

STRATEGIES OF STATUS MANIPULATION IN THE WOLOF GREETING

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The principle of social inequality is fundamental to the organization of social life among the Wolof. On the broadest level, it is expressed in the division of society into hierarchically ranked status groups, or castes. But it governs more than the arrangement of large groups. It is essential to all social interaction, even the most minute. This paper will examine the principle of inequality at work on the level of greatest interactional detail through analysis of a Wolof linguistic routine, the greeting (*nuyyu* or *dyamantë*). The purpose of such an analysis is first of all to illustrate the importance of status ranking, and to identify the opportunities which individuals have to affect their own rank by manipulating the rules of interaction. A secondary purpose is to describe a familiar, though brief, cultural event in such a way that the impressions of the ethnographer can be related to the 'set of rules for the socially appropriate construction and interpretation of messages' (Frake 1964:132) which enables one to behave appropriately in this situation.

The greeting is of particular interest to a study of the Wolof because it occurs in every interaction. Every social relationship, therefore, must be at least partially storable in terms of the role structure of the greeting. That is, since certain roles are forced onto any interaction by the nature of the greeting exchange, those roles are ingredients in every social situation and basic to all personal alignments. Although the greeting allows for personal strategies and manipulations of its structure, these must be in accord with basic ground rules which in fact limit the kinds of personal motivations that may be culturally appropriate.

I shall first discuss the obligatory occurrence of the greeting, then describe the greeting structure (basic verbal exchange sequences and the speaking roles into which they fall). I shall then consider the strategies a speaker may use to manipulate the role structure of the greeting and to convey his own self-image in relation to those roles. The paper will conclude with a more formal statement of greeting possibilities and their functional interpretations.

The data which I have used come partly from field observation of people

greeting each other and partly from informants' statements, both normative (how greeting should be conducted) and interpretive (of participants' motivations in given greeting situations).¹ In addition, the frequency of the greeting situation for the ethnographer, and the necessity for him or her to learn to greet appropriately, enable me to use my own experience of the greeting, and internalization of its rules, as a particularly useful source of data. For example, after I felt I had learned the rules for greeting I tried altering the way I greeted, to see how people would react to and interpret my behavior. In this way I obtained a great deal of information on strategies, demeanor, and the limits of alteration and interruption a greeting can sustain and still maintain intelligibility and identity as a speech event. I have been obliged, however, to use my own internalization of how greeting works rather more than I wished, for two reasons. First, I suspect greetings carried on by others in my presence to have been somewhat skewed toward 'polite' forms and so not to represent a complete range of what I know from my own efforts can be done. It proved difficult to persuade informants to act out hypothetical greeting situations for my benefit, and difficult ever to record greetings on tape (hence the 'typical' greeting I have illustrated on p. 171 is a construct of my own experience rather than a recorded text). Second, I became aware of many aspects of greeting behavior only after I had left the field.

When to greet

Among the Wolof a greeting is a necessary opening to every encounter, and can in fact be used as a definition of when an encounter occurs. I am using 'encounter' here in the sense of 'focused interaction' as defined by Goffman (1961:7); actually, in the rural Wolof village, where each inhabitant knows every other and the number of visiting strangers is small, relatively little 'unfocused interaction,' mere co-presence, or civil inattention occurs at all. Co-presence for the Wolof *requires* talk, a state which must be formally initiated by verbal means.² For this reason what is obligatory about the Wolof greeting is not just any behavior which fills a 'greeting' slot but the actual verbal elaboration to be described below. Gestures and eye contact are also necessary to the greeting but are never sufficient.

In principle, a greeting must occur between any two persons who are visible to each other. Out on the road, in the fields, or if someone is entering the compound yard, a greeting must occur even if one party must make a wide detour (perhaps hundreds of yards, outside the village) to accomplish it. In the village center, a large open plaza which usually has many people sitting about, one must greet all those whom one passes within a distance of about a hundred feet. Actually, it would be more accurate to say that the

village plaza contains a number of activity zones that determine which persons are to be considered near enough to greet: the main market area; the secondary market area; the well; loading areas outside of shops; the low-caste lounging area; the gathering area for the mosque; the area for secular public meetings (political meetings, public dances, wrestling matches); and three other small shady lounging areas. These zones have boundaries which are very clear even if unmarked, and they do not overlap. As one walks through the plaza one must greet all those persons occupying zones contiguous to one's path. If a zone is empty, one must greet persons in the zone beyond it, and so on to the limits of visibility. But if the nearer zones are occupied, the people in more distant zones need not be greeted. This practical limitation can be called an 'attenuation rule' (following Goffman 1971:84). It also limits the number of people who need be greeted if a zone is occupied by a large crowd: one greets first those nearest oneself, perhaps up to some twenty others in the crowd.³

