expressive culture in which songs and poetry use metaphor to communicate, criticise, problematise and give advice, all while protecting one's social honour. The metaphor functions as a central point of communication in Kiswahili; it appears not only in songs and poems but in daily conversations. Understanding these metaphors requires an understanding and experience of the social hierarchy that structures how people relate to each other, and an inside knowledge of the community where the metaphors are used.

This use of metaphorical language adds complexity to the process of translation, because one is working with songs that incorporate a complex system of figurative language and an established understanding of its function. I discuss the challenge of translation and how I dealt with it in Chapter Three.

METHOD USED TO ANALYSE THE SONG LYRICS

In this section I explain the method I used to analyse the lyrics of the *dandaro* songs, namely a thematic analysis. I used this method to analyse the lyrics themselves, and also to analyse the translated hidden meanings of the lyrics and the discussions that took place around the songs. In undertaking this thematic analysis, I drew on the theories of Michael Patton (1990), Richard Boyatzis (1998), and particularly on the theories of Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke (2006, 2012) and Corinne Squire (2008).

Braun and Clarke make the point that though thematic analysis as a method is "poorly demarcated [and] rarely acknowledged" (Braun and Clarke 2006:6), it is an effective and widely used approach to analysing data in qualitative research. They define thematic analysis as a "method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (2006:6). For Boyatzis (1998:7), thematic analysis involves identifying patterns in information that appears to be random, while Patton describes it as "a term used to refer to any qualitative data reduction and sense-making effort that takes a volume of qualitative material and attempts to identify core consistencies and meanings" (Patton 1990:543).

Although Braun and Clarke (2006, 2012) apply thematic analysis to qualitative studies in the psychological field, Boyatzis (1998) suggests that this approach can be effectively applied to the analysis of a wide range of data, including songs. Boytazis's seminal work on thematic analysis suggests that this method of analysis "allows the researcher to use a wide variety of information … such as songs, literature [and] folktales". Thematic analysis has been widely used in other ethnographic studies and there are many examples in this body of literature (see for example Azuonye 1988, 1995; Cranwell et al. 2017; Pettijohn and Sacco 2009; Premkumar et al. 2017).

There are two primary approaches to thematic analysis, an inductive approach (for example Frith and Gleeson (2004) and a deductive approach (for example Boyatzis 1998; Hayes 1997), the former being data-driven and the latter theory-driven or structured by a particular framework. I chose to use an inductive approach that allowed

for themes to emerge organically from my data. This approach is similar to that used in "grounded theory" (Glaser and Strauss 2017), where the data, rather than specific theories, lead the process of analysis.

Throughout the analysis of the songs, I hoped to allow the women who had sung them for me to speak, as much as is possible, for themselves. I was determined not to perpetuate the disenfranchised "Muslimwoman" (Cooke 2007) stereotype discussed in Chapter Three. Within the process of analysis, I kept in mind "the research situation's interpersonal context [and] … broader social and cultural contexts" (Squire 2008: 44). I cross-referenced the themes that emerged from the lyrics with the interviews and discussions about the songs, and as I did this, I slowly built up a set of themes that actually described the women's lives. Squire describes this process as an "experience-centred approach" (Squire 2008:50), where the data are seen as a "means of human sense-making" (2008:43), a way of interpreting and communicating a world. Patton describes this approach as looking for "sensitising concepts", where one examines "how the concept is manifest and given meaning in a particular setting or among a particular group of people" (Patton 1990:456).

Braun and Clarke (2012:35) outline a six-phase approach to thematic analysis that ensures a systematic and rigorous approach:

Phase	**Description of process**
1. Familiarising yourself with your data:	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2. Generating initial codes:	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3. Searching for themes:	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes:	Checking in (sic) the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic "map" of the analysis.

5. Defining and naming themes:	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells; generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report:	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

I used this six-phase approach to analyse the data (see Appendix C for the actual coding data used). In the first phase I familiarised myself with the data by reading and re-reading it. Braun and Clarke suggest that checking translations and interpretations is an important part of a re-reading of the data, and this was true in my case. I read and re-read the two translations of each of the song lyrics, the literal translation or "external meaning" and the poetic translation or "internal meaning" (see Chapter Three, where I describe these two types of translation and how they were produced) and then did the same with the transcripts of the discussions with the women about the songs.

The second phase involved generating initial codes, which meant identifying features that are "interesting to the analyst" (Braun and Clarke 2006:18). In an example below (Figure 4.4) I show how I coded words and phrases that were of interest to me in two of the song lyrics. Through this process I was able, for example, to identify that many of the songs referred to marriage.

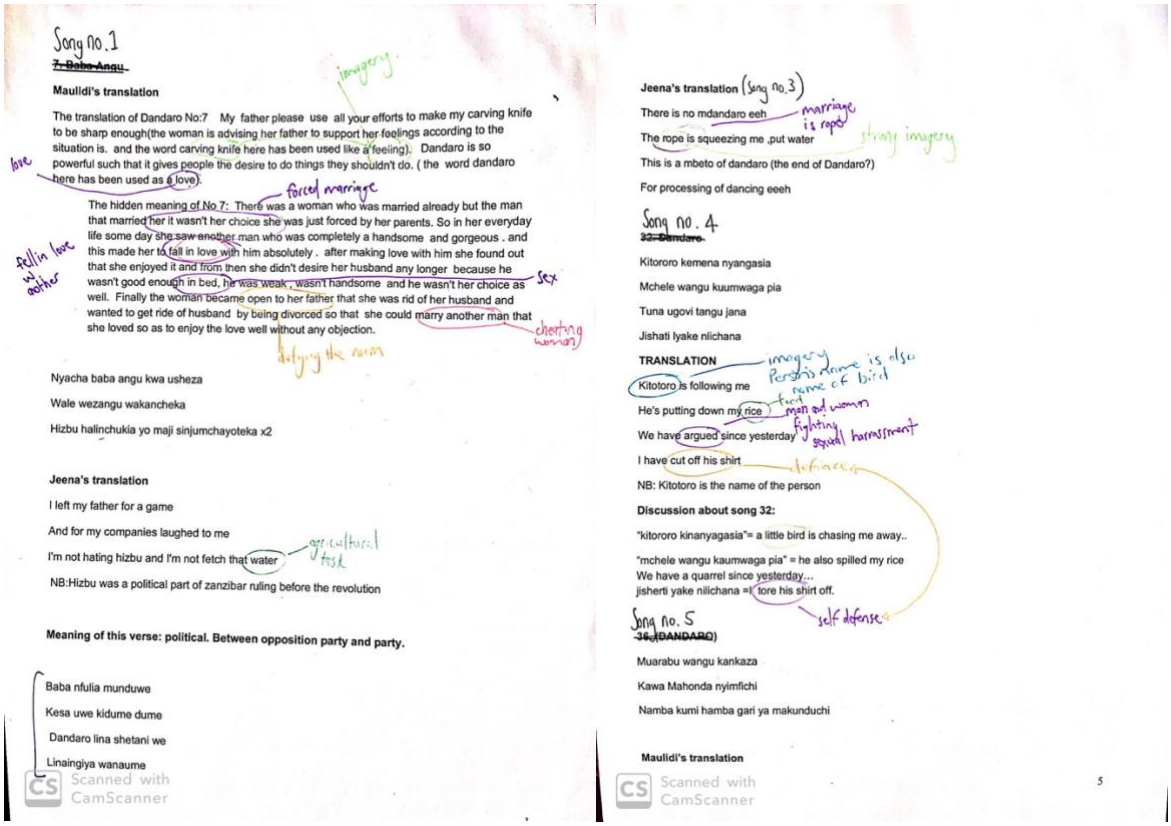


Figure 4.4: Coding process as applied to Songs nos. 1 and 4.

The third phase of the data analysis involved searching for themes in the long list of codes I had generated during the second phase. I sorted all the codes that I had found in the data into potential themes (Table 4.1). For example, I grouped the codes marriage, divorce, infidelity, sexual innuendo, love, and tension between men and women, in a theme called "norms of gender relations". The third phase also involved identifying different levels of importance within the themes, so some of them were discarded, and some became sub-themes. I realised that "norms of gender relations" was actually a sub-theme of the theme "social norms". I discarded the theme that grouped the codes for place names and people's names, because it seemed to have a lesser importance in the songs than the themes around social norms and social interaction.

Table 4.1: Codes of song lyrics grouped in terms of themes

Theme	**Codes**	**Song examples**
Social norms	– Sex – Sexual innuendo – Love	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8

	– Tension between men and women – Women's appearance – Women as cheaters/sexually promiscuous	
Defying the norms of society	– Making fun – Defiance – Tension between men and women	1, 2, 3, 4, 5
Deep emotion	– Love – Desire – Freedom	1,3,5,8

Table 4.2 shows how I divided some of the themes into sub-themes.

Table 4.2: Song themes divided into sub-themes

Theme	**Sub-theme**	**Codes**	**Song examples**
Social norms	Norms of gender relations	– Sex – Sexual innuendo – Love – Tension between men and women – Women's appearance	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8
	Subverting/defying norms of behaviour	– Making fun – Defiance – Tension between men and women – Disobeying husband's rules	1, 2, 3, 4, 5

	Women as evil/up to no good/unfaithful partners	– Women as cheaters – Disobeying husband's rules	1, 2, 8
	Commentary on men's behaviour	– Self defence – Sexual harassment – What men want	4, 8
	Importance of a woman's beauty/objectification of women	– Beauty – Clothes – Body weight	7, 8
	Women being suspicious or jealous of each other	– Gossip – Jealousy	8
Defying the norms of society		– Making fun – Defiance – Tension between men and women	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8
Deep emotion		– Love – Desire – Freedom	1,3,5,8

The fourth phase of the analysis required the reviewing of themes, which I did by re-reading all the data to confirm that I had not missed any important data and to check that the thematic map reflected, "the meanings evident in the data set as a whole"(Braun and Clarke 2006:21).

Phase five involved defining and refining the names of the themes and ensuring that the "essence" of each theme had been captured. In this phase I added the theme

"unity/solidarity amongst women", because although the songs did not cover this theme in an obvious way, it was implied, and it featured in the discussions the women had about the songs.

The sixth phase in Braun and Clarke's process is the final analysis of the data, which makes up the bulk of the rest of this chapter and Chapter Five.

THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF *DANDARO* SONG LYRICS

As discussed above, I used a thematic analysis methodology to analyse the *dandaro* song lyrics I had collected. This section explores the themes that emerged from my analysis. I have identified three themes:
Societal norms;
Unity or solidarity amongst women; and
Expression of deep emotions/subjective experience.

I discuss each of these themes in a separate section below.

Theme 1: Social norms

One of the strongest themes to emerge from my analysis of the songs was what I have called "social norms". Michael Frese (2015) defines norms as how people think, behave and "control the behaviour of other people … [n]orms are both input as well as output variables in the development of practices … [they] prescribe certain behaviors, and once these behaviors are socially routinized, they become practices" (Frese 2015:1328). What emerged was that *dandaro* songs provide the female perspective on the behaviour expected from women and men in relationships between husband and wife, between co-wives, within families, in the community and amongst female friends. I explore the actual social norms evident in the song lyrics in more detail in Chapter Five, where I look at the expected roles of women in Zanzibari society and the social pressures that limit their movement and expression. In this section I will look at how the *dandaro* songs express some of these norms and how the women feel about them.

Many of the social norms described in the songs relate to a woman's role in a marriage,

in the home and within the community, and to the expectation that men will be coercive in sexual relationships. The theme "social norms" is divided into the following sub-themes:
Norms of gender relations;
Subverting/defying norms of behaviour;
Women as evil/up to no good/unfaithful partners;
Commentary on men's behaviour;
Importance of a woman's beauty/objectification of women; and
Women being suspicious or jealous of each other.

Norms of gender relations

One of the recurring sub-themes to emerge from the analysis was the description of the norms of society that shape the behaviour of men and women towards each other in various types of relationships: father and daughter, friends, lovers, husband and wife. In most of these relationships, men are in a position of power and women are subject to that power. (See for example Songs nos. 1, 2 and 7).[51]

Subverting/defying norms of behaviour

Another sub-theme that emerged from my analysis was the act of defying or subverting social norms. In Muslim society, defying social expectations is a significant act, sometimes bringing shame on the family of the person in question. Many of the songs that expressed the first sub-theme, "norms of gender relations", also expressed the sub-theme "defying social norms". In some of the songs these two themes are intertwined. (See for example Songs nos. 1, 3 and 8.)

Women as evil/up to no good/unfaithful partners

Many of the songs presented women as unfaithful partners, most often in the context of men expecting women to be unfaithful or to tempt men. The women I spoke to did not talk much about this directly, but they did discuss that the songs show a distrust between women and jealousy of co-wives. This sub-theme relates to the sub-theme of social norms and the subverting of those norms, since it presents women who subvert

[51] All songs found on pages 120-130.

the social norms as untrustworthy.

Zaja presents examples of *taarab* songs that describe women as unfaithful or sexually promiscuous. They are depicted as "sexual bed witches, sensuous mistresses, bad-mannered servants, but even more demeaningly as cunning whores, devious, disdainful, foxy, flirtatious and man-wise home wreckers" (Zaja 2008:7).

Zaja suggests that the songs that portray women as sexually promiscuous are "penned by men" and that "one of the obvious indications is the stereotypical labelling where women are either seen or projected as sexually promiscuous, available to be used and discarded" (2008:7). I argue that these kinds of songs could also be written by women, since it is not only men who uphold the norms of patriarchal society. In the *dandaro* songs sung by women a paradoxical relationship emerges, where the women compose and sing songs about social norms and breaking them, while simultaneously enforcing the same social norms (see Song no. 8 discussed below). I would add, however, that songs that portray women as sexually promiscuous may actually subvert patriarchy, by portraying women in ways that are not expected of them. Through these songs the singers are able to create another, imaginary world where women are free to move between men and there is no judgement of their worth in society. (See for example Songs nos. 1, 2 and 8.)

Commentary on men's behaviour

This sub-theme emerged from many of the songs; there is a strong sense in them that men don't have women's best interests at heart. Examples of men's behaviour that are sung about include men tricking women into having sex, and husbands or boyfriends leaving women or only wanting them back for their looks. (See for example Songs nos. 4 and 6.) This links to the next sub-theme, the objectification of women.

Importance of a woman's beauty/objectification of women

The importance of a woman's beauty or appearance is expressed in the songs, often in relation to men and the security of women's relationships with men. An example is songs about women who are rejected by their partners because they are no longer beautiful. (See for example Songs nos. 7 and 8.)

Women being suspicious or jealous of each other

This sub-theme emerged more from the discussions with the women singers than from the song lyrics. It appeared that it was the most important theme for the women and that these issues are present in their lives today. When the women described the meanings of most of the songs, they spoke about jealousy between women even if the lyrics did not communicate this directly. (See for example Song no. 8.)

Theme 2: Unity or solidarity amongst women

This theme emerged less often in the analysis, but it should be seen in the context of the discussions with the singers and also in the fact of the existence of the women's singing groups, where women indicated a strong sense of community and solidarity with each other. This further illustrates how the song lyrics often create a paradoxical situation where the sub-theme "women being suspicious or jealous of each other" is present in a song sung by a group of women that also includes the theme "unity or solidarity amongst women".

Iwona Kraska-Szlenk, in her research on embodied metaphors, notes that "[m]any Swahili proverbs put stress on interaction and cooperation with other people and disapprove of loneliness, for example, *Mtu ni watu* 'A human being is people', *Upweke ni uvundo* 'Loneliness is [like] a bad smell'".[52] She then goes on to say that "embodied metaphors are perfectly suited to code the concept of family/ community union" (Kraska-Szlenk 2014:169). What is evident in my analysis is that the metaphors used in the songs favour imagery of the home, nature and agriculture, despite the songs' expression of concepts of family and community. It may be that because the songs are about marriage, sexual relations and so on, the imagery used expresses a different kind of community, and thus the lack of embodied metaphors. The point I am making is that despite the difference in imagery, the themes of community, solidarity and cooperation are common to Kraska-Szlenk's analysis and my own.

[52] Embodied metaphors employ the human body or actions of the human body as a source of imagery. For example "*kichwa kigumu* 'stubborn person' (lit. hard head)"(Kraska-Szlenk 2014:164), "*nyama ya ulimi* nice, pleasant words' (lit. meat of the tongue)" (Kraska-Szlenk 2014:172) or "the phrase *mkono kwa mkono* 'hand in (lit. with) hand' is used to denote people's cooperation" (Kraska-Szlenk 2014:171).

Theme 3: Expression of deep emotions/subjective experience

Most of the songs analysed express deep emotions such as love, sadness or anger. The imagery used in the lyrics adds to this sense of emotional depth; sometimes the emotion is expressed openly and sometimes it is hidden in metaphorical language. (See for example Songs nos. 1 and 3.)

In the next section of this chapter I analyse some examples of these themes and sub-themes in the collection of songs. The eight songs below form the collection of *dandaro* songs shared with me. In presenting the English versions of the songs alongside the original Kiswahili lyrics, I have included the translated external meaning of the lyrics as well as its internal meanings (as discussed in Chapter Three). Sometimes a song does not appear to feature a particular sub-theme, but the meaning given to it by the translator, and in particular the interpretation of the metaphors it uses, makes the presence of the sub-theme clear.

ANALYSIS OF *DANDARO* SONG LYRICS, WITH TRANSLATIONS AND THEMES EXPLAINED

For each song analysed in this section, the song lyrics in kiJambiani are presented with the external English translation alongside. This is followed by a description of the context of the song and the commentary on it provided by the women who sang it for me. In some cases, there is also discussion of the internal translation of the lyrics, as provided by the translator.[53]

Song no. 1

Verse 1

Nyacha baba angu kwa ushaze	I left my father for a game
wale wezangu wakancheka	and my friends laughed at me
Hizbu halinchukia yo maji sinjumchayoteka	I don't hate *hizbu* and I won't fetch that water

[53] The song numbers refer to the numbering used in my own archival collection. I have chosen to number the songs and not to provide titles for them, because they were provided to me without titles and were simply referred to by type (*dandaro, msanja, sikweli*). All the songs in this analysis are *dandaro* songs.

Verse 2

Baba nfulia munduwe	Father make a machete
Kesa uwe kidume dume	It must be strong strong
Dandaro lina shetani we	Dandaro has a devil
Linaingiya wanaume	It disturbs gentlemen

Verse 3

Baba angu hanakona	My father cannot see
Heya kwenu hajaja	But he hasn't come to your home
Mjino yayule yalawa njee	His teeth are out
Nkalii ngeze ushaga	I sit on them (teeth), thinking they are a stick bed

Song no. 1 was sung by Bi Mwaka, from the perspective of a daughter singing to her father or about her father. This song is about a woman who asks her father to please allow her to leave her husband whom she was forced to marry (sub-theme: norms of gender relations). Maulidi explained that this song is about a woman who loves another man and not her husband (sub-themes: subverting/defying norms of behaviour and women as evil/up to no good/unfaithful partners). The emotion is completely hidden in the metaphorical language of the song (theme: expression of deep emotions). Maulidi explains the hidden meaning of verse 1 as follows: "The woman said to her father that she wanted to divorce her husband (who had been her father's choice), so that she could marry another man that she loved." The woman goes on to say that she has fallen in love with someone else and wants to marry him instead. He explained the first two lines of verse 2 as follows: "My father please use all your efforts to make my machete to be sharp enough (the woman is advising her father to support her feelings according to the situation and the word machete here has been used to describe a feeling)."

In the internal translation provided by Maulidi he says:

> There was a woman who was married already but the man that married her wasn't her choice, she was just forced by her parents. So, one day she saw

another man who was very handsome, and this made her to fall in love with him. After making love with him she found out that she enjoyed it and from then she didn't desire her husband any longer because he wasn't good enough in bed, he was weak, wasn't handsome and he wasn't her choice as well.

This description provided by Maulidi is his own interpretation of the deeper situation described in the song, but the presentation of a woman who makes love to another man outside of her marriage occurs often in the *dandaro* songs.

Song no. 2 (no audio)

Barua ulonletea yo kwangu imfiki jana	The letter that you sent, I received it yesterday
Silipika pilau heya beni	I didn't cook pilau (spiced rice) but
ncheze *beni* mchana	danced *beni* in the afternoon.

Song no. 2 was written down by Khadija as Bi Mwaka told her the words; Bi Mwaka did not sing it for me, so I only have the written version and not a sound recording. In this song a woman is singing about a letter she received from her husband, a warning not to go to a *dandaro* celebration (sub-theme: norms of gender relations). The song describes a situation where a husband restricts his wife's freedom out of fear that she will be unfaithful to him. Maulidi explained that the husband didn't want his wife to attend the *dandaro* celebration "because the man was afraid his wife would find another man and cheat on him". This implies that the expected behaviour of a woman who goes out in public without her husband is that she will be sexually promiscuous (sub-theme: women as evil/up to no good/unfaithful partners).

Song no. 3

Haina mandaro wee	There are no dandaro songs
Kamba inambigija tia maji[54]	The rope is squeezing her
Jauno nyo mbeto wee	This is the end wee
dandaro kwa mchezo wa heko wee	dandaro a game of dancing

[54] Maulidi translated this line as "the rope is squeezing her" and also as "the rules are so strong/strict".

Song no. 3 was sung by Bi Mtumwa and her group. This song describes a woman asking her husband for more freedom (sub-theme: subverting/defying norms of behaviour). She describes the marriage as a rope that is squeezing her, as if it is strangling her. The act of asking her husband for more freedom is an act of defiance against the way women are expected to behave in marriages in Zanzibari society. The emotion conveyed through this song is not explicit but is communicated through the metaphor. The deep sense of powerlessness she experiences as she is trapped within constricting social norms is conveyed by the tightening rope, and her longing for relief by the request to throw on water (theme: expression of deep emotions). Maulidi described the line "*Jauno nyo mbeto wee dandaro kwa mchezo wa heko wee*" as the wife expressing her happiness because her husband gave her more freedom.

Song no. 4

Kitororo kemena nyangasia	Kitotoro is following me
Mchele wangu kuumwaga pia	He's putting down my rice
Tuna ugovi tangu jana	We have argued since yesterday
Jishati lyake nlichana	I have torn his shirt

Song no. 4 was sung by Bi Mtumwa and her group. This song describes a woman who is being harassed by a man (sub-theme: commentary on men's behaviour). The line "*kitororo kemena nyangasia*" was translated by the women as "a little bird is chasing me away". When explaining the song to me, Bi Mtumwa said that the man was chasing the woman and he made her spill the rice she was carrying; she was so angry with him that she tore his shirt off. Although this song describes quite a serious situation, when describing it Bi Mtumwa and the women laughed at the idea that the woman would tear the man's shirt off.

Song no. 5

Muarabu wangu kankaza	I desire my MuArabu (Arab man)
Kawa Mahonda nyimfichi usoni kana	He is at Mahonda (a town) I hide him

Namba kumi hamba gari ya makunduchi	Number 10[55] looks like Makunduchi's car

Song no. 5 was sung by Bi Fatuma and her group. The song tells the story of a woman who is so in love with her boyfriend that she appears to be mad. The song is sung from the "love-crazy" woman's perspective. The woman does not care that most of her village is making fun of her for being so in love (sub-theme: subverting/defying norms of behaviour).

Maulidi explained the hidden meaning of the song:

> The woman visited her boyfriend all the time because she was so in love with him. It was so rare to see her in her home village because all the time she was at Mahonda. People started to spread rumours everywhere in Makunduchi that the woman was not being seen in the village because love made her completely crazy and she was made fun of in every corner of the village. But she didn't care about what people were talking about and she openly said to people that she loves her Arab boyfriend. Her boyfriend was scarred on his face and his scarification looked like a number ten like a *dala dala* of Makunduchi.

Song no. 6

Wanaume wanavyo elimu	Men have education
Kuchasoma mpaka uchoke	You study until you get tired
Ukakataa kuwa mjinga na	If you deny, you are stupid and
Ukadamba kuwa mpope	If you agree, you are bogus

Song no. 6 was sung by Bi Fatuma. The song describes men as educated in ways of coercing women into love or sex (sub-theme: commenting on men's behaviour) and women as powerless in these situations (sub-theme: norms of gender relations): no matter how they try, the men will always win as they are educated in the ways of love. This song provides a warning for women about the way men behave and thus subverts the expected norm of behaviour from men (sub-theme: subverting/defying norms of behaviour).

Maulidi explained the meaning of the song as follows:

[55] This is a reference to the No. 10 *dala dala* that travels between Paje and Makunduchi.

Always men have a lot of techniques and these techniques are used by them to approach the women when they find out that someone is fit to be his sexual partner. The word education means the tactful words that men use during the session. When "the women refuse they are stupid" means most men lie to women by promising them a lot of things but after making love with them normally the men don't bring about their promises. Instead of permanent love it becomes a casual love. The key point of this is, the women are advised to be careful with men and they shouldn't be positive easily because men are unpredictable.

Song no. 7

Kitambaa nnunu Mimi	I bought the material
Ino kanzu silikwazima	I didn't borrow the dress
Mshoni kunshonee jaje wee?	Why did you make this design?
Nnaechekwa Kae zima	All people from Kae were laughing at me

Song no. 7 was sung by Bi Fatuma. She described this song as one that her grandmother sang about her experience. The song describes a woman who attends a party and people are looking at her and making comments because she is wearing a dress that someone else is also wearing at the party. She is very embarrassed because she had the dress made for the party, and so the song is aimed at the dressmaker but is also intended to tell the party attendees that she had the dress made (theme: social norms; sub-theme:importance of a woman's beauty/ objectification of women).

Song no. 8

Song no. 8 was sung by Bi Riziki and her group. This song has ten verses; I discuss each of them separately below the lines of the verse.

Verse 1

Kanyiuzu kwenda wapi	She asked me where I was
Hamwambia nkwijua mie	I told her I know myself
Nalawa kwa mjaza kapu	I came from my men
Shuaini ukamwambie	Stupid go and tell him

Wacha njilie sheke	Let me be in this group
Mizali mwanangu nyeleke	While I carry my baby

Verse 1 is about a woman who is suspicious of her sister-in-law for being unfaithful. It is sung from the "unfaithful" sister-in-law's perspective. The explanation provided by Maulidi is as follows: "She asked me where I'm coming from and I responded to her that it's not her business, I'm coming from my boyfriend and I don't care if you're going to tell your brother about it. Let me enjoy the life because there is nothing to think or worry about." This verse shows a clear defiance of the behaviour expected of a woman in marriage. The woman singing the song is telling her sister-in-law that she has been unfaithful, but she doesn't care – "Let me enjoy life because there is nothing to think or worry about" (sub-themes: subverting/defying norms of behaviour, women as evil/up to no good/unfaithful partners, women being suspicious or jealous of each other).

Verse 2

Kantumii ujumbee weee	He sent me a message weee
Nyumba yake nyione paa	I must see a roof to his house
Avyokona nshuku buno	When he saw I had gained weight
Mate kinywani hajanakaa	He does not have much saliva in his mouth
Wacha njilie sheke	Let me be in this group
Mizali mwanangu nyeleke	While I carry my baby

Verse 2 is sung from the perspective of a woman whose boyfriend wanted her to come back to him after seeing she was beautiful again (sub-themes: norms of gender relations, commenting on men's behaviour, importance of a woman's beauty/objectification of women). Maulidi described the meaning of the verse as follows: "He sent a message to me that he doesn't need me. Since I have gained weight and now look beautiful, he wants me back again."

Verse 3

Avo kale nyevu manjo wee	I was very brave long time
Heya sasa umanjo sina	Right now I'm not
Kaupanda ujiti wa mahaba	He was in love with me
Mtu kaung'oo na shina	And somebody has taken my chance for now
Wacha njilie sheke	Let me be in this group
Mizali mwanangu nyeleke	While I carry my baby

Verse 3 describes a woman who lost her boyfriend to a more beautiful woman (sub-themes: norms of gender relations, commenting on men's behaviour, importance of a woman's beauty/objectification of women). Maulidi described the meaning of Verse 3 as follows: "Back in my day I was gorgeous but nowadays I have lost my looks, I was loved by my boyfriend but someone else spoiled our relationship."

Verse 4

Dada Mwajuma kuwa mheke	Sister Mwajuma you're a gossiper
Kuna mambo ngekwambia	There are things I have to tell you
Gombe mji lende densinii	Someone went clubbing
Literemku likata njia	And she got lost from there
Wacha njilie sheke	Let me be in this group
Mizali mwanangu nyeleke	While I carry my baby

Verse 4 is sung from the perspective of a woman saying that if her friend, Sister Mwajuma, could keep a secret she would tell her some gossip about another woman (sub-theme: women jealous of each other). She mentions that she saw another woman, who dates lots of men, go from one man to another (sub-theme: subverting social norms). This isn't directly obvious in the lyrics of the song, but it is obvious in the translation provided by Maulidi. The key phrase in this song is "*gombe mji"*, which directly translates as "beach town", but metaphorically describes a woman who dates

many men.

Verse 5

Mie kankoso kweli wee	I'm so angry because of her
Kwenda kuung'oa na shina	To go and remove my tree
Njo uchukue mche kwangu	Come to my home to bring seedling
Upande mie navuna	To grow again but I harvest
Wacha njilie sheke	Let me be in this group
Mizali mwanangu nyeleke	While I carry my baby

Verse 5 is about a woman who expresses anger at another woman for stealing her boyfriend, and also her desire to find another *mche* (seedling) to harvest, which metaphorically represents another man (sub-theme: norms of gender relations). In the internal translation Maulidi uses the phrase "The lonely woman was broken-hearted", implying that a woman would be lonely without a partner (sub-themes: expression of deep emotions/subjective experience, norms of gender relations).

Verse 6

Ukisikia umoja wee	When you hear unity
Jigoma la serekali	Group of people
Upekepeke mie siugomo	I cannot gossip
Hiyo mnayotenda hatari	What you are doing is dangerous
Wacha njilie sheke	Let me be in this group
Mizali mwanangu nyeleke	While I carry my baby

Verse 6 describes the importance of unity amongst people and it also functions as a warning against gossip.

Verse 7

Navyokwenda kibandani wee	When I went to my hut
Kukagua Chui yangu	To look after my leopard
Nvyokwenda kuna wana	I see many babies
Hamba nyiweleke wezangu	I wished to stride them
Wacha njilie sheke	Let me be in this group
Mizali mwanangu nyeleke	While I carry my baby

Verse 7 is about a woman expressing her happiness at finding her boyfriend at his home. The word *Chui* (leopard) has been used to refer to her boyfriend (sub-theme: expression of deep emotions).

Verse 8

Dada Mwaka kasaga mchele wee	Sister Mwaka pounded rice
Halingaiya chenga	She didn't give me small bits
Wajantupa njaani mie	They throw it away
Mwaka uno sina kwenda	This year I'm not going
Wacha njilie sheke	Let me be in this group
Mizali mwanangu nyeleke	While I carry my baby

Verse 8 describes a woman who is disappointed by a friend, Sister Mwaka, failing to keep a promise to give her pounded rice (sub-theme: expression of deep emotions). Maulidi did not provide an internal translation for this verse.

Verse 9

Dandaro evuga dogo wee	Dandaro was very small wee
Heya sasa limenakuwa	But now is growing
Mwenyewe tuna mwaga mchezo	We are dancing hard wee
Kisa kila mtu kavijua	Each one knows about it

Wacha njilie sheke	Let me be in this group
Mizali mwanangu nyeleke	While I carry my baby

In Verse 9 I was not able to identify any of the themes or sub-themes listed in Tables 4.1 and 4.2. This verse describes a *dandaro* celebration. Maulidi translated it as: "Back in the day *dandaro* celebration wasn't popular but nowadays it has become popular and everyone likes it. Every single one of us is dancing it." He stated that there was no internal translation for this verse.

Verse 10

Nlichambuu Jodari wee	I have deboned my fish
Miba hatua mbali mbali	I have kept all bones away
Vitendo walivyo ntenda	What they have done to me
Wazee wao watahayari	Old people feeling shame
Wacha njilie sheke	Let me be in this group
Mizali mwanangu nyeleke	While I carry my baby

Verse 10 is sung from the perspective of a woman saying she is careful not to eat fish bones. She describes how she does not want to create trouble in her marriage, but she eventually loses her temper and says that her husband's behaviour is so bad that it makes his parents ashamed of him (sub-themes: norms in gender relations, commenting on men's behaviour, subverting societal norms).

In this section I have described the themes and sub-themes that emerged from the thematic analysis of the *dandaro* songs. The themes show how the songs are used by the singers to express experiences of social norms and particularly norms in gender relations. I also show how the songs subvert the social norms and function as a form of social commentary. In the next section of this chapter, I provide a musical analysis of the *dandaro* songs, describing the different elements with examples in musical notation.

This section also shows how the analysis uncovered a melodic pattern common to most of the *dandaro* songs, which provides an insight into the songs as an oral tradition and a transgenerational archive.

MUSICAL ANALYSIS OF *DANDARO* SONGS

In this section I will provide a brief musical analysis of the eight *dandaro* songs whose lyrics I analysed above and discuss how doing an analysis of the music allowed me to notice various patterns in the songs. I will discuss these patterns in terms of their rhythm, melody and form.

