

1. Description

1.1 Name(s) of society, language, and language family: Gosha, Zigula

- Alternate names: Kizigula, Seguha, Wayombo, Wazegua, Zeguha, Zegura, Zigoua, Zigua, Zigwa¹
- Also, Mushungulu, Shambara³

1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com): ISO 639-3: ziw¹

1.3 Location (latitude/longitude): Handeni region of North Eastern Tanzania (ex-Tanganyika)⁴, Jubba Valley of Somalia³, refugee camps in Kenya²

1.4 Brief history: Though originally from Tanzania, the Zigula were moved as slaves to Somalia in the nineteenth century.² Later generations were not respected by the “pure” Somali because they were descendants of former slaves.² In spite of the forced move to Somalia and the social changes that followed, “the Zigula preserved aspects of their distinct culture such as the Zigula language (a Bantu language) and their matri-kin ritual naming system” (2p17). In 1991, the Somali civil war began and many Zigula escaped to refugee camps in Kenya, which ended up suiting them nicely.² They were able to communicate with others using their Bantu language, as the aid workers and officials in Kenya often spoke in Kiswahili, which is another Bantu language.² “Moreover, the Zigula language became what Declich calls an ‘emergency passport’ to enter Tanzania” (2p18). As for those who remained in Somalia, many of them “assimilated quickly to Somali society. They learned some Somali and adopted cultural features of the former ‘masters’ such as Islamic names and clan-belonging. Nonetheless, physical and cultural features such as curly hair (denominated *jareer*) and the ‘broken’ Somali spoken by many ‘ex-slaves’ (the Zigula term for this version of Somali is Mahaway) inevitably pointed to a past of slavery. People displaying these features were marginalized by most other Somalis. They were frequently insulted as *addoon* (i.e. slave) in daily interactions. For some ex-slaves and their descendants who kept their ancestors’ language – Kizigula (a Bantu language) – it remained a memory (and reminder) of their ‘free origin’. Those who could not trace such origins were considered ‘lost people’ who had no land to return to” (2p170).

1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors: “In the 1940s a number of young Zigula from Tanganyika who had been educated in missionary schools decided to launch a movement called *Moyo Wazigula na Ngulu* (‘Heart of the Zigula and the Ngulu), whose aim was to awaken the people’s consciousness against colonialism. They claimed the union of the Zigula and the Ngulu with the people of Korogwe and the Usambara mountains as well. Later some Tanganyika Zigula intellectuals started publishing a newsletter. The objective of the journal was to publicize development projects and other activities in the Handeni District and at the same time educate people to read and write Kiswahili. It should be noted that at the time classes in schools were conducted in English and the aim of spreading literacy in Kiswahili was somehow rebellious against British cultural colonization. Moreover, those who had been educated in the Christian schools had been prevented from attending traditional youth initiations and were, instead, offered the chance to join Boy Scout groups. It comes as no surprise that literacy in Kiswahili sounded to them like a modernizing factor which, however, maintained the African character they felt they were missing. And yet this group of intellectuals cherished the idea of the union of the Zigula residing in different parts of East Africa. They constructed the idea that the Zigula consist of several branches living in different countries but are, in fact, one family. At one point the newsletter published some articles concerning the Somali Zigula. The leaders’ Christian education provided imaginative suggestions from the Bible: the Zigula scattered in different countries were compared to the Jews dispersed in the diaspora” (2p179). “After independence a Swahilization process took place in Tanganyika and public education in the Swahili language became compulsory. The former students of the Anglican schools of Handeni, who then became active teachers in the local schools, were proud of their Zigulanness. Times had changed and they now felt that spreading Swahilization among the Zigula could encourage the disappearance of some of their core cultural meanings. Inspired by this feeling, a book of proverbs in Zigula was published by a teacher who was also an Anglican priest and had previously worked on the newsletter of the Zigula movement. In 1979 a study on ‘The impact of Kiswahili language on ethnic languages: a case study from Handeni district’ was produced as an MA dissertation at the University of Dar-es-Salaam. In this context, for the Tanzanian Zigula the existence of relatives in Somalia was considered as strengthening their ethnic feelings in the young nation. For the Somali Zigula such a long-distance connection had different aspects: it was a confirmation of their territorial origins to be claimed in case of need, as well as an option of good sites for future migrations. The large majority of them, however, opted for staying in Somalia, at the borders, enjoying the fertile land of the Juba River and only claiming the unity when needed or indispensable” (2p179-180). “Several interchanges at a high institutional level