More important than physical distance, however, is the similar attenuation rule which provides for omitting people on grounds of social status. If a person ranks relatively lower than oneself or than some other person present, one may delay greeting him until more important people have been greeted, perhaps even omitting him altogether if there are many higher-ranking persons near. The principal criteria for ranking people in a Wolof community are age, sex, caste, and achieved prestige (which may consist of wealth, or of an exceptional moral character).⁴ Because of the rank difference based on age, for instance, one greets adults before greeting children. Relative rank, based on these considerations, also determines which of two persons approaches the other and initiates a greeting. Ideally, one greets 'up': it should be the lower-ranking party who greets the higher. Acceptance or refusal of the role of initiator is of major importance in how one handles the greeting situation. This matter will be discussed at greater length later; the point here is that apart from certain practical limitations, the greeting, which forces the two parties into a decision about their relative ranks, cannot be avoided.

When one person approaches another out in the fields, it is easy to see when the encounter between them begins and ends, and to note that the beginning is marked by a greeting exchange. The onset of a new encounter is less obvious, however, in a group situation such as an evening gathering for conversation in someone's house. Here various people come and go, often more than once, during the course of an evening, so that an individual may reenter the same conversational group several times within a few hours. The first time he or she enters the room he must greet everyone present individually. If he leaves the room briefly he may have to repeat the whole greeting process when he comes in again, if the other participants, or

perhaps even the topic of conversation, have changed enough during his absence. Whether the degree of change is significant will usually depend on how long he has been absent (if he has been gone more than about half an hour he will certainly have to repeat the greeting), on how many new persons, who must all be greeted, have entered in the meantime, and on how important a participant he himself is. The entrance (and reentrance) of the village chief, or of a key party in a legal question currently under debate, for instance, in themselves redefine a situation or the topic of discourse. In sum, when the intervening change is great enough, a reentrance defines a new encounter and requires the exchange of greetings. Conversation will be suspended to allow the entrant to greet everyone in turn.

Greeting structure

The foregoing discussion implies that a Wolof greeting is dyadic: one does not greet a group as a whole but each member individually.⁵ Although many questions in the greeting exchange can be worded in grammatically plural forms (so that one might ask *na nggëen def?* 'how do you [pl.] do?' for instance), Wolof scarcely ever address a group in such a way. The dyadic nature of the greeting is important in view of the fact that dyadic relations among the Wolof need not be consistent with the relationships of wider groups: e.g., the relationship between a particular noble and a particular griot may be the reverse of the relation between nobles and griots in general.

Table 7 is an illustration of the verbal exchanges which constitute a typical Wolof greeting. For purposes of analysis I have divided them into two groups or stages in the interaction: Sal = Salutation, QP = Questions and Praising God. This division is supported by informants' statements: 'Ordinarily you should not greet with just *salaam alikum* alone. That would be too brusque and rude. You should continue, asking "Do you have peace?" and other questions.' The QP group I have further divided into sets of exchanges which tend to occur together. They are topically distinct:

Q = Questions

Q₁: Two specific questions concerning the state of the other person.
It is obligatory to ask at least one of these.

Q_{2a}: Questions about the whereabouts of the other person's family and friends [optional].

Q_{2b}: Questions about the health and state of the other person, his family and friends [optional].

P = Praising God

The questions used in a greeting are stereotypes and are followed by stereotyped responses. If asked about a kinsman's health, the respondent will say he is well even if the kinsman is on his deathbed; the true information about him will only emerge later in the conversation, after the greeting is over. Types of questions not conforming to the topics listed above (e.g., 'Where are you going') do not occur in a greeting but must be postponed to a later point in the conversation. In fact, such questions mark the end of the greeting and the beginning of a new phase of conversation.

