**Example annotated transcript**

EGL: Good afternoon this is the 14th July 2017 this is the second semi-structured interview with an elderly couple, I am EGL.

JR: *Bibi sema jina lako* Grandmother[[1]](#footnote-1), say your name

Bibi Zakia: *Jina langu* my name?

JR: *Eee* Yeah

Bibi Zakia: *Si nilisema jina langu saa hiyo* I said my name that time

JR: *Sasa si unajitaja kwani si unajua mwenyewe jina lako* Now you say it yourself you are the one who knows it

Bibi Zakia: *Sasa nilisema jina hapo nilitaja sasa ninasema mara mbili tena?* But I said it already and now I say it for the second time again?

JR: *Haya, unaitwa Zakia?* Ok, you are called Zakia?

Bibi Zakia: *Si hilo nilitaja* Yes, I already mentioned it (laughing, confused)

JR: *Na babu anaitwa?* And Grandfather you are called?

Babu Shuma: *Mimi naitwa Mzee Shuma bwana* My name is Mr Shuma madam

JR: *Asante Mzee Shuma* Thank you Mr Shuma

EGL: *Tunashukuru* We thank you

JR: My name is JR

Bibi Zakia: *Baba yangu anaitwa Shuma huyu yaani wanachangia jina na baba yangu aliyonizaa.* My husband is called Shuma, this man has same name as my father who bore me.

JR & EGL: *Asante, sawa* OK, thanks

EGL: OK, so you are both living here together, and who is living with you in the house?

JR: *Sasa mama hapa unaishi wewe na baba tu au una watoto wengine, wajukuu?* So mother you live here with just with this father or do you have other children, grandchildren?

Bibi Zakia: *Ni hawa hapo wajukuu wangu (she pointed to a young girl and little child) nikwambie mama mimi ninakueleza ukweli mimi sio mtu wa kangalakangala[[2]](#footnote-2).* Those there are my grandchildren (pointing to a young girl and infant), I tell you mama I speak the truth, I am not a person of lies.

JR: *Ndio* Yes

Babu Shuma: *Unaona hii familia iko nyumbani hapa sio hii tu wengine wako makazini, wengine wakokwa wapi, wengine wako kwa mabwana, mimi nina wajukuu ishirini na mbili.*

You see this family is here at home but they are not the only ones, others are at work, others are with their husbands, I have twenty two grandchildren.

JR: *Ahaa una wajukuu ishirini na mbili ahaa sawa!* Oh you have twenty two grandchildren, I see!

Babu Shuma: *Halafu kwa vitukuu, nina vitukuu kumi na mbili, vitukuu vilivyozaliwa na wajukuu zangu.* And regarding great grandchildren, I have twelve great-grandchildren, children born of my grandchildren.

JR: *Ahaa, sawa hongera sana baba kwakweli.* Oh, I see, congratulations father, for sure.

EGL: *Hongera, una watoto wengi!*  Congratulations, you have many children!

Bibi Zakia: *Na wajukuu* And grandchildren

EGL: Are there any of their children who live in the village anymore?

JR: *Watoto wenu wanaishi nyumbani kwao kwenye miji yao?* Are your children living in their homes in their towns?

Babu Shuma: *Eee, wanaishi kwenye miji yao na kuoa wote wanaoa hakuna watoto wangu ambae hajaoa.* Yeah, they live in their towns and all are married, there are none of my children who aren’t married.

JR: *Wote wameoa na kuolewa[[3]](#footnote-3)?* All are married?

Both Babu Shuma & Bibi Zakia: *Eee!* Eee! Yeah!

Babu Shuma: *Mpaka vijukuu vimeoa na wana watoto wao.* Even the grandchildren are married and have their children.

JR: Ahaa, Ok Ah, OK

Bibi Zakia: *Mpaka watoto wangu wana wajukuu, watoto wangu nazaa mie wana wajukuu wengine wanasoma shule.* Even my children have grandchildren, my children, I bore myself[[4]](#footnote-4), have grandchildren some are studying in school.

JR: She is saying yes, they are not living with them, they are living in the village.

EGL: Who is supporting them, who is looking after them are there any grown up children who is live in the village close by?

JR: *Na labda kuna mtoto ama kuna mjukuu yeyote anaishi ambaye anaishi karibu na nyinyi ambae anawasaidiasaidia[[5]](#footnote-5)?* And is there any child or grandchild at all who is living nearby, living close to you, to help and help you both?

Bibi Zakia: *Wapo watoto wetu.* Our children are there.

Babu Shuma: *Wapo vitukuu hivi mnavyoviona lakini baba zao wako hapa wengine wako sido, wengine wapo hapahapa.* There are these great grandchildren who you are seeing, but their fathers are here, others are in another village, others are right here.