took place between Somalia and Tanganyika/Tanzania in the 1960s and 1970s. A Somali Zigula born in the village of Moofi worked during that period as a journalist for Radio Mogadishu and participated in several official delegations between Somalia and Tanzania. He spent one year working at the Somali embassy in Dar-es-Salaam and was part of the elite group of 'intellectuals' who favoured for several years exchanges between the two countries. It is remembered by people who were present...that Julius Nyerere, who was President of the Tanganyika Africa National Union at the time, was invited with other African delegations for the celebration of the independence of Somalia (after 1 July 1960). On that occasion he was asked to give a speech at the University Institute in Mogadishu founded by the Italians (it became the Somali National University in 1970), which was the only public university in the entire country back then. Before this meeting he was invited by a group of Somali Zigula as a guest at the home of a Somali Zigula military police captain who had the most modern home of all. The Somali Zigula gathered at the meeting gave details of their origins from the Handeni area and Nyerere suggested participating in the activities for the independence of Somalia as well as getting Zigula students into the University Institute. One of Nyerere's secretaries was a Tanganyikan Zigula and this helped the exchange of ideas between Nyerere's delegation and the local Zigula. In his speech at the University Institute, Nyerere pointed out the importance of equality among people which was one of the aims of African independence, and stated that he wished the Somali Zigula, too, could benefit from a newly independent Somalia" (2p180). "For the Somali Zigula, the creation of a written tradition about their origins was already a concern in the 1960s and '70s. A number of young Somali Zigula had been educated in Christian missionary schools and clearly understood the importance of possessing a written history. Several Zigula people living in villages such as Mugambo and Moofi in Somalia started collecting oral traditions from their elders" (2p180-181). "Only a restricted number of mostly educated men decided to go and seek their chances in Tanzania when, in the 1970s, they experienced discrimination in accessing courses at the Somali National University" (2p181).

1.6 Ecology (natural environment): "Due to the existing long-term cultural movement in Tanzania and the exchanges which occurred at a high institutional level between the Zigula leadership of both countries, it is clear that, when the Somali Zigula refugees arrived in Tanzania, they found a fertile cultural context to welcome their integration into that country. For some Tanzanian Zigula intellectuals their arrival was seen as a sign and public confirmation that the Zigula are a very large and important group spread over many parts of Africa. The influence of these intellectuals certainly facilitated the acceptance of the Somali Zigula refugees in the Handeni area and the entire process of their integration in Tanzania. Without family or sentimental motivations for claiming to belong to Handeni, the area is not particularly desirable: it has little fertile land, the rainfall is pretty unpredictable and the inhabitants therefore live a life of scarcity and are in permanent risk of drought crises" (2p181).

1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density:

- Population size: 355,000¹

- "In March 1994, according to UNHCR reports, the Somali 'Bantu' in the three camps close to Dadaab, in northern Kenya, numbered 10,143 individuals" (2p176). It was claimed that the Zigula made up 26 per cent of the origins from East Africa.² "The United Nations officers did not indicate the language they spoke, but probably the Makua, the Zalamo and some Nyasa spoke Kizigula as this was the conformation in Somalia where, moreover, those who spoke Kizigula were by and large considered Zigula" (2p176). That would add on the 8 per cent Makua, the 6 per cent Zalamo, and the 13 per cent Nyasa to the Zigula count.² That would mean the Zigula accounted for about 5,375 of that population.

2. Economy

2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s): No evidence found

2.2 Main protein-lipid sources: No evidence found

2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?: No evidence found

2.4 Food storage: No evidence found

2.5 Sexual division of production: No evidence found

2.6 Land tenure: No evidence found

2.7 Ceramics: No evidence found

2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns: No evidence found

2.9 Food taboos: No evidence found

2.10 Canoes/watercraft?: No evidence found

3. Anthropometry

3.1 Mean adult height (m and f): No evidence found

3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f): No evidence found

4. Life History, mating, marriage

4.1 Age at menarche (f): No evidence found

4.2 Age at first birth (m and f): No evidence found

4.3 Completed family size (m and f): No evidence found

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f): No evidence found

4.5 Age first marriage (m and f): No evidence found

4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce: No evidence found

4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously: No evidence found

4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry?: No evidence found

4.9 Inheritance patterns: No evidence found

4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict: No evidence found

4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals: No evidence found

4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy): No evidence found

4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these “other fathers” recognized?: No evidence found

4.14 What is the belief of the mother’s role in procreation exactly? (e.g., “receptacle in which fetus grows”):
No evidence found

4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)?: No evidence found

4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape: Rape occurred occasionally in the refugee camps during the war, but there was no evidence of rape reported in the group itself. “During the initial stages of the flow of refugees from Somalia, and in 1994, the refugee camps along the Kenya-Somalia border were the closest shelter to escape from the war: people could reach them by car from the town of Kismaayo and some also tried their chance on foot. Yet, the edges of the camps were still a target for bandit raids aimed at stealing the refugees’ provisions. Some sexual abuses were perpetrated against refugee women who went to fetch water” (2p175).