In Table 7, an illustration of typical Wolof greeting exchanges, person A has approached person B and extended his hand.⁶

TABLE 7

Sal	1. A. <i>Salaam alikum.</i>	Peace be with you. [Arabic]	
	B. <i>Malikum salaam.</i>	With you be peace. [Arabic]	
	2. (A. A's name) (B. B's name)	[A gives own name] [B gives own name]	
3.	A. B's name	[A gives B's name]	
	B. { A's name Naam, A's name }	{ [B gives A's name] Yes, A's name }	
<hr/>			
QP			
Q ₁	1. A. <i>Na ngga def?</i>	How do you do?	
	B. <i>Maangi fi rek.</i>	I am here only.	
	2. A. <i>Mbaa dyamm ngg' am?</i>	Don't you have peace?	
	B. <i>Dyamm rek, naam.</i>	Peace only, yes.	
<hr/>			
Q ₂ (a)	1. A. <i>Ana waa kir gi?</i>	Where/How are the people of the household?	
	B. <i>Nyu-ngga fa.</i>	They are there.	
	2. A. <i>Ana [name]?</i>	Where/How is X?	
	B. <i>Mu-ngga fa.</i>	He/She is there.	
	(b)	1. A. <i>Mbaa { tawaatu } loo?</i> <i>{ feebaru }</i>	Isn't it that you aren't sick?
		B. <i>Maangi sant Yalla.</i>	I am praising God.
2. A. <i>Mbaa kenn { feebaru? }</i> <i>{ tawaatul? }</i>	Isn't it that anyone isn't sick?		
B. <i>Nyu-nggi sant Yalla.</i>	They are praising God.		
<hr/>			
P	1. A. <i>H'mdillay.</i>	Thanks be to God. [Arabic]	
	B. { <i>H'mdillay.</i> <i>Tubarkalla.</i> }	{ Thanks be to God. Blessed be God. } [Arabic]	
	2. A. { <i>H'mdillay.</i> <i>Tubarkalla.</i> }	{ Thanks be to God. Blessed be God. }	
	B. { <i>H'mdillay.</i> <i>Tubarkalla.</i> }	{ Thanks be to God. Blessed be God. }	

Step Sal 2, in which the speakers name themselves, occurs only if A and B have not been previously acquainted. Q_2 can be expanded indefinitely since A may inquire about the whereabouts and health of any person he can think of in B's family and acquaintance. Q_2 as a whole is optional, and the order of questions within Q_1 , Q_{2a} , and Q_{2b} is flexible.

The constituent structure of the greeting may be formally stated in the rewrite rules below. The initial symbol $G_{A,B}$ means 'a greeting between persons A and B.' For a fuller elaboration of the rules and a statement of notational conventions, see the appendix at the end of the paper.⁷

- (1) $G_{A,B} \rightarrow \# \text{Sal} + \text{QP} \#$
 (2) $\text{Sal} \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{Sal}_{\text{Strangers}} / \text{A, B unacquainted} \\ \text{Sal}_{\text{Normal}} / \text{Otherwise} \end{cases}$
 (3) $\text{QP} \rightarrow Q_1 + (Q_2) + (P) + ((Q_1) + (Q_2) + (P) + (\emptyset))^n$
 (4) $Q_2 \rightarrow (Q_{2a}) + (Q_{2b})$

Each of the above strings consists of one or more Exchanges between the two speakers. For instance,

- (5) $\text{Sal}_{\text{Strangers}} \rightarrow (\text{Exch}_{S_1}) + \text{Exch}_{S_2} + \text{Exch}_{S_3} + (\text{Exch}_{S_3})^n$
 (6) $\text{Sal}_{\text{Normal}} \rightarrow (\text{Exch}_{S_1}) + \text{Exch}_{S_3} + (\text{Exch}_{S_3})^n$
 and (7) $Q_1 \rightarrow ((\text{Exch}_{Q_{1,1}})^n + (\text{Exch}_{Q_{1,2}})^n)^n$, and so on.

