

NYAKYUSA GREETINGS

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Little work has appeared on the study of greetings since the publication, ten years ago, of essays by Raymond Firth (1972) and Esther Goody (1972, also 1973:41-50). Earlier suggestions that greetings could be analysed in parallel with other forms of communicative device have met with scant response (Hulstaert 1959; Finnegan 1970:469-70; Kōngās Maranda 1971:195; Willis 1978:5-8, 14-20)¹ while later writers have tended to focus upon but one of the themes identified by Firth and Goody, the role played by greetings in the maintenance and manipulation of hierarchy (Irvine 1974; McIntyre 1980).

An examination of some aspects of Nyakyusa greetings highlights the need to retain a wider perspective and to develop the historical and comparative insights rehearsed by Firth, referring to change in Malay and Tikopian greetings (1972:12-15, 33-4), and Goody, comparing contemporary patterns among the neighbouring Gonja and LoDagaa of northern Ghana (1972:41-6, 64-7). The Nyakyusa material, furthermore, serves as an appropriate reminder that the essays by Firth and Goody first appeared in a volume devoted to 'The Interpretation of Ritual' (La Fontaine ed. 1972).

The Nyakyusa of south-west Tanzania, well known to anthropologists through the work of Godfrey and Monica Wilson, require little further introduction (see in particular Wilson 1951 and 1977). Some description of their everyday greeting behaviour (*ukuponya*, 'to greet') is, however, necessary to preface this discussion. The following account is reproduced from notes written at my request by a Nyakyusa woman, Sekelaga Victoria Mwanjisi, and given to me in Mbeya on 8-9-1980 and 12-9-1980 respectively. I have added, in square brackets, some translations of Kinyakyusa terms. Literal translations of the Kiswahili greetings which appear in the text can be found in any introductory dictionary or grammar (e.g. Zawawi 1971).

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a) the basic Nyakyusa greetings

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| "1. <i>ugonile</i> (singular) | ['you have slept'] |
| <i>mugonile</i> (plural) | in Kiswahili ' <i>Habari za asubuhi?</i> '
or ' <i>Habari za siku nyingi?</i> '

'Good morning?' or 'How are you?'
or 'Hello!' |
| | Plural forms are used to
a) a man, for respect,
b) more than one person. |
| 2. <i>ubombile</i> (singular) | ['you have worked'] |
| <i>mubombile</i> (plural) | in Kiswahili ' <i>Habari za kazi?</i> '
or ' <i>Habari za mchana?</i> ' |
| 3. <i>gwangele</i> (singular) | ['you have amused yourself/
conversed'] ² |
| <i>mwangele</i> (plural) | in Kiswahili ' <i>Habari za kutwa?</i> '
or ' <i>Habari za kushinda?</i> ' |

Greeting 1. is used in the morning and also to someone you have not met for over twenty-four hours.

Greeting 2. is used during and after work. This broad greeting interchanges with the type of work which is/was being done by those greeted. For example if you found people cutting firewood you would say, *usebile* or *musebile* (literal meaning, 'you have cut...'). If you found them sweeping the yard you would say, *upyagile* or *mupyagile* (literal meaning, 'you have swept...'), etc., etc. This greeting best describes the working hours and has no true equivalent either in Kiswahili or English.

Greeting 3. is for rest periods only, i.e. it is commonly used after and around two o'clock in the afternoon. It is a local greeting with no equivalents either.

Accompanying words,

<i>ugonile tata</i>	'father/elder'
" <i>juba</i>	'mother/elder female'
" <i>mwana</i>	'child' (rather uncommon)
" <i>nkulu</i>	'my elder one, sister/brother'
" <i>ngwangu</i>)	
" <i>gwamyitu</i>)	'my younger one, sister/brother'

Gwamyitu could also be used by a husband to his wife but never by the wife to her husband.³

We usually do not label our brothers-in-law. The greeting is the same and respect is only implied. But you may hear a lot of people use the word *shemeji* for brother-in-law. It is borrowed directly from Kiswahili, as are all of the following three,⁴

<i>ugonile shemeji</i>	'brother-in-law/sister-in-law'
" <i>dada</i>	'sister'
" <i>kaka</i>	'brother'

All these are the formal Kinyakyusa greetings.