4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin): No evidence found

4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms?: No evidence found

4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring: No evidence found

4.20 If mother dies, who raises children?: No evidence found

4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females: No evidence found

4.22 Evidence for couvades: No evidence found

4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older): No evidence found

4.24 Kin avoidance and respect?: No evidence found

4.24 Joking relationships?: No evidence found

4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations: “[B]eing able to attest one’s own genealogy is regarded as a sort of basic identity card in the country which was called Somalia until 1990. Descendants of slaves, although they speak Somali as their first language, usually cannot prove long patrilineal genealogies as free people can. They are mistreated due to their origin. In fact, descendants and alleged descendants of slaves are among the most disregarded people in Somalia, together with individuals belonging to groups considered outcast (Midgaan, Ybir, etc.). This kind of social stratification has existed in Somalia for centuries” (2p172). “The need to exhibit a consistent patrilineal genealogy to prove descent from free people seemed to embarrass the Zigula who also claimed a past as fierce warriors and later became trustworthy allies of the Somali during the struggle for independence of the Somali nation. They stated that they escaped from slavery, that they fought against slaves, that they constructed a community of free runaways along the Juba River and, finally, that they participated in the political movements which brought Somalia to independence in the 1960s as well as in the multi-party system set up in post-independence Somalia. Their wish to be freed from the stigma of slavery conflated in the construction of the then new Somali independent nation.

A number of Zigula were members of the Somali Youth League (SYL) and participated in its election campaigns. One Zigula man, Mze Juma Mganga Mwaleni, was also elected. Yet, his administrative position in Jamaame town lasted only a short while; the 1969 army-led socialist revolution erased the democratically elected institutions” (2p172). “Besides preserving their language, the Zigula did know the place – Handeni – from where they had originated and where their relatives lived freely in so-called Uzigua, i.e. ‘Ziguland’ (central-eastern Tanzania) until today. Zigula was spoken there as dominant language. Conscious of their heritage, many Zigula in Somalia tried to balance the need to prove their Somali-ness by exhibiting a patrilineal genealogy etc. with their wish to keep their distinct culture as people who were not originally Somalis. For them their history and heritage testified to a past of victories in battles, brought to mind a hard-won freedom and clarified the fact that they had been able to reside in a territory over which they got control through their strength in battle” (2p172-173). “The Zigula’s embarrassment regarding the need to present long patrilineal genealogies in order to be considered free in Somalia was also related to a different system of naming used by the matrilineal Zigula people, which was not easy to understand in a context where the usual paradigm is patrilinearity” (2p173). “[I]n the 1950s the elders belonging to the *wachina m’vamira* (*m’vamira* people), a specific kolwa among the Zigula, decided to start calling themselves in the Somali Muslim fashion and to inherit the *kolwa* of the patrilineal line. The new choice met the standards required in Somalia for recognition as people of a certain status. This, of course, also entailed for recognition as people of a certain status. This, of course, also entailed accepting some implications concerning preferential marriages. Not least it created some implications concerning preferential marriages. Not least it created some confusion among Zigula speakers who did not know precisely how the naming system was organized or the choice made by the *wachina m’vamira*. A few decades later, when asked how their naming system worked, a number of younger Zigula people faced some difficulties explaining it” (2p174). “[I]n the late 1980s most Somali Zigula traced their genealogies through mother or father lines to early ancestors, either to the chief Mkomwa Mwaligo, the son of Mwaligo Mazali who came originally from outside Somalia, or to his wife Hawa Chikula, who also arrived from East Africa. This was meant to clarify the fact that their original ancestors had come from much further away than those towns in Somalia from which the escaped slaves came, i.e. Merka, Brava, etc. Despite appearances, this system expresses a desire to be legitimate not as belonging to another country, but as being free Somalis in their own right and to be so by reason of having conquered a territory in battle” (2p174).