JR: *Ahaa, wako wapi? Hapahapa kijijini ama wako mikoani?* OK where are they? Here in the village or in other regions?

Babu Shuma: *Wewe huoni lile banda lile pale lina watoto wengine wamekuja likizo wanapumzika pumzika tu, hapa hatuna watoto wengi wajukuu wapo lakini hawapo hapa kwangu wako hapahapa jirani, wanasoma shule mpaka sasa wako shuleni.* Don’t you see that in that shelter over there, there are other children who have come to rest, just resting is all, here we don’t have many children, there are grandchildren here but they don’t stay here at my place they are at my neighbour’s place, they are studying up to now, they are at school.

JR: *Ahaa!* Ahaa!

Bibi Zakia: *Ahaa! Nimeshachelewa kwenda kusali, wanaadhini sasa.* Ok! I am already late to go to pray, they are calling to prayer now.

JR: *Mama umesema unataka uende kusali?* Mother, you said you want to go to pray?

Bibi Zakia: *Nimeshachelewa mpaka niende nioge nivae.* I am already late, until now I have to go and take a shower and get dressed.

JR: *Basi tusikucheleweshe kama unataka kwenda sawa tuishie hapa.* Then we shouldn’t make you late if you want to go let’s end here.

Bibi Zakia: *Hapana ongeeni tu.* No just speak.

Babu Shuma: *Unasemaje eti?* What are you saying?

Bibi Zakia: *Nilisema nilitaka kwenda kusali lakini nimechelewa adhana inaadhiniwa nikasema basi.* I said I wanted to go to pray but I am late its already the call to prayer, so I said fine then.

Babu Shuma: *Utakwenda ijumaa linguine*. You will go next Friday.

JR: *Ee! Mtusamehe hatukujua kama mnaenda kusali maana tumevuruga[[6]](#footnote-6) utaratibu ila tunashukuru kwa kutuvumilia.* Ee! Forgive us we didn’t know you were going to pray, which means we have messed up your timetable, but we thank you for your patience.

Babu Shuma: *Yani ukiwa na shida Mwenyezi Mungu nae anajua kuna shida maana yeye ndie anayajua matatizo yako.* When you have a problem Almighty God knows there is problem and its meaning because he is the one who knows your problems.

EGL: *Tunashukuru,* We thank you. So I want to ask about their life, what activities are they doing? *Kawaida,* (normally) from when they are waking up, what do they do normally, *labda chai*? (maybe they have breakfast?)[[7]](#footnote-7)

JR: *Na katika maisha yenu labda hapa yale maisha ya kawaida mnafanya nini? Labda katika maisha yenu kiamka mnafanya nini?* And in your daily lives, your usual life what do you both do, maybe when you wake up, in your lives? When you wake up what do you both do?

Bibi Zakia: *Tunatafutatafuta chakula hamna tunaishi hivyo hivyo ukiondoka ona tunaishi hivyohivyo, ndio hivyo.* We search and search[[8]](#footnote-8), there is no food, we live like that, when you leave you see we live like that, yeah that’s it.

JR: *Kwahiyo sasa kwenye chakula na vitu vingine ukiamka asubuhi unafanya nini, mchana unafanya nini na jioni unafanya nini?* So about food and other stuff, when you wake up what do you do, in the afternoon what do you do and in the evening what do you do?

Bibi Zakia: *Hivyohivyo ukipata, Mungu anasaidia hivyohivyo, kidogo.* It’s just like that, if you get (something) God is helping like that, a little.

JR: *Kwahiyo asubuhi?* So in the morning?

Bibi Zakia: *Ndo hivyohivyo tunatafuta ukipata kidogo, majirani wakusaidie.* Just like that we search, if you get a little, the neighbours they help you.

JR: *Mh!* Mh!

JR: *Asubuhi?* In the morning?

Bibi Zakia: *Asubuhi hivyohivyo tu anasaidia ukipata kidogo, na majirani wakisaidia.* In the morning, just like that, they help you to get a little, and the neighbours help.

JR: *Ndio mh! Sawa* Yes mh! OK

Bibi Zakia: *Kitu mbaya kuiba[[9]](#footnote-9).* Stealing is a bad thing.

Bibi Zakia & Babu Shuma: They started talking together, we did not understand

JR: *Naomba tuongee mmoja mmoja.* I beg you to talk one at a time.