Now colloquially you will also hear,

1. *ulembwike* (singular) in the morning, literally meaning,
mulembwike (plural) 'you have woken up!'
- utwa mbombo* during working hours, literally meaning
'what news do you have concerning your work?'
- utusisye* (singular) 'you have rested'
- mutusisye* (plural)

utwa kutusya 'what news do you have while resting?'

When you meet people coming towards you, this expression is commonly used, *isaga!* This means 'please move on closer to where I am, you are welcome!' (By way of comment, I wonder when this greeting was coined? It may be that it was during the tribal wars, i.e. if you were not regarded as an enemy then 'move on closer', but if you are an enemy then 'stay where you are.' Someone could elaborate on this)."

b) Nyakyusa greeting exchange

"The 'lesser' of the two parties involved in a greeting usually starts with the word *isaga!*

Stage I.

Isaga!

ena (the usual reply)

alune! (a proud and/or confident
man's reply...never used
by a woman)

Stage II.

mugonile? (if woman...kneels
down or curtseys)⁵

ena, ugonile

(Stage II can be repeated as many times as the two parties wish)

Stage III.

mulibakafu? 'are
you all well?'

tulibakafu 'yes, we are'

mulibakafu na numwe 'and you?'

tulibakafu, ndaga
'we too are all right,
thank you'

(Culturally the Wanyakyusa feel it impolite if the greeting ends with the two of you. It should start with the two and end with the whole families' or villages' welfare. Thus,)

Stage IV.

utwa kukaja? 'what news do
you have of home?

mma, tununu 'none, all is well'

ndaga 'thank you'

ena 'OK'

utwa kukaja numwe? 'and what
news do you have of home?'

mma, tununu itolo 'none,
everything is just fine'

ndaga

ena

Stage V.

mugone (ugone) 'goodbye'

mukagone (ukagone) 'goodbye'

(note Kinyakyusa has a singular and plural 'goodbye' [literally, 'may you sleep', from the same root as *ugonile*])⁶

ubombile (mubombile) and *gwangele (mwangele)* all go through the same stages.

Lengthy greetings usually signify the intensity and depth of the relationship of the parties concerned."

These notes, intended only as an introductory guide, provide an admirably concise outline of the structure of Nyakyusa greetings (including the formal expression of parting).⁷ While there is none to match this description in detail, the literature is sprinkled with references, dating from the earliest days of European contact in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, to both verbal and non-verbal aspects of Nyakyusa greeting behaviour. Most observations are confined to the opening and closing stages - I, II and V in Mwanjisi's account - of the greeting exchange. I will limit most of my own argument to the verbal component of the second of these stages; to the initial statement or question (as in *ugonile*, 'you have slept'), the repetition of this and its use in conjunction with terms of address.

A number of early writers record, either on its own or taking precedence over *ugonile*, a quite different expression; *usokile*, literally 'you have come out' (Elton and Cotterill 1879:342-3; Fotheringham 1891:27; Meremsky 1894:104; von Glauning 1903:130-1;

Fülleborn 1906:341).⁸ There is little doubt that *usokile* once played the part now reserved for *ugonile* as the greeting 'used in the morning and also to someone you have not met for over twenty-four hours': a prominence reflected in the fact that the Nyakyusa were once known to outsiders as the Sokile (Lugard 1893:131; Cullen Young 1934; Wilson 1951:3). By the 1930s, however, when the Wilsons did their fieldwork, *usokile* was no longer in widespread use as an everyday greeting, but characterised as 'archaic' (MacKenzie 1925:26-7; Busse 1941:205; Wilson 1951:25; Lehmann 1951:138). No explanation has ever been proffered for this switch from *usokile* to *ugonile* in Nyakyusa greetings; indeed, the available evidence hardly permits any degree of certainty on this score. But one thing is clear; a wider significance attaches to the earlier usage than has hitherto been brought out in the literature.