4.26 Incest avoidance rules: No evidence found

4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony?: No evidence found

4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name?: “The naming system among the Zigula in Somalia includes an individual marker for the name of the mother’s *kolwa*, i.e. mother’s matrilineal ritual descent group. The Zigula of Tanzania also use their *isi* names, which point to the place where the kin grouping came from originally. This designation was rarely used in Somalia and in the 1980s not many people knew its meaning” (2p173). “A Zigula person in Somalia is called by the name of her/his mother’s *kolwa* – which is her/his own *kolwa* – the *kolwa* of the father in addition to his/her personal name, for instance, Mahmud or Khadija. In the first case, he/she would be called <*kolwa*> + Mahmud/Khadija and in the second case his/her name Mahmud/Khadija + <father’s *kolwa*>. Another way of addressing an individual is to call him/her by <own name>+<father’s own name>+<grandfather’s *kolwa*>+<grandfather’s own name>. The first way of naming given here focuses on the matrilineal group and must be used when addressing an individual especially in front of his/her children. An important aspect of this naming system is that some individuals ended up being called mainly by the name of their *kolwa*, i.e. the *kolwa* of their maternal descent and remembered by it after death. Thus they left a memory of their matrilineal descent group rather than of themselves as individuals. This entire system of naming was at odds with the Somali patrilineal Muslim naming system which instead adopts a common patrilineal pattern by naming people with their <own name> their <father’s name> their <grandfather’s name>” (2p173). “Alternatively, the matrilineal system tends to forget individual ancestors through the mechanism of hiding them within the name of their *kolwa*, i.e. the matrilineal group name. For the patrilineal Somalis this is inconceivable: clearly remembered patrilineal genealogies indicate the present social position of people in the community. In many instances, to be able to refer to a well-defined genealogy – possibly reaching as far back as to some Kuraishitic ancestors – is a mark of nobility. Consequently, within the community of non-Somali ethnics in Somalia the exhibition of a long and clear patrilineal genealogy is considered a marker of freedom and, therefore, a sign of high social status. In the case of the Zigula in Somalia their matri-kin-based naming system had become an obstacle to being recognized as free people: not only did they have to face and

counter the stereotype physiognomy of an ‘ugly slave’ (curly hair and large nose) but different kinship criterion from the Somali one. Zigula and other non-Somali groups increasingly adopted the Somali-Muslim way of naming along the patriline, at least in public contexts, in order to avoid embarrassing questions” (2p173-174).

4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?): The Zigula certainly preferred their marriages to be within the community.² In the mid-1980s, “discussions were still being held about the importance of preventing women from marrying outside the Zigula villages as their children would soon lose the Zigula language by living in neighbourhoods where only Mahaway was spoken. One case illustrates the negotiations which were ongoing at the time. A woman living in the village of Mugambo became fed up with her Zigula husband and started an affair with a man who spoke Mahaway and lived in a village some 25 kilometres from her own, near the little town of Jilib. She wanted to divorce her Zigula husband and marry her lover. The entire affair was seriously hampered when somebody informed the woman’s father of her plans, which caused a sudden veto from the father, a veto that she could not break openly once it had been formally stated. Her plan was to get everything organized before her father could know what was about to happen and to face him with a divorce and remarriage which had already taken place. She had made many efforts to gain her brother’s support for the entire operation. For his part, her brother did not agree with her decision and was worried about his sister marrying outside the Zigula-speaking area because, he said ‘once children are born in Mahaway-speaking villages they lose their origins’” (2p171). However, there is evidence of a fair amount of intermarriage between the Zigula and the Bantu Goshu, which refers to “non-Somali people”.³

4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)?: Marriages don’t appear to be arranged, but there is evidence that, as previously stated, should a woman’s father decide he doesn’t want his daughter to marry someone, she will not be allowed to marry him.²

4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who: Outside of the evidence already provided for inter-community marriage and parental approval, there is no evidence for a conflict of interest over who marries who in the Zigula culture.