The most important outcome of this musical analysis is the realisation that many of the songs follow a similar melodic pattern. Taive Särg describes a similar situation in her research on Scandinavian music, where there is an "abundance of lyrics and scarcity of melodies, causing the same melodies to be sung with many texts" (Särg 2009:35). Her research relates specifically to my research of *dandaro* songs, where I found an "abundance of lyrics" with melodies that followed very similar structures. Velle Espeland writes that "[in Scandinavian melodies] the fact that extensive text material is used with the same melody, makes it easier to sing it a long time" (Espeland 1995:253). In her analysis of Chinese folk songs, Antoinet Schimmelpenninck describes a similar phenomenon, stating that

> the flexible structure of the tunes … facilitates a free and uninhibited flow of words and provides the singer with extra time to "think ahead" and recapture his texts. In view of such musical properties, not many different tunes are needed to carry local text repertory. (Schimmelpenninck 1997:324)

Although the statements by Särg, Espeland and Schimmelpenninck quoted above refer to Scandinavian and Chinese song traditions respectively, they also apply directly to *dandaro* songs. Through the musical analysis of the songs that I undertook, I saw that many of them followed a similar melodic and rhythmic structure. The use of the same melody suggests an emphasis on the lyrical content rather than on the melodic content. This phenomenon has been termed "monothematism" (Schimmelpenninck 1997: 129–30), the "formulaic principle" or "formulism" (Espeland 1995:253; Schimmelpenninck 1997:287) and "group melodies" (Särg 2009:36).

The use of the same melody in different songs is interesting, because it seems to emerge in most oral traditions where oral transmission occurs (Särg 2009). This is of particular interest to me because the *dandaro* songs are also transmitted orally. I have shown in earlier sections of this chapter that the *dandaro* song tradition in Zanzibar is text-centred; this is the reason for my focus on the lyrics of the songs. In the musical analysis I present below, I show how the musical structure of the songs assists in the production of improvised texts such as those analysed in this chapter as well as in the transmission of the songs.

Table 4.3 and the transcribed examples of song melodies below show that most of the *dandaro* songs follow a similar melodic and rhythmic structure.

Table 4.3: Melodic and rhythmic structure of eight *dandaro* songs

Song	**Rhythm: time signature**	**Rhythm: clapping patterns**	**Melody: shape and range**	**Melody: scales**	**Melody: *maqamat*[56]**
1	12/8	Follows the main 4-beat pulse.	Descending octave range	D♭ Dorian	*Maqam Usaq*
2[57]	–	–	–	–	–
3	4/4	No clapping.	Descending minor fifth	A♭ Major	*Hijazkar kurd* on C *Maqam Usaq* on B♭
4	4/4	Polyrhythmic 3 clapping patterns One follows the 4-beat pulse.	Descending major fifth	A♭ Lydian	*Ajam* on A♭
5	12/8	Follows the 4-beat pulse	Descending octave range	A♭ Major	*Maqam Usaq* on E♭

[56] *Maqamat (singular: maqam)* is the system of melodic modes in Arabic music. I include the *maqamat* of the songs with the assistance of Mahsin Basalama, the Assistant Academic Director at the Dhow Countries Music Academy, Zanzibar.

[57] As noted earlier in this chapter, Song no. 2 was only written down and not sung for me, thus a musical analysis is not possible.

6	12/8	No clapping.	Descending minor fifth	F# Dorian	*Maqam Usaq* on E
7	12/8	No clapping.	Descending octave range	D♭ Dorian	*Maqam Usaq*
8	12/8	Follows the 4-beat pulse.	Descending octave range	E♭ Phrygian	*Maqam Usaq* on D
Notes	All songs feature a 4-beat pulse	When clapping occurs the pattern follows a 4-beat pulse but falls on the off-beat and emphasises parts of the 4-beat pulse, resulting in a syncopated feel.	All songs have descending melodies.	There is no common feature across all the scales.	There is no common feature across all the *maqamat*.

Rhythmic analysis of *dandaro* songs

Time signature

The most common time signature of the songs is 12/8. The songs with this time signature – Songs nos. 1, 5, 6, 7 and 8 – have a prominent 4-beat pulse with a smaller triplet feel.

The songs that don't follow this pattern are Songs nos. 3 and 4. These songs have a 4/4 time signature, therefore they still follow the 4-beat pulse but have a smaller beat in duple time rather than triple time.

Clapping patterns

A strong rhythmic feature in many of the songs is a clapping pattern. Songs nos. 1, 3, 4 and 8 feature clapping patterns, and despite two of them (no. 1 and no. 8) featuring a very similar melody and both being in 12/8 time, their clapping patterns differ significantly.

I show notated musical examples of the clapping patterns for Songs nos. 3, 4 and 8 in Figures 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7. In Song no. 3 a second clapping pattern joins in bar 9.
In Song no. 4 the clapping pattern is syncopated, clapped by different members of the group. This clapping pattern was very challenging to decipher because of the layers of clapping. Together these clapping patterns create a syncopated, polyrhythmic pattern. The clapping pattern follows the lyrics very closely. In Song no. 8 the clapping rhythm starts when the group sings the response.

Song no. 3

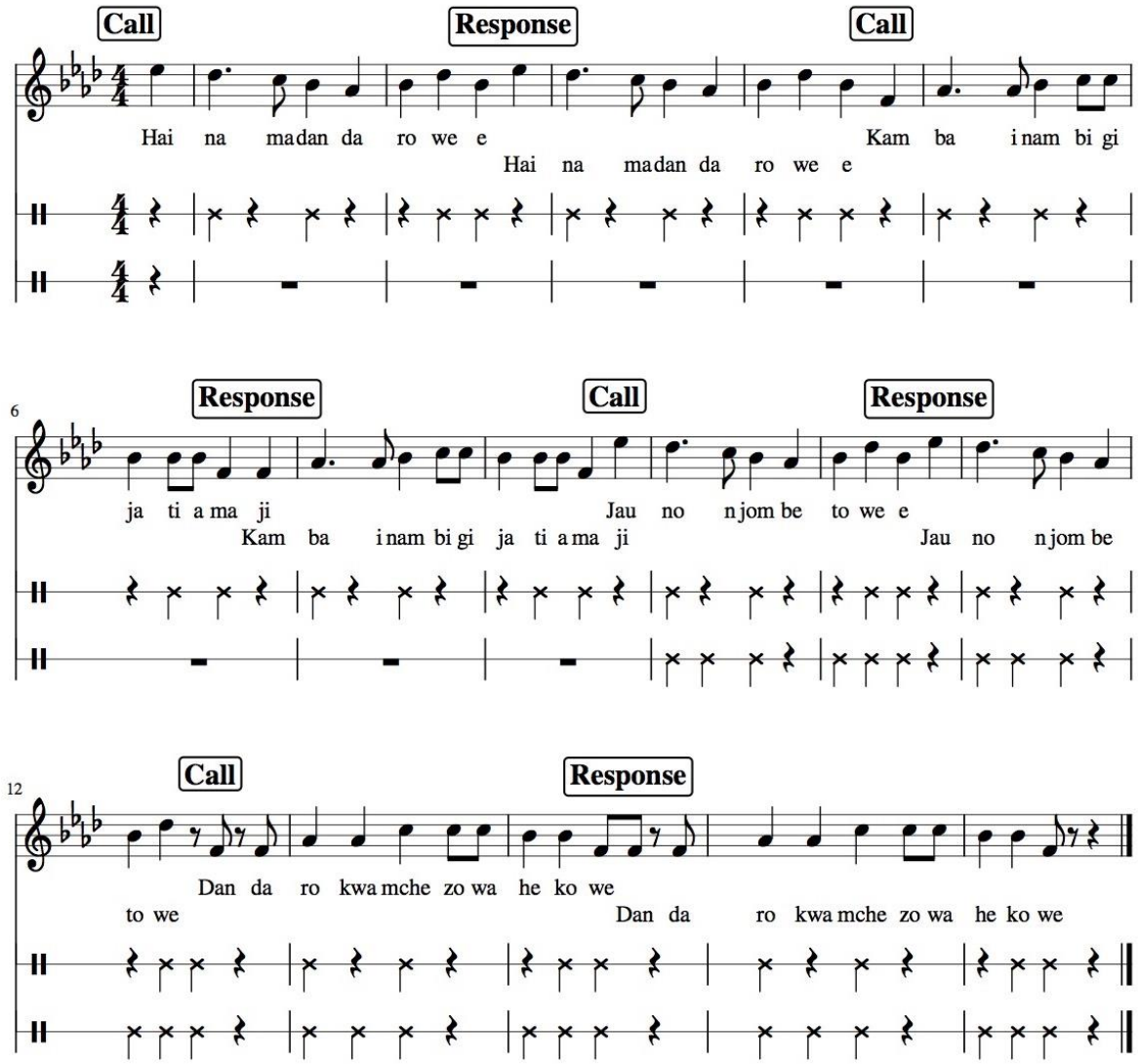


Figure 4.5: Song no. 3. with clapping

Song no. 4

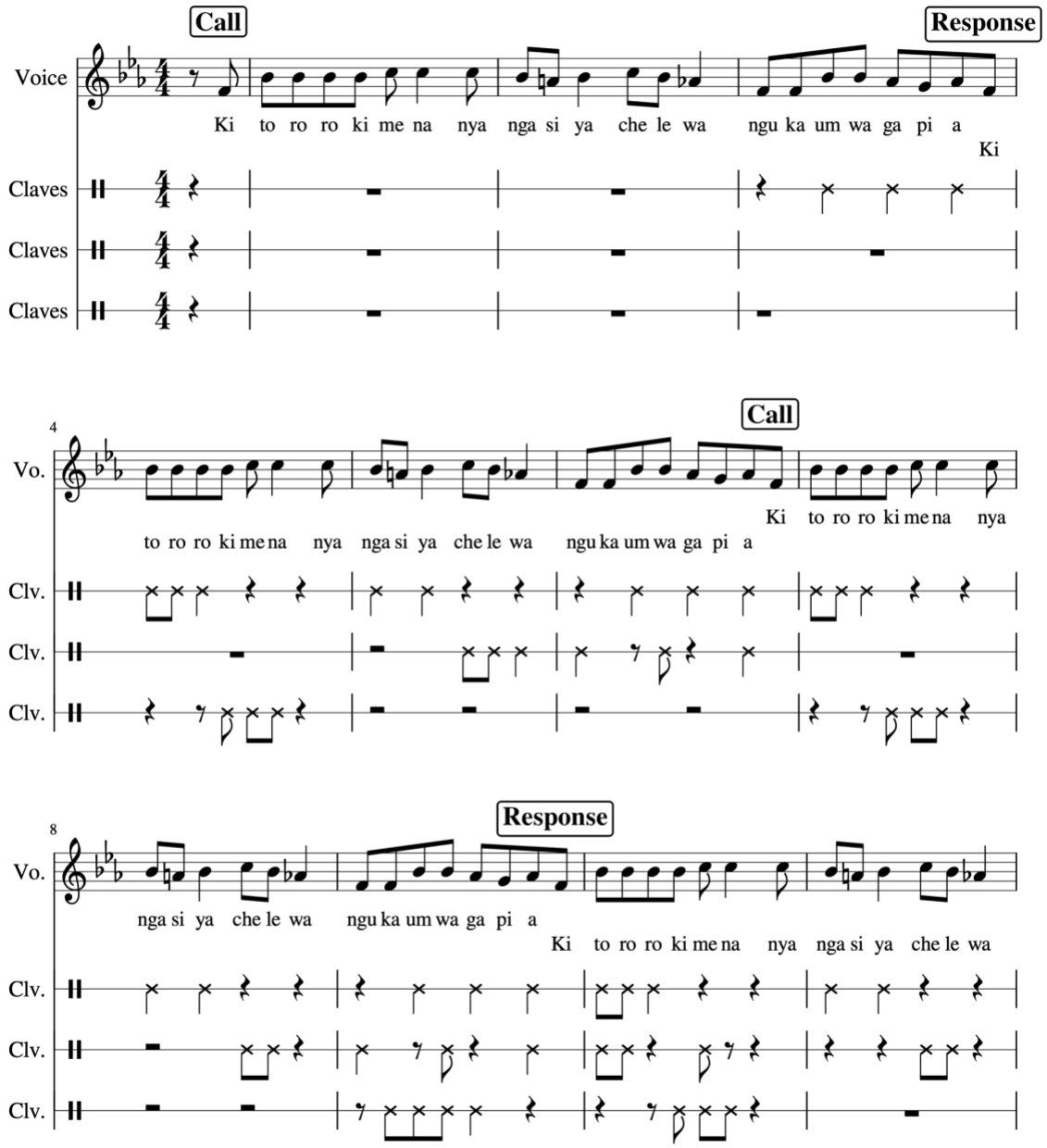


Figure 4.6: Song no. 4. Page 1

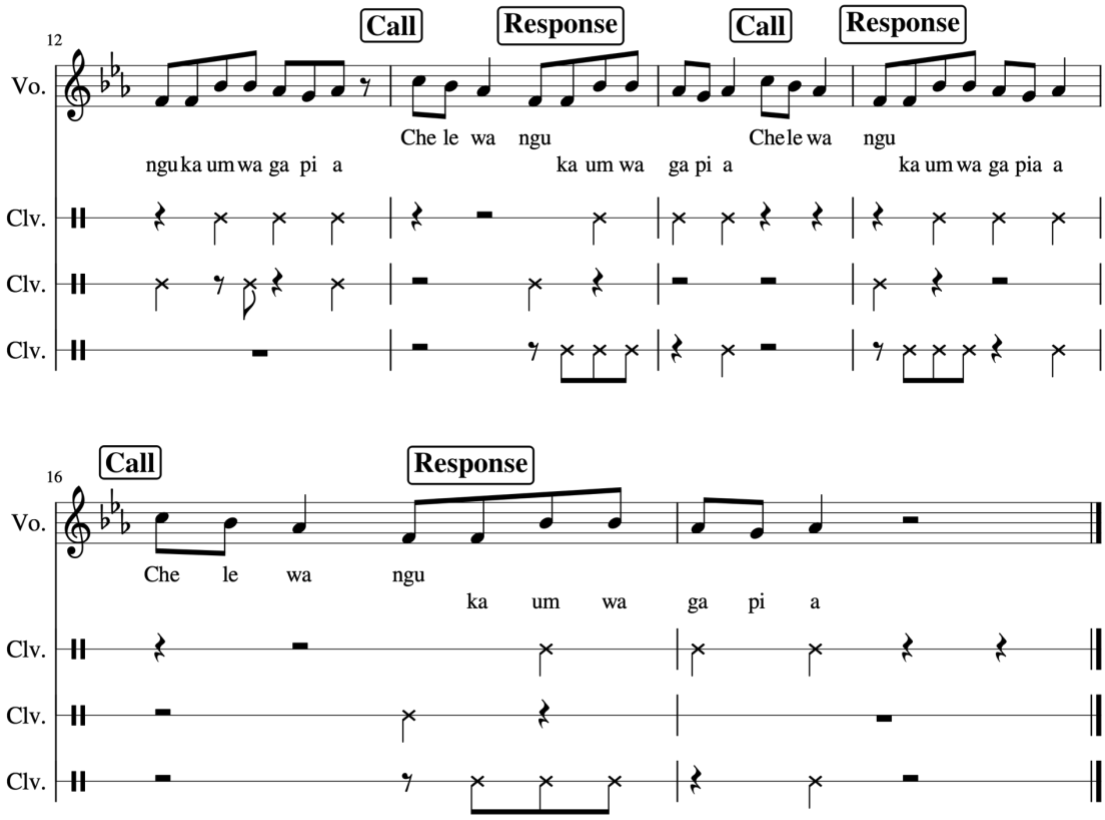


Figure 4.6: Song no. 4. Page 2

Song no. 8

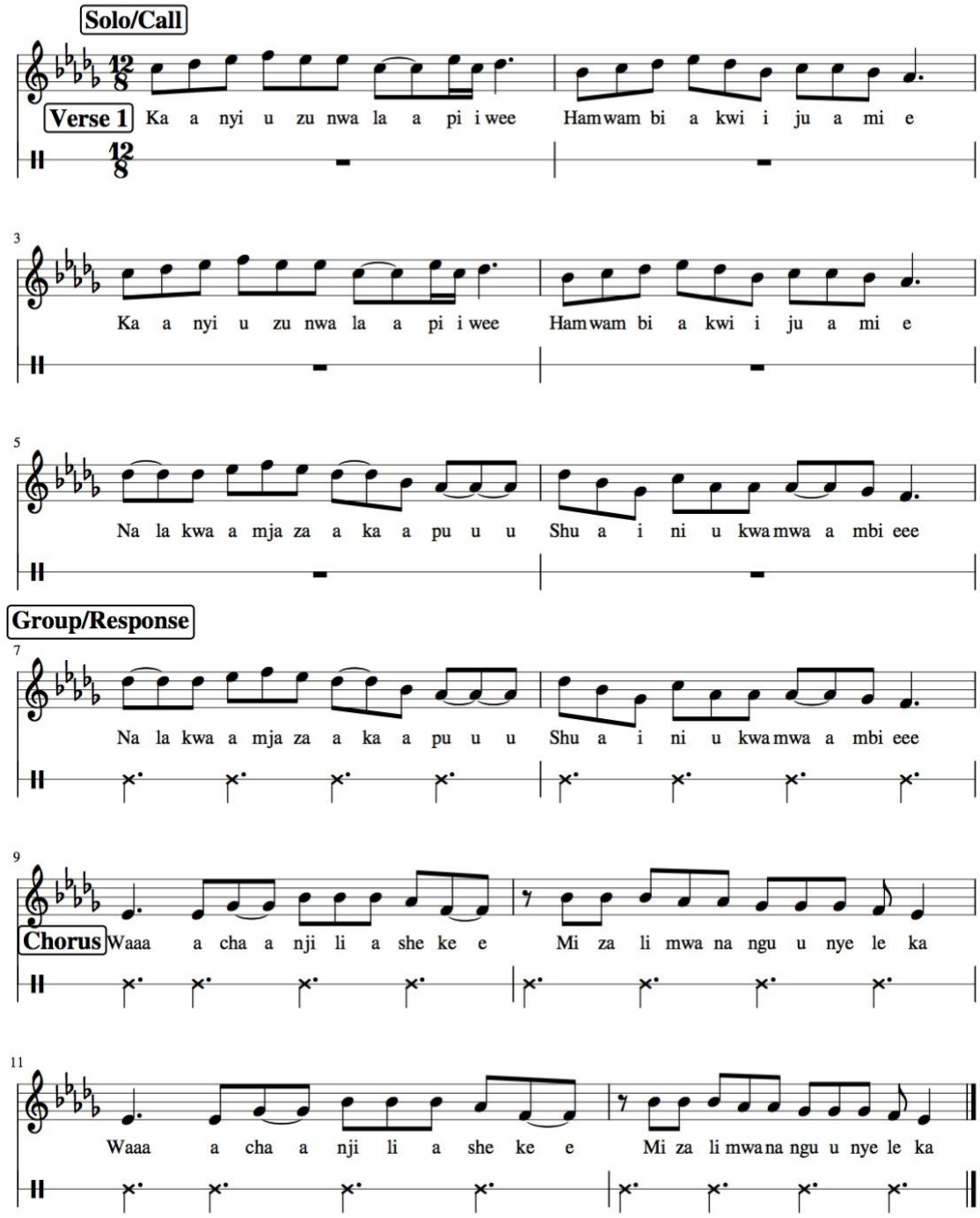


Figure 4.7: Song no. 8.

It is difficult to draw any general conclusions about the clapping patterns of *dandaro* songs, because some of the songs (Songs nos. 5, 6 and 7) were performed for me without accompanying clapping patterns.

Melodic analysis of *dandaro* songs

As can be seen in the examples presented in Figures 4.8–4.12, Songs nos. 1, 5, 6, 7 and 8 have similar melodies, and therefore their shapes, scales, *maqamat* and ranges are similar**.** All the melodies of Songs nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 are descending and their ranges differ. There seems to be no pattern in regard to the scales used, although Songs nos. 1, 6 and 7 all use the Dorian mode or Maqam.[58]

[58] "The Dorian mode is formed from the second note of any major scale and takes the key signature from that scale. Another way to think of the Dorian mode is to think of the major scale and lower the 3rd and 7th note a half step below"(Berle 2010:23).

Song no. 1

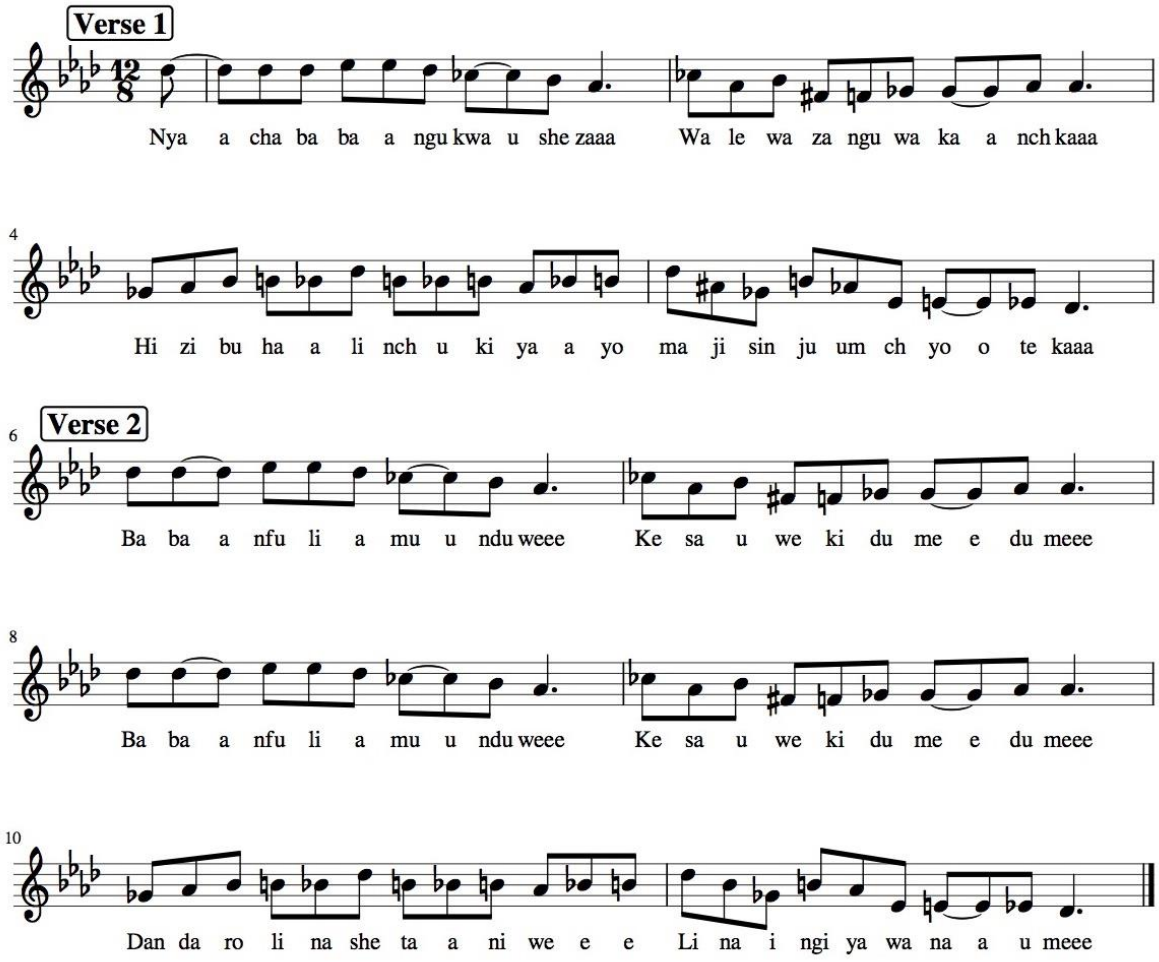


Figure 4.8: Song no. 1.

Song no. 5

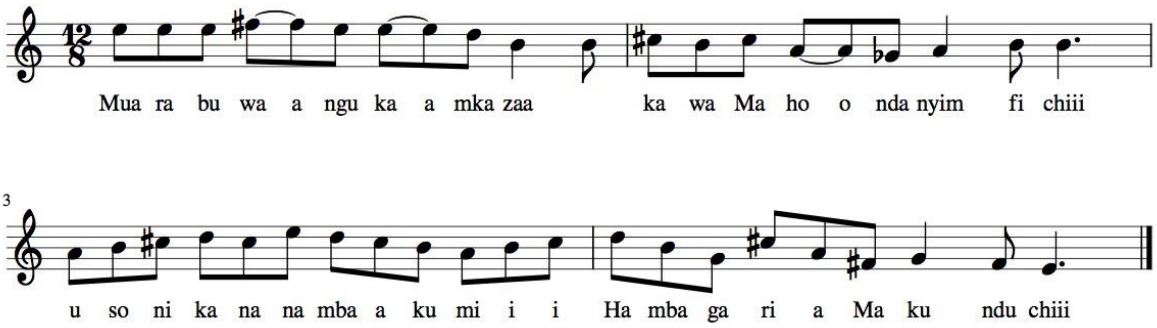


Figure 4.9: Song no. 5.

Song no. 6

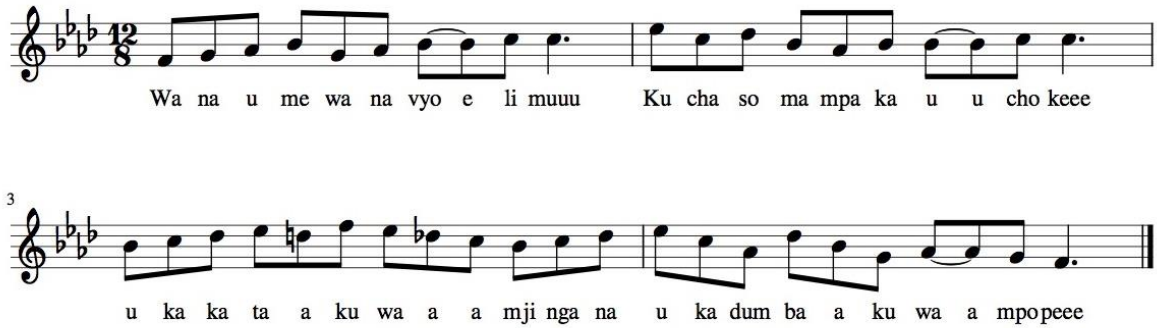


Figure 4.10: Song no. 6.

Song no. 7

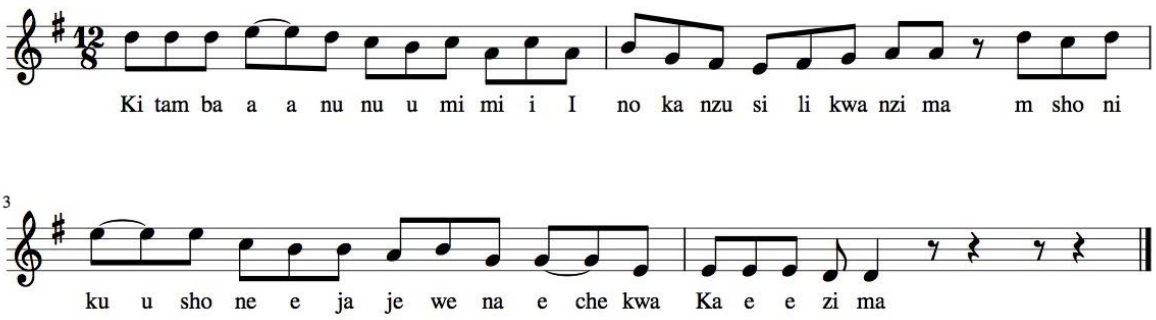


Figure 4.11: Song no. 7.

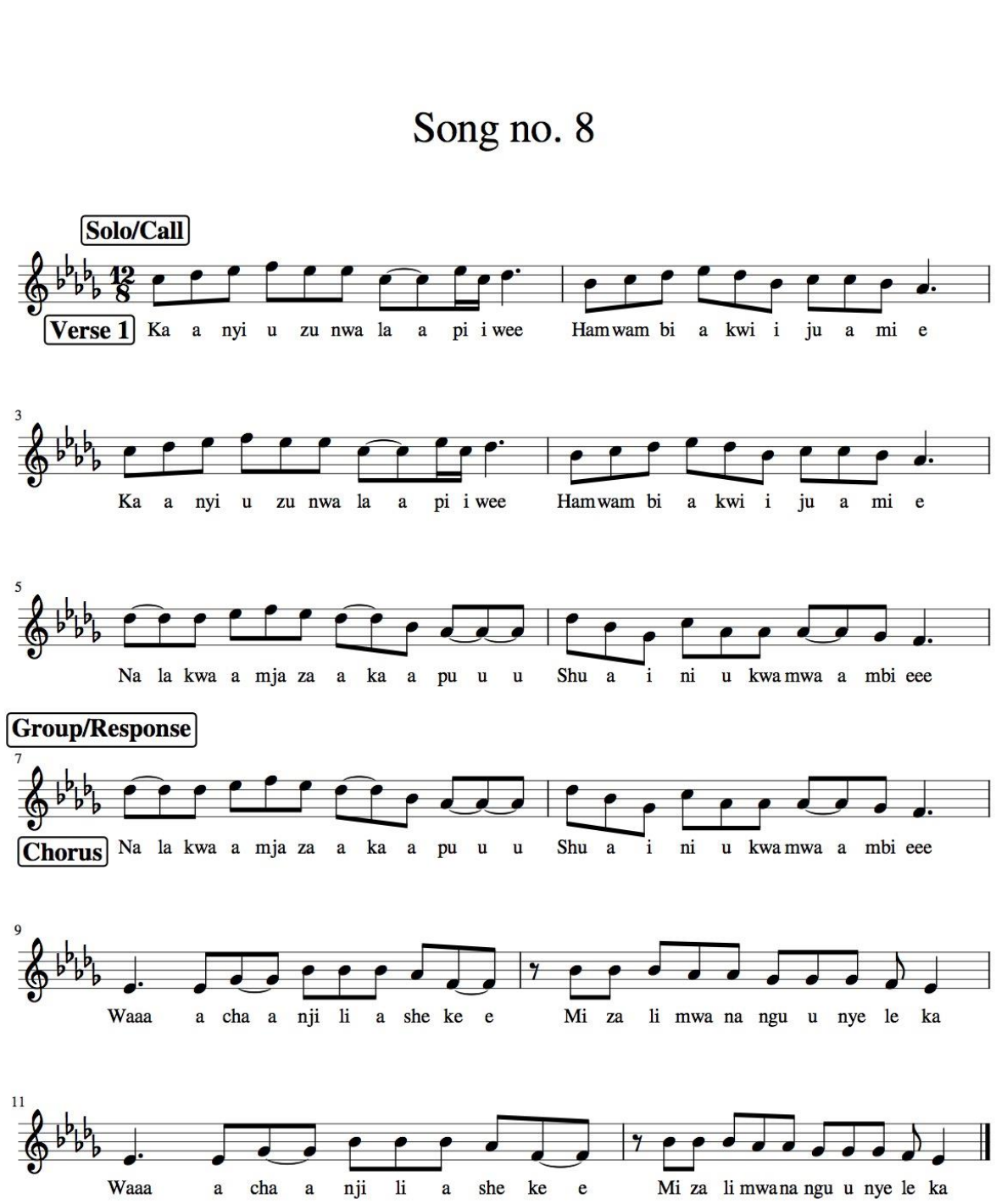


Figure 4.12: Song no. 8.

Analysis of the form/structure of *dandaro* songs

This section of the musical analysis of the *dandaro* songs is the most extensive, because identifying the form of the songs is important to the understanding of the performance context and how the songs are learnt.

Formally, *dandaro* songs are characterised by short, four-line verses made up of two

rhyming couplets or aa form. The verses are sometimes followed by a refrain (see Song no. 4) or a chorus (Song no. 8) making it an aab form, but sometimes exist just as the verse form (see Songs nos. 1, 3, 5, 6 and 7).

An important element of *dandaro* songs is the improvisatory nature of the verses. It is expected that the singer can compose the lyrics for a verse on the spot, in reaction to what another singer has communicated. The rhyming structure and the melody of the song stays intact, and the lyrics can be improvised. This is clear from Bi Riziki's explanation of how songs are composed: *"wanatunga hapo hapo sio kama mtu ametunga kutoka nyumbani" "they [the women singing dandaro] are very creative because they compose different songs [verses] but the chorus has to be the same to all"* (Interview by Jeena Suha with Bi Riziki January 2019, Jambiani). However, despite Bi Riziki's assertion that the songs are improvised, many of the examples shared with me did not feature improvised verses. It is possible that at one point in the past the verses had been improvised but were then remembered and sung by subsequent generations.

The *dandaro* song form is call and response: the leader of the song sings the call (which can be improvised or a learnt version of the words), and the group then repeats the same line.[59] This can be seen in Songs nos. 3 and 4 (Figures 4.13 and 4.14):

[59] Call and response is a song structure that uses a call (often sung by one person) and a response (often sung by a group of people). The call and response can be the same phrase or different phrases.