The Nyakyusa are famous, whether rightly or wrongly, for their elaborate system of age-villages, vividly described and documented by the Wilsons. Central to this description was the 'coming out' (*ubusoka*) ceremony, by which chiefdoms divided in two and power was transferred from one generation to the next, marking a crucial stage in the developmental cycle of age-villages (Wilson 1951:22-31, 186-7; 1959:49-57). The 'coming out' takes its name from the emergence and ritual greeting of two new chiefs after a period of seclusion: *ubusoka*, like *usokile*, is a simple derivative of the verb *ukusoka* (stem, *-sok-*), 'to come out'. This link between the ritual and the old Nyakyusa greeting is only once made explicit by Monica Wilson, in a footnote (1951:25). The wider theme, of the role played by greeting and the refusal to greet in ritual, lies buried in the wealth of descriptive detail and actors' comments provided by Wilson. Only a close reading of these texts reveals the persistence of this theme throughout the whole series of Nyakyusa rituals. The clearest account is given by Busse, describing the emergence of the father of twins from a period of seclusion:

"...Jetzt tritt ein Verwandter vor ihn hin und grüsst mit den Worten: 'Du bist hinausgegangen [sokile]!' Der Zwillingvater hält die Hand vor den Mund und schweigt. Der Verwandte grüsst zum zweitenmal. Nun antwortet er mit Kopfnicken. Auf wiederholtes Grüßen antwortet er endlich: 'Ja, es geht mir gut!'..." (1941:205: compare Wilson 1957: 167, 169).

A further pattern of associations is obscured by a failure to spell out the relation between *ukusoka* and its causative form, *ukusosya*, variously rendered by Monica Wilson as 'to bring out', 'speak out', and 'confess' (Schumann 1899:78). Again, this term crops up in a variety of ritual contexts; not only in marking the end of ritual confinement (as for parents of twins: Wilson 1957:153) but also in a broader sense of any act of cleansing or purification designed to counter ritual danger (as in the treatment of illness and the casting out of shades: Wilson 1959:123, 134, 139, 217-8, 223).⁹

Monica Wilson was, of course, well aware of the close parallels between different Nyakyusa rituals, their tripartite framework (induction, seclusion and 'coming out'), and the need to view their symbolism as an interrelated whole (Wilson 1951:26; 1954:234; 1957:4, 203; 1959:57). She has tended though, in her published writings on the topic, to restrict this insight to the life-cycle rituals of the Nyakyusa. Other ritual occasions, including the *ubusoka* itself, are largely excluded in this respect (but see Godfrey Wilson, cited 1957:58). It is difficult to dispel the impression that the data collected together in 'Communal Rituals of the Nyakyusa' (1959) are left-overs from the earlier 'Rituals of kinship among the Nyakyusa' (1957). Certainly greetings play little part in either account. This is hardly surprising in the light of Wilson's insistence upon maintaining a sharp distinction between ritual and ceremonial activities (1954:240; 1957:9; 1959:178). A modified version of the same distinction was, ironically enough, espoused by La Fontaine in the volume referred to earlier (La Fontaine 1972a:xvii; 1972b:161).

Returning to the history of Nyakyusa greetings, it could be argued that *usokile* passed out of fashion as a consequence of the changing definition of ritual, perhaps even a growing separation of the sacred and the profane in Nyakyusa life (Wilson 1959:222). In its strong form this argument is a difficult one to sustain. The ritual - ceremonial distinction is merely presented in a new guise, now seen to form an integral part of the actors', as opposed to simply the observer's, formulations. *Ugonile* and its cognate forms, derivatives of the verb *ukugona*, 'to sleep', are not without their own, though somewhat different, ritual connotations (Wilson 1951:97; 1957:218-9; 1959:35; 1977:69). Significance could also be attached to the fact

that a certain symmetry now obtains in some idealised Nyakyusa exchanges, beginning and end signalled by inquiry and wish about 'sleep'. The purely linguistic points should not, however, be laboured too far: the 'colloquial' use of *ulembwike* commented upon by Mwanjisi may be the result of nothing more than attempts to bring the Nyakusa greeting in line with the equivalent term employed by many of their neighbours (compare Kisangu, *ulamwishe*).

This brief consideration of the relation between Nyakyusa greetings and ritual points beyond the belated revision of Monica Wilson's analysis of ritual and impinges directly upon her later thesis, an outline of 'Change in the Relations of Generations and of Men and Women among the Nyakyusa-Ngonde People 1875-1971' (1977). Consider the strong avoidance practised between Nyakyusa women and their fathers-in-law. The avoidance is ideally extended to a range of kin, is total and continues until death. Its unusual force led Wilson to treat it as one of the major props in her interpretation of the Nyakyusa age-village system (1951:82-6; 1957:100-1; 1977:103-4). The avoidance amounts, in effect, to a refusal to greet, to open communication of any kind. An interesting twist in the marriage ritual, when the bride's father temporarily assumes the role of her father-in-law, makes this clear,

"During her seclusion the bride avoids her father, whom she refers to as 'father-in-law', and she avoids also all his contemporaries, the men of the village. They are forbidden to enter her hut, and if she catches sight of one outside she turns away from him and shields her face with a mat. And at the end of the seclusion each 'village father', as well as her own father, must make her a small gift, before she will greet him." (Wilson 1951:74-5).