Warfare/homicide

4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare: There is no evidence of warfare within the tribe, although the Somali civil war had a large impact on the Zigula.²

4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death: No evidence found

4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing: Somali Civil War would have been a big cause for out-group killing.² There was also a lot of discrimination toward and violence against non-Bantu speaking Zigula.²

4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations): Before the Zigula were taken to Somalia as slaves, it is unclear what their relationship was with their neighbors in Tanzania. They obviously didn’t have good relations with the Somali. First they enslaved them, then, even after freeing them, descendants of slaves were not at all respected. “It must be remembered that in Somalia the police, even before the recent war, were particularly abusive towards the descendants of ex-slaves. During the 1970s and 1980s, for instance, several families farming along the Juba River lost their farms through trials in which false witnesses had been called to testify that they were not the traditional owners of the land. Later, when they complained to the police, they were put in jail instead of being protected. The police defended the rich Somalis who took over the land. The victims were even forced to pay a fine to be released from prison. Thus they lost their farms, the money of the fines, and confidence in themselves and in the protection of the state institutions. A number of other farmers were forced to accept selling rights to their land in order to avoid going to prison and losing money in seeking release” (2p176-177). They did, however, seem to have a fairly good relationship with the Kenyans. They set up refugee camps in Kenya and many of the workers at these refugee camps spoke a Bantu language, looked similar to many of the Zigula, and made them feel like “real people” (2p176).

4.18 Cannibalism?: There is no evidence of cannibalism in the Zigula culture.

5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size: It’s extremely difficult to give an exact number, or even a general guess, of how large the Zigula tribe actually is, because everyone’s opinions on who is actually considered a Zigula differ.²

5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality): A seasonal mobility pattern doesn't appear to have been present, as the late Zigula ancestors, being slaves, didn't have much say in where they went. Later descendants stayed in Somalia to be near family (dead or alive), went to the Kenyan refugee camps, or returned to Tanzania.² Those who returned to Tanzania after being freed from Somalia did so "in the hope that they could find better conditions in a country where they knew the language and where they had relatives, in the wider sense" (2p175). There is no evidence that they moved around within a calendar year for any reason.

5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes): "In Somalia the 'pure' Somalis – mostly members of nomadic clans – were considered the 'noble' people, whereas the Bantu-speakers were perceived as 'slaves'. Across the border, in Kenya, Somalis were a rather disregarded minority and were considered as *shifita*, i.e. bandits, who had been raiding this frontier area for decades" (2p182). The way one was seen status-wise was really dependent on which borders one lived in.² "[P]eople were enabled to play out the different aspect of their own identity by crossing borders..." (2p182). "Before the outbreak of the Somali civil war, the fact of having preserved their original Bantu language had the main implication of positioning the Somali Zigula group higher in the local social stratification as opposed to other alleged 'ex-slaves'. This helped the Zigula to establish boundaries between those whose ancestors never accepted their status as slaves and who actually escaped from slavery, and those whose ancestors were resigned to it. The latter were considered a less important category of people due to their scarce pride in their own group identity and minimal knowledge of their own ancestors, a viewpoint entailing an intrinsic assumption of the inferiority of slaves. However, for several decades the Zigula used this evidence to assert "Somali-ness", in terms of belonging to the Somali nation, a country the Zigula had fought for before and after independence and where they would have liked to be recognized as equals. Based on such ideas of superiority, some Zigula men ended up in important positions in the Ministry of Education and in the army after independence and the military socialist revolution. The way the Zigula language had been maintained, as well as the way the patrilineal idiom has been embraced, shows clearly the embeddedness of the Somali Zigula in the power struggle over social stratification in Somalia which, apparently, they did not contest through direct opposition. The desire for inclusion and integration in the national boundaries of Somalia did not prevent them, however, from maintaining these internal boundaries which could provide an escape route to Tanzania in case of emergency. The Zigula language as well as certain kinship similarities became a tangible passport to a place safe from warfare" (2p181-182).

5.4 Post-marital residence: No evidence found

5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense): The Zigula themselves did not maintain active border patrols, as they were constantly forced into and out of different areas.² Their boundaries in Tanzania were not that clearly defined.² As the tribe split into different groups and different areas after the Somali civil war broke out, the Zigula often crossed different borders in search of new opportunities.²

5.6 Social interaction divisions? (age and sex): No evidence found

5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships: No evidence found

5.8 Village and house organization: No evidence found

5.9 Specialized village structures (mens' houses): No evidence found

5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere?: No evidence found

5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc: "Boundaries within groups were...traced according to the ability to speak one or the other language. The resilience of the Kizigula-speakers was considered a good barrier against dissolution. Although such boundaries existed, they could be blurred in some cases: people, especially Mahaway-speakers who also had curly hair, could cross social boundaries and be included in the Zigula group if they had learnt Kizigula and lived among the Zigula for a long time. When such children were born in a Zigula-speaking context and, therefore, were well integrated in a Zigula village, they could easily be considered Zigula. There was great surprise and resentment against the Somali pastoral women who, having lived for decades in the Zigula community of Mugambo, betrayed the villagers when the war started in 1990/91. As the women knew the Somali language, they informed the Somali army and bandits about who were the rich Zigula and where they had escaped" (2p171-172). "The Somali Zigula of the Juba River are one example of people who ignored modern national frontiers and regarded cultural similarities as more relevant to their identity. Language and kinship criteria in particular could be manipulated and adapted for this purpose" (2p169).