Bibi Zakia: *Mpe mzee aseme.* Give it to him to speak

Bibi Zakia: Talking in her own language Nyiramba

JR: *Mnaongea Kinyiramba tena! Tuongee Kiswahili*. You are both speaking Nyiramba again! Let’s speak Swahili

Bibi Zakia: *Anasema amelima shamba, shamba lenyewe limekauka na jua, akienda pahala anapewa mtaji anapewa hivyo hivyo.* He said he has cultivated the farm and the farm has dried up with the sun, if he goes to the village he gets some money just like that.

JR: *Sawa nilikuwa namtafsiria huyu mwenzangu kwa kuwa hafahamu Kiswahili.* Ok I was translating for my friend because she doesn’t know Swahili.

Bibi Zakia: *Eee* Yeah

Babu Shuma: *Unaona jinsi ninavyokueleza kuna matatizo hapo nyuma ukipita hivi nyumba yangu imebomoka[[10]](#footnote-10) hapa mbele hapa nyumba imebomoka, kupata msaada mpaka nyumba yangu iinuliwe hamna.* You see the kind of thing I am telling you, we have problems here if you go there behind my house it’s collapsed and here in front it’s collapsed, until I get help, let my house be broken, there’s none.

JR: *Lakini baba umesema una watoto?* But father you said you have children[[11]](#footnote-11)?

Bibi Zakia: *Watoto nao wana shida hivyohivyo.* Children also have problems like this[[12]](#footnote-12).

Babu Shuma: *Watoto nao wana shughuli zao[[13]](#footnote-13) wengine wako Kenya huko ni karibu, mpaka upige la mgambo ni lini huko[[14]](#footnote-14).* The children they have their own business, others are in Kenya there its close, until you rush is when you go there.

JR: Na hawajawahi kuja kukutembelea hapa? And haven’t they come to visit?

Babu Shuma: *Walikuja kunitembelea miaka nenda rudi na njaa kama hii.* They came to visit me in a year long ago, in (a time of) hunger[[15]](#footnote-15) like this.

JR: *Hawajaja kukupa chochote?* Haven’t they come to give you anything?

Babu Shuma: *Hakuna, Mmmh toka Uhuru Kenyata ni rais hawajawahi kufika hapa.* Nothing, mmmh since when Uhuru Kenyetta was president they haven’t ever come here[[16]](#footnote-16).

EGL: How does it make him feel?

JR: *Na sasa babu unajisikiaje sasa kwa hali hizi ambazo sio nzuri unazosema unajisikiaje wewe?* And now father, how do you feel about these situations that are not good that you told us about, how do you feel?

Babu Shuma: *Mimi nikwambie ukweli mama, huu mwili huu niliobeba huu hauna matatizo, matatizo ni hii miguu hii, kutembea siwezi na mgongo unasikia na hapa kipande hiki hapa (showing on the ribs). Nataka nipate risiki kidogo nipate chakula ili niweze kunisaidia bila hivyo mwili unalegea, sio nina homa aaa, mwili unalegea kabisa na kwa kongoro kongoro, hata nikitaka kuondoka mpaka nikamate kibambaza ama nikamate, ukiona hivi mpaka kwahiyo mimi natafuta hata nani anipe hata kachai ninywe nakosa niko na shida mama niko ndani ya shida, ndio shida yangu.* Let me tell you the truth mother, this body here that I have carried doesn’t have problems. My problems are these legs here, to walk, I cannot, and my back you can feel and here to the side (showing his ribs). I want to get a little sustenance, to get food so as to help me otherwise without, this the body is getting weak, it’s not that I have fever, my body is becoming completely weakened, like a donkey, a donkey. If I want to go get up I have to cling to the staff. I look for anyone to give me even some tea to drink, but I don’t get any, I have problems mother we are in difficulty, yes that’s my problem.

JR: *Pole* Sorry

Babu Shuma: *Ila makazi sio mabaya, makazi ni mazuri kaika kijiji cha mtakuja hakina upepe pepe sana, hakuna umbea lakini sio umbea wa kupeleleza peleleza[[17]](#footnote-17) majumba ya watu ni ubea wa hapo nyubani kwako basi anapepeza ananyamaza, sio ule wa kutembeleana a umbea hapana, hamna huo kukaa hakuna matatizo, matatizo Mungu akitaka anakuchukua tu basi unazikwa basi umekwisha.* But the residents are not bad, the residents are nice here in this village there is not much gossip of spying on people’s houses, the gossip of messengers, its only gossip of their own homes that’s it, they spy and stay quiet, not that of visiting each other to gossip, no, staying here there are no problems. There’s the problem of if God wants to take you, you are buried and finished that’s it.

EGL: Does he think he has frailty?

JR: *Babu unafikiri una udhaifu wa mwili?* Grandfather, do you have frailty of the body?

Babu Shuma: *Naam?* Yes?