In the words of one informant the substitute in-laws '...give her gifts of bark-cloth to break the taboo and say: "You have come out (*usokile*). You have come out my child..." (Mwakionde, cited in Wilson 1957:111). For the real father-in-law there is no such opportunity to put an end to the avoidance and the effective seclusion continues. In her later work Wilson draws attention to a weakening of the avoidance in the twenty years which separated her two periods of fieldwork, between 1935 and 1955 (1977:176-7, 186). My own observations, some twenty-five years further on, provide only qualified support for this thesis and fit just as readily into an earlier description of the inherent

variability of the avoidance at any one time (Wilson 1951:83).¹⁰ It is perhaps more remarkable that the practice of father-in-law avoidance has changed so little in the past half century. Other evidence from greetings suggests the need to treat other aspects of Wilson's later arguments with similar caution. The 'pattern of deference' shown by women towards men has, for instance, changed far less dramatically than Wilson sometimes implies (1977:135-6).

All considered, Nyakyusa greetings appear to have undergone comparatively little change in the past hundred years. This is all the more apparent if we compare the Nyakyusa with the greetings of a people to their north, the Sangu. Such a comparison was, in fact, invited by a member of the first expedition to cross Nyakyusa territory and, via the Wanji plateau, descend to the plains of Usangu:

"A most elaborate and prolonged form of salutation is prevalent in Uchungu [= Unyakyusa] and Usangu. It would fill too much space to give it at length, as it often occupies at least half an hour to recite. A man will approach, for instance, a group of his friends as they squat under the shade of a hut in the early morning, and seating himself beside them, will, as an opening ceremony, gently pat his ribs. Responsive pats from the group acknowledge the compliment. Then, after a pause, he will diffidently remark 'Sokire' (probably a corruption of the Swahili form of address). To this there will be an unanimous reply 'Sokire'. Then, the thing once started, a duet is performed on the word, the tempo gradually becoming more and more rapid, till 'sokire' degenerates into 'soki', 'soki', 'soki', etc., and this may continue for ten minutes (sometimes to a stringed obbligato accompaniment) until all are breathless. 'Sokire', by the way, means 'how are you?' Then the new-comer will introduce the answer 'Aji' - 'all right' - and the duet proceeds, 'Aji', 'Aji'...'Soki', 'Soki'...'Aji', 'Soki', &c., until 'Aji' is abbreviated into 'A', 'A', 'A'... a series of not unmusical grunts from both parties continued indefinitely. Sometimes a word 'kwaga' is introduced as a variation; but I never could discover its meaning, though my men declared it meant 'how are your wives?'" (Cotterill, referring to 1877, in Elton and Cotterill 1879:342-3).

This passage is interesting on a number of counts. We are already familiar with the Nyakyusa greeting *usokile* ('sokire'); while *aje* ('aji') belongs to the Sangu repertoire.¹¹ The two languages, Kinyakyusa and Kisangu, are generally acknowledged to be mutually unintelligible (Wilson 1957:11) and the two peoples are separated by

a small group, the Wanji. In the immediate pre-colonial period the Wanji were vassals of the Sangu to their north: during the period of Indirect Rule they were subject to the overrule of the Kinga to their south (eastern neighbours of the Nyakyusa). While it is not impossible that he was confusing the two, it seems likely that Cotterill was describing a form intermediate between the Nyakyusa and Sangu, found on the Wanji plateau. The influence of Nyakyusa language upon the Wanji has long been recognised (MacKenzie 1925; map facing 318; Wilson 1951:4; 1977:142). Wanji greetings in the 1980s present a similar mix: the Nyakyusa *ugonile* is in general everyday use together with *kamwene*, a greeting reserved for certain categories of affine, otherwise associated with the Hehe-Bena-Sangu cluster of peoples among whom it has a very different range of uses. Fülleborn was quick to point out that *usokile* and *aje* belonged to different languages (1906:216) and also that Kinga greetings were similarly lengthy and repetitive, a **fact he ascribed** to Sangu influence (1906:44"; also von Glauning 1903:130). In addition to Cotterill, two other writers provide first-hand accounts of the repetitive structure of Sangu greetings, incidentally recording their influence upon Hehe and Safwa practice respectively (Adams 1899; Abakari 1901:63, 65-6).