Song no. 3

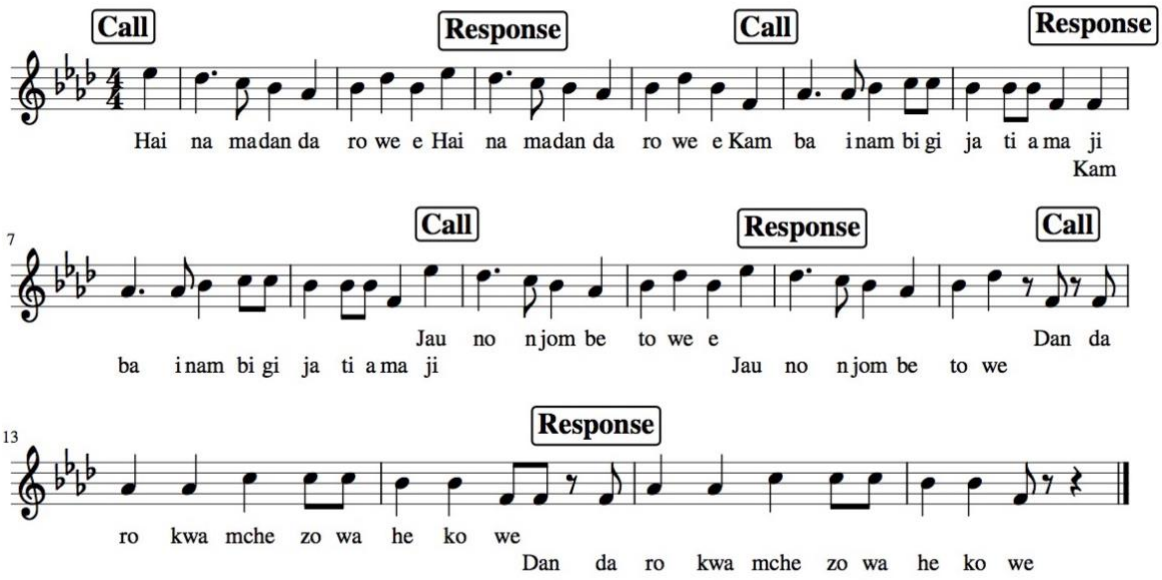


Figure 4.13: Song no. 3.

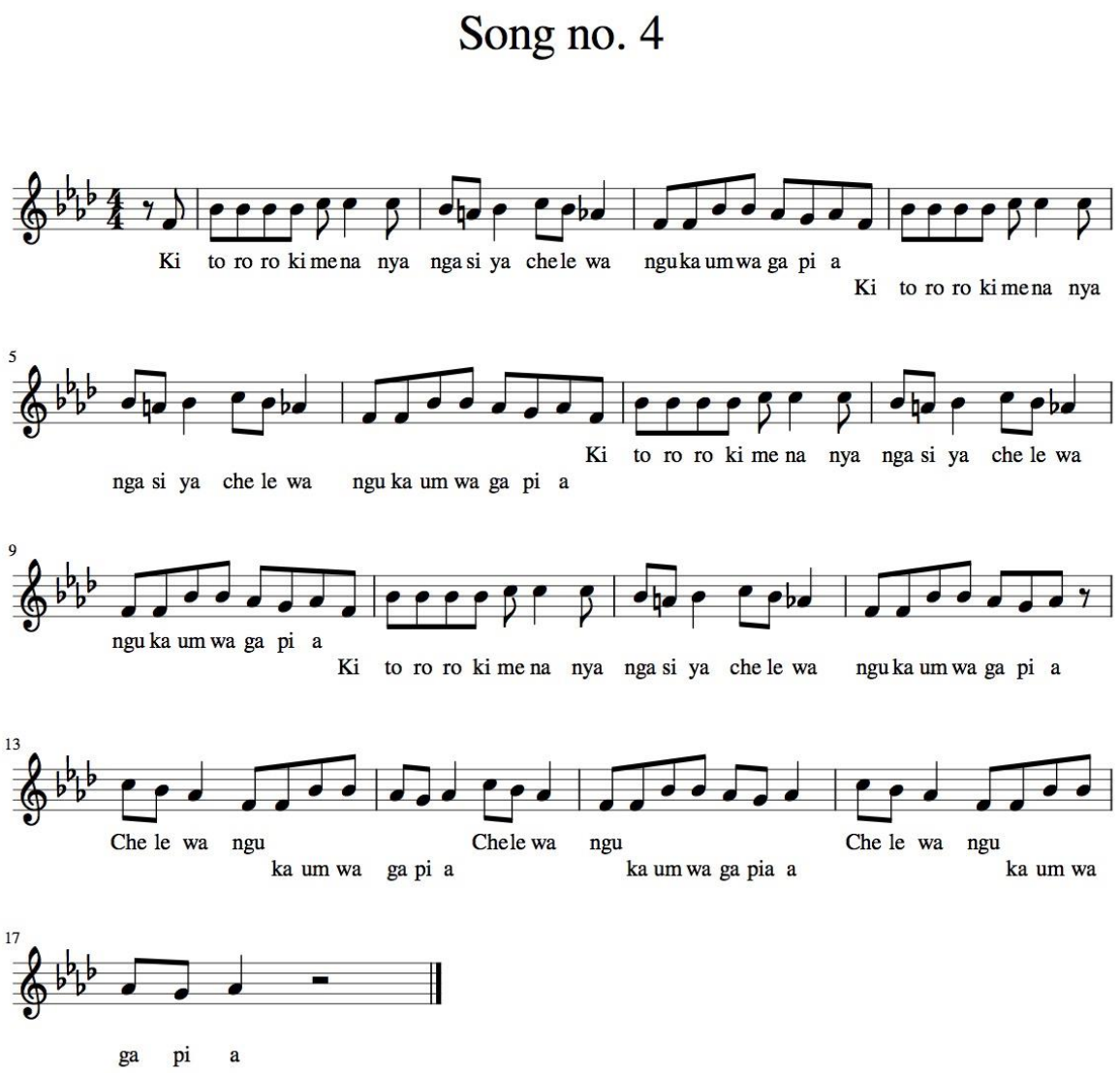


Figure 4.14: Song no. 4.

The song form sometimes includes a chorus; this is evident in the following example, Song no. 8 (see Figure 4.15). In this song the group repeats the last two lines of the verse (seen in bars 7–8) and then sings the chorus (seen in bars 9–12):

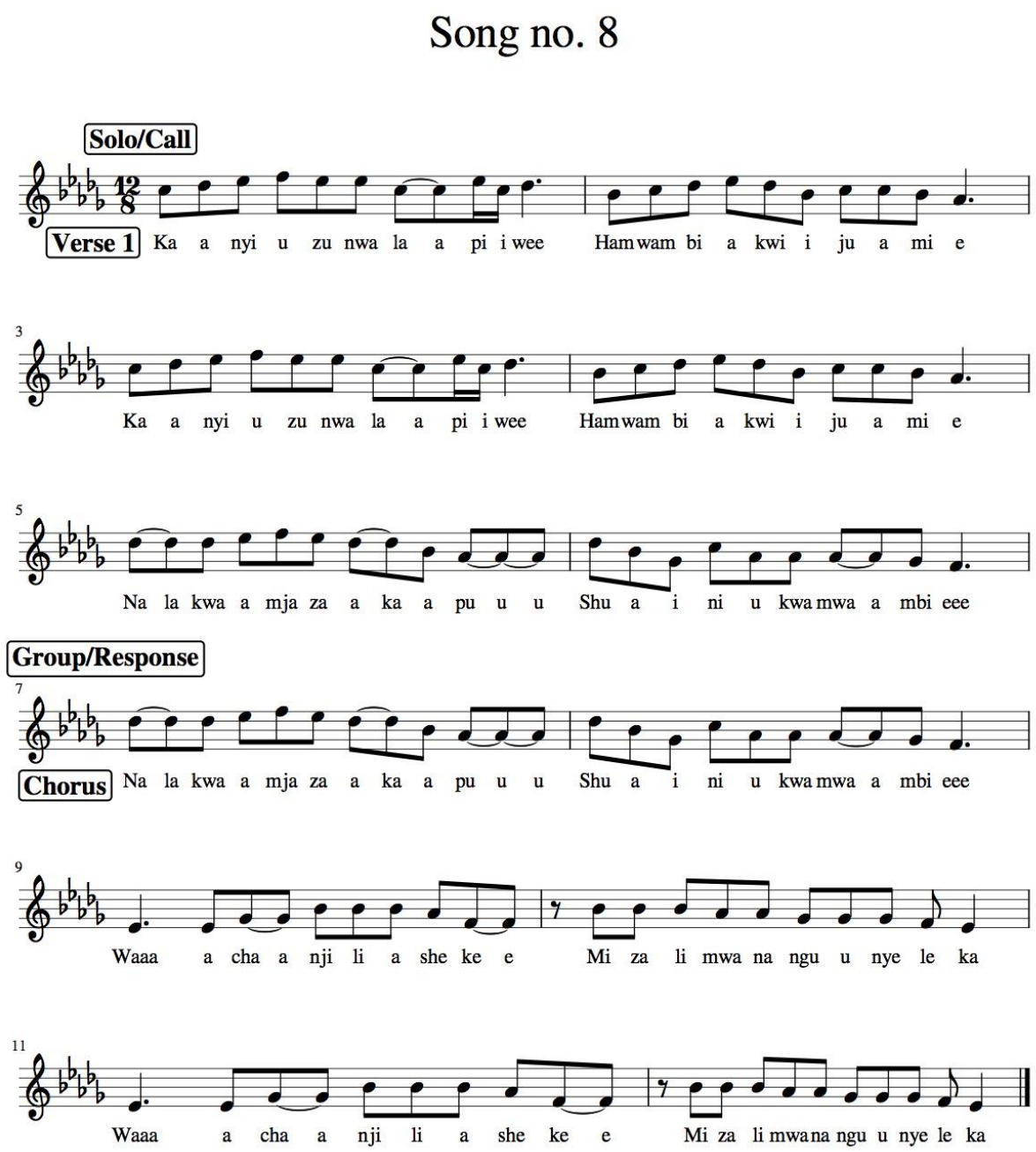


Figure 4.15: Song no. 8.

Verses 2–10 of Song no. 8 follow the same melodic pattern shown in Figure 4.15, and the same verse-chorus, call and response form.

The structure of this song, featuring a separate repeated chorus, is unusual. In the other examples shared with me there was usually no chorus, rather a refrain that ends each verse, as can be seen in bars 13–17 of Song no. 4 (Figure 4.6).

In the songs Bi Mwaka sang, it was not always clear which parts would have been sung by a solo singer and which by the chorus, because she was the only person singing during the interviews I conducted with her group.

Bi Riziki, as quoted at the beginning of this section, suggests that the songs are always improvised in the moment. I was intrigued by this because all the *dandaro* songs that were sung to me had a very similar melody. There were, however, some exceptions to this rule such as Songs no. 3 and no. 8, whose melodies are completely different from the other examples. Knowing that *dandaro* lyrics are often improvised, I asked Bi Mwaka and Bi Mtumwa if the songs they sang to me had been made up in the moment, and they both said that these were the exact songs their grandmothers had taught them. Song no. 1, transcribed below, is one such song – with a similar melody to that of the other songs – where some of the verses are explained by Bi Mwaka as being specifically about her life; my assumption is that she must have composed them and added them to other verses of the same song, which she said her grandmother had taught her.

Song no. 1 sung by Bi Mwaka

Verse 1

Nyacha baba angu kwa ushaze	I left my father for a game
wale wezangu wakancheka	and my friends laughed at me
Hizbu halinchukia yo maji sinjumchayoteka	I don't hate *hizbu* and I won't fetch that water

Verse 2

Baba nfulia munduwe	Father make a machete
Kesa uwe kidume dume	It must be strong strong
Dandaro lina shetani we	Dandaro has a devil
Linaingiya wanaume	It disturbs gentlemen

Verse 3

Baba angu hanakona	My father cannot see
Heya kwenu hajaja	But he hasn't come to your home
Mjino yayule yalawa njee	His teeth are out
Nkalii ngeze ushaga	I sit on them (teeth), thinking they are a stick bed

It is evident, based on my discussions with the women in the singing groups, that *dandaro* songs are no longer performed as they were in the days of the women's grandmothers. Because they are no longer part of a current musical practice, the information offered about how and when they are used is vague or contradictory. The songs are something of the past, and through time the memory of their use has faded slightly. What is interesting, however, is that despite the lack of available information about the performance context of *dandaro*, the song melodies are clear in people's memories and are known across many different groups of women. The women's groups were able to remember the songs, sing them as a group for me, and explain their meanings. From the evidence provided in this section, one can see that the phenomenon of "group melodies" (Särg 2009) or "monothematism" (Schimmelpenninck 1997) is evident in the *dandaro* songs. Many of the songs share the same or very similar melodies, time signatures and rhythmic pulses. These similarities show that the melody is often re-used by different singers, allowing each singer to focus on the improvisation of new lyrics, and suggesting that there is an emphasis in this song genre on lyrical content rather than melodic content. As I have stated above, the song lyrics would have originally been improvised; but it is not always clear whether any of the lyrics shared with me were actually improvised. Based on my discussions with the singing groups about the songs, I suggest that Songs no. 1 and 8 show evidence of a combination of learnt and improvised lyrics, while Songs nos. 2, 3 4, 5, 6 and 7 have learnt lyrics only, with none that are newly improvised.

In the next section of this chapter, which focuses on transgenerational archives, I explore some of the reasons why the women still remember songs that are no longer part of everyday practice, and why they continue to sing the songs when someone like me asks them if they know *nyimbo za zamani* (old songs).

Box 12: In performance – seaweed planting

Four lines of string lie across the stage, marking out the lines for planting seaweed. B and Q work at picking up pieces of cloth as if these were seaweed and tying them to the long lines. They work as Bi Mwaka works, humming to herself, wading through the water and tying seaweed to long lines of string. Sometimes sitting in the shallow sea water, sometimes standing and bending down to reach the lines. This work takes time, the seaweed famers spend hours with their wet dresses flapping in the wind and their faces in the sun.

You can hear the sound of the sea rumbling in the distance, wet dresses flapping in the wind and the water breaking on the shore. Intertwined with the sound of the sea is the sound of collecting water in a cave: the bucket plunging under the water, air bubbling up, water droplets and splashes.

Now you hear women speaking to each other … where are they? In the cave? In the sea? The women start to sing a dandaro *song that tells the story of educated men who trick you into falling in love, this song is a warning to other women. Be careful of those men with their tricks … The sound of the sea returns and now the vibraphone notes sing out, they echo the sound of the singing as if the women call and the vibraphone answers … the sound of bubbling water … another song, this one is about a man who harassed a woman and made her spill her rice … she tears his shirt off in anger and self-defence!*

These are the songs that their grandmothers sang, which they now sing into the sound of the sea.

The third movement of *Tia Maji* explores the present lives of women and the present, living archive – the women's voices and the sounds of their lives – with glimpses into the past. The women's voices are the focus of this movement, this space was created for their voices to be heard, allowing the audience time to really listen.

If this movement was received by the audience purely as a visual representation, then it could appear that I was intending this part of the performance to reduce Zanzibari women to labourers, women who spend their days simply planting seaweed. Sonically, however, a whole other world was intended to be perceived – a world of song and metaphorical meaning that I did not explain or translate for the audience but just allowed them to listen to. The deeper meanings weren't explained, the emotions expressed in the songs and the metaphors in the lyrics may have been understood by the audience, maybe not. The audience was hearing a whole world of symbols and messages without knowing it … just as I was when I first heard the women sing.

I acknowledge that this sonic representation, however selfless I intended it to be, was still my own creation. I recorded the women singing, I chose which clips to include, I chose where to place them in the soundtrack. There is no way around this dilemma, apart from reflexively acknowledging my role in the representation, while showing that my intention was to create space for the audience to listen to the women. I may have succeeded and I may not have; every audience member will view what I created in a different way. This resonates with Helen Nicholson's argument that "[b]ecoming ethical is an on-going process – a continual journey of actions, reflection and evaluation – in which values and beliefs may be challenged and tested over time and in response to new situations and different people" (Nicholson 2014:66).

DANDARO AS A TRANSGENERATIONAL ARCHIVE

"Hizo nyimbo tumekuwa tunaskia kutoka kwa babu na bibi zetu na nyengine tunaskia mtaani tunaiga na hizo nyimbo tulizokuwa tukiimba ilikuwa."

"We heard these songs from our grandfathers and grandmothers and some we heard from the local town and we imitated them." (Interview, Bi Fatuma, November 2017, Makunduchi)

"Wakati uyo nyiwa kijana bibi yangu akenda ngomani[60] *kevu kananchukua, tena bibi naweziwe wakacheza nami nawafatiliazia na kevga nakaa pembeni yake kwa urahisi*

[60] *Ngomani* has been translated as "to sing" but it could also be translated as song, dance, ritual, performance, or celebration.

naweza kuiga, na nyengine akawa kananfundisha njo mpaka leo na mimi nawafundisha vijana wangu wano kidogo kidogo wavijua kama haba na haba hujaza kibaba na mengine."

"When I was young my grandmother went to sing with her group. She carried me with her daily to the singing group and she kept me by her side where I learnt by imitating them. She also used to teach me at home, that's why now, I know many of the songs and I'm teaching my granddaughters. They know some but not much, only little by little, because "little by little you fill the container" .[61] *(Interview, Bi Mwaka, November 2017, Jambiani)*

"…wanaimba tunasikia nasie tunaiga, tunasikia nasie tunaimba"

"…we followed our parents and listened to them and then we imitated them and finally sang like them." (Interview, Bi Mtumwa, November 2017, Jambiani)

In this section of the chapter, I discuss the role played by the *dandaro* songs I have presented and analysed in the previous sections in the lives of the women who sing them. I argue that the songs serve as an intergenerational archive that the women use to pass on a particular gendered identity to the next generation of women.

Bi Fatuma, Bi Mwaka and Bi Mtumwa described how they had learnt the *dandaro* songs from their parents or grandparents. I include quotes from my interviews with them here to illustrate the point that the *dandaro* songs not only form an archive of information about women's experiences but are also a transgenerational archive. In Chapter Two I discussed how I view the concept of the archive with regard to the *dandaro* songs. I explained that I am not looking at the archive as a material collection, but rather as an ethereal collection of information that forms part of an oral tradition. Derrida's suggestion that the archive is an externalisation of the internal is of particular importance to this discussion. He suggests that the archive is a "domestic outside" (Derrida 1996: 19), the private made public, or the inner self made exterior. His description of an archive as an externalisation helps to explain the *dandaro* songs as an externalisation of people's experiences and thoughts. This is important in relation to the function of the *dandaro* songs in the context of Zanzibari women's lives, which I discuss

[61] This phrase, *haba nah aba hujaza kibaba* (little by little you fill the container) is a commonly used proverb in Kiswahili.

in Chapter Five. I will now explore how the *dandaro* songs function as a transgenerational archive.

The women's singing groups not only sing songs that are intergenerational but are intergenerational in their membership. Bi Mwaka's group included her daughters, some of them with their daughters who were aged from newborns to teens. There were also other members of the group who were not related to Bi Mwaka, such as Khairat, a woman in her early twenties. The main interaction in Bi Mwaka's group was between Bi Mwaka, her daughters and Khairat. The other members of the group sat and listened and shushed the children when they were being noisy. Bi Mwaka started singing songs, and when I asked if someone could write them down Khairat was nominated by the rest of the group. All the women treated Bi Mwaka as the authority; they suggested songs, but she was always the one who sang them. Only when Bi Mwaka couldn't remember any more songs did Khairat start to sing a few songs. She sang msanja *songs, though, and did not know any* dandaro *songs. I enjoyed seeing how one of the little boys interacted with the women: he was very inquisitive and repeated words and melody lines that they sang. This was probably how the women in the group had learnt the songs when they were younger … by listening and repeating and being shushed by their elders. (Fieldnotes, 26 November 2017)*

The dynamics of this group interested me, because Bi Fatuma's and Bi Mtumwa's groups weren't as varied in age as Bi Mwaka's group. I found it interesting that her granddaughters did not know the songs as well as she did. It was also interesting to see how Bi Mwaka interacted with her younger grandchildren and how they playfully copied parts of the songs as she sang. This reflected how Bi Mwaka had learnt the songs from her grandmother as a child. She had learnt the songs as a child and in turn taught her children and grandchildren, but it appears that the pace of transference is slowing down. I still suggest that these songs are transgenerational because of the transference between Bi Mwaka's grandparents and her own generation and then her children, but it seems from my observation of this group that the transferring of the songs no longer occurs as easily as in years before, probably because they are no longer publicly performed. I asked the women why the songs are no longer performed, and they suggested it was because people prefer different types of songs now.

"Watu wameelimika na kuelewa kuwa hizo nyimbo za kizamani sio nzuri. Kwanini unafkiria hazipewi kipao mbele?"

"People act like they are educated and as if old local songs are not good. Why did you think it is not given privileges anymore?" (Interview, Bi Mtumwa, November 2017, Jambiani)

Maulidi: "Wajukuu zenu walivyokuwa wanajifunza Dandaro wanazibadilisha au?"
Bi Mwaka: "Hawazibadilishi kwasababu sio kama wanakaa kufundishwa vizuri, hao wanayo mida mipya (rusha roho) lakini hayo hawajuwi wala hawabadilishi kwasababu hata km ukiwaweka kitako Wana mda wakusikiliza."

Maulidi: "Your granddaughters while they were learning dandaro *never been changing anything or?"*
*Bi Mwaka: "They don't have time to listen well when we teach them and they're occupied with new music (*rusha roho*) but* dandaro *they don't know and never changed it because even when you asked them to learn they don't." (Interview by Maulidi with Bi Mwaka, May 2019, Jambiani).*

"Sasa kuna iso ng'oma za melody, melody, maulid ya dufu, rusha roho, sasa sio rahisi kulitafuta dandaro ispokuwa wale weye dandaro walitafute walitake ndio litachezwa. Dandaro halijafa lakini mtu akisema mimi nataka ndio anaimbiwa lakini sio rahisi mtu kutaka dandaro kwasababu ya rusha roho."

"Nowadays there are songs of melodies, melodies, maulidi ya dufu,[62] rusha roho*, now it's not easy to find* dandaro *because it's out of fashion but you can still find some people who know, they have to find it while they are interested.* Dandaro *hasn't gone yet and it exists for those that still want to learn but it's not easy nowadays for a person to be interested in it because of* rusha roho.*" (Interview by Maulidi with Bi Mtumwa, May 2019, Jambiani)*

"Now people perform maulidi *[a song genre] the celebration of Muhammad and* rusha roho*. Because people changed themselves." (Interview in English with Bwana Abasi, December 2018, Jambiani)*

These quotes from interviews show that although I am suggesting that these songs form a transgenerational archive, passed from grandparent to grandchild, they will probably stop with the groups that I interviewed. It is possible that there are some younger women who are interested in carrying on the tradition, but because the *dandaro* songs are no longer performed publicly, the transfer of the songs will be unlikely. This does

[62] *Maulidi ya dufu* is a sub-genre of *m aulidi* (a song genre celebrating the birth of Prophet Muhammad) performed with *dufu* drums. *Dufu* drums originate from the Hadhramaut (Walker 2018).

not mean that there are no longer other song genres or other forms of expressive culture that perform the same function as *dandaro* songs. Much research shows that there are several expressive cultural practices, such as *taarab, mafumbo* poetry and proverbs on *kangas* (Askew 2002, 2003; Fair 2013; Mbele 1996; Topp Fargion 2014; Vierke 2012) in Zanzibar and the East African coast that function in a similar way to *dandaro*, to make public what is normally kept private and to allow for women to speak out about challenging situations that they face.

Box 13: In performance – women past and present

Q opens the suitcase, unzip, zip, unzip, she repeats the action and abstracts it, as if it is no longer a suitcase, it is a repeated motion of labour.

Q sits and washes clothes, scrubbing, rubbing, wringing. She stands occasionally to hang up each item of clothing on the string hanging from the back of the stage.

Q makes the bed, tidies and sweeps the floor, she cooks breakfast before dawn and serves the family.

B and Q pick up seaweed on the beach, choosing the best pieces that can be grown into more seaweed. They stand in the shallow water, the wind drying the sweat on their foreheads. They tie seaweed to the long lines in the shallow sea water so that they can later harvest this seaweed.

The movements of labour are echoed through time, just as the image of a strong woman is echoed from the past into the present, carried by the *dandaro* songs. The women of the past keep visiting the women of the present in the embodied movements of planting, harvesting, washing, wringing, singing, walking, loving, feeling, enjoying, laughing. These movements are ghosts of the women of the past that live in the bodies of women now. Strong, able women with power over their lives.

THE EIGHT SISTERS – ANOTHER SYMBOL OF STRONG WOMANHOOD

Another symbol of strong womanhood that resonated with similar imagery in the *dandaro* songs was the story of the eight sisters that Ba Bindu told, which I have discussed in Chapter Three. The story of the eight sisters struck me because it was the first time in all the history he told me that women featured at the core of the story. Ba Bindu started the story by describing the Shirazi brothers who settled on Tumbatu Island and their subsequent generations, each generation described in terms of the fathers and sons, but that changed when he reached the story of the eight sisters. As I discuss in Chapter Three, there are caves throughout Unguja Island that are named after the eight sisters.

VISITING THE CAVES WITH BABU BINDU

When Ba Bindu told me about the caves, I asked if we could visit the ones that were close to where we both lived in the south-east of Unguja Island. He agreed and we started with Mwanampambe's cave in Makunduchi. Mwanampambe is not one of the eight sisters, but she is the daughter of Mwanagoli, one of these sisters. In order to visit the cave, we needed to find the keeper of the cave, a man whose father had also been the keeper of the cave. We met at the cave, and the keeper completed a ritual before we could enter it. He burnt a powdery substance that created plumes of smoke and smelled sweet; he then asked Mwanampambe if we could enter the cave, explaining that we did not want to ask for anything, we were just visiting. At the entrance of the cave there was a huge bunch of white fabric pieces hanging from the opening. These pieces of fabric are hung by people visiting the cave to ask Mwanampambe for blessings; inside the cave people leave bowls of food and bottles of soda for Mwanampambe as offerings. The keeper showed us deep into the cave by the light of his cell phone. I could see to one side stacks of pottery bowls left as part of the offerings.

After that Ba Bindu took me to Mize Mize cave in Kizimkazi, Mwana Mwana cave in Paje, Maua cave in Donge, Miza Miza cave in Bwejuu, Mwanagoli cave in Makunduchi and finally to Mwatima cave in Charawe, which I describe in the following fieldnote:

Today Ba Bindu, Maulidi and I set off on an hour-long journey together to Charawe to see Mwatima Ali's cave. Over the past two weeks Ba Bindu has been showing me many of the caves named after the eight sisters, telling me the stories about each sister. Some of the caves we have to search for, looking through the bushes to find the entrance, these caves are not frequented as much as the other caves that have keepers and evidence of offerings and pieces of fabric hanging from the entrance. To get to Mwatima Ali's cave in Charawe we set off inland from Bwejuu on a dusty road. After stopping a few times to ask locals where the cave keeper is, we finally found the site of the cave, but we had chosen the wrong time of day … the cave is on the beachfront and it was high tide, so we couldn't walk to the cave. We met with a group of fishermen who listened to Ba Bindu as he performed the story of Mwatima Ali and the history of the area, the fishermen joined in with their versions of the story. The fishermen called someone who had a boat and could take us to the entrance of the cave. (Fieldnotes, 8 March 2018)

Many of the caves had fabric hanging from the ceilings and at the entrances. Mwanampambe cave in Makunduchi had a huge bunch of strips of white fabric hanging at the entrance to the cave. Mize Mize cave in Kizimkazi had red and white strips of fabric hanging at the entrance of the cave and Mwatima Ali in Charawe had strips of red and white fabric hanging at the entrance and inside the cave. The visual aspects of these strips of fabric hanging and flapping in the wind were evocative of an ancient space with ancient spirits and memories. The pieces of fabric had been put there by people years ago and also recently … this collection of fabric represented the hopes and prayers of people from many different generations. The caves have a long history that dates back centuries, but to this day people still go back to the caves to ask for blessings. In this way, the caves are an archive of experiences … ancient memories of the eight sisters and current memories of people's prayers to have children or to pass their exams at school. (Fieldnotes, 8 March 2018)

Figure 4.16: Fabric hanging at the entrance to Mwatima Ali cave, Charawe, Zanzibar.
(Photo: Bronwen Clacherty)

Figure 4.17: Fabric hanging at the entrance to Mwanampambe cave, Makunduchi.
(Photo: Bronwen Clacherty)

Box 14: In performance – strips of fabric

Once B and Q have tied the red and white fabric strips, they lift the long lines of string at one end and walk out to the audience. As they move out, the fabric lifts above the stage and above the heads of the audience. The strips are no longer seaweed, they are now the fabric strips hanging from the ceiling of a cave, the cave of Mize Mize, of Mwatima Ali or of Mwanampambe. Four members of the audience are chosen to hold each of the four strings so that B and Q can walk into the cave. They stand in the cave, looking up at the strips of fabric.

The fabric strips that hang from the cave ceilings are blessings that have been granted, signs that the spirit has provided. Once again, the spirit of the cave is "haunting" the theatre space. Haunting the space in a way that is positive – it is mirroring the dreamlike presence of the spirit in the cave and the strips blowing in the wind.

THE EIGHT SISTERS – STORIES ECHOING INTO THE PRESENT

The people I spoke to at the caves were very familiar with the history of the other caves and the story of the eight sisters, but many other people I asked did not know about the eight sisters. Most of my friends who lived in Jambiani were familiar with the caves in the region and with their names but did not know the stories linked to the caves. I was struck by the fact that the caves held another archive of information about women from the past which many people did not know. I wondered whether the women's singing groups might know the story of the eight sisters, but they also only knew the names of the caves and nothing more about the women the caves were named after. After the initial meetings with the women's singing groups I wondered if they would be interested in the history Ba Bindu shared with me.

As I explain in Chapter Three, I introduced Ba Bindu to the women's singing groups to see if his stories about the past would help them to remember more songs about the past. I had hoped that this would be the case because my original research question was

related to the time period before the 1500s and I knew that the history that Ba Bindu told about the eight sisters related to this period. I also wanted to know what the women thought of the story of the eight sisters because the story and the caves represented another example of the image of powerful women, women who were administrators of their own villages around the island, whose names will always be connected to the caves.

Ba Bindu told Bi Fatuma's group the story first and they all listened intently to the history of the first settlers in Makunduchi and the story of the eight sisters. When he was done, they had questions: were the sisters buried in the caves? The people that were on the island before them, were they men and women or just men coming to fish from the mainland? Where did the settlers originate from? As I describe in Chapter Three, Ba Bindu and the women discussed the history for some time and then Bi Fatuma remembered a song about Mize Mize.

This song is not a *dandaro* song and so I have not included it in my analysis, but I wanted to acknowledge it because it was a song that Bi Fatuma remembered because of the history Ba Bindu had shared. Her group used the melody of this song to make up another song about the other sisters.

Mize mize	Mize Mize
Ndugu yake Mwanagoli	Sister of Mwanagoli
Mwanagoli kamzaa Mwanampambe	Mwanagoli gave birth Mwanampambe
Mize mize	Mize Mize
Ndugu yake Mwanagoli	Sister of Mwanagoli
Mize mize	Mize Mize
Ndugu yee Mwana wa Mwana	Sister of Mwana wa Mwana
Mize mize	Mize Mize
Ndugu yee Mwatima Ally	Sister of Mwaima Ally
Mize mize	Mize Mize
Ndugu yee Mwana Mkasi	Sister of Mwana Mkasi
Mize mize	Mize Mize
Ndugu yee Miza wa Miza	Sister of Miza wa Miza

Mize mize	Mize Mize
Ndugu yee ni Mwana Wanu	Sister of Mwana Wanu
Mize mize	Mize Mize
Ndugu yee Mwana mauwa	Sister of Mwana Maua
Mwamuona huyo Mize	You see Mize
Mwamuona Mwana mwana	You see Mwana Mwana
Mama yao Mwanagoli	Their mother is Mwanagoli
Mwana Mwanampambe	Mwana Mwanampambe

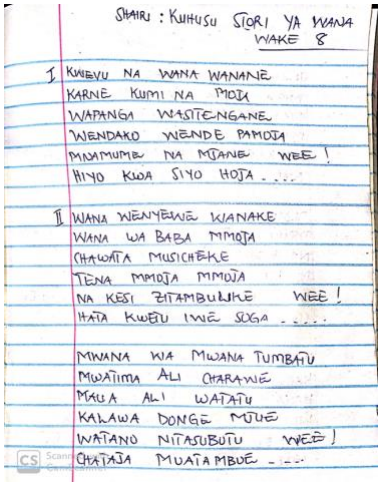
Bi Fatuma also composed a song about me visiting Mwanampambe cave:

Nyiuku Africa ya kusini	I left South Africa
Nkangia Mwanampambe	I went to Mwanampambwe
Hafika kwetu hajigambe	When I return home, I will be proud

"Nikifika nyumbani nataka kujivunia. Kwanini ujigambe? Kwasababu wewe umeona kila kitu na mwenzako hawajaona napia ulikuwa Mwanampambe na wao hawajafika bado!"

"When you reach home, you will be so proud, Why so proud? Because you are so happy because you saw everything and your friends didn't see it and you have been to Mwanampambe and they not yet!" (Interview, Bi Fatuma, 3 March 2018, Makunduchi)

In this song, Bi Fatuma talks about the cave as a place that I should be proud of having visited. It is a space that holds part of her history and, despite not knowing the details of the history that Ba Bindu shared, she thinks of the cave as a place of significance, a place that holds important information. When Bi Mwaka's group heard the history of the sisters and the caves they did not remember any songs or stories related to the eight sisters. However, what did happen was that Khairat, one of the younger members of Bi Mwaka's group, wrote a song inspired by the story. A few days after hearing the history from Ba Bindu she asked me to come and visit her and sang the song for me. I have included it here in her own handwriting (Figures 4.18a–c), followed by a translation by Maulidi.