JR: *Unafikiri mwili wako umedhoofu*. Do you think your body is becoming weakened?

Babu Shuma: *Mama, mimi nilikuwa mzima[[18]](#footnote-18).* Mother, I was once healthy.

JR: *Unafikiri mwili udhoofu sana labda?* Do you think your body is becoming very weak maybe?

Babu Shuma: *Mwili unaanza kuchoka mama, hasa makanyagio[[19]](#footnote-19) yanauma haya, hizi nyama hizi zinauma hizi (showing the ribs) sio zinauma kwa kuvuta hivi zinachoka.* The body is starting to tire mother, especially these heels are painful, these muscles are painful (showing his ribs) they are not hurt but because I am pulling them, they are tired.

JR: *Zimechoka?* They are tired?

Babu Shuma: *Zimechoka, sio kama kwa kuvuta hivi kuna kitu kinauma ndani hapana, zimechoka yani zimelegealegea[[20]](#footnote-20), uko kama mtoto unatamani utambae, mwili unakuwa hauna nguvu sana.* They are tired not because of pulling them something it’s hurting inside, they are tiring that’s it they are weakening, you become like a child you wish to crawl, the body hasn’t got much strength.

EGL: Ohoo! aa I see, *Umepunguza uzito?* You have decreased weight?

Bibi Zakia: *Wengine wanacheka sio kuumwa ni wanachoka, saa ingine unakutakiza au kuchoka kabisa, mwili unachoka kulegea huwezi kuondoka yaani utumie nini mpaka hii urudi kuchoka, unatumia nini? chakula au matunda gani? (wakati mwingine hakuna viungo vya vyakula)*. Others are laughing it is not getting sick, it is being tired, at times you become completely tired, the body becomes tired and weakened and you can’t leave (the house), that’s it. What can you use to get rid of this tiredness, what can you use? Which food or fruits? (Sometimes there is no food of the season.)

Babu Shuma: *Tumepigwa picha ya uzeeni inaitwa sijui nini hii?* We have had our old-age photos taken there, I don’t know what it’s called?[[21]](#footnote-21)

EGL: My question was is he losing weight?

JR: *Unafikiri mzee unapungua uzito kwa sasa unaona uzito unapungua?* Do you think you are losing weight, now has your weight reduced?

Babu Shuma: *Ukienda pale hospitali nikiwa sijaugua nilikuwa na uzito wa kilo 52, 52 lakini sasa bado nilivyougua sijaweza kwenda hospitali kwahiyo hujui kama unapungua ama?* I went to hospital before I got sick I weighed 52kg, 52 but after I got sick I haven’t gone to hospital so I don’t know if I have reduced or not?

Babu Shuma: *Sijitambui sasa*. I have not discovered it now.

JR: *Wewe unavyojiona umepungua?* In your opinion are you losing weight?

Babu Shuma: *Eee, naona jinsi kwamba nimepungua kwa sababu mwendo[[22]](#footnote-22) wangu wenyewe sio ule nilikuwa natembea zamani.* Eee, I think I have lost weight because even my pace is not how I walked in the past.

Babu Shuma: *Sasa mimi nataka ninyi wataalamu mnisaidieni! Ile kujisaidia saidia kila saa yaani haja ndogo.* Now I want you professionals to help me! Every hour I go for short calls[[23]](#footnote-23).

EGL: Probably the condition is a common problem in old age, the problem may be that the prostate is enlarging and is causing urinary frequency especially at night, it can disturb sleep. But at the hospital they have a urology department, maybe we can advise that he goes there?

Babu Shuma: *Sawa, sasa nikinywa uji nakojoa sana lakini nikinywa chai sikojoi, nikinywa nikizidisha yananipa mtatizo lakinini kama nikinywa maji kawaida tu hayanipi matatizo, sasa wewe kama mganga nini sina tatizo la choo kubwa sana naenda kama kawaida, hii kukojoakojoa[[24]](#footnote-24) saa si kwamba inauma kama kaswende hapana, mkojo nakojoa kawaida tu.* Ok, if I take porridge I urinate a lot but if I take tea I don’t urinate. If I drink too much water it’s a problem but if I drink just a normal amount okay, there’s no problem. Now you are like healers, I don’t have problems with defecating, I go as usual to the toilet, but this urinating urinating all the time, it’s painful like syphilis, no I don’t urinate normally.

JR: *Ndio maana nimekwambia linaweza likawa tatizo dogo tu linaweza kuangaliwa pale hospitali kuna mtu wa kitengo cha mambo hayo.* Yes that’s why I told you it could be a simple problem, you can be seen at (the regional hospital) where there are people dealing with such problems.