Repetition is still a noticeable feature of Nyakyusa greetings. The opening question and answer can, in Mwanjisi's words, 'be repeated as many times as the two parties wish'. The same can no longer be said of Sangu greetings: the repetitive exchange of *aje* passed out of fashion some time ago and is now only recalled, but never resorted to, by elderly people. Instead, modern Sangu greetings are invariably prefaced by special terms of address. There are more than ten of these in all, a mixture of titles, praise-names and kinship terms expressing various degrees of association or relationship with the former rulers of Usangu. Terms once restricted in use have become general currency. Similar developments have been traced elsewhere in the region; in the extension of royal 'clan-names' in Kimbu greetings, for example (Shorter 1972:86-95; the Kimbu are northern neighbours of the Sangu). Nyakyusa greetings have, on the other hand, always been characterised by a total absence of special forms of address, confirming Monica Wilson's assertion that 'Differences of rank are relatively slight in Nyakyusa society...' (1951:103). Address in

Nyakyusa greeting is confined to the use of kinship terms; a list of these is given by Mwanjisi, above.¹²

A more detailed consideration of some of these points leads far beyond the study of greetings. Stripped of its historical connotations, the Sangu greeting terminology reveals an elaborate classificatory scheme; neither monolithic nor static, but still in a constant process of definition and redefinition. This is most conspicuous for the operation of a generational principle, a rule prescribing a pattern of contrast and complementarity between proximal and alternate generations respectively. The extension of titles according to such a rule marks out the Sangu system as an extreme case of a development found in germinal form among two peoples some distance from the Sangu; the Nyamwezi to the north, and the Lungu to the west, at the southern tip of Lake Tanganyika (Abrahams 1967:63-4; Willis 1966:41). The general principle at work is, however, common to kinship and naming systems throughout south-west Tanzania. A proper analysis of the relation between these promises a thorough revision of current understanding of the comparative ethnography of this region, and may shed some light on aspects of the Nyakyusa material which pass largely unremarked by Monica Wilson; their criss-crossing, Mundugumor-like system of names is a glaring example (Hodson 1934). These considerations point on the one hand towards a discussion initiated by Lévi-Strauss (1977), and on the other back to the more central concerns of Wilson's work. It should not be missed, in passing, that the Nyakyusa naming system has a direct bearing upon the avoidance of names practised between a woman and her father-in-law (Wilson 1951:83).¹³

On a critical reading, Wilson's later work on the Nyakyusa (1977) could be interpreted as an attempt to vindicate her earlier analysis (1951). By outlining the changes that have occurred in more than a generation of contact between Nyakyusa and the modern world the observations of a later generation of critics are effectively deprived of any force when applied to the society of age-villages first described by the Wilsons. Whether or not this account succeeds is another matter. Unfortunately most attempts to re-evaluate the Nyakyusa data suffer from one fundamental shortcoming; a failure to look further beyond the narrow confines of this one society (e.g. Charsley 1969; Wright 1972; McKenny 1973). It is much more likely

that a fuller understanding of the Nyakyusa and the apparent peculiarities of their earlier social system will only emerge from more detailed comparison with neighbouring societies, a project first envisaged by Monica Wilson herself (1951:18; 1958:63).

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To avoid confusion, and in recognition of the fact that my own work was in Tanzania, I have steered clear of the cumbersome, though more accurate, formulation 'Nyakyusa-Ngonde peoples'.