Each Exchange consists of two Turns, or the utterance of the first speaker (Initiator) and the response of the second speaker (Respondent):

$$\text{Exch} \rightarrow \text{Turn}^I + \text{Turn}^R$$

Most options of elaboration, deletion, or permutation of parts of the greeting concern the strategies of status alignment to be discussed below. In one situation, however, the greeting can be abbreviated to the Salutation only. This form, less frequent than the full greeting, can be called a 'passing greeting.' It occurs if person A is in a hurry for some legitimate reason (i.e., accountable if challenged). Thus I may use this form, for instance, if I am running to catch a bus and the friend I am greeting is not very close to my path, perhaps far enough away so that I must shout to be heard. Or if I have just entered a large group of persons, each of whom must be greeted individually, I can use this quick greeting for the less important persons, reserving my lengthy greetings for the highest-ranking individuals present. If used on other occasions, however (for instance, just strolling through the village) this Salutation-only form will be 'too brusque and rude,' as my informant noted above.

Two kinds of greetings, then, can be distinguished in two contexts (this rule reformulates rule (1)):

- (1a) (i) $G_{A,B} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} G_{\text{Passing}} / \text{A in accountable hurry; B is of lower} \\ \text{rank than some other person C} \\ G_{\text{Normal}} / \text{Otherwise} \end{array} \right\}$
- (ii) $G_{\text{Passing}} \rightarrow \# \text{ Sal } \#$
- (iii) $G_{\text{Normal}} \rightarrow \# \text{ Sal } + \text{ QP } \#$

A flow chart (Fig. 10) shows the possible deletions and repetitions in a greeting as well as the ways in which the greeting can lead either into a recycle of the entire sequence or into a Statement which initiates a new topic of conversation.⁸ The purpose of the flow chart is to show how A, the Initiator, has control of all options until the very end, B's statements being obligatory responses to the particular salutation or question posed by A. It is not until at least the fourth exchange that B properly has any options, and then only if A has chosen to proceed rapidly to stage P. Moreover, while A has control of the flow of conversation the focus of interest is always B: all remarks after Sal concern the condition and family of B, not of A.

Unlike the American greeting, then, in which the initial statement 'Hello' is to be made by both parties and it is usual for both parties to ask an equal number of questions, the Wolof greeting clearly divides into two dissimilar roles: the Initiator-Questioner and the Respondent. The more active speech role (Initiator-Questioner) coincides with the greater physical activity (person who enters or approaches). These roles correspond to low and high rank respectively, because both physical activity and speech activity are duties which low-status persons perform for persons of higher status. Accordingly, informants state that 'A noble does not go to greet a *nyenyo* (person of low caste) - it is the *nyenyo* who must come to greet him.' The same could be said of older and younger brothers, of men and women, and so on. To visit someone's compound, or to enter his room, is to show him great respect; and it is the person who enters, or who moves toward the other, who must speak first. It is, moreover, out of respect for another that one asks questions about his welfare. A set of associations emerges concerning the two parties to a greeting, associations which recall cultural stereotypes of noble and griot (or noble and low-caste) behavior:

$$\frac{\text{Initiator}}{\text{Respondent}} : \frac{\text{Speaker}}{\text{Non-speaker}} : \frac{\text{Moving}}{\text{Stationary}} : \frac{\text{Low status}}{\text{High status}} : \frac{\text{Griot}}{\text{Noble}}$$

The Wolof notion that the low-ranking person travels about more and talks more than the high-status person is here replicated in the status-differentiated roles of the greeting.

As a result of the status associations of the greeting, any two persons who engage in an encounter *must* place themselves in an unequal ranking: they must come to some tacit agreement about which party is to take the higher-

ranking role and which the lower. This ranking is inherent in any greeting no matter how abbreviated, because the mere fact of initiating a greeting is itself a statement of relative status.

A Wolof proverb summarizes the principle of social inequality and the element of competition inherent in the greeting: 'When two persons greet each other, one has shame, the other has glory.'⁹

Status strategies: self-lowering and self-elevating

The flow chart in Fig. 10 is meant to show a 'normal' situation, or one in which there is no conflict or confusion about the assignment of Initiator and Respondent roles. Person A takes the position of relatively lower rank; throughout the greeting sequence, the more he repeats (returns to an earlier step, sometimes even repeating a question he asked before), the more he emphasizes his lowness. B, the person of relatively higher rank, remains passive, giving only the responses specifically required by A's questions. When A cannot think of any more questions, he can proceed to P (the *H'mdillay*–*Tubarkalla* exchange), these two phrases being repeated several times by A and B, until A perhaps remembers some more members of B's family about whose health he might inquire (Recycle Q). Or, A may proceed directly into the main conversation (Statement).