EGL: Can we ask *bibi* (grandmother) the same question, does she have frailty?

Babu Shuma: *Tatizo la macho, macho hayaoni nilipimwa macho.* I have an eye problem, the eyes don’t see, my eyes were tested.

Bibi Zakia: *Wanakuja na gari wanasema macho ameshakwisha kuharibika.* They came with a car, they said the eyes are already completely destroyed.

JR: *Sawa ni watu wa (the regional) hospital wanakuja kumuona sasa naomba nikuulize bibi wewe unavyojiona hali yako uko sawa? Uko vizuri, wewe hali za kuchoka, kudhoofu unafikiri unazipata?* Okay, they were people from (the regional) hospital, coming to see him. Now, may I ask you grandmother do you think you are fine? Are you good, do you have feelings of tiredness, weakness do think you get them?

Bibi Zakia: *Ee, hivyohivyo kuchoka lakini natoka naenda kutafuta tafuta namletea mzee, sasa kama tukichoka wote tukikaa tutafanya nini sasa?!* Yeah, it’s just like that, I tire but I go out to search and search and bring (something) to him (her husband), if we all get tired and we all stay sitting what will we do now?!

JR: *Kwahiyo wewe unatoka kutafutatafuta?* So you go out searching, searching[[25]](#footnote-25)?

Bibi Zakia*: Natoka kutafuta, naenda kwa majirani, sasa tukikaa wote na hata mimi hivyohivyo tu, hii mifupa na miguu na kidogo… Napata nakula na mume wangu.* I go searching, I go to the neighbours, if we all sit and me too just like that, these bones and legs a little bit… If I get (food) and eat with my husband.

EGL: Next is how do the neighbours help? Are they coming here to help with practical tasks or are they sometimes giving money or food, how do they help?

JR: *Na mfano majirani mama, majirani wanakuja kukusaidia hapa nyumbani au mpaka uwafate huko uongee nao au wanakuja na kukusaidia na shughuli za nyumbani hapa?* And for example neighbours do they come to help you here at home or you have to follow them and talk to them or do they come and help you with home activities, here at home?

Babu Shuma: *Hapa (in this village), majirani hapa mkutane tu njiani “habari za asubuhi?” “nzuri” basi.* Here in this village, neighbours, you meet them on the way and you greet each other “good morning, how are you?” “Good” that’s all.

JR: *Kwahiyo hawaji hapa?* So they don’t come here?

Babu Shuma: *Hawaji hapa wala, lakini panapo matatizo tunajumuika wote kama kuna kilio, kama kuna harusi au kama kuna nini….. tunajumuika wote[[26]](#footnote-26), lakini kukaa eti kama hivi tunaongea hiyo hapana kabisa yani ni kupunguza umbea kama unaelewa hapo.* They don’t come here, but if there are problems we all gather like at a funeral, wedding or something… everyone assembles, but sitting like this talking like this no, not at all it is reducing gossip if you understand.

EGL: Ooh!! So they do not have visitors, their children are far away, they are not living with them, some are in Kenya. The ones who are close by they don’t help and their neighbours don’t visit them? *Hamna watu.* Nobody?

Bibi Zakia: *Hamna, labda watoto tu wapate huko waseme tusaidie wazazi lakini la kutembeleana hamna.* No, maybe if the children get (something) and they say let us help our parents but visiting you, no.

EGL: So do they feel isolated from the community or lonely?

JR: *Unafikiri labda mnakuta jamii labda inawatenga[[27]](#footnote-27) labda mnajisikia upweke?* Do you think maybe the society is isolating you and maybe do you feel lonely?

Bibi Zakia: *Hawaji kutuma msaada, yupo huyu Imamu wetu Sheikh, basi kama upo msaada kidogo anamletea mzee, kuna hawa watu wanataka wewe uwafate wanatumia pombe, sasa pombe sisi hatutumii tunatumia tu chai sasa ndio wanataka muwatembelee make hivi mnakula pombe, ndio uongo sasa lakini sisi hatutaki.* They don’t come to help, there is our Imam Sheikh, then if there is a little help[[28]](#footnote-28) he brings it for him (her husband), there are these people who want to be followed, they use alcohol, but we don’t use alcohol we just take tea, they want you to visit them because you will drink alcohol, that’s a lie but we don’t like it.

Babu Shuma: *Mama nakueleza hivi hapa katika mji wa Mzee Shuma hawanywi pombe, kitu adui kabisa ni pombe, sasa nakula chai, nakula soda basi, pombe yoyote bia sijui nini aaaaa, huko sisi hatupo wewe nipe soda ninywe nipe chai ninywe nipe ugali nile basi.* Mother let me tell you here in the town of Mzee Shuma they don’t drink alcohol, it is a complete enemy, alcohol, now I take tea, I drink soda that’s it, any alcohol, beer or I don’t know what, we don’t take it, give me soda I’ll drink, tea, I’ll drink, give me ugali I’ll eat.