5.12 Trade: No evidence found

5.13 Indications of social hierarchies?: The only evidence of social hierarchies among the Zigula are those that come with the ability, or lack thereof, to speak a Bantu language. "Many people, especially those who had been

kidnapped when they were children or were born in slave's houses, did not speak any native Bantu language nor could they trace their genealogical trees to any communities of free groups either in Somalia or outside. These people were considered irrefutably slave descendants as they had lost all memory of their origins; the fact that they could not speak their original language was regarded as a proof of this. Frequently, these individuals were only able to trace their genealogies to the name of the families in which their ancestors served as slaves. They did not recall the names of earlier forefathers" (2p170). Basically, "knowing a language other than Somali was a marker of difference the Zigula of the Juba River were proud of showing. Having kept their Bantu language became an important sign of freedom in the light of the historical vicissitudes of the territories of the Juba River" (2p170). The significance attributed to knowing a Bantu language and the higher status one achieves through that could also have something to do with the "emergency passport" previously mentioned, which can get someone back into Tanzania.² This would be considered a privilege, so those who had this "emergency password" would certainly be considered to have a higher status.

6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

"Interpretations of ritual songs are difficult since their meanings cannot be translated literally and are hidden in so-called *kufanda*, i.e. metaphorical verses" (2p171).

6.0 Time allocation to RCR: No evidence found

6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine): No evidence found

6.2 Stimulants: No evidence found

6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal): "Language as an important sign of freedom is stressed through the memories recalled in the performance of one ritual song of the Zigula's female initiation ritual *buinda*. The song refers to the Makua chief Mabulukl, who headed the Makua of the Juba River at the end of the nineteenth century and is remembered for not having sufficiently stressed the fact that the Makua people should continue speaking their own Bantu language. The song runs as follows: *Mabuluku tubia ikalamahali isingua iamuenye* (Mabuluko you must stop it, this country already has its master)" (2p170-171). "Whenever asked for an explanation of the words of the song, elders would say that the song reminds the audience not to act like Mabuluko. Abandoning their own Bantu language made the Makua 'slaves' of the Somali and no longer able to prove their origins" (2p171). "[T]he historical events behind this song refer to the chief Maburuc Moro. He was one of the key people with whom the Italians signed agreements in Gosha. Maburuc Moro progressively conveyed power to Somali speakers who, in this case, were the slaves or masters of slaves. At the time, concretely enforced national boundaries did not exist and colonial forces were basically trying to establish some sort of control of the territories in order to collect taxes from the people. The colonizers were mainly interested in controlling local trade, and their presence in the territory was not sufficient to maintain territorial boundaries. In such a framework, neglecting his own language, Mabuluko, was giving Somali speakers power over the territory and over his own Makua people. That is why the song states that the 'country already has its master' and that the chief should have stopped his policy" (2p171).

6.4 Other rituals: "One of the Bantu customs still observed by Gosha people is the Gulu Nkulu ('Great Dance') of the Yao in Mozambique and Malawi."³ "Many Gosha participate in possession dances like 'lumbe,' similar to the cults practiced by the Somali peoples. These all involve dances, efforts to placate spirits, and specialists who are paid by possessed people or families. It is reported that possessed people often speak in Swahili."³

6.5 Myths (Creation): No evidence found

6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games): No evidence found

6.7 Sex differences in RCR: No evidence found

6.8 Missionary effect: No evidence found

6.9 RCR revival: No evidence found

6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs: No evidence found

6.11 Taboo of naming dead people?: No evidence found

6.12 Is there teknonymy?: No evidence found

6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.): Many Zigula began to practice Islam in the early 1900s.³ "Many aspects of the animistic Bantu religion is retained by the Gosha people, including the practice of magic and curses. During the 20th century, however, they have gradually accepted Islam as a 'cover' religion and culture."³