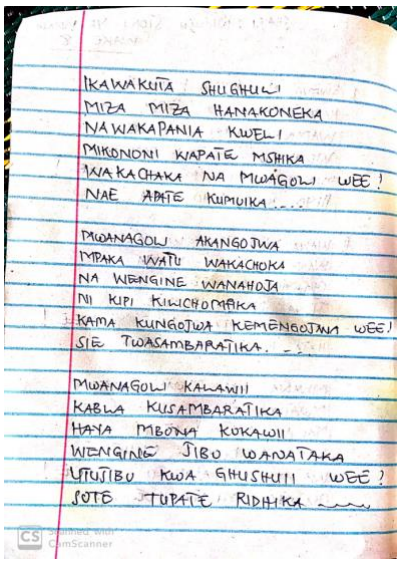
SHAIRI : KUHUSU STORI YA MWANA WAKE 8

I
KWEVU NA WANA WANANE
KARNE KUMI NA MOJA
WAPANGA WASITENGANE
WENDAKO WENDE PAMOJA
MYAMUMBU NA MJANE WEE!
HIYO KWA SIYO HOJA . . .

II
WANA WENYEWE WANAKE
WANA WA BABA MMOJA
CHAWATA MUSICHEKE
TENA MMOJA MMOJA
NA KESI ZITAMBULIKE WEE!
HATA KWETU IWE SUGA . . . .

MWANA WA MWANA TUMBATU
MWATIMA ALI CHARAWE
MAUA ALI WATATU
KALAWA DONGE MUVE
WATANO NITASUBUTU WEE!
CHATAJA MUATA MBUE . . . .

Figure 4.18a: Khairat's song, page 1.

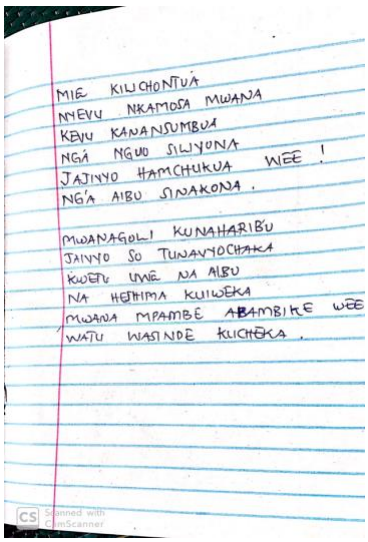


IKAWAKUTA SHUGHULI
MIZA MIZA HANAKONEKA
NAWAKAPANIA KWELI
MIKONONI KAPATE MSHIKA
WAKACHAKA NA MWAGOLI WEE!
NAE ADATE KUMUIKA . . .

MWANAGOLI AKANGOJWA
MPAKA WATU WAKACHOKA
NA WENGINE WANAHOJA
NI KIPI KILICHOMFIKA
KAMA KUNGOJWA KEMENGOJWA WEE!
SIE TWASAMBARATIKA . . .

MWANAGOLI KALAWII
KABLA KUSAMBARATIKA
HAYA MBONA KUKAWII
WENGINE SIBU WANATAKA
UTUSIBU KWA GHUSHUII WEE!
SOTE TUPATE RIDHIKA . . . .

Figure 4.18b: Khairat's song, page 2.



MIE KILICHONTUA
NYEVU NKAMOSA MWANA
KEVU KANANSUMBUA
NGA NGUO SILIYONA
JAJINYO HAMCHUKUA WEE!
NG'A AIBU SINAKONA.

MWANAGOLI KUNAHARIBU
JAINYO SO TUNAYOCHAKA
KWETU UWE NA AIBU
NA HESHIMA KUIWEKA
MWANA MPAMBE ABAMBIKE WEE
WATU WASINDE KUCHEKA.

Figure 4.18c: Khairat's song, page 3.

Khairat's song (translated by Maulidi)

There were eight children in the eleventh century
They were together all their lives without being separated
Even if someone is married or not, they have to be together all the time
All were daughters with the same mother and father
I am going to mention them one by one but don't laugh
Also, you have to know their background that is why we have a story about them
Mwana mwana tumbatu, Mwatima Ali Charawe
Maua Ali the third is from Donge you need to know this also
I will mention the others so that you can know them as well
Then something unexpected happens. Mwana wa Mize is lost
After hearing this all the sisters put their effort together to make sure they could bring her back
They wanted Mwanagoli to be with them while they looked
They waited for Mwanagoli for a long time and the others were totally tired
They wanted to know what was going on with Mwanagoli because she hadn't arrived yet
They waited for her for a long time and finally they were disappointed
Finally, Mwanagoli appeared

What was the reason that kept you late?
Tell us the real story so that we can be satisfied with your statement
I am late because I was washing my daughter
She was hassling me and finally I couldn't find the clothes for her
That is why I decided to carry her even though she has no clothes on
Mwanagoli was warned by her sisters because what she did wasn't fair
You must be respectful and not carry your baby while she is naked
Make sure that you make your daughter respectable so that people cannot laugh at us

I asked Khairat a few questions about the song:

Bronwen: Had you heard about these women before?
Khairat: No, it was the first time to hear it.
Bronwen: Do you think these women were real or just a story?
Khairat: When I asked people about this story, they said it was true because there is real evidence. I believe the story is true.
Bronwen: How do you think these women lived compared to women now?
Khairat: Their lives were good because all the sisters were always together. Now it's difficult to see people love each other like they loved each other. Now everyone thinks about their own business. At that time there were no real problems. This story shows that women should have solidarity, they are an example to us.

This interaction with Khairat showed me that she had connected with the story about the eight sisters. She had taken a story that she had not known about and made it her own. Marianne Hirsch (1997) suggests that there is a kind of memory that is passed on through generations, where the descendants no longer have an individual connection to the memory. Sara McDowell suggests that although descendants no longer have an individual connection to the memory, "they seek to re-use, re-enact and re-represent those memories in order to feel closer to their ancestors" (McDowell 2008:41). Bi Fatuma's group and Khairat did just that: they re-used and re-represented the memories of the sisters in songs, thus recontextualising the memories, as a way of showing ownership of these memories. Herman Kiriama (2017) has researched a similar set of caves on the south Kenya coast called the Shimoni caves that are thought to have housed slaves. These caves are visited by locals to ask the spirit of the caves for blessings, just like the Zanzibari caves I came across. Kiriama suggests, as I do, that the caves are sites of memory that link present communities to a history that is centuries old. Ömür Harmanşah (2014) writes about caves and other rock monuments as sites of memory; he says that "lived landscapes operate with complex temporalities that bring together different episodes of history in unexpected ways" (Harmanşah 2014:4). The caves of the eight sisters, in this instance, have brought together complex temporalities, and the newly composed songs echo a time long ago – connecting the women alive now with the stories of the women in the caves.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I explain *dandaro* as a musical practice and document how I researched the different ways in which it is discussed and remembered by the women's singing groups in Jambiani and Makunduchi. I explore how the memory of the practice is fading, although the songs still stay firmly in people's minds. I then show how metaphor is a central characteristic of Swahili expressive culture and explain this in the context of *dandaro* songs. After describing my methodological approach to thematic analysis of the songs, I present the analysis itself, showing all the themes and sub-themes that feature in the *dandaro* songs.

I use the thematic analysis of the *dandaro* song lyrics to show that these songs function

as an archive of women's experiences of societal norms and of the pressure on them to uphold those norms. The songs document how women choose to subvert those norms and defy what is expected of them in society, using female characters in the song lyrics that do not adhere to societal expectations. I also show how these songs function as a way for women to communicate important messages to each other about men's behaviour.

After the thematic analysis, I provide a musical analysis that most importantly indicates that many of these songs share a similar melodic structure; this shows that the songs form part of a universal phenomenon in song traditions where melodies are re-used, while the lyrics of songs are changed and improvised. This musical analysis also indicates that these songs are structured in such a way that they lend themselves to oral transmission.

The chapter concludes with a discussion of how the *dandaro* songs form a transgenerational archive. I show how this song genre has continued to exist not only because of its musical content, but also because the lyrics cover topics that were of such an important nature that they needed to be passed down through the generations. Finally, I show how my fieldwork methodology of encouraging song-writing among the participants in the research led to a reclamation of the history of the place where the participants live: Khairat wrote a song that made the history her own, and Bi Fatuma wrote a song with her group that claimed ownership of the caves and the story of the eight sisters that recounts the origin of their village and the surrounding villages.

This chapter shows how songs about women's lives have been passed down through generations of women and have been a powerful tool for them. The next chapter explores this idea further by showing how the *dandaro* songs function as a tool not only to transmit the idea of strong womanhood from one generation to the next, but also to share important information through songs that empower women in their daily lives.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This chapter presents an overview and discussion of the findings of my doctoral research. I discuss the contribution of this research to scholarship, including the documentation of an unstudied song genre, *dandaro*, and its function in the lives of Zanzibari women in the past and present. I explore how the *dandaro* songs form a transgenerational archive, and how my fieldwork methodology enhanced the transgenerational nature of the archive. I also discuss how the performance of a work I developed as a component of my dissertation, *Tia Maji*, contributes to the scholarship on integrated doctoral research that exists in the liminal space between performing arts and academic writing. I show how this approach can enhance the academic contribution of creative doctoral research. To conclude, I show that this doctoral research contributes to the scholarship of "herstory", adding to the growing feminist scholarship on women's lives in the Indian Ocean trade system.

DANDARO AS A REFLECTION OF A GENDERED EXPERIENCE

In Chapter Four, I discussed how my fieldwork in the village of Jambiani led me to focus on the song genre known as *dandaro.* The women's groups I worked with there shared many songs with me, but the *dandaro* songs seemed a significant genre to study, partly because I had not found any previous research on this song genre, but also because the songs dealt with themes that could help me to understand more about women's lives in Zanzibar, both now and in the past. Through a thematic analysis of the songs and translations of their lyrics, I identified themes that showed women's experiences of gender norms, and the challenges women face because of the effects of social norms and societal expectations on their behaviour. After much discussion with the women's groups, I became aware that the songs were no longer performed in public but had once featured at various celebrations. The women also described how these songs did not belong to a specific celebration, but rather had a specific function. They are a type of taunting and joking song that, through the use of metaphorical language, can express deep emotions and complex issues related to women's lives.

The *dandaro* songs reflect a society that expects women to maintain *heshima* (respectability)and uphold gender norms, and are a way the women have found to speak out in spite of these constraints. In Chapter One I discuss how the ideal of *heshima* is reflected in the debate around private and public domains, particularly in relation to gendered spaces. One of the themes my work highlights is that the divide between public and domestic spaces is not as clear-cut as the literature would have us believe (for example in the divisions, "male:female::culture:nature::public:domestic" which Dubisch (2019:8) critiques). I encountered much more complexity in regard to gendered spaces occupied by women and men in Zanzibar. My field observations of the women I lived with and the discussions I held with the women's singing groups, as well as my interactions with the male intermediaries I worked with, revealed some gendered uses of space; but these were fluid, contextual and multifaceted, and were related to class and economic status as well as to gender.

Box 15: In performance – the complexity of women's lives threaded through

Bi Mwaka's voice sings into the theatre, her voice weaving out into a public space where she has never been before, Bi Mwaka is miles away from this theatre space but her voice is here. Her song describes a private and emotional conversation with her father about a lover … her grandmother sang these same private melodies many years ago but she is still here singing into this space.

One of the themes built into the performance of *Tia Maji* was the complexity of gendered spaces. This was indicated through the use of shifting soundscapes – from the public space of the town to the private space of the home, from the public space of the seashore, where women work on their seaweed farms, to the private space of the soft song Bi Mwaka sings as she works. The repeated refrain "*hodi hodi*" signifies, too, the institutionalised norm of movement from the public to the private space. The repeated music of the bowed vibraphone reflects the layers of women's lives

All of the performance tools described in Box 15 reinforce the idea of a multifaceted reality, a complexity – not the simple, narrow dichotomy of public and private (the

disenfranchised "Muslimwoman") that suggests a narrow view of women's lives, one dominated by male-delineated norms, in which women have no power except in the domestic realm.

The *dandaro* songs that I record and analyse in this work are just one powerful example of this complexity – they give voice to women both from the past and in the present. This work highlights how the *dandaro* songs deal with an issue at the heart of the complexity of women's lived experience. I show that the songs make public what is private in a safe way that maintains *heshima* for the women expressing their opinions, particularly when covering issues of gender relations. Ultimately, I argue that the *dandaro* songs are a practice that expresses gendered experiences and moves between gendered spaces, making what is private, public; they are an important way for women to make their voices heard within the context of a society that gives value to gender segregation. [63]

Bi Riziki described *dandaro* as songs that are performed on any occasion. Bi Fatuma described her grandmother singing a *dandaro* song at a party. Bi Mtumwa described the *dandaro* songs being performed at a gathering in the village centre. These are all examples that show the songs were sung publicly, thus revealing that these songs were making the private concerns and views of the women public. From what the women in the singing groups said, it seems that the songs are no longer performed in these contexts; the women said that the younger generation preferred to perform *rusha roho* or *maulidi* or disco. I explore this in Chapter Four, and show that over time the younger generations have become more interested in music related to contemporary music traditions such as *taarab*, *rusha roho, maulidi* and disco and are no longer interested in performing *dandaro* and other older song traditions such as *msanja*. This is one important reason for recording these songs, as I have done in the course of my research. More important, however, would be to find ways to support the transgenerational transmission of this empowering tradition. Using the participatory, interactive community arts approach to my field research made a small contribution in this regard,

[63] Janet Topp Fargion (2014) proves a similar point in her study of *taarab* and her insights guided my theories around the practice of *dandaro* and gendered experiences.

because it reminded the older women of the songs, made the younger women curious about them, and gave young Khairat the space to write her own song evoked by the tradition. One of the important next steps in supporting this preservation and transmission process would be to find ways to take the recording I made back to the women I worked with, and to other women's singing groups, as a small contribution to perpetuating it in the communities where it originated.

The importance of analysing and recording the *dandaro* songs goes beyond the issue of the complexity of private and public domains, and the way the songs work as expressions of the movement of women's voices from the private into the public space. The song tradition also has important things to say about the rights of women in Zanzibar, and indeed, about other women who live within disempowering legal institutions.

For example, some of the songs are an important record of the violation of women's rights. Song no. 4 (discussed in Chapter Four) describes an act of sexual harassment and a woman defending herself. Song no. 6 (discussed in Chapter Four) describes how men are "educated" in the ways of manipulating women into having sex, that is, "educated" to harass. This song functions as a warning from one woman to another about men and their "educated" ways. Not only is it "acceptable" for men to behave in such a way, but it is also *aibu* (shameful) for women to raise such an issue. The *dandaro* songs are, therefore, a powerful form of protest and expression of power by women, as well as a form of collective support for each other, as Song no. 6 illustrates.

As I explain in Chapter One, the Penal Act of 2004 specifically declared "marital rape" and "sexual harassment" illegal. Maoulidi (2011:50) suggests that the changes to the law make it possible for women to "break the silence against crimes previously considered *aibu* (shameful)". To some extent this is true, as the violation is no longer institutionalised, but as Mutch (2012:108) suggests, "weak democratic practice in Tanzania and Zanzibar, corruption, and highly gendered notions of space" mean that social norms persist, and that making instances of sexual violence public would still be seen as *aibu* by many. This is one of the reasons, I suggest, for the young women's

interest in the songs when the older women began to sing them, and for the need to keep the song tradition alive.

Another complexity of gender reality that the *dandaro* songs highlight is in the way they claim sexuality for women. I explore in Chapter One how the Penal Decree of 1934 criminalised sex outside of marriage, particularly for a girl/woman. This law shows the state controlling the female body and perpetuating the idea that women cannot control themselves and, therefore, need to be policed by the law. A significant number of the *dandaro* songs are about women who have been unfaithful to their husbands, husbands who do not trust their wives, and women who do not trust each other. For example, Song no. 1 describes a woman who is unhappy in her own marriage and has found another man whom she loves. Apart from subverting social norms that expect women to stay faithful to their husbands, this song ironically expresses the social norm that expects women to be *fitna* (temptresses) and an unfaithful partner; in some ways the song claims this identity for women, acknowledging their sexuality. Song no. 2 describes a husband who does not trust his wife to go to a *dandaro* celebration because he fears she will be unfaithful to him. He forbids her to attend, but she disobeys him and attends the celebration. This song, while confirming the social norm, also paradoxically subverts the social expectation that women are *fitna* and are unable to control their behaviour by making fun of it. Similarly, Song no. 8 describes a few examples of women being unfaithful, having many sexual partners, or gossiping about other women who are sexually promiscuous. These songs set women up as unequal to men, further reinforcing the idea that men should be guardians of women while also subverting this social norm. The songs are contradictory, reflecting the contradictory nature of women's lives in Zanzibar, where they are expected to maintain *heshima* but are not expected to be able to do so without the guardianship of men, and also expressing the women's own sexuality.

> *"These songs have an 'under meaning' that is very difficult to understand, as if the meaning is hiding under a veil." (Maulidi, personal communication, March 2018, Jambiani)*

The analysis of the *dandaro* songs presented in Chapter Four also contributes to our understanding of how metaphor is used as an empowering form of expression in a context where discussion of certain topics is unacceptable, especially for women. As one

of the translators I worked with, Maulidi, says in the quote above, the meanings of the *dandaro* songs are hidden under a veil, and they function as a way for women to express what they think in safety, through what Vierke calls a "face-protecting strategy" (Vierke 2012:278). These songs make what is private, public, just as the veil allows for a woman to move through public spaces in a socially acceptable and safe way.

On a note relating to feminist politics and the representation of gender, I recognise that this dissertation presents gender as binary. I wanted this research to remain faithful to what the research participants said and the gender experience that the songs and research participants shared. Thus, I write about gender as binary because that reflects the world I researched. I would like, however, to state that although this study presents gender as binary I acknowledge the non-binary nature of gender in many other communities and do not want this study to violate the rights of people who identify as non-binary.

Box 16: In performance – veiled meaning **(no linked video)**

These words are hiding under a veil … it is safe under there … they don't have to show themselves. Only some people can see under the veil … the veil of metaphor. These are words of strength and they reveal information that is shameful to share.

This idea of veiled meaning permeated the performance of *Tia Maji*. At times the audience may have felt that they were being kept in the dark, or that they did not always understand what was happening in the performance. This was deliberate – I wanted the audience to experience this to reflect the nature of the hidden meaning in the songs, and to reflect the use of metaphor as a veiling technique.

A TRANSGENERATIONAL ARCHIVE

This dissertation shows that *dandaro* songs use metaphor as a veil to protect the woman singing the song, while still empowering her to bring the issue into a public space. It also shows how women use the songs to voice their protest and to subvert the social norms about womanhood. The research also uncovered another significant aspect of the *dandaro* song tradition: its transgenerational nature. I heard these songs from

grandmothers who had learnt the songs from their grandmothers. The meanings and melodies of these songs have stayed intact for the most part throughout that transmission process, meaning that the songs are a transmitted archive that has moved from at least one generation to the next, and probably from the previous generation and others further back, too.

As I show in Chapter One, this song genre holds an archive of memory that has been passed from generation to generation, just as other research shows. in other contexts, how musical performance holds collective memory and is a vehicle for preserving people's memories (Askew 2002; Impey 2008; Neumann and Nünning 2012; Ranger 1975; Shelemay 1998; Vaughan 1987). I argue that the reason why the content of the songs has been preserved through several generations is because the issues they raise are still relevant – they still carry important messages about women's lives. There are topics in the songs that were relevant for Bi Mwaka, Bi Fatuma and Bi Mtumwa's grandmothers and that still apply to their granddaughters' lives. In my discussion of women's lives in Zanzibar in the present, in Chapter Two, I describe how women face daily situations where they have to uphold norms of gender relations and experience other social pressures. I show that these women's experiences necessitate the use of metaphorical language to express these experiences while still maintaining *heshima.*

In Chapter Two I discuss the concept of the archive as described by Derrida (1996) and, specifically in relation to song, by Muller (2002), and I suggest that the *dandaro* songs function as an archive. The songs functioned, at the time they were first composed and sung, as an expression of women's experience, a way for them to speak out about certain injustices, but also as a safe way of subverting and undoing those injustices. My research shows that the songs were then passed down from mother to daughter to granddaughter, and they continued to be performed. They became "memory collectively felt and verbally transmitted" (Muller 2002:423). The songs transmit not only their lyrics and music but also knowledge about a way of being as a woman. The research explores how the songs function as a transgenerational archive of images of a woman who negotiates her world, and carries on with her life through whatever struggles she faces. This image was one that resonated for me with regard to many of the women I met in Zanzibar, women who seemed so powerful in their own lives despite what some

of the literature suggested (Calaguas et al. 2007; Susan F. Hirsch 1998; Maoulidi 2009, 2011). I was struck by the emotional strength of many of the women I met, how they seemed quite fierce at times when faced with situations that challenged their way of life. I came across such powerful women during my field research and also in the imagery of the stories shared with me.

In Chapter Three I discuss the theory of transgenerational transmission (Volkan 2001:86), which describes how trauma can be passed down from one generation to another through the way it creates identity. It is not trauma that influences identity in the context of *dandaro* songs (though some of them do describe gender-based violence), but rather the identity of being an outspoken woman. The songs are about women speaking out, about women who subvert social norms and empower younger generations of women to imagine a world where this is possible. In some ways, the "deposited image" (Volkan 2001:86) is one of a woman, able to deftly negotiate her environment and able to keep going despite the challenges she faces – a "deposited image" of strong womanhood.

The methodology I employed to collect and analyse the *dandaro* songs built on (and possibly contributed to) the idea of the transgenerational archive. As I show in Chapter Four, bringing the Zanzibari historian Ba Bindu to meet with the women singers and tell them a story from the past resulted in some of the women composing "new" songs that incorporated elements of the history he had shared with them. By doing this the women were taking ownership of these stories and of the women in them. The newly composed songs were expanding the archive that held the images of strong womanhood.

The analysis of the lyrics and the musical analysis I undertake in Chapter Four help us to understand more about how the songs were passed down from one generation to another. The improvisatory nature of these songs means that the lyrics are learnt, but then also added to, as each woman singing the song is encouraged to add her experience and her version of a similar topic to the lyrics. In terms of musical analysis, I show that the melodic and rhythmic content of the songs allows for easy transmission. The *dandaro* songs are characterised by short, four-line verses made up of two rhyming couplets. The verses are sometimes accompanied by a chorus or refrain, but sometimes

exist just as the verse form. This form uses a call and response pattern between an individual and a group of singers. The call and response form lends itself to the learning of the songs, since new members and younger members of the groups can learn them by copying the call and the response. The *dandaro* songs also demonstrate the phenomenon of "group melodies" (Särg 2009) or "monothematism" (Schimmelpenninck 1997), in that many of the songs share similar melodies and rhythms, with the emphasis placed on the lyric content of each song. The fact that the melody and rhythm are familiar across the songs also makes it easier for new singing group members to learn and remember them.

INTEGRATION OF PERFORMANCE AND WRITING IN THE RESEARCH PROCESS

An important aspect of this research is the integration of the performance, *Tia Maji*, and the written work into a single dissertation. This posed a great challenge because there are limited examples available of doctoral research of this nature. The field of integrated PhDs is still being developed, and the boundaries and expectations of such research are still being explored. This is evident in books such as John Freeman's *Blood, Sweat and Theory: Research through Practice in Performance* (2010), where Freeman suggests that "[p]erformance is as performance does, and the demands of university sanctioned research are not always the same as the demands imposed on practice by either spectators or practitioners" (2010:281). Throughout the book Freeman uses case studies to grapple with the idea that performance can or cannot fit into the world of academic research. Other examples of the exploration of practice-based research or practice-informed research are the papers presented at the Arts Research Africa Conference of 2020, such as Michelle Stewart's "Creative practice and research: an artist-scholar's perspective", Kathyayini Dash's "Unpacking the figure of the artist fieldworker" and Mark Fleishman's "Artistic research and the Institution: a cautionary tale". These papers suggest a search for a standardised methodological approach to integrated artistic and scholarly work. At the South African College of Music, University of Cape Town, this kind of PhD has not been completed before in the African Music section. Having, I hope successfully, produced a performance and a written dissertation that speak to each other is, therefore, a contribution to the field of integrated scholarship.

In Chapter Two I discuss how an integrated research project that is ethnographic and performance-based is "enmeshed in moral matters" (Conquergood 2013: 67). I discuss the ethical dilemma I experienced in not wanting to perform an art form that was not my own, while still needing to document the art form during the performance. I had to work creatively with the boundaries and the interdisciplinary nature of the project, making sure that the performance spoke to the written work and vice versa. One of the key areas of learning for me was that in creating a performance I was forced to think through very concretely the ethical dilemmas at the heart of ethnomusicology research (Clifford and Marcus 1986; Koskoff 2014; Shelemay 2013). I found that the performance allowed me to embody many of the debates and dilemmas, more easily perhaps than one is able to do in a written text. For example, the act of finding my way through the threads of string laid out on the stage embodied my experience as a researcher struggling to understand translations, struggling to understand local customs, and being an outsider to a system that I did not know. Another example is the way in which I could keep quiet on stage during the third movement, allowing for the focus to fall on the sounds of the women's voices; this subtle decision meant that I could foreground the women's voices without representing them and their thoughts in my own words or gestures.

Another important reflection for me, as a performer who came to scholarship after practicing as a performer for ten years, is that it was through the creation of the performance that I was able to clarify concepts and understand the data I had gathered during my fieldwork. When I used my "first language" of creative performance, I understood what I had seen and heard. The text flowed from the creation of the performance.

Reflecting on the process of creating the performance has also highlighted interesting ideas. In shaping the performance I had to allow my creativity to take charge, I had to allow myself to enter what Schechner (1993) calls an imaginative or dreamlike state in order to translate the data and my fieldwork experiences into something that could be performed. In Chapter Two I quote Victor Turner's suggestion that in the process of mirroring social drama in aesthetic drama one creates "an endless cyclical repetitive

pattern or a stable cosmology … [one] actually [produces a] cosmos" (Turner 1990:17–18). In order to create this stable cosmos in the performance, I had to ensure that I had acknowledged my positionality and my approach. I had to ensure that the theories about feminist ethnography and transgenerational performed archives were clear in my mind, in order to be able to reflect the theoretical ideas performatively. My hope is that I have been able to reflect this process in the written narrative of this dissertation through the ongoing descriptions of how performance and text are linked. Finding a form for integrating performance and text is, I think one aspect of the contribution of this work to ethnomusicology.

HERSTORY

This leads to the final and important issue of researching women's lives, and how much I as an ethnographer and performer can contribute to the scholarship on women's history or "herstory". As I state in Chapter One, my aim in undertaking the research was to find out about the women I did not see in the historical records: the women who lived in Zanzibar and took part in the Indian Ocean trade system before the 1500s. What I have shown through this dissertation is that finding information that dates as far back as the 1500s is a challenge, firstly because the historical data about that time are fragmentary, at best, especially in regard to women's lives; and secondly because I was not able to determine whether or not the oral traditions date back as far as the 1500s. In Chapter One I explore the challenges I encountered in finding oral traditions that date back to before the 1500s. I explain there that although I did not achieve my original aim of finding data that dated this far back, I did find an oral tradition that documents a song genre dating back at least a hundred years, or three generations. The information embedded in this song tradition offers important insights into the lives of women in the past and present, especially how they negotiate the challenges they face daily with regard to social norms and a gendered experience. This study of *dandaro* songs reveals the existence of a transgenerational archive of information that preserves and transmits the image of strong womanhood and woman's agency, where women subvert gender norms and express their solidarity with each other. Women who have been taught through song that their grandmothers experienced the same things as they do, women who speak out against men who sexually harass them, women who celebrate their

sexuality and warn each other of the dangers of love, women who gossip, women who feel deeply saddened over a lost love.

Box 17: In performance – listen, the women are singing

B and Q look up at the red and white fabric, they are inside the cave of Mize Mize and her spirit is there with them. They sit down, it is no longer their space. The space belongs to the women's voices. B and Q sit down and listen to the sounds. The audience can hear the sound of water, splashing, bubbling, waves rumbling in the distance and the sound of the women singing.

The women's voices end the performance. It is their space again. Listen to the women sing. What are they saying, what are they telling us about the women of their time?

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APPENDIX A – *TIA MAJI* POSTER AND PROGRAMME

Figure A.1: *Tia Maji* Poster

Tia Maji

This performance will take you on a journey through the imagery, movement and sounds of a woman's world in Zanzibar — of planting seaweed, of singing songs, of asking the spirits for guidance in caves named after women, of walking and working. It will also take you on a journey to explore the uncomfortable role of the ethnographer, where time slows down to a thoughtful, watchful pace, a sonic space where one is surrounded by the rich sound world of Zanzibar and the feeling of being engulfed and welcomed but foreign at the same time. A space where sound and words are threads that weave and knot together to create new knowledge.

Figure A.2a: *Tia Maji* programme, page 1.

Creative Team

Bronwen Clacherty - creator, director, performer, composer, *umrhubhe* player and singer, sound design

Qondiswa James - creator, director, performer

Frank Mallows - vibraphone

Lilavan Gangen - vibraphone

Izan Greyling - sound editing

Denise Onen - sound operator

Lesego Chauke - lighting design and operator

Bamanye Yeko - lighting assistant

Equipment provided by Eastern Acoustics

Opening film credits

Maulidi Jerry - filming of seaweed farmers

Bi Mwaka Ameir and Bi Mtumwa - seaweed farmers

Bronwen Clacherty - filming and editing of cave film

Sound recording credits

Bi Mwaka - singing, speaking

Bi Mtumwa - singing

Bi Fatuma -singing

Ba Bindu - speaking

Bwana Abasi - assistance and translation

Maulidi Jerry - translation

The cave keepers at Mwanampambe Cave in Makunduchi and Mize Cave in Kizimkazi

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Figure A.2b: *Tia Maji* programme, page 2.

Haina ma dandaro we	There are no *dandaro* (songs).
Kamba inambigija	The rope is strangling her,
Tia maji	Pour water

The woman sings of the marriage that binds her, she is strangled and cannot sing *dandaro*. Dandaro are the joyful, impudent, witty songs sung by women when they are alone together, a place where they can share stories and feelings that cannot be expressed in public – the meaning often hidden in metaphor. Throughout this performance you will hear the women of Jambiani village in Zanzibar singing these songs.

Tia maji, pour water to relieve me the woman asks. Water is central to the women's lives, they fetch water from the village well to cook food for their children, they harvest seashells from the beach and seaweed from the shallows, the tide dictating their working day and when troubles come they fetch water from sacred caves for blessings. You will hear this water throughout the performance too, a symbol of the women's labour and love and lives.

Tia maji is about the women's lives but it is also about how we can decolonise research. The raw sound recordings are important – the women sing their songs, a grandmother hums, the children play, Babu Bindu tells his stories, they are present, not 'represented' and if we sing, we sing *with* them. It is about how we, as researchers do not ask ourselves to make conclusions (often blind, assumptive and politically incorrect) but accept that what we have experienced of the place we have come to are only impressions, feelings, sounds, like memory. That is all we can make conclusions about.

Here we see Bronwen, the ethnographer moving through Zanzibar. We see her arriving and learning Kiswahili in Stone Town, meeting musicians, living in the village, listening to Babu Bindu the local historian, talking with the women, visiting the caves. All the time she moves delicately, listening carefully for the voices of the women, not speaking so that they may speak, holding space so they may be heard. But at the same time being honest about the fact that she leaves a mark on the landscape. Qondiswa is the outside eye and ear helping Bronwen to listen and recall, to reflect, balancing the space, bringing attention to the soft presence of black women everywhere who hold space for so many others at work, at home, at play.

Figure A.2c: *Tia Maji* programme, page 3.

Story of the eight sisters as told by Babu Bindu

Mwanagoli binti Ali,
Mize binti Ali,
Mwana wanu binti Ali,
Miza Miza binti Ali,
Mkasi binti Ali,
Mwatima binti Ali,
Mwana Mwana binti Ali,
Maua binti Ali.

These are the names of the eight sisters whose ancestors originate from the island of Tumbatu just north of Unguja island, Zanzibar. They all have the same mother and the same father. When each daughter grew up they moved to the island of Unguja and started villages all over the island with their families. To this day there are still caves named after them in the villages that they started. People go there to ask for blessings and when the blessing is received return to hang cloths of thanks.

Mwanagoli cave at Makunduchi,
Mize cave at Kizimkazi,
Mwana wanu cave at Paje,
Miza Miza cave at Bwejuu,
Mkasi cave at Ukongoroni,
Mwatima cave at Charawe,
Mwana Mwana cave at Paje,
Maua cave at Donge.

Figure A.2d: *Tia Maji* programme, page 4.

APPENDIX B – TRANSCRIPTS AND TRANSLATIONS

AS RECEIVED FROM JEENA SUHA AND MAULIDI JERRY

BI FATUMA BA BINDU 13 MAR 2018 SEHEMU YA 1
MR. BINDU MAHOJIANO

Alipofika alianza kuwasalimia watu ilikujuw vipi wanaendelea baina yao. Once he reached he just greeting each other as well as better to know how they are doing in between!

SALUM: lete tau

MTASIRIJI: tunaanza Na Mr. bindu

MR. BINDU: Ana wawauliza wanawake wamezaliwa wapi? Jee mnajua historia ya Makunduchi?

WANAWAKE: Tumezaliwa Makunduchi Kwa pande zote baba Na mama lakini hatujui historia ya MakunduchiWe have born in Makunduchi.

MR.BINDU: Nini chanzo cha Makunduchi Na wapi walifikia Na niwakina nani? Hujaskia chochote kuhusu hivo?

WANAWAKE: Bado, hivyo unaweza kutuelezea hio story.