Notes

- ¹ I am grateful to Dr.R.G. Abrahams for drawing my attention to the reference by Kōngās Maranda and first suggesting to me the need to consider the relation between greetings and riddles, proverbs and other forms of 'oral literature'. This line of approach is not, however, investigated in any detail in the present paper.
- ² See Schumann 1899:14, 19; also Lehmann 1951:138 for this and the other two terms. *Gwangele* and *mwangele* are perfect forms of the verb *ukwangala*, none other than the 'Good Company' of Monica Wilson's title (1951:66-76; also 1977:184-5 for changes in the application of the term).
Most of the Kinyakyusa vocabulary appearing in Mwanjisi's notes can be traced in Schumann's outline grammar (1899).
- ³ *Ngwangu* and *gwamyitu* are not given in Wilson's list (1950:139). All the Nyakyusa kinship terms given are reproduced in Schumann (1899:65-6), including *ngwangu* (literally 'mine', 24) and *gwamyitu* (as *ugwa myetu* 'my, our brother, sister', 67).
- ⁴ Compare Wilson 1977:145: 'Already in 1938 the influence of Swahili on Kinyakyusa was evident, modifying among other words, the terms for in-laws...'
- ⁵ See Wilson 1951:plate IX, facing page 70; and compare with the discussion in Wilson 1977:135-6.
- ⁶ Schumann 1899:30; 'So sagt beim Abschied der Konde zu dem, welcher bleibt, *ugone* "du mögest ruhen". Die Antwort an den Fortgehenden lautet *ukagone* "du mögest ruhen". Oder, wenn man einen späteren Termin im Auge hat: a *ugone* "so mögest du denn ruhen" und die Antwort: a *ukagone* "mögest du dann ruhen".'
Also MacKenzie 1925:33; Lehmann 1951:138.

⁷ It should not be thought, however, that they provide anything more than this. An idealised account of this kind can be no proper substitute for the primary data which a more thorough analysis of contemporary Nyakyusa greeting behaviour than I have undertaken here would require.

⁸ Two points must be made here. Throughout most of the text I have, for convenience, kept to the second person singular forms, *ugonile* and *usokile*. The different uses of the singular and plural forms of the former (and other terms) are explained by Mwanjisi. With regard to the latter, however, the early sources are unanimous in their omission of any subject prefix from the greeting; leaving only the perfect stem, *-sokile*. The omission is made explicit and attributed to the Nyakyusa themselves by Busse in his discussion of twin-birth rituals (1941:205). Monica Wilson omits the prefix in recording the greeting, glossing 'You have come out (of the house)' (1951:25), but otherwise in referring to its use within ritual invariably adds a prefix, according to the speaker; e.g. reproducing an informant's report, '"The chiefs got up and came out (*basokile*) of the house to us..."' (again 1951:25).

Secondly, it is not always clear whether *ugonile* etc., should be treated as questions or exclamations. In reports of the use of *-sokile* in ritual the latter would often seem to be the case. This possibly has some bearing on the omission of a subject prefix: where either 'you have come out!' or 'they have come out!' might be appropriate in the ritual context, it makes less sense to begin a greeting with 'have they slept?'.

⁹ Other references to forms of *ukusoka* or *ukusosya* in Monica Wilson's writings include: conclusion of mourning/inheritance - 1957:43, 58, 235; ritual of puberty/marriage - 1957:111; ritual of birth - 1957:143, 145; selection of the priests of Lwembe - 1959:23; and Ngonde new fire ritual - 1959:104.

¹⁰ I saw the avoidance most clearly in the behaviour of a close acquaintance and informant of mine, a young Christian Nyakyusa (Kukwe) woman married to a Sangu school-teacher and living in Usangu. In more than a year not once did I see her occupy the same room as, nor allow her face to be seen by her Sangu father-in-law: behaviour which was the source of some embarrassment to the latter and his Sangu kin.

¹¹ Its meaning is not 'all right' as Cotterill supposed: one of a number of expressions of greeting shared by the Sangu, Hehe and Bena, it has no single agreed etymology.

¹² Nyakyusa and other newcomers to Usangu often experience considerable difficulty in coming to grips with the Sangu usage, which the Sangu themselves have equal difficulty in explaining. This is partly because this usage is still in a process of rapid change and the problem of dissociating contemporary from historical meanings. Confused by the historical reference of many of the Sangu terms, Nyakyusa are apt to suppose - wrongly - that the Sangu still have a rigid hierarchical organisation. Note that Nyakyusa and Sangu

greetings share a pattern of 'topical salutations' which varies little throughout south-west Tanzania and extends even further afield (compare Safwa, Kootz-Kretschmer 1926:81; Fipa, Willis 1978:15-19; and see Goody 1972:47; Irvine 1974:170-1; and McIntyre 1980:42-3). The Sangu forms are, if anything, less elaborate in this respect. And in Sangu, as well as Nyakyusa practice 'Lengthy greetings usually signify the intensity and depth of the relationship of the parties concerned' (Mwanjisi).

- ¹³ The points raised in this paragraph will be examined in greater detail in my Ph.D. thesis (in preparation).

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