7. Adornment

7.1 Body paint: No evidence found

7.2 Piercings: No evidence found

7.3 Haircut: Curly hair often signified an ex-slave.²

7.4 Scarification: No evidence found

7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.): No evidence found

7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment: No evidence found

7.7 Sex differences in adornment: No evidence found

7.8 Missionary effect: No evidence found

7.9 Cultural revival in adornment: No evidence found

8. Kinship systems

8.1 Sibling classification system: “The Somali Zigula argument that they should be recognized as Tanzanian since they are Zigula whose ancestors originally had left the Handeni territory could not be accepted as such in a modern nation. And yet, part of the Somali Zigula negotiations with the Tanzanian government dealt with the fact that, as well as speaking the same language, the Somali and the Tanzanian Zigula have the same origins in terms of matrilineal grouping, the *kolwa*. Sharing the same *kolwa* kin groupings means ‘coming from the same place’, ‘originating from the same mother’ (*tombo*, i.e. the same breast), and therefore being ‘brothers and sisters’. Among the Somali Zigula the *kolwa* groups were exogamous. A man and a woman belonging to the same *kolwa* were considered as son and daughter of the same mother, and therefore brother and sister, and their descendants were considered as having been nursed at the same breast” (2p175).

8.2 Sororate, levirate: No evidence found

8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.): “Pan-Zigula ideals continued to inspire movements in Tanzania, gaining renewed strength from the arrival of the Somali refugees in the mid-1990s. Recently two books were written by the son of a former teacher at the school in Kindeleko village, who held in high esteem the leaders of the early *Moyo Wazigula na Ngulu* movement. These books express strong pan-Zigula ideals, and trace the origins of the Zigula to biblical sources. The Tanzanian author claims common origins for Somali and Tanzanian Zigula, putting forward a number of different hypotheses concerning the origins of this entire linguistic group in Africa” (2p180).

9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

- “Indeed, several *kolwa* are the same in Somalia and Tanzania and some *mviko* traditional rituals, i.e. the *chisasa* and the *ukala*, are also the same, as the Somali Zigula discovered on their arrival in Handeni. These intimate aspects of the Zigula culture are almost unknown to outsiders: their knowledge cannot but reveal familiarity and commonality. Therefore, the desire of the Somali Zigula to achieve equal status within modern Somalia through the preservation of their language and origins became a concrete, not an ideal passport to Tanzania and, more than anything else, was a crucial factor for integration during their life in exile. Unsurprisingly, this familiarity with certain ritual structures and the fact that the Zigula language had been spoken in Somalia for centuries predisposed the local population of Handeni positively towards this particular kind of *wakimbizi* (i.e. refugees in Kiswahili). Only later, in 2005 did the Tanzanian government start to offer citizenship to this group of people. Despite the several hundred kilometres which separated the Somali and Tanzanian borders (Kenya is in-between), the spoken language and the ritual knowledge became a very important marker of distinction testifying to the ‘origins’ of the Somali Zigula” (2p175-176).
- Life in the refugee camps: “The initial impact of the very fact of living in the camps was quite amazing as regards their self-confidence as a group. In the camps most workers were Kenyans, who spoke Kiswahili and were obviously considered Kenyan citizens in their own right. Suddenly, these Zigula who had never travelled outside Somalia experienced the difference of being considered human beings equal to others. At least two people I knew from Somalia and who I met during a short trip to the Dadaab camps in 1994 came to tell me that, in these Kenyan refugee camps, where people with curly hair and large noses are the majority among the officers, they felt like ‘real people’. They were grateful for this because finally the Somalis were kept at bay since they were in a foreign country. In particular, the security and police officers were Kenyans and the Zigula felt they showed them compassion and were ready to defend them in