MR. BINDU: Wacha tuendelee hivyo! Hapa panaitwa Mtamani Kajengwa, bado tupo katika we are at wilaya ya kusini, mkoa wa kusini katika kijiji cha katika kijiji cha Makunduchi, kwa kuwa Makunduchi nikumbwa lakni tupo katika mtaa unaoitwa Mtongani na unapatikana katika mtaa au shehia ya Kajengwa.kajengwa ni shehia kubwa sana miongoni mwa shehia za Makunduchi, na huku ni sehemu ya kaskazini na Makunduchi imeagawika sehemu mbili kusini na kaskazini, seshemu ya kusini ni sehemu ile ya barabara kuu ya Kae ambayao kwa Makunduchi ni Kae,Lakini kwa unpande wa kaskazini ni Kajengwa , sina uhakika ya upande upi unaoishi watu wengi, lakini upande wa kaskazini ndio upande wa asili ya watu wa Makunduchi watu wa makunduchi mwanzo walianza kuishi sehemu ya kaskazini mwa barabara katika shehia inayoitwa Nganani. Nganani Ni historia ya Makunduchi Kama tulivyosema kwamba Zanzibar visiwa hivi vilikuwa vikitumika kama dago la wavuvi tu hapakuwa pakiishi watu.

Lakini ikafikia karne ya 11 Mohammed Ally Tunda Ally Hassan Ally Na Mussa Ally yule ambae alifariki ambae mkono wake ulizikwa katika Sharifu Mussa mtoni nje ya mji wa Zanzibar. Ni ndugu wane Muhammed Ally yeye ndo aliefikia tumbatu , Mumahammed Ally alizaa watoto wake 2 wakiume Ally Muhammed na Ally Muhammed vile vile , Ally Muhammed mkubwa alizaa watoto wale ambao walikuwa wakiitwa akiitwa Ally

Muhammad wa kwanza na Ally Muhammed wa pili, huyu Ally Muhammad wa pili kamzaa Hassan bin Ally na Hassan bin Ally alimzaa Amour bin Hassan Hijja bin Hassan Hassan bin Hassan na Binti Hassan wa Binti Hassan hawa wa binti Hassan na Hijja ndio walio panda Jahaz i wakaja zao mpaka Makunduchi , Makunduchi wakafikia sehemu inayoitwa Kigaeni ikabidi wateremke wakati huo walitumia Jahazi jahazi hio ilikuwa nahozanwake nakiitwa Ally Makame Othman , wakati huo Makunduchi ilikuwa haina watu, wakateremka Hijja bin Hassan, Hassan bin Hassan Amour bin Hassan na ndugu zao wanne jumla walikuwa watu saba.na nahodha alikuwa Ally Makame Othman , kwa kawaida jahazi linaposafiri lazima lisafiri na nanga mbili na jahazi haiwezi kutembea ikiwa na nanga moja , Ally Makame Othman ikabidi akawapa amri kina Amour bin Hassan Hijja bin Hassan watangulie ndio wakaja hapa kwenye msikiti wa asili wa asili hadi hivi leo unaonekana Nganani.

Msikiti huo upo umejengwa mnamo mwaka 1332 AD na tarehe hio hadi hivi leo inaonekanwa walipofika hapo kina Amour bin Hassan baadae ndio kufuatilia huyo Ally Makame Othman mpaka akaukuta mwamba mkumbwa ambapo hapo ilikuwa yeye alikuwa amejificha nanga ya jahazi nanga ya jiwe alipofika hapo kwa bahati mbaya alishikwa nai kiu kubwa.

Lakini baada yakuona mwamba ule aliamini kwamba atapata maji, akapanda mlima akaweka jiwe la nanga chini akarudi nyuma kutafuta maji akaliona pango, pango hilo hadi hivi leo lipo na linaitwa la Mwanagoli.

Ally Makame Othman akanywa maji yalipomtosha akarudi mpaka kwenye jiwe la nanga nakutaka kujitwisha jiwe lile likamshindaa, akaja zake mpaka mtaa wa nganani wakati huo hakuna nganani (watu) akawakuta wenzake akaulizwa vipi mbona ile nanga huna? Akasema nanga nyiyacha iko, kuyacha wapi? Iko, akambiwa nanga ichakwibwa yoo, akasema iyo haibwa, akambiwa wezi wana nguvu akasema nganani haigomo kuichukuwa nganani na nanga hio hadi leo ipo inaonekana na jirani kabisa na mwanagoli upande wa magharibi pango la mwanagoli lipo.

Kama tulivyozungumza historia yetu nyuma mwanagoli ndiye aliyemzaa mwanampambe na mwanampambe mmeona kipindi kilichopita cha hapo nyuma mzazi wa mwanampambe ni mwanagoli na huyo ni alimzaa hivi hivi huyu mwanamgoli kama tulivyozungumza alikuwa na ndugu zake 7 wote watoto wanawake majina yao nikama hivi yafuatavyo!

Wakwanza alikuwa akiitwa Mwana wa Mwana umaarufu lakini jina lake alikuwa akiitwa Mwanali binti Ally huyu aliwahi kuwa mtawala katika kisiwa cha Tumbatu kaskazini Unguja, ndugu yake wa pili alikuwa akiitwa Mwatima binti Ally huyu aliolewa na Mwinyi Mlenge katika kijiji cha Charawe akafa katika pango la Pange juu akachukuliwa na maji chini kwa chini mpaka akaangukia Charawe.

Charawe Mwatima Ally pango mpaka hivi leo linaonekanwa nay eye alizikwa nadani ya pango hiyo ya Mwatima Ally Charawe. W a tatu Mkasi binti Ally ambaye yeye amezikwa

Ukongoroni. Ndugu wanne ni Miza wa Miza binti Ally ambaye yeye kazikwa Bwejuu katika pango la Miza wa Miza.Wa tano Mwanawano binti Ally ambaye kazikwa Paje karibu na pango lile kubwa ambalo pango la maajabu lilokuwepopale Paje linaloitwa kwa jina la Shotole. Ndugu wao mwengine alikuwa Mize wa Mize yeye alipotea katika pango la mize wa mize lilioko kule Kizimkazi.

Lakini pia tusisahau kule Makunduchi alikuwepo ndugu yao mwengine ndio alikuwa akiitwa Mwanagoli binti Ally. Lakini pia ndugu yao mwengine alikuwa Kaskazini Unguja katika kijiji cha Donge panapoitwa Panga Mauwa. Lakini pia na wa mwisho aliyekuwepo Tumbatu mwana wa mwana.

Pale baada ya Ally Makame Othman kunywa maji ndo kujitwika likamshinda jiwe kujitwika lipo hadi hivi leo Nganani upande wa mashariki Msikitini kuelekea Mwanagoli na ndo atalikuta jiwe hili lipo chini ya muwembe likiwa jiwe la nanga ambalo ndio liloanza kutomoa jina la nganani. Nganani ndio asili ya buweish watu wa Makunduchi wilaya ya kusini Unguja.

Na Makunduchi ni miongoni mwa vijiji vya asili vya kisiwa cha Unguja kwa mfano , kama Makunduchi Bwejuu, Charawe, Ukongoroni , Kizimkazi kama mnavoelewa na Kizimkazi aliyetawala ni Yussuf mnaweza kwenda kuona qaswir lake Yussuf . Ambalo pia kule Kizimkazi mtakuta msikiti uliojengwa mnano mwaka 1107AD... Baadae ukajengwa msikiti wa Bwejuu 1117AD , Na mnano mwaka 1127AD ukajengwa msikiti wa Tumbatu, ambao hayo ndio majengo ya mwanzo kabisa yaliyojengwa katika kisiwa cha Unguja ukiacha majengo yale ya Pemba yaliyopatikana mnamo mwaka wa karne ya 3AD. Kwa hiyo mpaka hivi sasa kina mama asili ya kijiji cha Makunduchi ni miongoni wa kijiji cha asili na kijiji kina damaduni zake ambazo tamaduni hizo zilijengwa, zilifanywa na watawala mbali mbali walopita nyuma.

Tulikuwa na watawala wakati huo tayari Makunduchi inakaliwa na watu kwa mfano kama Utawala wa Kireno ulioanza mwaka karne ya 15AD hii ndio history ya hapo nyuma kuhusu Makunduchi {This history background of Makunduchi} labda akina mama mtakuwa na maswali? Ndio.

SWALI KUTOKA KWA WANAWAKE

Ulizungumza kuwa hawa watawala wengi uliotaja wamezikwa kunako mapango, sababu gani iliyosababisha hao watawala kuzikwa karibu na mapango?

JAWABU KUTOKA KWA MR. BINDU

Wengine walizikwa kwenye mapango na wengine karibu na mapango kwasababu wasia wao, waliacha wasia, kwa mafano Miza wa Miza yeye alizikwa ndani ya Pango kule Bwejuu na mpaka leo kaburi lake linaonekana lakini huu ulikuwa ni wasia wake.

Lakini ukija Paje Mwanawanu binti Ally yeye hakuzikwa ndani ya pango alihusia azikwe nje ya pango lakini iwe karibu na pango, kwahivo yeye hakuzikwa pangoni

kaburi lake lipo kwenye mchanga lakini hio pango aliyokuwa akiitumia yeye ipo kwenye ardhi ya maweni ni wasia wao.

SWALI KUTOKA KWA WOMAN

Na hao watu walikuwa na kabila gani?

JAWABUKUTOKA KWA MR. BINDU

Walikuwa kabila lao ni washirazi.washirazi kwasababu watu wa kiunguja kabla unguja ilikuwa ikiishi watu kama dago la wavuvi watu wanatoka Sudan wanakuja hapa kuvua kwa msimu, watu kutoka Nigeria Kuja kuvua ikisha wanaenda zao, kwa kutumia pepo za msimu pepo za kaskazi na kusi vyombo vyao vilikuwa vya majahazi hawakuwa na uwezo wakusafiri bila ya upepo.

Nando maana watu wakati huo waliokuwa wakitoka hijja au wanaokwenda hijja walikuwa wakichelewa sana na hicho ndio sababu kilichosababisha kujenga misikiti , msikiti wa Kizimkazi, msikiti wa Bwejuu na msikiti wa Tumbatu. Imejengwa misikiti hio pwani pwani kkwasababu wanaweza kuwa upepo hakuna wakaa mwezi na wao wanataka kuabudu shughuli zao ndio wakaamua kujenga misikiti kwa vile watu walikuwa hawajahamia bado lakini ilipofika karne ya 11 washirazi kutoka Iran wale waliamua kuhama shirazi kutokana na ugonvi wao uliotokea kule kwao wakigombana kutokana na mila za kidini, washia na wasuni, imani za kidini zikawapelekea kugombana wale wasuni wakaamua kuhama na ndo maana Zanzibar madhehebu kubwa ilokuweko ni suni sio washia, washia ni kama Radha wachache sana lakini ukija Makunduchi suni, ukija Bwejuu suni , Nungwi suni, Tumbatu suni, kwa vile wakamua kuhama wakaunda chombo jahazi wakasafiri nawalikuwa wanaumme watu hamna mwanamke , majina yao yalikuwa Muhammed Ally, Hassan Ally, Tunda Ally na Mussa Ally.

SWALI KUTOKA KWA WANAWAKE

Na maanisha katika mavuvi walikuwa wanakuja wao tu wanaumme au?

JAWABU KUTOKA KWA MR. BINDU

Wavuvi waliokuwa wakija walikuwa wanaumme na wanawake ,lakini wao walikuwa wakiishi dago wanaishi miezi mitatu ,miezi sita wanarudi kwao.Na walikuwa wanakuja na familia zao ,kama hivi sasa tunavyokwenda karafuuni Pemba, wanakwenda watu wake kwa waume karafuuni lakin halafu wanarudi kwao.

Sasa na hao wakaamua kurudi kwao watu wane na wanawake zao ,hawa wanakwenda kutafuta mahali popote iliwaishi, wakaja kusafiri kwa bahati mbaya wakaja wakaona

kisiwa , kabla yakuona kisiwa ukatokea mdharba ukapiga mdharba chombo kikazama , waking'oa mkoti wakatupa kwenye maji wakaogelea wale wale wanne , bahati mbaya Muhammed Ally , akaona apitie kisiwa cha Tumbatu akawaona watu wavuvi wake kwa waume wakakaa pale.

Hassan Ally na Tunda Ally wakafikia kijiji cha Charawe wao hawakukaa wakazunguka mkono wa mashariki nwakapitia juu wakatokezea Bwejuu, Michamvi , Paje na Makunduchi hapana mtu wakaenda zao mpaka Unguja Ukuu wakawakuta watu wapo dago wavuvi wakaona wakae pale, Tunda Ally na Hassan Ally , hapo wao ndio walipopata wake wakaowa , Tunda Ally akamuowa mwanamke moja akamzaa Ally Tunda , Ally Tunda nae akaowa akamzaa Silima Ally , Silima Ally nae akaowa akamzaa Silima wa Silima, Ameir Silima na Haji Silima, na watu hao ndio waliokwenda kuishi Bwejuu wakati huo Bwejuu hapana mtu na Makunduchi pia hapana mtu , kwasababu Bwejuu ilitangulia kuliko Makunduchi, mwanzo ilitangulia Tumbatu kwa Unguja halafu Charawe , na ajabu utaona Charawe kijiji kidogo lakini ni kijiji cha historia ya kijiji cha nne…

Mwanzo Tumbatu, pili UngujaUkuu, tatu Charawe halafu Bwejuu,ya tano ikaenda Kizimkazi, ya sita ikaenda Nganani, vikaendelea hivi, ni vijiji vya kiasili vya Unguja. Na ndo unakuta ukienda Makunduchi msikiti wa Nganani utakuta tarehe na huwezi kukuta sehemu nyengine labda uende Kizimkazi…ya Bwejuu tulikuwa nayo lakini tukapoteza …Lakini Makunduchi Nganani wameitunza mpaka leo ipo ukienda angali kwenye nguzo juu..Inamaana huo msikiti wa Nganani ulijengwa wa enzi na enzi? Ndio wazamani eenh..! Katika kusini huku ukiacha msikiti wa wa kizimkazi hakuna msikiti tena mpaka uende Bwejuu halafu hupati msikiti mpaka ujende msikiti wa Nganani.

SWALI KUTOKA KWA WANAWAKE

Inamana toka ulivyojengwa upo vile vile haujaangukaau au?

JAWABU KUTOKA KWA MR.BINDU

Unaanguka nakukarabatiwa tena…

Hata kile kisima cha pale ukikitizama kisima cha Nganani tofauti hakuna mtu ataechimba kisima kama kile kitizame kisima kile halafu viangalie visima vyote vilokuwepo Makunduchi vina tofauti

MR. BINDU

Nilikuwa nawaelezea historia ya Makunduchi, vipi ilikuwa, wananiuliza maswali, swali jenginejee?

Hayo mapango yalikuwa watu, ndio maana yalikuwa yanaitwa hivo,wakatoka majira yao mpaka ile sehemu, kwa mfano tunaposema Sharifu Mssa Mtoni,ni mtu alikuwepo

Mussa alikuwepo pale ndio lile jina likaleta hio sehemu ya Sharifu Msaa, Ama jina la watu ama jina la vitu , Nganani limepatikana jina kwa jiwe lilokuwa nanga, eeenh! Aliposema naino haigomo iyo haibwa wevi wananguvu kweli vyoo, Nganani, mnalijua ilojiwe, hatulijui, eehn …! Babu Weeeh…! Hamlijui mie mtu wa Bwejuu nlijua nyie watu wa kae hamliji?

Lipo pale kwenye muembe lakini upande wa kaskazi urejua kwenda mwanagoli kupejua? basi kabla hujafika mwanagoli kunapita kati ya mashamba kuchakuta muembe upande wakushoto ukawa kwenda pwani, jibwe hilo chini ya muembe nakigae kiwapo siku zote ukitaka kufukiza maana watu hawachoki kuomba , mepafahamu eenh!

SWALI KUTOKA KWA WANAWAKE

Huko Tumbatu katikati ya bahari pana sehemu hapana maji pakavu pana miti, watu wanafika au sehemu ya mashetani?

JAWABU KUTOKA KWA MR. BINDU

Watu wanakwenda mule, kile kisiwa cha Tumbatu kimeelekea sehemu mbili kusini na kaskazi, chote na kile kisiwa kwa hivi tu ukikaa utafkiria kimoja lakini sio kimoja ni viwili, pana fungu na pia pana kisiwa cha popo.

NYIMBO KUTOKA KWA MR. BINDU

Kibimkubwa kibimkubwa x2

Nipe pishi na kibaba x2

Nikachume pilipili x2

Pilipili mchanga subiri x2

Manemane mkaa chooni x2

Kuna paka mtoa Baraka x2

Likipanda likiporomoka x2

Na mashuzi mbwata mbwata x2

WANAWAKE

Nyimbo kaiskia ilivyoimbwa?

WANAWAKE

Danga wee

Danga msikiti

Msikiti msikiti

Dowishaa!

WANAWAKE NA MR. BINDU

Kamosi kapili katatange

Mabrouk tange haya tange

Pwani kuna nyama

Tukagonge Jina Lake

Nani korobongwe

Uziaaaa!

MR. BINDU

Watoto mnaitwa x2

Kwa Rashidi mna watu x2

Chuu churikaaa x2

Singali mwanajumbe x2

Kava nguo mbili x2

Ya chini na ya juu x2

Twende x2

Kuna milango miwili x2

Alojuu na awishe wishe x2

Asowisha na apigwe kuche!x2

Haya kila nyimbo inamaana yake , na zote zilikuwa zina maana, kwa mfano walipoimba

Kifani fani

Furaha iliojee

Mbili marijani

Watu wa pande mbili zipi hizo,

Tuna kwanga nyota

Tunahesabu nyota

Za ramliza kumi na fumbato{ kumi na tano maana fumbato }mkono unavidole vitano kumi na fumbato kumi na tano na moja haipo iyo ya kumi na sita, iende kutajiri ziende kutafuta maslahi wapi? Pemba na Unguja, maslahi ya Pemba na Unguja Makame wa Kidazi alikuwa nahodha wa jahazi ,

Pandu katwae nyama

Pandu katafute nyama

Hii nyama ya kafara alikuwa Paa

Maana yake Pandu katafute myama wa msitu na uumbi ukawaa,u umbii maana yake kuomba,

Chooko wazeena mauwa

Na wana njo wana wa kinyozi

Waokaa kuomba hio dua

Kimbia mchanga wa sikiti

Umwageni huu mchanga

Ulofugwa asili

Sikiti wa sikiti

Tena hii siri iwekwe katika siri

Doo wisha doo (ubao ule unaotizamiwa)

Mbembeleze mtoto wee x2

Alale lale eeeh x2

Kaningoje Mwanagoli x2

Jioni najaa x2

Nyimbo hii iliimbwa wakati wa utawala wa kireno watu wanapanga kwenda kumchukua Sayyid wa Sayyid Muscat Oman, vile mkambiwa waarabu waja tu paa, sio kweli! wende chukuligwa wakati huo mreno kakamatwa njoo akaenda kuchukuliwa kwa ajili ya kumuondosha .Nakuhusu ile alisema nyimbo nyengine , inayosema kibimkubwa kibimkubwa, kule tumbatu nkambiini kuna visiwa viwili, ichokisiwa cha popo walikuwa wanalima na hasa wanawake , wanalima pilipili hoho, sasa kule huwa

wanawake wanakamatwa sana nyiwa wareno njo zikembwa nyimbo kuhusu kibimkubwa ….

Mize wa mize aligeuka jiwe kwasababu aliambiwa akienda pangoni asivae mapambo ya harusi na pia akiitwa asiitikie, na Mize alikuwa anachota maji na papo hapo mke mwenzake akamuita Mize akaitikia labeika ndio hapo hapo akageuka jiwe mpaka leo lipo Kizimkazi….na huku Mwatima Ally ndio alivokufa hivo hivo ….

Mize wa mize Kizimkazi, Miza wa miza Bwejuu, Manawanu Paje ,Mwatima Charawe,Mkasi Ukongoroni Mauwa Donge Pangamauwa , wote baba mmoja mama mmoja na wote wanawake wamezaliwa wanawake watupu , Mwanagoli njoo akamzaa mwanae Mwanampambe,kamzaa hivi hivi peke ake, sasa kwa bahati Mize wa mize hanakoneka kageuku jiwe, ekenda habari sasa dadize wakona tukahani wakina Wanu na Mwana mkasi na Mwatima wahani Kizimkazi mdogo yao haonekani , ndio hapo wakaanza safari kutoka Charawe wakapita Ukongoroni aketwa Mkasi, wakapita Bwejuu akaitwa Miza wa miza wakapita Paje, wakaja zao kwa bahati mpaka chakani panapo pango la Mwanampambe , sasa pale Mwanagoli njo alipokufa….

Waliofika pale wakasema tumngojee ndugu yetu Mwanagoli hapo Mwanampambe wakati huo hapakuwa na mwanampambe ila palikuwa na ujia tu baada ya mda Mwanagoli akatokezea, alipotokezea wakamwambia babu wee mbona huyo motto umembeba hivo uchi huyo mwanaukampambe, akajibu mwanagoli hana kitu yuu ee mwanakele mdogo hanaga uchi twendeni, sie hatwendi kama hulimpamba na mwisho wake Mwanagoli kazikwa mle mle, kwa leo mie nakukani hidaya mnaona pale kwenye mtungi lile njo kaburi lake….

MS. FATUMA MR.BINDU 13 MAR PART 1

INTERVIEW MR.BINDU

When Mr. Bindu reached he just greeting each other as well as better to know how they are doing in between!

SALUM: Bring tau

TRANSLATER: We are starting with Mr. Bindu

MR. BINDU: Asked the women where did they born? And if they know the history of Makunduchi?

WOMAN: We have born here from mothers and fathers but unfortunetly we don't know the history of Makunduchi...

MR.BINDU: What's the sources of Makunduchi and where they have stay, and who are they?

WOMAN: Not yet, so would you explain to us?

MR. BINDU: Let's go so, here its calling Mtaani Kajengwa, we are still southern district, southern region at Makunduchi village, its because Makunduchi is a huge so we are at the neighbornhood of Mtongani and its available at neighbornhood or shehia of Kajengwa, it's a big along the of Makunduchi,and here is northern district and Makunduchi is divided in two parts, southern and northern, the southern part there is one grant road among the huge Kae[is the same name as Makunduchi] in Makunduchi,Kae is a big area, but in northern part is Kajengwa, I'm not sure which side is living many people, but in the northern part is the nature of Makunduchi, the first people from Makunduchi they were first live at the part of northern shehia of Nganani…Nganani is the part of M akunduchi as we have said before as Zanzibar is an Island , those island were using as fishermen from different area only , there is no one living there at that moment….

When 11…century Muhammed Ally, Tunda Ally, Hassan Ally and Mussa Ally is the one who has buried his arm at Sharifu Mussa mtoni out of the city of Zanzibar..They are four siblings but M.A was a head of the family and also M.A has gave birth for two sons, there are Ally Muhammed the first one and Ally Muhammad the second one ...A.M the second one has gave birth of Hassan bin Ally and H.A gave birth of Amour bin Hassan, Hijja bin Hassan, Hassan bin Hassan and Binti Hassan wa Binti Hassan, Binti Hassan and Binti Hassan and Hijja bin Hassan they are the one who have been entered in dhow and they have came till Makunduchi…Makunduchi they have reached at Kigaeni and they got down and at that time they just came by using dhow and their captain was calling Ally Makame Othman,there was no anyone who is living at Makunduchi at that time ,H.H, H.H,A.H and their four siblings in total they were seven people…

Its normal that when dhow travel it must be travelling with two anchor and dhow will never starting with the journey if it has only one anchor,A.M.O has allow A.H and H.H to be still going further so then they came here and the mosque the one is nature is still seems until today at Nganani…

The mosque built in 1332 AD and till now the date is seems, when they have reached there A.H and A.M.O till he saw gig rock while he was hiding himself by nanga of dhow anchor of stone, when he reached at the same time he felt thirsty, after he saw that rock he belives that he can get the water,he climbed the hill and he puts down the anchor,he just went back for looking of the water and he saw the cave,the cave still there and its calling Mwanagoli…

A.M.O, has drinked the water until he full and get back to the stone of anchor and he tried to put it on his head but he didn't, he came neighbornhood till Nganani, at that time there was no body lives, and suddenly met his mate and they asked him where is anchor ? He said he left the anchor over there, where did you left it? Over there, they said to him anchor would be stealing? He said it won't be stealing, they said thiefs have

power he said whoever doesn't take it, and anchor still there till today and it's nearby Mwanagoli in the western part of the cave of Mwanagoli…

As we have talked our background Mwanagoli is the one who has born Mwanampambe, and Mwanampambe we saw in the back as Mwanampambe she born and she has seven siblings and all were girls and there names as following:

The first one was calling Mwana wa Mwana is her nickname but she was calling Mwanali binti Ally, this woman was administrator of Tumbatu village in northern Unguja, the second one was calling Mwatima binti Ally, she has married with Mwinyi Mlenge at Charawe village and she died in the Pange cave after she has been floating under the water until she reached Charawe…

Charawe Mwatima Ally is the one who has buried in the cave and the cave still there at Charawe as a history ...Mkasi Ally is the fourth one and she buried at Ukongoroni, Miza wa Miza who buried at Bwejuu in the cave of miza wa miza, Mwana wa mwana who buried at Paje her grave is nearly of a big cave the one is magical and its available at Paje and its calling by name Shotale cave,their other sister was calling Mize wa Mize, she had lost in the cave of Mize wa Mize at Kizimkazi..

But also we have to remember as at Makunduchi there is one among of their sister, she is calling Mwanagoli and also other sibling was northern Unguja at Donge village Panga mauwa….when A.M.O tried to put anchor on his head but he didn't he decided to leave that anchor at Nganani in western side mosque the same way directed at Mwanagoli and so you can then see the stone under the the mango tree, and this anchor stone is the one that has establish this name Nganani.Nganani is the nature of buweish people of Makunduchi southern district of Unguja…

Makunduchi is the one among the nature village of island Unguja for example,Makunduchi, Bwejuu, Charawe, Ukongoroni, Kizimkazi and we understand that as Kizimkazi has been administrate is Yussuf, you can go and see his qaswir also at K. can see the mosque the one was built 1107AD later they have built one more mosque at Bwejuu in 1117AD and in 1127AD they built the mosque of Tumbatu,those are the first buildings that are built in island of Unguja when you left the buildings of Pemba , they have gotten in 3AD century….so women till today Makunduchi is the one of among the nature village and it has his own traditionals and those traditionals have been made by different administrators back…

We had alredy admistrators at that time and Makunduchi was staying people for example administration of colonial was started in 15AD century, this is history of background about Makunduchi…any questions

QUESTION FROM WOMAN

You have said as all the admistrators has been buried in their caves, can you tell me which reasons to them buried near to their buried?

ANSWER BY MR.BINDU

Some of them have been buried in their caves and some near to it because of their testaments,they have left the testament as Miza wa Miza, she is the one who has buried in the cave at Bwejuu and until today her grave is seems and this because of her testament..

But when we came to Paje Mwanawanu has testament to be buried out of his cave but nealy and not inside the cave and its on the sand and the cave she was using it was on the stones land that's why she said to be buried out of the cave…

QUESTION BY WOMAN

Which administrators those people were based?

ANSWER BY MR. BINDU

They were shirazi tribe, shirazi because before people from Unguja before Unguja it was living fishermen from different areas, people from Sudan they used to come here for the fishing for a season, people from Nigeria also used to come and fishing and then go back to their country, by using the wind seasons, wind from northern and southern, they were using dhows they didn't have other way to use to travel as not using without wind…

That's means at that time when people came from hijja or going to hijja they were getting late and that's the causes they decided to built a mosque, mosque of Kizimkazi, mosque of Bwejuu,and mosque of Tumbatu,they built all the mosques near to the beach because sometimes it can be no wind and those people can stay over and to worship and doing their other small business , at that time people weren't be imigrate yet,when it reached 11 century shirazi from Iran the ddecide to move because of they quarrel and this all because of their religion customs, shia and suni, they quarrel because of their beliefs, and all sun decided to move to that why the donaminations of Zanzibar mostly are suni and not shia, shias as Radha and they are few..etc

But when you come to Makunduchi is suni, Bwejuu suni,Nungwi suni, Tumbatu is suni so they decided to immigrate and they design dhow and then they travel while they were only tree there was no any womanand their names were Muhammed Ally, Hassan Ally, Tunda Ally na Mussa Ally.

QUESTION BY WOMAN

I meant during their fishing they were only coming only them men or?

ANSWER BY MR. BINDU

The fishermen were coming men and woman but they were staying over fishermen from defferent areas and they were living over three months, six months then going back to their country and sometimes were coming with their wifes like now when people when they are going to pluck cloves at Pemba they are going with their family and they done they are coming back to their family..

Now those people decided to go back with their wifes, and they went to find other place for a living, they have travelling and unfortunetly found an island, before the saw an island, the saw stoms and it cause to drown the dhow they just uproot and they nput it down and started swim, unfortunetly M.A he decided to path at Tumbatu island and suddenly he saw people people men and female those who are fishermen and he stayed there…

Hassan Ally na Tunda Ally, they just went at Charawe village but they didn't stay over at and they went away till Bwejuu, Michamvi, Paje, and Makunduchi there was no body living at there they continue with the journery till Unguja Ukuu they met with the people who are fishermen and they decided to stay there with them, T. A and H. A, so then they just got married there, T. A married a woman and they got birth Ally Tunda, A.T he also married and got a son Silima Ally, S. A he married and got birth of three sons Silima wa Silima, Ameir Silima na Haji Silima, and those people went to live at Bwejuu in that time there is no body leaving at there and even Makunduchi because Bwejuu was the first one to be known than Makunduchi but Tumbatu was the one who is known in Unguja during colonial and then Ungujaukuu then Charawe, its wondering that Charawe is a small village but it is fourth village of history…

First is Tumbatu, second is UngujaUkuu, thirdly is Charawe afterwards Bwejuu, fifty one is Kizimkazi, sixthy is Nganani, those are the nature of village of Unguja.so that when you go to Makunduchi you can probably see the mosque Nganani and you find also the the date and all the information about the mosque and you cannot find anywhere else except there maybe until you go to Kizimkazi..

In Bwejuu we had the date and all but unfortunetly it lost but at Nnganani they protect it and kept it safe, you can see it on the top of the pillar, the mosque of Nganani has been bult from power of the rule?yes its been built so long ago eenh..! In southern of Mkunduchi cannot find any mosque until you go to Kizimkazi or Bwejuu…

QUESTION BY WOMAN

So since it has been built it's likewise and never falling or?

MR.BINDU

It falls and its rectify…Even the wall of Nganani when you look its different with else and you cannot see other one like that and you cannot find like that and no nobody can

dig the same wall like that is available and you can have a look with othere walls in Makunduchi there are different…

MR. BINDU

I was trying to explain to them about the history of Makunduchi, how it was and how its today, more questions please?

Those caves were human beings, that why they were calling like that they went until they the place, like Sharifu Mussa mtoni there is a person who are living there Mussa so that why his name bring the meaning as Sharifu Mussa it can be the name of people or things, as Nganani has been getting the name because there was a stone anchor when he said and this stone you cannot take it even because its so heavy and,they said there is thefts can take it he said even whoever,those people said they don't know that stone even they are living at Makunduchi,he said he is from Bwejuu and he know it…weeh!

The stone its available under the mango tree in northern part in west when you are going to mwanagoli, before you reched to mwanagoli you can just pass to the different farmers, mango trees in left side as you are going to the beach stone is under the mango tree and tile for the prayers because people always going to pray…

QUESTION BY WOMAN

In Tunbatu in the middle of ocean there is a place that there is no water and it has trees, is people reached or is the place for the devils?

ANSWER BY MR. BINDU

People are going in there, that's two islands and it has divided in two sides south and north, when you stay far you can just realize as one island buts there are two islands, there is heap and also island for bats…

SONG BY MR. BINDU

Old woman old woman x2

Give pishi and kibaba x2

To pluck chills x2

Chill sand waits x2

Myrrh stay toilet x2

There is a cat whe give the bless x2

It climbs and crumbles down x2

And farts mbwata x2

WOMAN

Yes she heard it?

WOMAN

Danga wee

Danga mosque

Mosque mosque

Remove your hands

WOMAN AND MR. BINDU

One two katatange

Mabrouk tange ok tange

There is meat in the beach

To knock his name

What korobongwe

Uziaaaa!

MR. BINDU

Child you are both calling x2

There are people in Rashid's home x2

Chuu churikaaa x2

Singali mwanajumbe x2

He wears two cloths x2

For the down and up x2

Lets gox2

There are two doors x2

If you're up remove your hand x2

The one who doesn't remove fingernail! x2

Each song has its own meaning, like for example they sang …

Without match x2

Over happy

Two marijani

People from two sides,

We are dancing stars

We are counting the stars

To ten divinations and fifteen fumbato {fumbato means fiffteen} a hand has five fingers and fifteen and one is missing for sixteen, it went to gain, where? Pemba or Unguja, Makame Kidazi he was a captain of dhow...

Pandu gets the meat

Pandu goes find the meat

This is for sacrifice and it was gazelle

Means Pandu goes to find meat and to ask for,

Green beans wazeena flower

They are children of barber

They stay and praying

Run the sand of sikiti

Spill these sands

It has been closed by nature

Sikiti of sikiti

Then this secret put in secretly

Remove the board we used

Oho oho! Baby wee x2

He wants to sleep eeeh x2

Wait me at Mwanagoli x2

Im coming in the evening x2

This song has been sung during the the administration of portugues they were planning to go and bring Said wa Said in Muscat Oman, don't believe when people say as Arabian

people they just came here without planning they came here for a plan , because people from here went to take them in Muscat Oman when colonial catched so then they decided to go and bring Said Said and what about who said about that song is singing: old woman old woman, there Tumbatu, nkambini there are two islands,bads island were people cultivate especial woman,they were cultivates only chills,in there woman were catched by colonial thats why they sung the song about old woman…

Mize wa mize has been told once she went to the cave she is not suppose to decorated and even to talk, if somebody calls hershe has not to be aswer, but his wife mate called her and Mize and she replaied labaika while she turned and suddenlty she changed to a stone until today the stone is available at Kazimkazi and Mwatima Ally died ditto as her..