JR: *Mmh! unafikiri ndio sababu hawakutembelei kwasababi wanaona haunywi, hukai nao kunywa yale mapombe.* Mmh! Do you think that’s why they don’t visit because you don’t drink, you don’t stay to drink alcohol.

Bibi Zakia: *Uongo sasa, ili na wewe uchukue uongo wao na sisi hatutaki umbea.* A lie now, so that you also take their lies and we don’t want bad talk.

Babu Shuma: *Wewe ukienda kwenye mapombe unatafuta maneno ya umbea sasa na sisi hatupendi maneno ya umbea umbea, ni hapa nyumbani tunaongea kama ni kelele tutapigiana hapa nyumbani na watoto wangu. Mfano fulani amekuja hapa amesema hivi na hivi, kesho ofisini, keshokutwa unapelekwa Bomang’ombe hii yote kuhangaika.* If you go to drink alcoholic drinks you are looking for words of gossip and now we don’t like words of gossiping gossiping, we talk here at home, if it’s noise we will make it here, it’s with our children. For example, someone came here and said this and this, tomorrow in the office, the day after you are taken to the nearby town, all this you suffer.

EGL: So then the last question I want to ask is about the things they value in their life, the thing that gives them satisfaction that gives them value in their life?

JR: *Sasa kuna, katika maisha ya kila siku kila binadamu anakuwa anakitu ambacho anakipenda akikosa anasononeka unafikiri vitu unavipenda lakini huvipati?* In life every human being has something they like that when they miss it they suffer[[29]](#footnote-29), do you think there is something you like but you don’t have?

Bibi Zakia: *Ni kweli zaidi zaidi huyu kama hana macho anakaa hvyo si inakuwa kama huyu mwanamke ana kitu kizuri anakula nini, ananinyima kumbe tunakula hicho hicho tu, kwahiyo wewe unakuwa unajisikia vibaya. Sasa nimezoes, sasa mwenzangu huyu atasema nini nakula vitu vizuri kwahiyo nini sili, ni hicho cha chumvi tunakula tunalala sasa nini nakwazikwa.* It’s true especially this one as he doesn’t have his eyes, he thinks “this woman has something good that she’s eating she is not giving it to me”, but we are actually eating the same thing, so I feel very bad. I am used to it, but my husband what will he say? “What, is she eating good things?!” so it’s the same food with salt, we both eat and we sleep but now it is not known.

Babu Shuma: *Mimi najisikia wa kukosa hela kwasababu kama nina hela mama ananiletea kasukari kidogo ananitengenezea chai nakunywa basi, halafu ninakaa tu ananipa chakula nakula.* I feel I am missing money because if I have money my wife brings me some sugar and she prepares tea then I drink, afterwards I just sit and she brings food and I eat.

JR: *Kwahiyo wewe unaona kama unakosa?* So do you see as though you are missing it?

Babu Shuma: *Kwahiyo hivyo vitu vyote roho yangu inapata mengi sana sana.* So all those things my heart gets really such a lot.

JR: *Unafikiri labda kitu gani wewe ungependa kuwa nacho ungejisikia tu vizuri ungekuwa unaishi vizuri? Kitugani wewe unapenda uwe nacho lakini unashindwa?* What do you think if you had you would be living well? What do you wish you had which would give you a good life, but you are lacking?

Babu Shuma: *Napenda niwe na chakula, kama nina chakula unajua ile chakula inaweza kunisukuma kunipunguzia matatizo kwasababu hata kuangalia hivi mitamwambia mama achukue kitu fulani akatembeze auze, anunue kitu fulani ulete tule, ndio maisha ya mwanadamu sasa hivi uniambie nitafute maisha ya kwenda kufanya kazi nitaweza wapi? Kama huyu huyu ukamuangalia hivi unafikiri ataweza kufanya kazi, usimuone hivi kwasababu anaongea ongea hapa ana mtoto wake ambaye ana umri wa miaka 58! Sasa yeye ana miaka mingapi?! Si amesogea[[30]](#footnote-30).* I wish to have food, if I have food you know that food it can boost[[31]](#footnote-31) me, reducing my problems because as you see this I tell my wife to take something and she walks with it to sell it, and she buys something for food, yes the life of a human being right now. Like this you ask me to wipe out life and go to work, where can I? If you look at her you think she can work because she is talking talking. But don’t see it like this because she talks a lot but she has a child who is 58 years old! So now how old do think she is?! No she has approached.