It is possible, however, that the two parties to a particular encounter do not so readily fall into a tacit agreement on their relative positions. The various criteria of rank may conflict among themselves (e.g., a younger man greeting an old woman) or may not clearly account for the situation. For this reason each party must enter the greeting equipped with some strategy as to which role he will try to take. The two possible strategies of role position, which for convenience I shall call Self-Lowering and Self-Elevating, refer to attempts to take the lower-status or the higher-status role in the greeting (I or R) respectively. These are not the same kinds of behavior as politeness and rudeness, which are larger strategies of demeanor, reaching beyond a person's efforts to take a certain structural role, so as to show his general attitude toward those roles and the status relationship in which he finds himself.

It should not be assumed that a person, whatever his or her caste, will necessarily wish to take the position of higher status. Although high status implies prestige, respect, and political power, it also implies the obligation to contribute to the support of low-status persons. Thus high rank means a financial burden, while low rank has its financial compensations. One may, therefore, wish to be lower than another and dependent on him; and the greeting can be used to help define such a relationship. By taking the lower-status role in the greeting, person A hints that he or she expects sometime to call on the higher-status person B for financial assistance. Even a

noble talking to a griot may wish to take the lower-status role to serve some special purpose. The noble may try to take the lower role to prevent the griot from doing so and thus forestall the griot's demands for gifts; or he may do this in order to single the griot out among other griots as a person comparatively worthy of respect and friendship. The noble hints that although no gift is forthcoming on this particular occasion, the special concern implied by this show of deference will be manifested in some appreciable gift later. In my experience a person never asked me for a gift if he or she had not managed to take the lower-status role in greeting me. I soon learned, therefore, to seize the lower role myself sometimes, as a tactful way of forestalling, for the time being, an otherwise overwhelming number of requests.

Self-Lowering in the greeting is, then, the strategy of trying to take the lower-status role of Initiator–Questioner (person A in the example), and it is a strategy which may be used by anyone, no matter what his or her previous standing in terms of categories of caste, age, sex, etc., for purposes which vary according to what that previous standing is. That is, depending on one's status as perceived by oneself and others prior to the beginning of the greeting, a wish to take the lower rank for this particular encounter will be interpreted in different ways. For a slave talking to a noble, or a young man talking to an elder, to take the lower role is to conform with the general duties of one's place in society; for the noble or elder to do so, however, is to relinquish an ascriptive right to the higher role and thereby to mark the occasion as something special.

Practical means by which one may take the lower role are several. The most important is of course initiating the greeting, an act which not only positions the speaker as lower-ranking but guarantees that he will have this lower position for at least four exchanges, during the questioning. If both parties are trying to be the Initiator, it may require some effort for a person to assure himself the role: he must move quickly toward the other, and speak loudly and rapidly, the instant he has caught the other's eye or even before the other has noticed him. Once one has initiated the greeting, he can continue to show deference by making the exchange as long and elaborate as possible. To do this the Initiator will increase the number of different questions (Q_1 and Q_2) and the number of repetitions: any question may be repeated almost indefinitely, or a set of questions recycled, and the same is true for naming. The Initiator should try to postpone step P (*H'mdillay*), certainly avoiding P₂, where the other would finally have the option of asking questions in his own right (see first T-rule in the grammar, by which means A and B recycle the questions but with roles reversed, so that B is questioning A). A determined Initiator can keep up the questioning for many minutes, and then after P₁ proceed directly to some new topic of

conversation, thereby preventing the other from ever reversing the roles and asking his own questions.