Mize wa mize at Kizimkazi, Miza wa miza at Bwejuu, Manawanu at Paje ,Mwatima at Charawe,Mkasi at Ukongoroni, Mauwa at Donge Pngamauwa , they are all the same father and s mother and they are only girls, Mwanagoli gave birth to Mwanampambe,an accidentally Mize wa Mize are missing and she turned to stone unfortunetly,her siters were deicede to go to Kizimkazi for the mourning at Kizimkazi, Wanu,Mwanamkasi,Mwatima, because their lil siter is missing,from then they start the journey from Charawe, Ukongoroni,Mkasi,Bwejuu,Miza wa miza,Paje, until they reached at Mwanampambe cave, so at that place is where Mwanagoli has died…

When they reached they said as they waitng for their sister Mwanagoli at Mwanampambe,at that time there is no Mwanampambe but only was slightly road and frequently Mwanagoli has arrived,when she arrieved they asked here why didi she carry the baby naked?and then the said if you didn't dress her up we aren't going with you, we need you to go and decorate her, she replied she has nothing because she is still a small child, lets go,suddenly they went off till they meet the grave for their lil sister…

BI FATUMA NA BA BINDU 13 MAR 2018 SEHEMU YA 11

NYIMBO KUTOKA KWA WANAWAKE

Mize mize

Mamako hanitaki

Kanichimbia handaki

Chini miba juu moto

Na vyombo kanitupia

Mize mize

Ndugu yake Mwanagoli

Mwanagoli kamzaa

Mwanampambe

Mize mize x2

Ndugu yake Mwanagoli x2

Mize mize x2

Ndugu yee M wana wa Mwana x2

Mize mize x2

Ndugu yee Mwatima Ally x2

Mize mize x2

Ndugu yee Mwana Mkasi x2

Mize mize x2

Ndugu yee Miza wa Miza x2

Mize mize x2

Ndugu yee ni Mwana wanu x2

Mize mize x2

Ndugu yee Mwana mauwa x2

Mwamuona huyo Mize x2

Mwamuona Mwana mwana x2

Mama yao Mwanagoli x2

Mwana Mwanampambe x2

MS. FATUMA BA BINDU 13 MAR 2018

SONG BY WOMAN

Mize mize

Your mommy doesn't like me

She digging a ditch for me

Down miba and up fire thorn

And he throwed the vassels to me

Mize mize

Sister of Mwanagoli

Mwanagoli gave birth Mwanampambe

Mize mize x2

Sister of Mwanagoli x2

Mize mize x2

Sister of M wana wa Mwana x2

Mize mize x2

Sister of Mwatima Ally x2

Mize mize x2

Sister of Mwana Mkasi x2

Mize mize x2

Sister of Miza wa Miza x2

Mize mize x2

Sister of Mwana wanu x2

Mize mize x2

Sister of Mwana mauwa x2

You see Mize x2

You see Mwana mwana x2

Their mother is Mwanagoli x2

Mwana Mwanampambe x2

BI MWAKA AMEIR NA BA BINDU 22 FEB 2018 SEHEMU YA 1

BA BINDU: Jee! Mnakumbuka ngoma za kiasili za Jambiani? Bwejuu zilikuwepo, Bwejuu kulikuwa na kibungo ya kiasili nyimbo za tungo, Jambiani hapakuwa na dandaro au

dandaro lilikuwa Paje? Eenh! Dandaro ilikuwepo hapa tena nyimbo za dandaro mnazikumbuka nyie? Ndio tunazikumbuka dandaro ndio…kicheko kutoka kwa wanawake….

Sasa labda jaizo ichakuwa vizuri sana mimi naweza kuitoa historia saivi na hiyo historia itakuwa ya visiwa vya Unguja ya asili kabisa.

Assalamu alaikum, walaikumu Salam, hiki ni kijiji cha Jambiani kilichoko hivi sasa Jimbo la Paje wilaya ya Kusini, Mkoa wa Kusini Unguja…Jambiani nayo pia ni miongoni mwa vijiji vya asili katika vijiji vya kisiwa cha Unguja ingawa chimbuko la Jambiani linatofauti kidogo kama vijiji vyengine vilivyo kwa hiyo historia yetu tunaianzia historia ya kisiwa cha Unguja…

Kisiwa cha Unguja pia kinatofauti ya uingiaji wa watu ukilinganisha na kisiwa cha Pemba, kisiwa cha Unguja kina visiwa 83 lakini kisiwa cha Pemba kina vijiji 54. Asili ya kisiwa cha Unguja kabla ya uhamiaji wa watu, Unguja ilikuwa ikitumika kama dago la wavuvi, wavuvi hao walikuwa wakitoka nchi za mbali mbali katika bara la Afrika….

Wakati huo Unguja haijahamia mtu , visiwa hivi vilikuwa vikitumika kama dago ,walitokea Sudan, Nigeria na nchi nyengine mkatika bara la Afrika….na walikuwa wakija wakivua samaki kwa mda na baadae wanarudi kwao, samaki hao walikuwa wao walikuwa wakitia chumvi na wakianika baadae wakirudi makwao na ilikuwa hakuna umeme wakati huo kumbuka Unguja ilikuwa haikai mtu yoyote kwa bahati nzuri ilikuwa wakitumia kuanika kwa jua samaki baada ya kutia chumvi na hao watu waliokuwa wakija dago walikuwa wakija wake kwa waume, mfano wa hivi leo watu wakienda Karafuuni wanenda na familia zao, hiii iliendelea mpaka karne ya 11 washirazi kutoka Iran bara la Parshia wakaanza kuhama shirazi na kuhamia visiwa vya Unguja…

Walianzia wanaume wale walikuwa hawana wanawake wakapanda jahazi kupitia bahari yetu ya Hindi na kwa bahati mbaya kumbuka kwamba Unguja ilikuwa haijahamiwa na watu jahazi ile ikachukuliwa na upepo kwa mda wa masaa marefu wakaona kisiwa kabla hawajafika kwenye kisiwa ukatokea mdharba ulipotokea mdharba jahazi hiyo ikazama waka ung'oa mkoti wakanzaa kuogelea wakaogelea watu wale majina yao yalikuwa Muhammed bin Ally, wa pili Tunda Ally, wa tatu Hassan Ally na wanne Mussa Ally…

Kwa bahati Muhammed Ally akaogelea mpaka kisiwa cha Tumbatu akapnda juu kisiwani kule, Mussa Ally bahati mabya akatoa Papa ukaliwa mkono wake mmoja mkono huo ukachukuliwa ukanguka katika ufukwe wa Sharifu Mussa mtoni nje ya mji wa Unguja , na ndo maana maana sehemu ile ikaitwa S.M kwasababu ulianguka huo mkono wa M.A…

Baada ya kuliwa na Papa ukaliwa huo mkono, mkono ndio ulochukuliwa na maji ukaangukia S.M , akabakia H.A na T.A ,wao wakaogelea mpaka wakaifikia Mtaiwe hii

kwasababu ncha ya jiwe lakini hivi sasa ni sehemu inayoitwa Charawe , ukienda Ukongoroni upande wa ubavu wa uchejua kuna kijiji kinaitwa wakafika hapo wakapand juu, hakuna mjiii hakuna Ukongoroni , wala Michamvi, hakuna Bwejuu, hakuna Paje, hakuna Jambiani wakati huo….

Watu hao wakazunguka kupitia Pwani Pwani mpaka wakafikia UngujaUkuu, UngujaUkuu wakawakuta watu wake kwa waume wamekaa kambi ya wavuvi wakaishii nao pale wakaowa pale wakazaliana pale taifa likakuwa karne ya 11,wakaowana wakaozeshana watoto wakaozeshwa wanawake wakaowana wakawa wanazaana Unguja ikaanza kukuwa UngujaUkuu, U.U ndio kijiji cha asili katika vijiji vya Kusini vyote ilitangulia U.U…Katika vijiji vya kaskazi vyote ilitangulia Tumbatu

Kwa bahati nzuri U.U baada ya kuzaana ndio zikaanza kuundwa serekali za kienyeji kutoka karne ya 11 mpaka karne ya 15 wakaingia Wareno wakaipindua serekali za kienyeji, wakatawala Wareno mpaka karne ya 19 utawala wa Kireno ukaleta matatizo sana kwa watu wa Unguja hapo ndio watu Unguja wakakutana sehemu inayoitwa Mpapa hivi sasa wakatunga shauri wakamchukue Mfalme muarabu Mascat Oman ilikuwa mwaka 1209 chombo kikaundwa katika ardhi hakipo tena lakini kinaitwa Shahaji, Shahaji kinapatikana Chwaka kaskazini kidogo kikaundwa chombo kikaitwa Shapa ndio kilichoenda mchukua huyo Said wa Said Mascat Oman wakati huo wanawake vijana mfano kama wenu nyie wanafundishwa nyimbo wanaimba nyimbo za mafumbo wanaimba nyimbo walofundishwa inaitwa

Kifani fani

Mbili marijani

Tuna kwanga nyota

Kumi na fumbato

Na moja haipo

Yende kutajiri

Kutajiri wapi

Pemba na Unguja

Makame wa kidato

Pandu katoe nyama

Umpeleke nahodha

Kinyama cha msitu

Na umbi ukawa

Choko na Mauwa

Njo wana wa kinyozi

Kimbia mchanga wa sikiti

Wa sikiti wa sikiti

Doo wishaa

Wewe mama nyimbo hiyo hujaisikia taoka uzaliwe?

Kibimkubwa kibimkubwa

Nipe pishi na kibaba

Tukachume pilipili

Pili pili mchanga subiri

Mane mane mkaa chooni

Kuna paka mtoa Baraka

Likipanda likiporomoka

Na mashuzi mbwata mbwata

Nyimbo zote hizi ziliimbwa wakati huo

Chuchurika singali mwanajumbe

Kava nguo mbili

Ya chini na ya juu

Twende twende

Kuna milango miwili

Alojuu na awishe wishe

Asowisha na apigwe kuche

Na walikuwa wanawake wakiimba huweka mikono chini wanawake sita saba wa nane tena wanadota na huyo anaebakia mwisho ilikuwa anapigwa makofi, unapigwa, akipiga hewa ndio ndio kakosa…

Kwa bahati nzuri 1806 akaja muarabu akakimbia mreno ndio wakaishi waarabu wakamata utawala waarabu Unguja mpaka 1964 yakaja Mapinduzi ya Zanzibar kwahivo nchi hii ilitawala Mreno na wakati Mreno anatawala ilikuwepo Jambiani na asili ya kijiji cha Jambiani inatokana na jambia, ambalo jambia hilo liliachwa na kabila

moja kutoka Sudan, kwa vile Jambiani baadae ikazalisha watu mbali mbali kwa mfano kama Muyuni asili ya Jambiani, mtu alitoka hapa Jambiani na mtu wa pili alitoka Uzi wakakutana Muyuni ndio watu wa mwanzo kabisa kwa vile Jambiani imetoa Muyuni….

SWALI

Nini historia ya jambia?

JAWABU

Hii jambia walikuja nalo watu kutoka Sudan walikuwa na kabila la washihiri waliizika sehemu na inasemekana jambia hiyo ilizikwa hospital ya zamani Kibigija kwa vile jambia hiyo ilizikwa chini kwa bahari baada ya muda mrefu likaja kundi jengine, walipokuja wakawakuta watu na kweli ukiangalia kule kuna makaburi ya kiasili pale hospital kwa kaskazi kuna makaburi ya kizamani na yalikuwa yana visahani sijui kama bado yapo kama watu hawajayatoa na hapa Mbuyuni kwasababu asili ya Jambiani kuna kauli inasema asili ya Jambiani ni Mbuyuni…

inasemekana hii jambia ilizikwa sehemu za Kibigija , watu wa mwanzo walivokuja wakaizika jambia walipomaliza wakaondoka na baadae wakaja tena wakasema sisi ndio tulotangulia kufika hapa wakawambia nyinyi mumetukuta sisi wakasema hapana wakasema sisi tumeweka amana hapa wakauliza ama gani wakasema jambia kutwa walikuwa hawajui jambia, wakasema Jambianini, ikawa kama swali, tena hapo watu wakaanza kugawana wengine wakaenda Paje wengine, Makunduchi, ndio utakuta nasabu zimo humo kwasaba ikakuwa ikakuwa mpaka ikafikia hali hii, Jambiani ilikuwa inamila kwasababu ni kijiji cha kiasili zikitendwa njaga watu walikuwa wakizunguka miji zamani walikuwa wanafika mpaka Domokuchu sijui hivi sasa kama bado wanazunguka kwa visomo nyiganga kwa hvi hivi ni vijiji vya kiasili….

MS. MWAKA AMEIR AND MR. BINDU 22 FEB 2018 PART 1

BA BINDU: Do you both remember any nature songs from Jambiani? Bwejuu were there, there were kivungo and tungo! Aren't Jambiani with or dandaro was dancing at Paje? Eenh! Dandaro was here and we are still remembering the songs…unclear laugh from the woman…

If that true then it can be easy for me to explain the history of the nature of island of Unguja

After this Islamic greeting then I can continuer the history of this village , the one its available in the southern district and southern region…Jambiani is also the one of the amongst the nature village of Unguja even the source of Jambiani has a different with others, we are starting the history of the island of Unguja….

The island also has a different how people were migrate compare to Pemba island,Unguja island has 83 islands but Pemba's island has 54 islands…the nature of

Unguja island before people migrate, Unguja was using as fishermen from different areas, those fishermen were coming from different country of Africa…

At that time Unguja wasn't migrate by people,these islands were using as fishermen from different areas, like Sudan, Nigeria and othere country from belongs to Africa…and they were coming to fishing for a while and then go back to their country,those fishes were putting the salt and then keep them on the sun to be drying and there was no electricity at that time and even Unguja wasn't living with no body, so that's why they were using by drying them,sometimes when they came they came male and female,like today when people when they are going to pluck cloves going with their family,this was continuer till 11 century shiraz from Iran in Parshia they started to migrate in Unguja island…

Those men started without wifes at that time they took dhow and start their journery by passing Indian Ocean an accidental Unguja island wasn't yet migrate by peole and their dhow disappeared for a while and they saw an island before they reached to that island and suddenly the storms appeared their dhow got drown and they remove anchor and swim swim and their name were Muhammed bin Ally, second Tunda bin Ally, third Hassan bin Ally and lastly Mussa Ally…

Unfortunetly M.A swim until he reached Tumbatu island he climbed up to the island, unfortunetly papa has passed and beaten the arm of M.A and that arm has been float in the ocean till in the shore of Sharifu Mussa mtoni out of the town of Unguja, that's why that place is calling Sharifu Mussa because of that arm…NB papa is the one kind fish

After papa beats that arm, then it has been floating till S.M and H.A and T.A, they swam till they reached Mtaiwe this because of point of stone but right now its calling Charawe, when you go to Ukongoroni in the western there is village and they were living there while at that time there are no Ukongoroni, no Michamvi, no Bwejuu, no Paje, no Jambiani….

Those people been gone around through the beach until they reached UngujaUkuu, at UngujaUkuu met different people male and female they wer staying as a fishermen from different areas, they lived there got married and they got children and they children got married during 11 century then they were getting birth and the family grow and U.U is the one of nature village of southern the village were known was U.U but in northern part Tumbatu was the first one being known..

For good lucky after people increased in U.U, they started to create the logal government in 11 century until 15 century and colonial they just turnover local government, colonial turnover till 19 century, and colon ial has caused many problems for the people of Unguja and they met at Mpapa and they decided to go and bring the king from Muascat Oman in 1209 they went by Shahajibut its not available even now,Shahaji was available in Chwaka northern there was also available Shapa, it's the

one went to bring Said Said Mascat Oman, during that time a woman like you all were taugh to sing puzzle songs…like

Kifani fani

Two marijani

We are dancing stars

Ten and fifteen

One is missing

It went to gain

Where it went to be gaining

Pemba and Unguja

Makame wa kidato

Pandu get meat

Support the captain

The meat from the forest

For the sand

Green and flowers

They are barber children

Run sand of sikiti

Sikiti of sikiti

Doo wishaa

Ohh! Mother have you heard this song before

Old woman old woman x2

Give pishi and kibaba x2

To pluck chills x2

Chill sand waits x2

Myrrh stay toilet x2

There is a cat whe give the bless x2

It climbs and crumbles down x2

And fart mbwata x2

songs were singing from that time

Chuchurika

Singali mwanajumbe

He wears two dresses

For ups and downs

Go go

There are two doors

Who are the up remove the hand

If you don't remove nailed her

It was like when they sing putting their hands down and pointing each and then they start the game by pointing them, if anyone who are the last she must be beaten and if she removes her hands then she safe…

For good lucky in 1806 Said Said has arrieved and colonial has runaway so Arabian started living here and they hold they had power in Unguja until 1964 the became revolution of Zanzibar , so this country has been administarating colonial but when colonial administering Jambiani was alredy there, Jambiani has came from latin word jambia, so that jambia has been left by one tribe from Sudan, later Jambiani has increased many people and from different places , like Muyuni a nature of Jambiani and second person was from Uzi so they met at Muyuni was first people from Jambiani…

QUESTION

What the histry of jambia?

ANSWER

People who came from Sudan they were the one who had come with jambia and they were shiraz,jambia was buried near to the old hospital at Kibigija because that jambia was buried on the ground, aftere a long time other group of people came from another place ,when they came they met with people, and true because there are graves,the second group of people saying that jambia is belonged to them while it wasn't because

jambia belongs to those people, you can see them when you look at northern and they are very old and the say the nature of Jambiani is Muyuni…

They say jambia has been buried at Kibigija, the first person who came and buried jambia, after they have done they leave and later come back again and saying they are the first person to come over, they have replied no, you all met us here, they said no, because we have keept as a pledge, still they said no. which pledge you kept?they said jambia, but was unfortunetly they don't know jambia, they said whats jambanini?and it was like question and answer so from then, people started to be devided ,some they went nasabu is there because it grows, grows until today,Jambiani was a traditional,when they were dancing they were reached until Domokuchu don't know about now, but they are still doing by visomo nyiganga and for this is for the nature…

BI MWAKA AMEIR NA BA BINDU 22 FEB 2018 SEHEMU YA 11

Hao ndugu wote ndugu wamoja walikuwa hawaishi pamoja na pia hatukuweza kupata jina la mama yao lakini baba yao alikuwa anaitwa Ally bin Muhammed, ndio baba yao, aliwazaa wanawake wanane…

Ally Muhammed walikuwa wawili, A.M aliwazaa wanaume watupu na A.M amezaa wanawake watupu eenh!huyu A.M mmoja amemzaa Fumu bin Ally Ukongoroni,Mwinyi mkuu bin Ally Ukongoroni, Mfalme bin Ally Michamvi na hajazikwa na mifupa yake ipo njee kabisa na wa mwisho anaitwa Jaffar bin Ally yeye ndio aliowaza masharifu kule Mchangani kina Said Ally na wengine…

Watu hao waliwaliishi karne ya 11, yule mtu wa Bwejuu alokufa na watu walosema kafa hajazikwa ,asili ya neno Bwejuu linatokana na mtu kafariki, lakini hilo jiwe halikuwekwa juu ya kaburi sawa sawa, lipo jiwe mpaka leo, jiwe lipo nikama alama maiti yetu tumeweka sawa hii tukifika tuiyone upande wa urejua…

Na huyo aliekufa alikuwa anaitwa Haji Ameir waliomzika Silima Ameir na Silima wa Silima ndiye aliyekufa Haji wa Silima baada ya kufa huyo H.S na alikuwa akiishi na S.S, sasa H.S kafariki ikabidi akamuite kakaake huko makondeni sasa ntajuajee jaje mie, ndio kuchukua hilo jiwe nakuweka kwamba hapa juu ya kilima kwamba nikifika pale najua maiti ipo bondeni kwa hivyo ndiyo ilivyofanyika…

Kwa hivyo Silima wa Silima alipofika kwa kaka ake akamwambia ndugu yetu kafariki akamwambia tukamstiri akasema ndio tutapajua hiyo sehemu akasema ndio kwasababu nimeweka jiwe kwasababu ilikuwa hakuna njia wakati huo, tutapajua kwasababu nimeweka mawe juu bwejuu juu ya mlima jimbwe mpaka sasa lipo na hilo kaburi la huyo mtu alipozikwa papo kwasababu alizikwa nyumbani, jiwe lipo mpaka leo , na hilo jiwe lipo mpaka leo lilikuwa kubwa ila kila siku zikienda linapungua sana na yeye aliweka peke yake kubwa kwasababu watu wanalivunja, yeye aliweka pekee yake

hatukupa uhakika wa kulisukuma au alilibeba, hilo jiwe lipo kwa Haji Meja pale urejua panapo mikwaju hamba kuna kuja katikati ya mlima…

Wanaka vijana wengi hapo maskani wanakaa vijana wengi na lina kaguliwa na vijana mbali mbali watu wanaotoka vyuo vikuu ,mashule , dar-es-saalam,wazungu , waswahili, kwasababu ukipata historia ya Bwejuu lazima uende kuliona jiwe hilo, watu wa Bwejuu wanatokea Ungujaukuu ndio asili ya watu wa Bwejuu…

wanaume watatu walikaa U.U ikatokea balaa kubwa ya njaa wakaona wahame watafute sehemu nyengine ndio wakafikia sehemu inaitwa Kiungani wakawa wanalima wakasikia sauti ya mngurumo wakajiuliza hichi kinachonguruma nini , A.S anamke S.S anamke, H.S hana mke, Amer Silima Silima ndio mkubwa akawaambia wadogo zake, kaangalieni hicho kinachonguruma nini ? wakaja zao upande wa mashariki ndio wakakuta mchanga mweupe wakasema hee kuno kuzuri kuna mchanga mweupe wakaendelea wakakuta gofu la msikiti,wakaendelea wakakuta visiwa vitatu, wakaendelea wakakuta aah wakakuta pwani wakagundua kuwa kinachonguruma mwamba wakarudi wakamshauri wakamwambia wahame wahamie pwani kuziri kuna mchanga mzuri kuna mapweza tumeona bahari kuna masamaki, ila wakati huo ilikuwa hakuishi mtu ata mmoja mapweza yanaogelea…

Jiwe lipompaka leo na watu wameshakufa na makaburi yao yapo hadi leo.Hilo jiwe halikufanywa kama sehemu ya kumbukumbu unaweza kwenda na ukalikanyaga….

MS. MWAKA AMEIR NA BA BINDU 22 FEB 2018 PART 11

These are siblings they didn't get chance to live together,and we couldn't get the name of their mother but their father was calling Ally bin Muhammed, so the he gave birth to them eighty woman, A.M they were two one has born only men and has born woman....

A.M has gave birth to one of Fumu bin Ally Ukongoroni,Mwinyi mkuu bin Ally Ukongoroni,Mfaume bin Ally Michamvi,and she didn't buried till today his skulls are out and the last was calling Jaffar bin Ally,J.A has gave birth Sheikh at Mchangani when you hear as Said Ally and all of them born by him…

It was 11 century what the nature of Bwejuu, some say as there was person who died and changed to be a stone, a stone still there, and its not a grave as people saying grave but that stone isn't keeping on the grave and a grave is mile away from a stone but its like a sign as he has kept it sign that he kept a deadbody eastern cost you can find him…

They decided to live at U.U they find a new place for survive in eastern part in costal area, one day when were at home they were at home they had a loud loyal from the costal area and attended to find what it was roaring but when they were finding they reached at the same area, here they saw the rural mosque..

And the stone on the hill which known as [bwe juu] is still there as well today but day by day become very less and he has kept it alone because people breaking it, we haven't get the information about how he kept it as he pushed it or carry it, so the stone is available near to Haji Meja eastern coast like your coming on the hill…

At that place you can find many people because it's a home settlement and stone always people visist it from different places, like people from University from Dar...Es...salaam, schools tourists, waswahili, because when you head about Bwejuu you must go and see the stone, people from B. they have came from Bwejuu, when you get to k now the history, its clear that peope from B, they decided to live at U.U

There are three men were lived at U.U and drought, they decided to live at Kiungani, they were digging and suddenly heard a sound of roar,A.S had a wife S.S had a wife H.S hadn't a wife, Ameir Silima was old and he has tell his small brothers , to go and look whats roaring? They came from until they reached eastern coast, they saw white sand they continuer until they saw mosque, and then they go to further three islands then they saw shore as well beach, they knew as the one was roaring was rock, they went back to that area and decided to live at there because there was lots of seefoods like an octopus, fishes and lots, but at that time there was no people who are living except them…

MIZE WA MIZE CAVE-KIZIMKAZI 15 MARCH 2018

IBRAHIM NAIM: Huko pwani nilikuwa nahitajika leo maana kuna kazi kubwa kweli, mr bindu mungechelewa kidogo musingenikuta.kwa jina naitwa Ibrahim Naim, ni mzaliwa wa hapa kizimkazi baba na mama, na nitakuambieni historia japo kwa ufupi kwasababu kwa urefu ni ndefu sana, historia la pango la Miza wa Miza, wazee wetu wa zamani wakati huo kijiji chetu hakina mifereji hakina visima ilikuwa wanakuja humu ndani kwa kuchota maji tu, na hayo maji yamo mpaka leo kwa kweli ni matamu sana halafu kwa maajabu tunayoyaona maji ya humu ndani ikiwa kule pwani maji yanatoka basi na humu yanapungua pwani maji yakijaa na humu yanakuwa mengi hilo la kwanza.

Lapili pango letu ukiangali mlangoni pale pana vitambaa vingi, pana vitambaa vyeupe, pana vitambaa vyeupe, pale wanakuja watu mbali mbali kwa kuweka nadhiri zao, wafanya biashara, wabunge, rais, wanakuja pale kuweka nadhiri zao wanapofanikiwa huwa wanarudi kwa kuleta sadaka ya hapa, na sadaka ya hapa, ya mwanzo tunayoiyona mlangoni pale kitamba chekundu na cheupe, sadaka nyengine ndani zimo sahani wanaleta mayai, ndizi, tende, halua hilo ni la pili.

Latatu pango letu limeingia historia kwasababu hili pango zamani ni mzimu mpaka sasa tokea hapo zamani lakini hapo zamani aliwaambia watu wa kijiji hao wanakuja kuchota maji aliaambiwa usingizini kwake kwamba watu wanaokwenda kuchota maji wassitane jina kwa wakati huo , wasivae nguo nyeusi kwa wakati huo, watu wanaoingia ndani

wasivae nguo nyekundu kwa wakati huo,kwa vile yale masharti yakawa yanafuatwa na watu wote wanaokuja humu ndani….

Na kulikuwepo na mzee mmoja kijijini aliowa wake wawili ambao wanawake hao mmoja anaitwa Mariam na Mize, wanawake hao walikuwa na mshirikiano ya juu na kila wanapokwenda walikuwa wanakwenda pamoja kukata kuni za kupikia nyumbani, wanakwenda humu kuchota maji kupika nyumbani pamoja, kwa mara yao ya mwisho walikuja humu ndani kuchota maji na kwa wakati huo walikuwa wanatumia vyombo vyao mitungi, walikuja ndani wakachota maji, huyu mke mdogo ambae ni Mariam yeye alitoka nje haraka na mtungi wake aliona kwani nikimwita jina litakuwa nini na hata likimtokezea haliwezi kumtokezea yeye huko nje akaamua amuite Mize kwa sauti kubwa na Yule kama alishtuka aliitika kwa sauti kubwa alifanya aaah! Ndio basi. Hapo ndio yalipotokea mabadiliko nakugeuka kuwa jiwe….

Sasa lile jiwe lipo mpaka leo ingawa lile jiwe lina mabadiliko kila siku zikienda mbele linakuwa chakavu kwasababu hao wazee walikuwa wanakwambia zamani lilikuwa na mtungi linakuwa linaonesha alama za mavazi lakini sasa ukitizama mtungi haupo pana jiwe linakuwa kwa kazi lishafika hatua ya kumgonga juu ya kichwa nay ale mavazi hivi sasa hayaonyeshwi baadhi ya sehemu tutakwenda kuziona kama mdomo, pua, macho, na limechuchumaa kwa hivyo hukumu kwa wakati ule ilochukuliwa ikabidi na yeye Mariam auwawe akauliwa watu wa kijiji na kaburi lake lipo karibu ingawa kaburi halikujengewa ni eneo tu tunalijua lile pale ndio alipozikwa mke mwenziwe amabe anaitwa Mariam.Kwa hivo hio ndio historia kwa ufupi....

MR. BINDU

Historia ya pango hili pame mwagika damu kwasababu amepotea mtu kwa vile tumepoteza mtu ukienda Mwanampambe hakupotea, ukienda Mwatima Ally tumekuta nguo nyekundu kwasababu alipotea ni sawa na Mize Mize kilichotokezea kwenye pango hili ni kile kilichotokezea kwa Mwatima Ally, unakumbuka Mwatima Ally alipotea kwenye pango, Mize wa Mize alipotea katika pango kwa mazingira yale yale aloptea Mwatima Ally yanii dada kee kule Charawe.mazingira yale yale alopotezwa dadake Miza nay eye kafanyiwa na mke mwenzake mke mwanza alikuwa vile vile akiitwa Mariam, kule Charawe mume wa Mwatima Ally alikuwa akiitwa Mwinyi Mlenge.

SWALI KUTOKA KWA MR. BINDU

Mume wa Mwatima alikuwa akiitwa nani?

JAWABU KUTOKA KWA IBRAHIM NAIM

Kwajina nalijua moja tu , alikuwa akiitwa Yahya ila sijui bin nani…

SWALI KUTOKA KWA MR. BINDU

Jee huyu Miza wa Miza kile kizazi chake kimehifadhika mnaweza kukielewa kwa mfano Mize wa Mize bamize katoka wapi? Wazee wake ni nani na nani?unaweza kuelewa?

JAWABU KUTOKA KWA IBRAHIM NAIM

Alijibu kwa karne hizi hakuna anaeweza na Mr. Bindu alimwambia usiseme hapana sema huwezi kwasababu lipo swali yengine litakuja.

SWALI KUTOKA KWA MR. BINDU

Huoni wewe hivi sasa Zanzibar uchumi wake mkuu ni utalii na kwakua hapa ni mahali wanakuja watu kutoka katika mataifa mbali mbali, wanafunzi mbali mbali, hamuoni nyinyi kwamba ipo haja watu wa Kizimkazi kutafuta historia ya hapa kwasababu kama nlivokutangulizia utangulizi huyu alikuwa na ndugu zake tena walikuwa saba, Mia binti Ally, Mwnagoli binti Ally, umefika pango la Mwanagoli, Paje pango la Mwanawanu binti Ally, Bwejuu tunalo pango kama hili tena ina maji Miza wa Miza binti Ally, Ukongoroni pango la Mkasi binti Ally, Charawe Mwatima binti Ally, Tumbatu Mwana wa Mwana , huyo Mwana wa M wana binti Ally ndio mkubwa wao na Panga Mauwa Donge, huyo Mau wa binti Ally ni dada na tokeo hili hapa lina historia nzuri, ilipokuja habari kwamba kajeuka jiwe na mtokeo yakutatanisha aliondoka Mwatima Ally Charawe ,akafuatana na Mkasi Ally Ukongoroni,Miza wa Miza Bwejuu, na Mwana wanu Paje wakaja kuhani hapa kwasababu haonekani….

Walipofika makunduchi wakamsubiri ndugu yao mwengine Mwanagoli binti Ally alipokuja Mwanagoli binti Ally kambeba mtoto wake wa kike anaitwa Mwanampambe lakini alikuwa hajapata jina hilo wakati huo, alipofika pale akaulizwa Mwanagoli mbona kamchukua mtoto uchi na sie tunasafari ya kwenda Kizimkazi yakwenda kuhani dada yetu hatumuoni, sasa wewe umekuja na mtoto uchi vipi? Uyo mwana rudi nae mwana ukampambe likazaliwa jina la Mwanampambe njoo Makunduchi utaliona pango kama hili, nalijua eenh, basi Yule kazaliwa na Mwanagoli huyu ni mamake mdogo….

SWALI KUTOKA KWA MR.BINDU

Wewe huoni kwa hivi sasa kama msimamizi wa hapa ukazunguuka kila mahala ukaikusanya hii historia hii nzuri inayopendeza wakija wageni likapata pango hili heshima yake huoni ipo haja?

MAELEZO KUTOKA KWA IBRAHIM NAIM

Sasa wale watu wanao kumbukumbu kama hizi wote hawapo, unajua sasa hivi kwanza kijiji chetu hiki hakina watu wakubwa wote washaondoka aliebakia mtu mkubwa akiyekuwa analeta wageni kila pahala sijui kama unamjua anaitwa Othman Ussi, Mr. Bindu wewe unajua kwamba Mize binti Ally kwamba kaka yake anaitwa Kizi bint Ally , unajua kwamba Kizi bin Ally katoka hapa Kizimkazi na huyu ni ndugu yake, kama historia haipo Kizimkazi nenda Charawe kama hukuipata njoo Bwejuu lakini mimi nafuraha kuisaidia historia hii ikaeleweka undani , huyu Mize anaitwa Mize binti Ally wa Ally Muhammed wa Muhammed bin Ally wa Ally bin Din.