JR: *Sana* (a lot)

Babu Shuma: *Unaangalia jinsi tunavyokwenda?* Do you see how we are proceeding?

EGL: How do they feel to receive donations from the mosque, how do they feel that they have to rely on the kindness of the mosque.

JR: *Hamna shida* no problem we are finishing. *Sasa kama utakuwa umepata kamsaada kidogo kutoka pale msikitini labda Sheikh amekuja kukupa, amekuja tu kukuletea kamsaada kidogo, unafikiri kwamba unajisikiaje?* Now, if you get some small donation from the mosque, perhaps the Sheikh brings it, he comes to give it to you, he comes just to give you a small donation, when you think about that, how do you feel?

Babu Shuma: *Msaada?* A donation?

JR: *Ndio amekuja kukuletea kamsaada kidogo kutoka msikitini unajisikiaje?* Yes he has come to bring you some small donation from the mosque, how would you feel?

Babu Shuma: *Kama tunapata msaada tunashukuu Alhamdulillah! kwasababu huo msaada utakupunguzia mawazo mabaya, huo msaada utakuondolea tamaa, kutamani kitu ambacho huwezi kukipata, utaangalia kama sasa hivi mimi hapa nikiaka ninywe chai hiyo pale dukani kalete sukari hata ile sukari mtoto akileta tukinywa si ile roho inatulia utakuwa una tamaa tena saa hiyo inaweza kuwa kesho au keshokutwa au utataka nyama huwezi kununua.* If we are getting a donation we thank Alhamdulillah! Because that donation will reduce the bad thoughts, that donation will get rid of desire[[32]](#footnote-32), being desire for what you can’t have, you will see like now if I want to drink tea I send a child to bring sugar from the shop and my heart will be calm[[33]](#footnote-33) no You will get a desire again that time, it can come tomorrow or the day after tomorrow, you will want meat but won’t be able to buy it.

Bibi Zakia: *Pombe ni Shetani pombe ni Shetani utakuta una galagala hivi, unakula mapombe si haki unakula tu kitu cha maana tu ndani unatulia.* Alcohol is Satan, alcohol is Satan, you might be there rolling like that, drinking alcohol it’s not right, you should eat something reasonable inside and be quiet.

Babu Shuma: *Hata kwenye radio wanasema ule mboga za majani zitakupatia nguvu hata sisi huku maporini tunatumia mboga za majani kwasababu yale majani yananipa nguvua saa ingine hayana mafuta si unaweka hapa unashukuru Mungu unasema Alhamdulillah, jioni tena unaweka, yanakujenga ule mwili, kama ulikua una vitamin C unapata vitamin, mwili wako unjisikia ukifanya hivi unajisikia sio ile unajisikia haoma aa!! kidogo kidogo tu.* Even on the radio they say eat vegetables and herbs, those are the things which give you strength, even us here in the bushland, we use vegetables and herbs because they give me strength. At times they don’t have oil you serve it and thank God saying Alhamdulillah, in the evening you serve it again, it builds up your body, if you didn’t have vitamin C you get vitamins, your body would feel that, you won’t feel a fever aa! Just a little bit.

Bibi Zakia: *Mafuta hata ukienda hospitali unaambiwa usitumie mafuta sana au uongo[[34]](#footnote-34) mama, usituwe sana tumia kwa kiasi, ndio anasema mboga za majani tunatumia sana.* Cooking oil, even in the hospital we were told not to use a lot of oil or is it a lie mother? Don’t use a lot use it moderately, yes that’s why he is saying we use mostly vegetables.

Babu Shuma: *Ila mama njaa?* But mother you have hunger?

Bibi Zakia doesn’t respond

EGL: *Asanteni nashukuru*. Thank you all.

Jane: *Bibi huwa mnatibiwa bure kwenye Zahanati.* Grandmother is treated for free at the dispensary?

Bibi Zakia: *Ndio tunacheti wamepeleka Dar es Salaam, yani cheti cha wazee cha kuaguliwa tunakwenda hapo tunapata dawa na huduma hicyohivyo lakini sasa hapa bado mtaji hamna.* Yes we have a certificate they have taken to Dar es Salaam, the elders certificate is expected, we can go and there get medications and service, but until now there’s no capital.

Jane: *Kwahiyo huduma za hospitali mnazipewa?* So you get hospital services?

Bibi Zakia: *Tunaenda hospitali tunapata dawa.* We go to hospital and get medications.

Jane: *Bila kununua wapewa bure?* Without buying, you get it for free?

Bibi Zakia: *Ndio wazee au uongo?* Yes the elders or is it a lie?

Jane: *Ni kweli.* It’s true.