case of need in a way that they had never experienced before” (2p176). “In general, most of the Zigula had never experienced being treated as equals before leaving Somalia. Once they had this chance in the refugee camps bordering Somalia a number of new options became available to them. Some families decided not to go back to Somalia and to settle in an area in Kenya where people with their same *kolwa* origins lived. One such man was Mohamed, a Shanbara Ngindo man who lived in the Somali village of Mareerey before the war. Had it not been for the war, he would not have left Somalia to look for Ngindo people in Kenya. I remember what he used to say in 1986: ‘We very much like to live where our elders have been buried. We have been here for a long time and we like to stay here. This is why I shall not go to Kenya’” (2p177). “However, the experience of being considered as humans equal to others raised a number of new expectations and aspirations among the Zigula Somali refugees. The Somali Bantu identity that would never have served to achieve anything ‘good’ before could now be put forward to seek for better conditions of life and individual recognition and legitimacy. On these terms, life in the refugee camps of Dadaab, though hard and difficult, opened up a number of opportunities, including a number of new ‘capabilities’ for those Somali Bantu who spent time there in exile. Crossing the boundaries, in this case, and living in a camp on the border has been an extremely important experience which has unlocked a range of options that people did not even imagine possible before. Alternatively, however, the concrete means to obtain the new imagined possibilities of well-being are not always at hand within the camp” (2p177). “For many Somali Zigula the stay in the refugee camps in both Tanzania and Kenya in the early 1990s opened up a number of different options. Achieving recognition among the Somali was no longer the only possibility for enjoying dignity in life and preserving their means of production. A certain ‘ethnic freedom’ was enjoyed in the camps. Zigula no longer needed to aspire to Somali-ness in order to be acceptable to their social/cultural environment. In this context boundaries were particularly useful for a twist in the identity perspective” (2p182).

- “The interconnections between Somali and Tanzanian Zigula, though very rare and scattered, date a long way back, possibly to the nineteenth century. Some known contacts between the Zigula of the Juba River and the coast of East Africa at the end of the nineteenth century are represented in one oral account, among others. The story goes that the Somali Zigula chief Mkomwa Mwaligo had a wife by the name of Masunya who was a traditional birth attendant. She was once called by an Indian man from Kismaayo to attend the delivery of his wife. The child died because of its position in the womb but the man accused Masunya of its death. The case was brought to court in Zanzibar in the time of Sultan Said Baragash. The court decided in favour of the midwife. The elders who accompanied the woman returned from Zanzibar with mango seeds and other goods in addition to receiving information about the existence of Gerban Tanganyika. A number of British Army *askaris* had remained along the Juba River during World War II and they interchanged information with the Somali Zigula about the political transformations in East Africa. Apparently, following a number of contacts, at the end of the war the Somali Zigula were offered transport back to Tanzania in British boats. However, they refused. The Zigula in Somalia had family roots and were settled on the very fertile land along the Juba River. Their family networks, at that point, were far more extended in Somalia than in Tanganyika. They therefore did not see good reasons not to remain in the area they were living in although they were located at the margins of Somali society, both geographically and metaphorically. A man from the Somali village of Moofi went to Handeni in the years shortly before Somalia’s independence in 1960, in search of political connections and information, but did not stay and came back to Somalia” (2p178).

- “Once the Zigula had been pushed out of Somalia, the initial fact of having kept their language and of being able to speak Kizigula changed its meaning in the context of their exile in Tanzania. The wish of the Somali Zigula to be considered free met coincidentally with the claims of the past and with the modern local pan-Zigula movement. Since the Tanzanian Zigula are a large linguistic group in Tanzania, their interest lies, in part, in demonstrating the extent and the importance of the Zigula people not only in that country but all over East Africa. In this framework part of the Somali Zigula leadership/elite – being forced to settle in Tanzania – no longer need to fight for freedom, and their desire to participate in the power struggle has shifted towards supporting local negotiations among ethnicities in modern Tanzania. This does not prevent them, however, from seeking in Tanzania the enforcement of their new rights matured as refugees and, therefore, as people entitled to free education for their children and land to cultivate for subsistence, as well as food and food items offered by the aid agencies. Strategies adopted in

exile are complex and varied. Different personal choices can be involved...not as many Somali Zigula as expected accepted Tanzanian citizenship when it was offered in 2005 by the government in Dar-es-Salaam. Some had already married and integrated with the families living around Handeni. A large number of those who had fallen ill, for instance, decided to go back and die in their home villages in Somalia. Those who most interest us are those who preferred to go back from Tanzania to the refugee camps in Kenya where they thought there were better opportunities for their future. Some of them thought that, being in Kenya, they could pursue their chance of the possibility of being resettled in the US, under the label of Somali Bantu. A large number moved from Chogo, the area allocated to the Somali Zigula for resettlement in Tanzania, to the Kenyan Kakuma refugee camp from where the first group of resettled people has left for the US. Some, however, had already made their choice for a number of other reasons, including that of living closer to their relatives who had remained behind in Somalia. Eventually, even fifteen years after the Somali Bantu were forced into exile, the frontier area of the refugee camps continues to attract people who believe that their main hopes lie in the continuously rising and shifting possibilities offered by the transitional context of the refugee camps” (2p183).

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