Muhammed bin Ally ndio mtu wa mwanzo kufika Tumbatu akamzaa Ally Muhammed mkubwa na Ally Muhammed mdogo, mkubwa akamzaa Hasaan bin Ally, Hassan bin Ally akamzaa Amour bin Hassan, Hijja bin Hassan, Hassan bin Hassan hao ndio walohamia Makunduchi Nganani.

Mize binti Ally yeye alikuwa na ndugu zake saba yeye wa nane , Tumbatu Mwana wa Mwana, Donge Mauwa binti Ally, Charawe Mwatima binti Ally, Ukongoroni Mkasi binti Ally, Bwejuu Miza wa Miza binti Ally, Paje Mwanawanu binti Ally, Makunduchi Mwanagoli,kwahivyo mimi ningeisaidia Kizimkazi hii historia kubwa itolewe kwa uwazi bila kubanwa banwa, watakuja watu wengi na yapo masuali watauliza si yakushinda, kama alikuwa na ukoo, alikuwa na ndugu zake mimi pendekezo tu itafana itakaa vizuri na watu wataelewa…

Tunakwenda katika karne ya utalii na watalii ndio wanakuja tizama zamani walikuwa hawakuja kama sasa na saivi wanakuja huu ni uchumi kwavile watu waje sababu kwanini kuna vitambaa vyekundu na weupe kwasababu hapa ilipotea damu maana hakuonekanwa ni neno lililokuja lenye utatanisho kule Mwatima Ally Charawe alionekana lakini siku ya tatu, kwahivyo mimi nilisema vilichangia tu kwamba hivi vitu tuvidumishe mzee ndugu yangu na mimi nipo tayari kuisaidia kizimkazi historia ikabaki wakaja wakaelewa na vizazi vijavyo …

SWALI

Kwa hiyo maji mpaka sasa yanatumika?

JAWABU

Ndio kmwasababu umeiyona paipu hiyo tunawasha pale paipu halafu watu wanachota yanaingia mpaka mahodhini na yanakwenda direct hayo mpaka mskitini…

SWALI

Jee yanatumika mskitini tu?

JAWABU

Hapana mpaka tukiwa hatuyapati maji ya zao tunatumia hayo hayo…

MIZE WA MIZE CAVE-KIZIMKAZI 15 MARCH 2018

IBRAHIM NAIM:I was neeed to go to the coast today because there is a good job I must be done by me, if you both late you woldnt meet with me,my name is Ibrahim Naim, I born at Kizimkazi for the both sides from mother and to father, I can tell you a story about Kizimkazi in short because for long its very prolong, the story of Mize wa Mize's cave,years ago when our parents didn't have any drain at their house they use to come here and fetch the water and the water still exist and it's a beautiful water, also its

miracle because when the water from the coast are less and here becomes less but when a big waves here also becomes full this is the first one…

Second our cave when you look at door there is a piece of close white and red, different people were coming to make vows, like business woman and men, member of the parliament, president they are coming for the prayers and when they were succeful they come back again to give alms, and the first alms is piece of close white and red and the other one inside there is a plates, so that they put sweets like dates, bananas, eggs and sweetmeat…

Our cave has been added to the historical place because this cave before was it was spirit that's wonder beforefrom the past time till today,but from a long time they were toldfrom the village as anybody who entered to Mize wa Mize cave doesn't need to talk anything or calling them by using a names, they must be quite and do their work and get out after then, and also they told not allowed to wear black and clothes, so the necessary for something and all people who are intered inside must follow the rules…

And there is one old person who were living at here he married two wifes, one is Mariam and Mize,those woman had a strong support from each other and love whatever they go going together ,when they go to firewood together,fetching water and cooking together,one day and it was the last day for Miza they went to fetch the water they were using water pot Mariam she went out and with her water pot , and she decided to call Miza by using a name while she knows as not allowed even if it will happen any change not for me, she called Mize by loud and she turned and responded labaik and the she said aaah! And she was enough for her to be a human and suddenly changed to become a stone, Mariam seems she were jelous, that's why did that to hurt her…

So the stone is still there and every day its changing as well becomes old, because the people use to say before that stone had water pot and was showing sign of dress, but nowadays when you look there is no more water pot sign, its only a stone that are going up and its about to knock up to the head and the dress not longer be showing but only in a few places going to see like mouth,nose, eyes, and its squatting so Mariam has been killed as a purnishment for her for what she has done for Mize, her grave is near by the cave but it didn't built as other and that's a short history about Mize cave at Kizimkazi…

MR. BINDU

The history of this cave been spilled blood because we lost a person so that's why, when you go to Mwanampambe no body is lost, when you go to Mwatima Ally we met a red dress because a person who lost is ditto like mMize wa mize what has happened in this cave is the sameas what happened to Mwatima Ally did you remember,Mwatima Ally was lost in the cave, Mize wa Mize was lost in environment as Mwatima Ally was lost her sister at Charawe, in the same environment and her husband was calling Mwinyi Mlenge...

QUESTION BY MR. BINDU

What the name of Mwatima's husband?

ANSWER BY IBRAHIM NAIM

By name I know only one, he was calling Yahya but cannot remember hs next name

QUESTION BY MR. BINDU

How do you know about Mize wa Mize generation where does it kept, like Mize wa Mize mr. mize where he from?who are his parents? Can you elaculate to me?

ANSWER BY IBRAHIM NAIM

He respond as , in this century there is no body can tell you about, mr. Bindu said no please1 don't nsay thata you better say you don't know the answer because I have one more question is coming…

QUESTION BY MR. BINDU

Cant you see nowadays economy is a big is about tourism in Zanzibar, at this place many people are coming from a different country, cant you imagine as there is need for people from Kizimkazi to find out the history of K because as I have said before introduction of it, Mize wa Mize had a siblings and they were seven, Mia binti Ally, Mwnagoli binti Ally, have you been Mwanagoli cave? Paje Mwanawanu binti Ally, Bwejuu we have the same cave like this then it has water Miza wa Miza binti Ally, Ukongoroni pango la Mkasi binti Ally, Charawe Mwatima binti Ally, Tumbatu Mwana wa Mwana , Mwana wa M wana binti Ally she was the eldest one and Panga Mauwa Donge, huyo Mau wa binti Ally is a sister and this event has a beautiful histry,when the news came as their sister turned to be a stone they start from Mwatima Ally Charawe, Mkasi Ally Ukongoroni,Miza wa Miza Bwejuu, na Mwana wanu Pajethey went mourn at Kizimkazi because of their sister was missing…

When they reached to Makunduchi they waited to their little sister Mwanagoli bint Ally when she reached she was carried her daughter was calling Mwanampambe but at that time she wasn't calling this name,so suddenly when they reached, she been asked by her sisters as why did she take the baby naked while we have plan to go to Kizimkazi to condolence about our sister , so you can bring her back and decorate her ukampambe, so the name of Mwanampambe was start from here and Makunduchi can find a cave like this and Mwanampambe was born by Mwanampambe so Mize wa Mize is her aunt…

QUESTION BY MR.BINDU

You know as you're important for this place as a supervisor, you have to visit different places to collect story about it, the story is beautiful so then when the tourist came atleast they can give a respect this cave…

EXPLANATION BY IBRAHIM NAIM

So now the people who has the record like this they already gone, as you know that nowadays our village doesn't have much enough oldest people who can explain the story about Kizimkazi, only there one who left is calling Othman Ussi the one was guiding the tourist everywhere at anytime,Mr. Bindu do you as Mize wa Mize bint Ally his brother calling Kizi bin Ally and he was her brother and was living in here, if the history not available at Kizimkazi go to Charawe if not available go to Bwejuu but im so happy for being a part of helping in this and each got know in deep, Mize her full name is calling Mize binti Ally wa Ally Muhammed wa Muhammed bin Ally wa bin Din…

Muhammed bin Ally was the first person to reach at Tumbatu and he has give birth Ally Muhammed elder and Ally Muhammed small one,the first one has give birth Hasaan bin Ally, Hassan bin Ally has give birth Amour bin Hassan, Hijja bin Hassan, Hassan bin Hassanthis all were shifted to Makunduchi Nganani.

Mize binti Ally yeye has had a seven siblings including her was eighty, Tumbatu Mwana wa Mwana, Donge Mauwa binti Ally, Charawe Mwatima binti Ally, Ukongoroni Mkasi binti Ally, Bwejuu Miza wa Miza binti Ally, Paje Mwanawanu binti Ally, Makunduchi Mwanagoli, so I would love to help kwahivyo mimi ningeisaidia Kizimkazi as this story to be narrate by confidence and clearness, because there a lot of people will come and visit so they will ask the question and need the answer, the importance things to be known as does she has a clan,does she has a siblings,that's just my thoughts if you do this the story will ever be looking wonderful and interesting to all ever…

We are going to the next century as tourism and propably tourism are always visiti the historical place as here as well Makunduchi and so on,like before ther were no one is coming but at the time they do come and visit this is a big prpfit for us and let make it work as well as to be known about , tourism are coming why there are red and white piece of cloth , this because spilled the blood because they didn't see her till today it's the name that came for with complicated at that time while Mwatima Ally Charawe hasnt seen but she be seen after three days,I just said so because I wanna be a part of help about it for whatever so it can be easly to explain for the next generation…

QUESTION

So until today are you using this water?

JAWABU

Yes because did you see this pipe this one we are using to switch on and the water directly going to the mosque and sometime people fetch…

QUESTION

Is the water using only in mosque?

ANSWER

No, even if we don't get wont fro the village we use this one…

AUDIO #1 SWAHILI

Sultan Sayyid kuna mkumbuka kwa sababu unayonka ,kwasababu Sultan Sayyid waya mwaka wa 52 njoo walivyokwaza kuja wao pano zanzibar. Utawala wa Sayyid Majid, Sayyid Hamad na Sayyid Fardi wao wote kuna wakumbuka? Kwahivyo wao wote kuna wakumbuka, basi eenh! ok! Kwahivyo tunapochaka apo kabla ya Sultan, uko nyuma lakini sana watu kevga wanafurahi jaje wakati uwo? njo kitu anachokichaka yuno binti.....

Nitanza wao walikaa kumwambia yeye , vipi watu wao wanafurahi kwa mda huo wote? Nataka kwenda kwenye ng'oma au chochote kile au baadhi, lakini nafkiria nivizuri akuuze yeye mwenyewe ,kwa hivyo bora akuuze yeye mimi nsijetumia muda mkubwa sana....Nisawa kwako mimi kurikodi? nataka kujua kuhusu muda wa mziki wa zamani kabla ya taarab... Wakati huo kevu kuna ng'oma gani? ushakaa,iyo kevga haina ngoma kupija.....

TRANSLATION

Do you remember Sultan Sayyid?[a person who came to Zanzibar before the British for the revolution] because for all the reason you are giving me, they have came in 52 years back to Zanzibar. The authority of Sayyid Majid, Sayyid Hamad and Sayyid Fardi do you remember all of them? So all of them you still remembering, enough eenh! Ok! Therefore what we need is before Sultan in years back how people were being happy in that time is that what she needs to know?

I'll start, they were telling him that, how people can be happy in those times? I want go to the drums or whatever some, but what I think is better she ask by herself, so It's better she asking by herself then I because I would take a much time when I ask...Is that okay when I record? I want you know about the time of the old music before the taarab...at those time what was the drum was there? Ushaaka[drum that people only dancing] this was no any drums to be beaten.....

AUDIO #2 SWAHILI

Wenda kawete wee, eenh ngojagaa nskilize, ikesa kunaja skiliza wenda kwambiwa kawete kina da Khadija, kanakuja piga mabio wambie waje wambie waje wote, ngoja nsikilizega mie, wewe utakuwa mtafsiriji wangu ok! Tafadhali! Kucheka, uyo da Khadija kawapi, sasa mie nchawa njo mtafsiriji kwa Kiswahili, yeye kanatamka kwa kizungu sie tunamka kwa Kiswahili eenh! Kwani kavijua Kiswahili? Kiswahili kakijua kidogo tu, jina lako nani? Bahati..Wakapiga makofi nakufurahi, kumbe kanajina sawa na mtoto wangu mtu mmoja alisema Bahati, kwani kawapi bahati.

TRANSLATION

Hey Bahati, go and call them right now, wait I want to listen her first, go till sister Khadija's house tell her to comes, run away faster tell all of them to come soon, somebody else said wait let me pay attention, you can be able to translate for me right? Ok! Please! She laughed, where is sister Khadija, so I'm the one who will translate in Swahili for you all, she will be saying by English and you all have to reply in Swahili eenh! Does she know Swahili? Yes, she knows only by slightly, whayts your name? My name is Bahati...they were applauded and smiling, one lady said wow! She has namesake with my daughter, Bahati. Everyone laughing ha ha ha ha ha! She said where Bahati is, and she was out....

Wewe ni Muislam? Hapana Mimi sio muislam ni jina langu tu la kiislam. Unapenda jina lako? ndio! Tunamng'oja da Khadija, ewewe uyo kana hatari anavyojivitisha muweshaga ukamfunge kamba kwasababu kachaharibu kila kitu uyo, unaweza kutafsiri Kwa Kiswahili ahsante. Natafuta nyimbo za zamani unazijua hizo kabla ya taarab kongwe kabisa sijui shindwe yaani mwanzo kevu ziwako before taarab, samahani naweza kuchukua video na kupiga picha jee nisawa mimi kufanyaa hivo.Ndio endelea...

TRANSLATION

Are you Muslim? But my name is the same like Muslim names; do you like your name? Yes! We are waiting for sister Khadija, eey you, look at her, she is doing dangerous things, take her off otherwise she would make everything unwell, can you translate for them in Swahili thank you! I'm looking for the old songs before the taraab oldest one do you know them? Yes shindwe, before they were before the taarab, excuse me, is that right when I take video and snaps? Yes, go on....

Bi mwaka mnakwimbana inakwitwa nyimbo gani ile duara, kajaga voo akawa kanakwimba kweli," meno yake sijui ngeze ushaga" kanasema kevu. "bi Huba kevu kanasema kama kalala kamuamsheni atoke nje ondoe wageni" bismillah bibi kanakwaza.

TRANSLATION

Granny Mwaka what was that song you were singing like people make round, at that time you can you were still sing something like "his teeth thought were ushagaa" she was saying that..And Granny Huba was saying" if she sleeps make her awake and she comes out to run away guest" In the name of God, she is starting now.

(SONG FROM BI MWAKA AMES'S FAMILY)

(MSANJA)

Baba angu hanakona we x2

Heya kwenu hajaja x2

Mjino yayule yalawa njee

Nkalii ngeze ushaga x2

TRANSLATION

My father cannot see x2

But he hasn't come to your home x2

His teeth are out

I sit on them (teeth) thought they are stick bed

(DANDARO)

Baba nfulia munduwe

Kesa uwe kidume dume

Dandaro lina shetani we

Linaingiya wanaume

TRANSLATION

Father makes mndu

Then it must be strong strong

Dandaro has a devil

It disturbs gentlemen

NB: Mndu tools use for cutting tree

(DANDARO)

Sina kwimba Kwa fumbo

Nakwimba uvitambue

Mdichu makubwa ngezee tungule

Haji tumbo ayanadie

TRANSLATION

I don't sing for mystery

I'm singing for to understand

For your big eyes I thought tomato

Hajitumbo sells them

NB: Hajitumbo is the name of the person

(DANDARO POLITICAL SONG) Kwa usheza

Wale wezangu wakancheka

Hizbu halinchukia yo maji sinjumchayoteka x2

TRANSLATION

I left my father for a game

And for my companies laughed to me

I'm not hating hizbu and I'm not fetch that water

NB: Hizbu was a political part of Zanzibar ruling before the revolution

(XXXX)

Mwanangu mdogo mtunze moyo umfunde

Machicha kayacha chukua ufwagio ukumbe

TRANSLATION

Take care of my child to grow with a pure heart

If he/she left coconut squeeze waste take a broom to sweep

(XXXX)

Najambo sijambo

Usende sema kwa mama

Kwa halbadri nvyazi hufa kwa mwana

TRANSLATION

I have a manner but not a manner

Don't go and tell my mother

For halbadri the mother dies for his/her child

(XXXX)

Nalea wanangu wee

Nalea wanangu wangali wadogo

Niko mlimani nashunga uwendo

Nalea wanangu kimongo

(SHATANI)

TRANSLATION

I'm keeping care of my children eeeh

I'm keeping care of my children because they are still young

I'm on the hill keeping my children uwendo

I'm talking care of my children kimongo

(DEVIL)

Chupa zangu za bia mbili wee x2

Walizani barani siji wee x2

TRANSLATION

My 2 bottle or bears eeeh x2

They thought in mainland not come

Kajanyazima viatu wee x2

Kanachaka kutembea x2

Kunguni hana miguu wee x2

Njo jambo nlochekea x2

TRANSLATION

She came to borrow me his shoes x2

Because she wants to visit somewhere

Bedbug hasn't have legs

Is the thing made me laugh?

Mumeo silimwita wee x2

Nyimkutu kana shida x2

Hanywa maji hayananyenda x2

Halya vyakula sina shiba x2

TRANSLATION

I didn't call your husband eeeeh x2

I found him in trouble x2

When I drink not going down x2

When I eat the food but didn't get satiety x2

Mumeo sili mwita wee x2

Nyimkutu kiwambani

Weye huna mtendea dawa

Kwangu kaja ugangani

TRANSLATION

I didn't call your husband wee x2

I found him leaning

You are not treating him

For me he came for treatment

(MWAKA KONGWA SONGS)

(SHINDWE)

Kibanda hodi hodi

Na wenyuwe tuwamo x2 na wenyuwe

Tumekuja na vishindo na vikakaa x2

Hatukujia kuomba njoo dasturi ya mwaka

TRANSLATION

The small hut hello knocks x2

And we the owners are present in and we are present in

We can with bang and joy x2

We haven't yet come with to ask for ask for help

NB: Mwaka is the traditional hypocrite celebration because is the bowsprit of the year

(KISWAHILI VERSION)

Nisamehe niliyotenda

Nakweli nakuangukia

Niliofanya ni mkosa

Nami Mungu atanilipia

TRANSLATION

And because I'm apology you for what I have done

It's true I'm calm off on you

For what I have done is wrong

And Allah will cure with any troubles of this world

(Allah NB: is GOD we believe everything on him)

(KIJAMBIANI VERSION OF ABOVE)

Nsamehe nyiyotenda

Nakweli nakuangukia

Nyiyotenda ni makosa

Nami mola kachanponya

TRANSLATION

And because I'm apology you for what I have done

Its true I'm overturn you

For what I have done is wrong

And Allah will cure me

(KIPEMBA)

Unipe mapenzi yangu naima

Mola wako ndie wangu x2

Hunidai sikudai naima

Mwisho wa mapenzi yangu

Unipe mapenzi yangu naima

TRANSLATION

Give me love Naima

Your Lord is mine

I owe you not, you owe me not

At the end of my love

You have to give my love Naima

Halua ee haina makombo

Mkoroshoni twawapa vikumbo

Nimekuja nataka mkwe wangu

Mama wee unipe na vyombo

TRANSLATION

Sweet food has no remain

Mkoroshoni people get crowd

I have came I need my wife

Mother Eeeh! Give me vessels too

Note: Halua is the sweet food made by seed, oil, and sugar and packed in a small pack and providing to the people especial in ceremony like wedding and other events

Note: Mkoroshoni is a small town where halua is is done

Rejea wangu rejea x4

Nakama hutorejea

Wautesa moyo wangu

Rejea wangu rejea

TRANSLATION

Be back mine

And if you don't come back x2

You confuse my heart

Be come back mine

(MSANJA)

Dandaro naliwe vyo jumapili ivyo mbaki

Nachaka hachambue mtu we miba ntupe mbali

Kila kukawa na dandaro njo namie nacheza

Lilyomchukia na asende na mkewe amkataze

TRANSLATION

Dandaro will be on Sunday so you both must stay

I want to fight for a person to put bones away and meat away

Even when there is dandaro will dance

Anyone who doesn't like dandaro should not attend also should forbidden his wife

Baba ukumbini amchume

Wala hanagoma ndime

Kulala alale kwengine

TRANSLATION

Father sitting room teach your son

But he doesn't afford digging

To sleep at other place

Mwanangu mdogo

Asende pingwa yu magongo

Na akajapijwa

Kanajasema si uongo

TRANSLATION

My child is young

Don't beat her by Magongo

And when she will be beaten

She will say and she is not lie

Note: agongo is the big pieces of sticks

Zuwena zuwena wee kinyege

Ukati wakulala lazima uwe macho

TRANSLATION

Zuwena x2 eeeh you're horny

At the time to sleep you should be awake

(SHETANI)

Njo kwaza njee mlevi wee

Nyianue ng'ondo

I have just come eeh! The drunker

I want to make a disturbance

DANDARO

Barua ulonletea yo kwangu imfiki Jana

Silipika pilau heya Beni ncheze mchana

TRANSLATION

The latter you have sent me reached yesterday

I didn't cook pilau but I sent Beni in the afternoon

NB: Beni is the traditional song ,that's doing by old people only

(MSANJA)

Baba kanuu ng'ombe yo na mchnga nyiwe mimi

Juzi kampigi teke wee kidogo amkate ulimi

Afungwe kamba afungike maana kamba ya watu nyazimi

TRANSLATION

My father bought a cow eeeh and I should be a shepherd

Two days back he kicked him and was nearly to break his tongue

It should be tighten strong because I have borrow tighten rope to the someone

(MSANJA)

Maji nyiyotia udungini hayana nyenea tunduni

Hona ajabu kungia tumbo

Togoa na uchu wako togoa

TRANSLATION

The water I have kept in the Udungi, it's not spread me whole my body

And I wondered why it's going through my stomach

For your pity upon you and your stingy you pity upon you

Note: Udungi is papaya live stock

Da Mariam nasafiri mie

Naenda Pemba maana sina vyakutenda

Migogo mingine miraba kenda

Togoa na uchu wako togoa

TRANSLATION

Sister Mariam I'm travelling

To Pemba because I don't have nothing to do

Some logs are big

For pity upon and your stingy pity upon you

Yayo maneno unayosema

Mie mwenyewe yamenfika

Mpini tia wa chuma wooe

Ndimani usende katika

TRANSLATION

For what you have said

I have all heard and reached me

Put iron handle eeeh

Its not be broken in the work

Bi kikongwe kuwaje wee

Mie sijambo naumwa

Bi kikongwe tia mgomo

Uyo muongo hakuna komba kulia mchana

TRANSLATION

Ey! old woman , how are you?

I'm fine but I'm sick

Old woman stuck

His lies there is never bush baby cries in the afternoon

Nilikwenda shamba ya mkoani

Kwa baba wee na mama wee

Ukisikiliza maneno ya jirani

Hasama wee

Ukiona unaliwa na ndege mtama wee

TRANSLATION

I went to field to shamba of mkoani

For a father and a mother eeeh

To listen the neighbor is a problem

If you see the mallet is eating by crows

NB: Mkoani is the town that people of Pemba

Kujifunzu wapi wakati uyo nyiwa kijana bibi yangu akenda ngomani kevu kananchukua, tena bibi naweziwe wakacheza nami nawafatiliazia na kevga nakaa pembeni yake kwa urahisi naweza kuiga, na nyengine akawa kananfundisha njo mpaka leo na mimi nawafundisha vijana wangu wano kidogo kidogo wavijua kama haba na haba hujaza kibaba na mengine. Ukamaliza kwandika kubwa mwandike majina yenu kwasababu mimi nitarude tena hivyo nikirude sitopata tabu yakuhangaika nyinyi majina yenu lakini nitakuwa nayo kwenye orodha yangu.

TRANSLATION

Where have you learned all of those songs, when I was a young when my granny going to sing with her group she was daily carry me and she was keeping me by her side and learning, imitate them something from them, and also she used to teach me at home, that's why now I became I know much and I'm teaching my granddaughters they are knowing some of them but not by much only haste haste, because always the first is harder the difficulty...When you finish please don't forget to write down your names because I don't want to be confused when I come back I will be only check in my list and get them all..

MW.RASHID

Umekuja lini? miezi miwili nyuma.. Unatokea wapi? natokea Africa yakusini.. Una miaka mingapi? nina miaka 31.. Umesoma wapi Kiswahili? nimesoma stone town kiu school..sio taasisi, hapana ni kiu..Umesoma miaka mingapi Kiswahili? nimesoma mwezi mmoja skuli ya kulipia... Bado hujajua Kiswahili ukasome tena Kiswahili ili ujue zaidi na zaidi na waswahili na utafahamu hapo utasoma, kwahiyo mimi nikwambie karibu Jambiani na unatafuta nini uswahilini? ahsante, natafuta nyimbo za zamani kabla ya taarab, za kitoto ? hapana za watu wazima, basi tafuta za shindwe kemekwimbiwa, basi wimbaga moja vano, tatizo kana rikodi, tatizo sisi sauti zetu ni zina thamani taaluma yetu inathamani na hatuwezi kuimwaga tu pahali popote, kesa janyie munyijua uzuri

mwalimu mzima nasema vitu vyangu ovyo ovyo jamani, hio ni taaluma, hunakona maswala nyiyo muuza, hizo nyimbo kanacha atandee nini? sasa achukue bure x2 jamani namna gani? mie siku moja njachukua nyimbo za msanja nlawa mjini nkalipa si chini ya 50k kwa maalum nchuku nyimbo za msanja tu.

TRANSLATION

When did you come? 2 month back... Where are you from? I'm from South Africa...How old are you? I'm 31 years old... Where did you learn Swahili? I have learned Swahili at stone town KIU school..Isn't Taasisi? No its KIU... How many years you been studied Swahili? i have learned Swahili in one month.. You do not yet know Swahili, you have to learn more and more, and so what I suppose to tell you as you are welcome to Jambiani and what is you looking for in this community society? thank you, I'm looking for a old songs before the taarab, for the kids no, for woman songs, so find shindwe, she has been told, you can try sing for her even one, because she is recording, because our voice have a worth, our profession have worth and we can't just share it with different people at anywhere, you all know me well as I'm a teacher cant share my things muddled x 2 you people what are doing? One day I came from stone town to here for collecting Msanja songs and I have paid 50k, so she must be paying too.

Kama kanacha nyimbo nzuri lazima uwatafute bi Hada na bi Mtumwa na bi Mwaka njo kawapo, wanaweza kumka nyimbo zote na akafurahi mwenyewe. Ila kama nakachaka jaivyo bora awalipe chochote hata kama kila mmoja 10000 kwa watu watatu akawaka 30000tz sio mbaya lakini kwa uchache awe na kama 40000tz kwa vile mwanafunzi.. Hata mie ngemsaidia sema nyiwa bizy na vile tatizo sina kaa kuno nakaa mjini ndio nchashindwa maana, hata hivyo lazima namie nchaka nlipwe maana hamna elimu ya bure, kunalavya elimu kunalipwa ukatenda jaivyo kuchafanikiwa.

TRANSLATION

If she needs a beautiful songs she must find this persons, granny Hada, Mtumwa and as well granny Mwaka she is here, they will be able to give her as much songs as much they can and she would be much happier. It's better to pay them if she wants like this at least each be paid 10k for 3people at least she has 30k isn't bad but at least she maximum has 40k that's all because she is a still a student..I even would help her but the problem as too busy and I'm not living here for a moment I'm living stone town and not always coming here even if I help her I would be paid too because there is no free knowledge if you'd be doing so you will be success..

AUDIO #4 BI MTUMWA GROUP

(SHINDWE)

Kibanda hodi hodi

Na wenyuwe tuwamo x2 na wenyuwe

Tumekuja na vishindo na vikakaa x2

Hatukujia kuomba njoo dasturi ya mwaka

TRANSLATION

The small hut hello knocks x2

And we the owners are present in and we are present in

We can with bang and joy x2

We haven't yet come with to ask for ask for help

NB: Mwaka is the traditional hypocrite celebration because is the bowsprit of the year

Ikisha tunaweka apo tunakuja ya pili, unafahamu? ndio, ukauliza wimbo mwengine? Nyimbo gani hii na inahusina na nini? nyimbo ya Shindwe,inahusu kama weye hulikuja kutenda usheza na sie basi kunaumwa, na mujifundishi wapi? tumejifunza kwa wazee walikuwa wanatuchukua kwa mwaka wanaimba tunasikia nasie tunaiga, tunasikia nasie tunaimba,nilikuwa naliza kuhusu toleo lake kabla kwenda Makunduchi, kevu kuna nyimbo ukati wa waarabu, jaizo sijizi mie, shirazi kama kuzijua, mambo ya vyama, nyimbo jaizo za harusi za msanja

Then we stop here and we start with other one, do you understand? Yes, another one, what is the song? What this about? Is shindwe song, is about if you didn't come to play with us you may be sick, where did you study this? we studied this from our parents how they celebrate the year, we are following our parents and listening them and then we are imitating and finally sing like them, I was about the version before went to Makunduchi,is there any songs during arabs, like those I dont know,what about shirazi if you know,about politics,

Enjoni nee viumbe x2

Mtu mkwewe hatumwa ujumbee wee x2

Oh! Come here people x2

A mother in law not asking for messaging eenh x2

Tumekuwako watu wa Mahonda x2

Asiekuja labda Mgonjwa wee x2

Tumekuwako watu wa Sadala x2

Asiekuja labda kalala wee x2

TRANSLATION

We are already people from Mahonda x2

The one who are missing maybe is sick x2

We are already here people of Sadala x2

The one who are missing maybe is sleeping x2

Jauno njo mbeto wee x 2

Dandaro kwa mchezo wa heko x2

Jauno njoo uganga eenh x2

Dandaro kwa mchezo wa kanga wee x2

TRANSLATION

Like this is beautiful wee x2

Dandaro for the game x2

Like this is very good x2

Dandaro for the game of kanga wee x2

MSANJA

Sina kibao chakukalia x4

Mgeni ni wako wee eenh x4

Ohhya!!

TRANSLATION

I don't have stool for sitting x4

This is your guest eenh x4

Ohhya!!

Myenge yenge Kama kioo x2 [To be careful of your husband]

Mume ndugu yako wee eenh x2

Ohhya!!

TRANSLATION

Pump him as a mirror x2

Husband is your sibling wee eenh! X2

Ohhya!!

We dont know about ushakaa na kivungo,kapune is all about oldest people we don't know, maybe babu Usi, mcheka kilema, I dont know either but I just heard

(Mcheka kilema)

Mama Ee oooh! Mwananguu x2

Mcheka kilema simkwe wangu x2

TRANSLATION

Mother Eeeh! My daughter x2

The one laughing to lame is not my child in law x2

Howani mwana howaniii

Mama ako kende pwani

Akaja akupikie

Kitunguu na ubani

Njoka kalala njiani

Umkanyage kichwani

Haleme mtoto x2

Kunini naenda nae

Kisimani naenda nae

Hoo mtoto x2

TRANSLATION

Ohh! Ohh! Daugther

Your mother goes to the sea

When she has back to cook for you

Union and gum

The snake sleeping on the road

To tread on the head

Ohh! Ohh!

I go to find fire wood with her

I the well go with her

Stop child stop

Ohh! Ohh!

Kunguru wengi wee mahuwa x2

Uko kwangu njo anakopekuwa x2

TRANSLATION

Many crows mahuwa

In my house he scatting

Msengwe we don't know only from south in Zanzibar, Nungwi and else you get them...In this" kunguru wengi wee mahuwa uko kwangu njo anakopekuwa means talking about the men who are coming to the house and start talking you somebody's wife or daughter while he left his wife and his child at his house"

DANDARO

Kitororo kina nyangasia

Mchele wangu kuumwaga pia

TRANSLATION

Kitotoro is following me

He's putting down my rice

Tuna ugovi toka Jana

Jishati lyake nlichana

We have argued since yesterday

I have cut off his shirt

NB: Kitotoro is the name of the bird

TRANSLATION

Kitotoro is following me

He's putting down my rice

Msanja because that was using from longtime and not nowadays people don't use it because of people are educated and changes said not good song to be singing, because people following Quran-a.... How do you think about not singing anymore? Is that because not so good? No because it's good and learning people from how to be treating their husband its special for a woman teach how to treat her husband... How many years since started this songs? More than 40 years.

AUDIO #5 MAKUNDUCHI

Wanawake na wanaumme wanakuwa wanaimba hapa kwa ajili ya wageni nyimbo za kizamani tu na za kiasili, mimi nataka nyimbo za kizamani kabla ya taarab kwahivyo kama mnaweza kunisaidia kasha naweza kaundika..

All men and women they are singin here because of the guest, they are siniging only old songs and for the culture, but I need old songs before the taarab so if you will be able to help me I can write it down...

MAKUNDUCHI BI FATUMA GROUP

(DANDARO)

Muarabu wangu kankaza

Kawa Mahonda nyimfichi

Namba kumi hamba gari ya makunduchi

TRANSLATION

I desire my Muarabu

He is at Mahonda I hide him

Number 10 looks like Makunduchi's car

NB: Muarabu is Arabian people or white one

NB: Mahonda is the town in Zanzibar that people growth sugarcanes

NB: Makunduchi is the town in Zanzibar, it's near to Jambiani

Muarabu wangu kankaza nyimfichii mahonda na sura yake namba kumi ya gari ya makunduchi...