Babu Shuma: *Ukiwa hapa kwetu utapewa ukienda (district hospital) utapewa si unakitambulisho mana yeye amepata nini bado sijapata sasa wanasema wao wenyewe wataleta sijui nini na nini, ila maana yeye amepewa nini bado, lakini mama baada ya kupewa ameambiwa picha yake iko huku labda atakuja kubadilishiwa ila bado sisi tunamatatizo kidogo lakini uganga uganga huu ukikosa hapa unapelekwa (the district hospital).*If you are here you will get it, if you go to (district hospital) you will be given it because you can make yourself known (using your identification papers), she has already got hers but not me yet, they said they will bring it but after she got hers she was told her picture is still here, so they will change it but not yet we have some small problems, but if the health services are missing here we are taken[[35]](#footnote-35) to (the district hospital).

EGL: *Tutamaliza tunashukuru sana.* We are done we thank you very much.

1. JR translated it as Madam, which conveys the respect attached to it in English, but not the literal meaning. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Repeated word for emphasis, it is an informal word. She’s saying she is a reliable trust-worthy person. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. This verb is different for each gender. Men marry or take a wife “kuoa”, while women are married “kuolewa”. That is marriage is a passive action for women and active for men. They are talking about the marriage of their children as a success, but also to convey that they are fully grown and have their own responsibilities. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. In the UK we would not have to make that distinction between my children and my children that I gave birth to! I guess this comes from the use of family and personal pronouns for everyone. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Repeated words are used to exaggerate the word’s meaning, or describe doing something in small amounts repeatedly. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Vuruga= verb meaning to stir up, to excite, to exasperate or to mess up. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Revealing the extent to which I take food for granted, it is always the start of my day, but for Bibi Zakia and Babu Shuma each meal is uncertain, every day the only routine is uncertainty. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. JR’s original translation says “We do some work” but the verb “tafuta” means to look for, to search or to find out. Essentially working is the same as searching for food. By this meaning. The fact that it is a repeated verb means that they either search a lot, or struggle repeatedly to search for food. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. This reference to stealing suggests that the couple have been tempted to steal food, due to their desperation. The switch to their local language may have been to try to conceal this desperation, or because of a personal conflict between them on this issue. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Bomoka = (v) to collapse, to demolish Here I don’t think they have actively demolished their house, rather it is falling down due to disrepair and lack of maintenance. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. The implication being that children are the safety net and will help to address problems such as this. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. In keeping with the material constraints discourse, but it is easier for older people to believe that their children want to support them, but are unable, rather than believe that it is due to wilful neglect. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Their work, job, business or activity [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Meaning, it doesn’t take long to get there if you go directly [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Rather than “rainy” and “dry” seasons, when there is a poor harvest or a significant period of drought, people refer to “hungry” seasons and “times of plenty”. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. He was elected president in Kenya in 2013. This was not dwelt on, perhaps because it highlighted their discomfort at being largely abandoned by their large family. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. To investigate or to spy on [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Healthy or whole [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. More literally “These where I tread” [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. The verb “-legea” means to be faint, to be weak, to relax, to be loose, but I think in this context weakening is closer to the intended meaning than loosening. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Referring to registering for proof of age ID in order to access the exemption from healthcare costs. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. JR’s original translation used the word “gait” but the dictionary translation is speed, movement, distance or journey. I think pace fits well in this intended meaning, his walking has slowed down. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. “I frequently go” is JR’s translation, but he says literally every hour I need to go to the toilet. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. JR translated this as “this frequent urination” but actually I think to repeat the word sounds less medical and is closer to what Babu Shuma said. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Searching in this context seems as though they are referring to begging, or asking for food/money. But has also been used to refer to looking for short-term informal work. Essentially, to search is to look for a way of surviving and subsisting. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. -Jumuika is the verb to be united, or to assemble, in this context he means the latter I think. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Society separates from you, isolates you, ostracize you? [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. I think they are talking euphemistically about donations of money or food [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. -Sononeka the verb means to grieve or suffer, JR translated it as “feel depressed” [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. She has approached is the literal translation, while JR translated it as “she has aged” so thus she has approached the end of life, approached old age… [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. The literal translation is “to push” but in context, boost makes most sense. He is talking about how his lack of food leaves him without energy, which is leading to his frailty. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. Tamaa means hope, ambition, desire and greed. I think JR’s translation of “envy” doesn’t quite fit this context. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Tulia verb to be quiet or to be calm or to relax. JR translated it as at peace [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. Uongo= noun False/a lie [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. Passive tense, accessing healthcare is something which is done “for” or “on behalf of” your older relative, as a form of care giving activity. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)