MEANINGS

I have my side chick but he is in at Mahonda and he has a sign only knowing him but only for me…

DANDARO

Wanaume wanavyo elimu

Kuchasoma mpaka uchoke

Ukakataa kuwa mjinga na ukadmba kuwa mpope

TRANSLATION

Men have education

You study until you get tired

If you deny, you are stupid and if you agree, you are bogus

MEANINGS

A men has much tricky to approach a woman, they will force you to be accepting their request until you agree and when you agree you are a stupid and when you are disagree you are bogus…

DANDARO

Avyonyona namwana mdogo

Kageze nchamtia upele ao nao

Na namuogoza kana tumawanakele

TRANSLATION

When he seeing me with a child

He thought I would infect him with rash

And he is coming after me because the baby coming after me

(COMPOSED FOR ME)

Nyiuku Africa ya kusini

Nkangia mwanampambe

Hafika kwetu hajigambe

TRANSLATION

I left South Africa

I went mwanampambwe

In order when I go back to my native to be proud

NB: Mwanampambe is a historical cafe at Makunduchi

Mwana is and that's because at that time there was a people has a baby and mpambe is beautiful, means you came from far and came to mwanampambe so when you go back to your country you would be so proud because we inter to mwanampambe and they have never been in mwanampambe and learned many things…

Mwanangu kaolegwa

Majambo ya kwenu yo uyache

Na ukajatenda linajakwisa lyo jipwate

TRANSLATION

My daughter gets married

All things that you have seen at your home you must forget them

And if you will do them you will be dicorced

DANDARO

Kunguru wengi wee mahuwa x2

Uko kwangu njo anakopekuwa x2

TRANSLATION

Many crows mahuwa

In my house he scatting

DANDARO

Avyonyona na mwana mdogo

Kageze chamtia upele

Avyonyona nyimuongoza

Kanawatuma wanakele

TRANSLATION

When he saw me with a baby

He thought will infect him rash

When he saw me with baby after me

He asked people to come to me

Kuna story yoyote ya shirazi? Ndio ya bi Hole, njia ya miembe [bungi] kutoka Bungi kevu kuna watu enzi izo za zamani, sasa watumwa walya wengine wakasumka, wakenda chamia uko tena wavyokwisa wakasema tu tu kama ivyo hio historia mie nkwa tu nvokwenda tumbatu… Njo nlipopata ino stori kuhusu nganani na pia, njo vavile watu wanavyohamia uhamiaji teana baada ya hapo tukatafuta jina la Tumbatu, Dole, Bungi, Nganani, alikuwa ni mzuri sana bi hole na wanaume wengine walikuwa wanamtaka lakini kuna mmoja akamkimbia, alikuwa ameweka mapenzi na mwanamke mmoja halafu akamkimbia na mwanaume huyo ndio aliekimbia baada ya kuweka ile historia, vipi kuhusu tumbatu hamba miaka mingapi toka walivyokuhadithi? Ja miaka mitatu kwasabu kevu nyiwa mjane, katika wao watu wa shirazi hamba walawii wapi?

Waarabu walawii uko kwao njo wakaja kuno wakatenda biasharasasa wavyotenda biashara wakawa wanavitu vyao sasa wewe kunafanikiwa kuchampigia simu mwenzio nakumwambia nae ajeatende kuno maana biashara inalawa uzuri walikuwa wanakuja kubadilishana biashara, kama Portuguese waarabu walikuwa wananunua watumwa na baadae kuwafanya wamoja morishas kutoka Kenya na wengine kama hivo ndio walivyokuwa wakifanya na watu walikuwa wakisema huu uzuri ni wawatumwa wanaongea lugha tofauti, ndio maana watu hao wanatumia lugha tofauti na pia watu hao wamejua stori kupitia sehemu watu wa sehemu tofauti lakini Zanzibar kuna stori nyingi sana… Mjifunzu jaje izo nyimbo? Tunaskia watu wakemba au kunakaa tu mwenyewe ukabuni au kuskia kutoka kwa wazee wetu.kutoka hizo tulizosema njoo nyengine kulawa kwa wazee wetu.

Is there any story for shirazi? Yes it's for bi hole is the road to stone town but it has many mango trees [Bungi] there were people at that time , they were asked to go to somewhere , some were runned away and lived at Tumbatu and I heard this story when I was a widow I went there and then heard this story from them, it's also people immigrate from different places like Nganani, Dole,Bungi, bi hole was a beautiful every men were running after her but she didn't fall apart especial in one men he fallen and then the men runner away , how many years since you been heard the story from Tumbatu? It been 3years since been told by them..

Arabian people came from their place and they started their business in Zanzibar, and every day as the business going well they used to call their people and come here to connect with them together, also they were buying and selling slaves, because they were using different people from different places like Kenya, morishas and ets...And they were using a different language and became knowing a different stories from other but from all those Zanzibar there is a lots of stories.. How did they learn these songs? We just learned from ourselves and some we just created by ourselves and some from our parents and grannies….

Dandaro is agroup of people were singing together as when they were happy singing, because dandaro dancing make like a group and rounding each other and sikweli

SIKWELI

Sikweli yule njo mdogo

Hea sasa inakuwa yeye Leo tunaumwaga

Mchezo kesa kila mmoja

FALSE

Not true he is a young

But now it's like we are spreading down all

The game with everyone

Translations from Maulidi with follow up translations from Jeena in [square brackets].

1. WHERE did your grandmother perform Dandaro?
2. Was it with a group?
3. Is it different when you perform Dandaro NOW? With different topics, melody, or words. How did you change the song when you perform them?
4. Why is it different from when your grandmother performed Dandaro? Did Islam change anything.
5. Were there instruments with the performance?
6. Did your grandmother sing the songs differently to you? Do your granddaughters change the Dandaro songs when they learn them? What changes?
7. Do you sing Dandaro to tell someone a secret/hidden message?

Bi Mtumwa:

1. When the grandmothers are happy they invite other villagers for a celebration. All the villagers are gathered as a group and sing the Dandaro songs. They also used Dandaro at weddings

[Sehemu za Majangwani, tunacheza ng'oma zetu lakini mtaani sio mwituni,tunacheza ng'oma yetu mpaka tunatosheka tukimaliza tunaenda kulala,wala hatugombani au mhhh! Tunatosheka na ng'oma yetu hata kama hamna harusi ,tulikuwa tunajichezea ng'oma yetu hapo Mbuyuni,na maalum ikiwa tumefurahi tunacheza dandaro mpaka saa tano usiku tunastop nakuenda kulala.....

Desert places ,we dance or perform our songs and it was happening in the street and not in the bush, we dance until we get satisfied with, when we done we go to our bed while everyone is happy and enjoyed our time without any misunderstanding or any scol such thing...
We enjoyed our song even when isn't wedding but we dance at Mbuyuni especial when we are so happy dancing till 23pm from there we stopped it and do a sleep!]

2. Yes, it was with a group. It won't be one person, always their grandmothers made a circle of people and one of them goes to the centre of the circle and sings. The person in the middle leads the group in the song.

3.They are not different from the dandaro in the past. Now things are completely changed, the new generation don't like Dandaro. Instead of Dandaro people like listening to music like disco music. Dandaro is old fashioned for the new generation. No words, topics or melody has changed.

[Hakuna tofauti yoyote ispokuwa sasa kuna iso ng'oma za Melody,Maulid ya dufu,Rusha roho,sasa sio rahisi kulitafuta dandaro ispokuwa wale weye dandaro walitafute walitake ndio litachezwa, dandaro halijafa lakini mtu akisema mimi nataka ndio anaimbiwa lakini sio rahisi MTU kutaka dandaro kwasababu ya Rusha roho!

There's no any difference although nowadays there's songs of Melodies,Maulidi ya dufu, Rusha roho etc,so it's not easy to find dandaro because it's out of fashion but you can for all who has it and they have to find it while they are interested...Dandaro hasn't gone yet and it's exist for who wants it should get the place but it's not easy nowadays person to be interested with it because of Rusha roho]

4. A century now since their grandmothers started to sing Dandaro. Muslims have not tried to stop people from singing Dandaro, all people around respect the culture and no one dared to stop people from singing Dandaro.

[Toka tulipoanza kuimba nyimbo hizo haipungui miaka 100 na zaidi, kwasababu tumezikuta hiyo hiyo toka Sisi wadogo,Bibi zetu wanakwenda ng'omani halafu tunalala asubui tunaamka kwenye Dandaro ndio nasie tukapata kujua kwasababu Sisi tunakwenda na wao na kuangaliaa wakicheza nasie tukawa tunapenda nakujiona tupo kwenye duarani..Nawala haimvunjii mtu kazi kama usicheze nyimbo hii mbaya au haram ama nini mh!unacheza km unavotaka hakuna hata mmoja anakataza katika Uislam kama ng'oma hizi sizichezwe au haram Wakati huko ,Wakati ilikuwa hakuna asaa mambo hayo. Tunakwachiwa huru tutende tunavyochaka

Since we started dancing and singing dandaro it has been a 100 years and over because we saw it since long ago while we were kids,our grandmothers go to perform and we go along with right we sleep and when we awake at the same place,from then we got to know it because always we keep watching them and practice and finally we saw ourselves in the circle, dandaro never forced anyone to be interested with or to be arranged by which song not good you don't have to sing or haram but all just loved by heart and dance together...No one in our religion Islam has stopped is not to do it

because it's haram or dammit and by that time there was no such rules about there fore we been free doing it untill we tired..

5. If they want Dandaro to sound good they used different instruments like trumpet and drums.

[Ukitaka ng'oma yako ipendeze lazima unatafuta Zumari na Misondo tena hapo inapigwa na Zumari lipo mnaingia uwanjani mnaimba nakucheza Ila mnafuatilia yule anaepiga Msondo mnamsikiliza anavopiga halafu mnafuatilia kuchezaa.

The instruments we use when we wanted our dance to be influenced by others,you must have a drums and trumpets so then your dance can be starting while the trumpets are there,we start to be in circle and Everyone must song and dance but should be follow how the drummer sound it carefully from there you can start dancing as well]

Bi Mwaka

6. If their granddaughters want to learn Dandaro they can't change anything. Several of their granddaughters do not know how to sing Dandaro but most of them don't because it is not in fashion or popular to learn that style anymore. Now the new generation like Rushe roho - during a wedding or disco.

[Wajukuu zenu walivyokuwa wanajifunza Dandaro wanazibadilisha au? Hawazibadilishi kwasababu sio kama wanakaa kufundishwa vizuri ,hao wanayo mida mipya (Rusha roho) lakini hayo hawajuwi wala hawabadilishi kwasababu hata km ukiwaweka kitako Wana mda wakusikiliza..

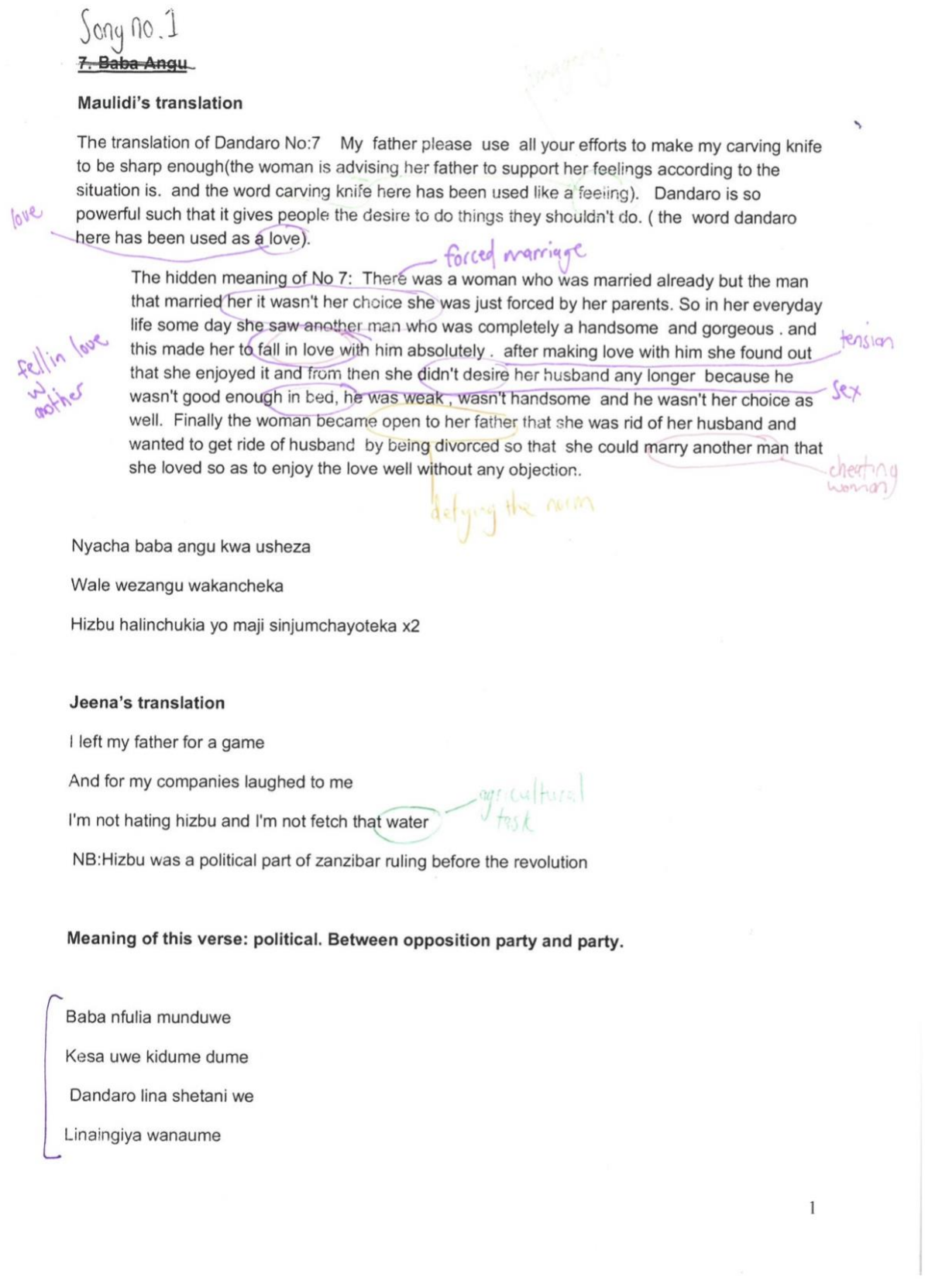
Our granddaughter while they were learning Dandaro never been changing anything because,they don't have a time to listen well when we teach them but their time influenced with a new music (Rusha roho) but Dandaro they don't know and never changed it because even when you asked them to learn they don't..]

7. At that time (when Bi Mwaka was younger) they used Dandaro to express their anger towards someone. For example, someone did something bad to them, you can't tell them directly and so they used Dandaro to express those feelings.

[Dandaro tulikuwa tunatumia MTU akikukera maana amekukera na huwezi kumwambia kwa mdomo kwasababu mtagombana sana lakini unaendaa kumuimba mbele ya watu wote wanasikia, kama amekukosea mwanao kama kamfanya vitendo au kama anakuibia mumeo tena hapo siku ya dandaro ndio unapoenda kumuimba..

We used dandaro when someone makes you angry that's mean when someone caused you can't tell face to face because you between can be argued over and over but you going to sing her so that many people can get the message as she meant bad to your own daughter or she is taking your husband so from there you can sing her]

APPENDIX C – CODING OF *DANDARO* SONGS



Song no. 1

~~7. Baba Angu~~

Maulidi's translation

The translation of Dandaro No:7 My father please use all your efforts to make my carving knife to be sharp enough(the woman is advising her father to support her feelings according to the situation is. and the word carving knife here has been used like a feeling). Dandaro is so powerful such that it gives people the desire to do things they shouldn't do. (the word dandaro here has been used as a love).

love

forced marriage

The hidden meaning of No 7: There was a woman who was married already but the man that married her it wasn't her choice she was just forced by her parents. So in her everyday life some day she saw another man who was completely a handsome and gorgeous . and this made her to fall in love with him absolutely . after making love with him she found out that she enjoyed it and from then she didn't desire her husband any longer because he wasn't good enough in bed, he was weak , wasn't handsome and he wasn't her choice as well. Finally the woman became open to her father that she was rid of her husband and wanted to get ride of husband by being divorced so that she could marry another man that she loved so as to enjoy the love well without any objection.

fell in love w another

tension

sex

cheating woman

defying the norm

Nyacha baba angu kwa usheza

Wale wezangu wakancheka

Hizbu halinchukia yo maji sinjumchayoteka x2

Jeena's translation

I left my father for a game

And for my companies laughed to me

I'm not hating hizbu and I'm not fetch that water

agricultural task

NB:Hizbu was a political part of zanzibar ruling before the revolution

Meaning of this verse: political. Between opposition party and party.

Baba nfulia munduwe

Kesa uwe kidume dume

Dandaro lina shetani we

Linaingiya wanaume

1

Figure C.1a Coding, page 1.

TRANSLATION

Father make mndu

Then it must be strong strong

Dandaro has a devil

It disturbs gentlemen

Meaning of this verse: mixed gender dance, other people are welcomed to dance in this circle. It doesn't matter if they are men or women.

NB: Mndu tools use for cutting tree

Baba angu hanakona we x2

Heya kwenu hajaja x2

Mjino yayule yalawa njee

Nkalii ngeze ushaga x2

TRANSLATION

My father cannot see x2

But he hasn't come to your home x2

His teeth are out

I sit on them(teeth) thought they are stick bed

19. Baba ukumbini amchume

Wala hanagoma ndime

Kulala alale kwengine

TRANSLATION

Father sitting room teach your son

But he doesn't afford digging

To sleep at other place

Song no. 2

8. ~~**DANDARO**~~ (can't find audio don't think it was actually sung)

Figure C.1b: Coding, page 2.

Meaning: you are one of two wives. You have daughters and one is getting married and you do everything for your daughters to show people who you are. A very expensive wedding to show off. The second wife is going to be married as well but she doesn't put on an expensive wedding. She just cooked normal food and nothing else. Thing song is making fun of the wedding that isn't as good as yours.

Barua ulonletea yo kwangu imfiki jana

Silipika pilau heya beni ncheze mchana

Maulidi's translation

No:8 The Letter that you sent to me I have received it . yesterday I didn't cook spice rice (pilau) but I danced the drum.

The hidden meaning of No:8 the woman was given a warning by her husband not to go to dandaro celebration because the man was fearing that he would be cheated by his wife and find another man by the reason that wherever dandaro celebration takes place a lot of people show up with different sex women and men and people are starting to date no matter someone is in relationship or married already. Finally his wife answered him that she was in attendance at the ceremony however she was warned not to go . but all in all she couldn't cheat her husband that she was honest all the time.

Jeena's translation

The letter you have sent me reached yesterday

I didn't cook pilau but I sent beni in the afternoon

NB:Beni is the traditional song ,that's doing by old people only

9.**(DANDARO) is this part of Baba Angu?**

Sina kwimba kwa fumbo

Nakwimba uvitambue

Mdichu makubwa ngezee tungule

Haji tumbo ayanadie

TRANSLATION

I don't sing for mystery

I'm singing for to understand

Figure C.1c: Coding, page 3.

For your big eyes I thought tomato

Hajitumbo sells them

NB: Hajitumbo is the name of the person

13.5

Kajanyazima viatu wee x2

Kanachaka kutembea x2

Kunguni hana miguu wee x2

Njo jambo nlochekea x2

TRANSLATION

She came to borrow my shoes x2

Because she wants to visit somewhere

Bedbug hasn't have legs

Is the thing made me laugh

~~**27. Dandaro**~~ Song no. 3

Haina mandaro wee

Kamba inambigija tia maji

Jauno nyo mbeto wa dandaro

Kwa mwendelezo wa kuhemkwa wee

Maulidi's translation

The translation and hidden meaning of No:27 Haina mandaro wee(this is introduction with no specific meaning) kamba inambigija (the woman is complaining that she is not free she is controlled too much by her husband for not being allowed to go to any where for fearing that she might cheat him) and a piece of information of the words Kamba Inambigija it means the rules are so strong for her to obey. Tia maji (the woman is begging her husband to give her the freedom to go wherever she wants, the piece of information of the information of the word "Tia maji" it means to make the rules less strict). "Jauno njo mbeto dandarokwa mchezo was heko" (this was said woman to express her happiness as she was super happy because afterwards her husband came down and he allowed her to show up anywhere she wants.

Figure C.1d: Coding, page 4.

Jeena's translation (Song no. 3)

There is no mdandaro eeh

The rope is squeezing me ,put water

This is a mbeto of dandaro (the end of Dandaro?)

For processing of dancing eeeh

Song no. 4

~~32. Dandaro~~

Kitororo kemena nyangasia

Mchele wangu kuumwaga pia

Tuna ugovi tangu jana

Jishati lyake nlichana

TRANSLATION

Kitotoro is following me

He's putting down my rice

We have argued since yesterday

I have cut off his shirt

NB: Kitotoro is the name of the person

Discussion about song 32:

"kitororo kinanyagasia"= a little bird is chasing me away..

"mchele wangu kaumwaga pia" = he also spilled my rice
We have a quarrel since yesterday…
jisherti yake nilichana =I tore his shirt off.

Song no. 5

~~36.(DANDARO)~~

Muarabu wangu kankaza

Kawa Mahonda nyimfichi

Namba kumi hamba gari ya makunduchi

Maulidi's translation

Figure C.1e: Coding, page 5.

Dandaro no: 36 there is piece of statement missing. it must be like this NB:Mwarabu yangu kankaza kawa mahonda nyimfichi (usoni kana) namba kumi..... ..

Dandaro No:36 translation: I love my Arab boyfriend , he is at Mahonda (is a village which is to the north of Zanzibar) I have hidden him. on his face he has been numbered ten like daladala(a local vehicle that transfer the passengers from one place to another) which makes it's route from Makunduchi to stone town.

The hidden meaning of No:36. It's said that there was a woman at makuduchi long time ago and she fell in love to someone whose original is arab. And the guy was living in that village known as mahonda. So the woman to her boyfriend all the time , it was so rare to see her to her home village. almost all the time she was at Mahonda to her boyfriend just because of love. Afterwards people started to spread rumours everywhere in makunduchi that the woman was not being seen in the village because love made her completely crazy and she was a figure of fun every corner in the village. But she didn't care about what people were talking about and she openly said to people that she loves her Arab boyfriend, also her boyfriend was scarified on the face and his scarification looked like a number ten like a daladala of makunduchi. She compared her boy friend with daladala because all daladala of makunduchi were numbered ten to recognise them easily.

Jeena's translation

I desire my Muarabu

He is at Mahonda I hide him

Number 10 looks like Makunduchi's car

NB: Muarabu is arabian people or white one

NB: Mahonda is the town in zanzibar that people growth sugarcane

NB :Makunduchi is the town in zanzibar , its near to Jambiani

Song no. 6

37. ~~**DANDARO**~~

Wanaume wanavyo elimu

Kuchasoma mpaka uchoke

Ukakataa kuwa mjinga na ukadmba kuwa mpope

Maulidi's translation

Dandaro translation No:(37) the way how men are educated enough the women gain a lot from them until they say it's enough. But when the women refuse to receive that education which men are blessed with the women are stupid and when they accept it the women are mindless.

6

Figure C.1f: Coding, page 6.

The hidden meaning of (37) Always men have a lot of techniques and these techniques are used by them to approach the women when they find out that someone is fit to be his sexul partner. And the word education it means the tactful words that men use during the session. and to be said when the women refuse are stupid it means most of men lie to women by promising them a lot of things but after making love with them normally the men don't bring about their promises. And instead of permanent love it becames a casual love. The key point of this, the women are advised to be careful with men and they shouldn't be positive easily bacause men are unpredicted.

defiance

Jeena's translation

tension

Men have education

You study until you get tired

If you deny ,you are stupid And if you agree ,you are bogus

defiance

Song no 7

~~41. **DANDARO**~~

Kitambaa nnunu Mimi

Ino kanzu silikwazima

Mshoni kunshonee jaje wee

Nnaechekwa kae zima

TRANSLATION

appearance

defiance of other women

I bought the material

I haven't borrow the dress

Why you made this deisgn

All people from Kae were laughing at me

place

Maulidi's translation

Xxx

Song no 8

~~42. Dandaro (39 in Maulidi's translations)~~

42.1

Kanyiuzu nalawa wapi

Hamwambia nkwijua mie

7

Figure C.1g: Coding, page 7.

Nalawa kwa mjaza kapu (mwanamme)

Shuaini ukamwambie

Wacha njilie sheke x2 (kundi la watu)

Mizali mwanangu nyeleke x2 (sina wasi wasi wa jambo)

Maulidi's translation

The translation(No:1) she asked me where I'm coming from and I responded her that it's not her business . I'm coming from my boyfriend. And I don't care if you're going to tell your brother about it. Let me enjoy the life because there is nothing to think or worry about(= the response of this song).

The hidden meaning of No:(1) There was married woman who was seen by her sister in-law coming from somewhere and sister in-law was curious and doubtful about her brother's wife because she wasn't honest and she was cheating on her husband. But sister in - law was entirely upset because her brother's wife was disrespectful such that she was answering unpleasantly.

Jeena's translation

gossip

He asked me where I was x2

I told him I know myself x2

sex with other men

I came from my men x2

Stupid go and tell him x2 — bad/cheating

Lets me be in this group x2

While I have stride my baby x2 (I have no problem with anything)

defiance

42.2

Kantumii ujumbee weee x2

Nyumba yake nyione paa x2

Avyokona nshuku buno x2

Mate kinywani hajanakaa x2

Wacha njilie sheke x2 (kundi la watu)

Mizali mwanangu nyeleke x2 (sina wasi wasi wa jambo)

8

Figure C.1h: Coding, page 8.

Maulidi's translation

The translation of No:2 He sent a message to me that he doesn't need me.
After seeing that now look beautiful and attractive he wants to get back to me again.

The hidden meaning of No:2 The women is complaining that her ex- boyfriend is stupid for dumpling her . Afterwards he wants her to be his girlfriend again because she looks lovely. And before he gave her a warning to stay away from him. finally he felt repentant for his crazy decision he made at that moment

NB: after the translation at the end there is response for songs from No: 39 which says (wacha njilie sheke nizali mwanangu nyeleke= let me enjoy the life because there is nothing to think or worry about).

Jeena's translation

He sent me message wee x2

I must see a roof to his house x2

When h saw me gained weight x2

Saliva's aren't much in his mouth x2

Lets me be in this group x2

While I have stride my baby x2 (I have no problem with anything)

42.3

Avo kale nyevu manjo wee x2

Heya sasa umanjo sina x2

Kaupanda ujiti wa mahaba x2

Mtu kaung'oo na shina x2

Wacha njilie sheke x2 (kundi la watu)

Mizali mwanangu nyeleke x2 (sina wasi wasi wa jambo)

Maulidi's translation

The translation of No:3. Back in my day I was gorgeous. but nowadays i have lost my look , I was being loved very much by my boyfriend but someone else spoiled our relationship fully.(here add the response likewise)

9

Figure C.1i: Coding, page 9.

The hidden meaning of No:3 A woman has remembered her past time when she was good-looking and attractive in sexual way. But now she looks so-so ,she has lost her look. To some degree it's hard to believe for her.

Maulidi: And the woman has used the word "manjo" to mean beautiful.

Jeena's translation

I was very brave long time x2

Right now I'm not x2

He was in love with me x2

And somebody has took my chance for now x2

Lets me be in this group x2

While I have stride my baby x2 (I have no problem with anything)

42.4

Dada Mwajuma kuwa mheke x2

Kuna mambo ngekwambia x2

Gombe mji lende densinii x2

Literemku likata njia x2

Wacha njilie sheke x2 (kundi la watu)

Mizali mwanangu nyeleke x2 (sina wasi wasi wa jambo)

Maulidi's translation

The translation of No:(4). My sister mwajuma your problem is that you can't keep the secret. There are a lot of things i would tell you. I saw the one who date with different men rushing to the date. She has just passed and crossed the road.

After that you can add the response.

The hidden meaning of No:4. Some one was telling the gossip to mwajuma that she saw Gombe mji (= is a woman who dates with different men and here she has just used the back door of saying Gombe mji)

10

Figure C.1j: Coding, page 10.

Jeena's translation

Sister Mwajuma your gossiper x2

There thins would have tell you x2

Someone went to clubbing x2

And she got lost from there x2

Lets me be in this group x2

While I have stride my baby x2 (I have no problem with anything)

42.5

Mie kankoso kweli wee x2

Kwenda kuung'oa na shina x2

Njo uchukue mche kwangu x2

Upande mie navuna x2

Wacha njilie sheke x2 (kundi la watu)

Mizali mwanangu nyeleke x2 (sina wasi wasi wa jambo)

Maulidi's translation

The translation of No:5. She really made me upset when she cut off the tree with it's trunk completely. Come to my home so that I can get you another seedling. You are growing it while I'm harvesting. (add the response)

The hidden meanin of No: (5) Someone wanted to help a woman who was lonely because her boyfriend was in love with someone else . And the one who wanted to help the lonely woman wanted to offer her another man so as to for get everything about the past and be back in the saddle. The lonely woman was broken-hearted and looked so down for being dumped by her lovely boyfriend. And here they have used the word mche (seedling) to mean another (= boyfriend)

Jeena's translation

I'm so angry because of her x2

To go and remove my tree x2

Come to y home to bring seedling x2

To grow again but I harvest x2

11

Figure C.1k: Coding, page 11.

Lets me be in this group x2

While I have stride my baby x2 (I have no problem with anything)

42.6

Ukisikia umoja wee x2

Jigoma la serekali x2

Upekepeke mie siugomo x2

Hiyo mnayotenda hatari x2

Wacha njilie sheke x2 (kundi la watu)

Mizali mwanangu nyeleke x2 (sina wasi wasi wa jambo)

Maulidi's translation

The meaning of people to be one thing is unity and solidarity . I can't spread the gossip everywhere. And what you are doing is dangerous.

There is no hidden meaning for No:6

Jeena's translation

When you hear unity x2

Group of people x2

I cannot gossip x2 jealousy/gossip

What you doing is dangerous x2

Lets me be in this group x2

While I have stride my baby x2 (I have no problem with anything)

42.7

Navyokwenda kibandani wee x2

Kukagua Chui yangu x2

Nvyokwenda kuna wana x2

Hamba nyiweleke wezangu x2

12

Figure C.1l: Coding, page 12.

Wacha njilie sheke x2 (kundi la watu)

Mizali mwanangu nyeleke x2 (sina wasi wasi wa jambo)

husband/boyfriend

Maulidi's translation

The translation of No: (7). When I went to the cottage to inspect my Leopard . several kids were there as well.

> The hidden meaning of No:(7) The woman is only expressing her happiness because when she went to her boyfriend's cottage he was around . she was extremely happy because of that. The word Chui (leopard) that has been used means her "boyfriend".

Jeena's translation

When I went to my hut x2

To look after my leopard x2

I see many babies x2

I wished to stride them x2

Lets me be in this group x2

While I have stride my baby x2 (I have no problem with anything)

42.8

name

Dada Mwaka kasaga mchele wee x2

Halingaiya chenga x2

Wajantupa njaani mie x2

Mwaka uno sina kwenda x2

Wacha njilie sheke x2 (kundi la watu)

Mizali mwanangu nyeleke x2 (sina wasi wasi wa jambo)

Maulidi's translation

13

Figure C.1m: Coding, page 13.

The translation of No: 8 Sister Mwaka has blended rice . when it was blended already she didn't give me the white flour of it. They have left me on the road . For the current year I don't go there anymore. (add the response)

The hidden meaning of No: 8 Here someone is complaining she had made a deal with her sister Mwaka but after everything went well as planned and expected. Sister Mwaka negatively changed to her young sister she oppressed her and didn't give anything to her young sister after the deal being done . And the one who was complaining about, was swearing tha she doesn't cooperate with her anymore next time.

deface

Jeena's translation

name

Sister Mwaka pound rice x2

jealousy

She didn't give me small bits x2

They throw it away x2

This year I'm not going x2

Lets me be in this group x2

While I have stride my baby x2 (I have no problem with anything)

42.9

Dandaro evuga dogo wee x2

Heya sasa limenakuwa x2

Mwenyewe tuna mwaga mchezo x2

Kisa kila mtu kavijua x2

Wacha njilie sheke x2 (kundi la watu)

Mizali mwanangu nyeleke x2 (sina wasi wasi wa jambo)

Maulidi's translation

The translation of No(9) Back in the days Dandaro celebration wasn't popular but nowadays it has become well known, popular and everyone likes it. Every single one of us is dancing it . and this is known by everybody.

There is no hidden meaning of No: (9)!!!!!!

Jeena's translation

14

Figure C.1n: Coding, page 14.

Dandaro was very small wee x2

But now is growing x2

We are dancing hard wee x2

Each one knows about it x2

Lets me be in this group x2

While I have stride my baby x2 (I have no problem with anything)

42.10

Nlichambuu Jodari wee x2

Miba hatua mbali mbali x2

Vitendo walivyo ntenda x2

Wazee wao watahayari x2 Wacha njilie sheke x2 (kundi la watu)

Mizali mwanangu nyeleke x2 (sina wasi wasi wa jambo)

Maulidi's translation

The translation of No: (10) I was very careful when I was eating fish. I collected all spines and put them away . The bad attitude they have showed it me even his parents got shame-faced.

The hidden meaning of No: (10) One woman was married by someone but she was in trouble in her marriage because her husband didn't show the real love to her . she was being annoyed by her husband every single day but she was tolerant for everything was happening by the way. But afterwards she lost temper with her husband and complained about everything she wasn't satisfied with.

Jeena's translation

I have clean thorn my fish x2

I have kept all thorns away x2

What they have done to me x2

Old people feeling shame x2

Lets me be in this group x2

While I have stride my baby x2 (I have no problem with anything)

15

Figure C.1o: Coding, page 15.