The speaker who has failed to obtain the Initiator role can still try to lower himself, however. One way, perhaps the most common, is simply to wait several turns, allowing the Initiator to reach P₂ (second round of Praising God); the erstwhile Respondent then starts back to Q himself, instead of allowing the other (original Initiator) to do so (see T-rule 1 in the grammar):

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| A. <i>Ana sa dyabar?</i> | Where (how) is your wife? |
| B. <i>Mu-ngga fa.</i> | She is there. |
| A. <i>H'mdillay.</i> | Thanks be to God. |
| B. <i>Tubarkalla.</i> | Blessed be God. |
| A. <i>H'mdillay.</i> | Thanks be to God. |
| B. <i>Mbaa dyamm ngg' am?</i> | Don't you have peace? |

B may even intercept A at P₁ (the first round of Praising God), treating it as if it were P₂ and jumping right into the questions (see T-rule 2):

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| A. <i>Ana sa dyabar?</i> | Where (how) is your wife? |
| B. <i>Mu-ngga fa.</i> | She is there. |
| A. <i>H'mdillay.</i> | Thanks be to God. |
| B. <i>Mbaa dyamm ngg' am?</i> | Don't you have peace? |

To get the Initiator to the P step sooner, the Respondent may substitute Turn_{P₁}¹ (*H'mdillay*) for his own response to a question (except in response to a question beginning with 'Where'; see T-rule 3). Success is not guaranteed, because A may still keep on questioning, but there will be some constraint on him to repeat *H'mdillay* or respond with *Tubarkalla*, because these, from Turn_{P₁}^R, are normal responses to *H'mdillay* when it is being said by the Questioner. In that case B will be able to recycle the Questioning and assume the initiator role in a new Q:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| A. <i>Mbaa dyamm ngg' am?</i> | Don't you have peace? |
| B. <i>H'mdillay.</i> | Thanks be to God. |
| A. <i>Tubarkalla.</i> | Blessed be God. |
| B. <i>Na ngga def?</i> | How do you do? |

The other possible Self-Lowering strategy available to B, who has failed to be the Initiator, is to ignore A and try to take over his role. For instance, if A starts with *Salaam alikum*, B ignores him; instead of answering, he jumps into the naming step. When he names A, A must name him back; B starts questioning and has taken over the Initiator role (see T-rule 4):

A. <i>Salaam alikum.</i>	Peace be with you. [Arabic]
B. <i>Ndiaye.</i> (A's name)	(A's name)
A. <i>Lo.</i> (B's name)	(B's name)
B. <i>Na ngga def?</i>	How do you do?

A similar strategy can be used if A starts with naming: at Q, B ignores A's question and asks a question himself (see T-rule 5):

A. <i>Lo.</i> (B's name)	(B's name)
B. <i>Ndiaye.</i> (A's name)	(A's name)
A. <i>Na ngga def?</i>	How do you do?
B. <i>Na ngga def?</i>	How do you do?
A. <i>Maanggi fi rek.</i>	I am here only.

This was a particularly frequent tactic of persons whom I had approached first but who nevertheless wished to ask me for a gift. I also observed it in service encounters, both in the village and in larger towns: e.g., a customer has approached a shopkeeper and greeted him, but the shopkeeper, who hopes to receive a good price and a tip as well, reverses the greeting roles immediately in the manner described above. Thus the shopkeeper becomes the low-status Initiator and the customer the high-status Respondent who will have to give a present to him. Of course, the trouble with any strategy which relies on ignoring A's questions is that A can always do the same. B cannot very well try a second time; a greeting cannot sustain so many disruptions of the flow of conversation. The other speaker, and any on-lookers, will look confused and a little angry (this is how they looked when I tried this; I have never seen a Wolof do so). My informants maintained that persons who disrupt conversation are rude, and rudeness might be the very opposite of the effect B was trying to create.

Self-Elevating in a greeting is the strategy of trying to take the higher-status role of Respondent. The greatest difficulty in this strategy is to avoid initiating the greeting in the first place. This will be awkward if the other is trying to do the same thing, because the greeting *must* take place – it would be unthinkable for two people who know each other at all to come within the greeting range and say nothing. B can try to avoid approaching A, avoid eye contact with him, and wait for him to speak first; but A, after breaking the silence and conducting as brief a greeting as possible, can challenge by asking, 'Why didn't you greet me?' This challenge would be quite proper if B's behavior could have been construed as 'rude' rather than simply 'within his rights' (e.g., B is not sufficiently higher than A for their role assignment to be obvious; or B was already moving and had therefore tacitly assumed the role of Initiator, whereas A was stationary; and so on).

After the greeting has been initiated, a few possible strategies of Self-Elevation remain. A can proceed as quickly as possible through the greeting and introduce some new topic of conversation (Statement). He repeats nothing and asks the minimum number of questions. If he is passing B only at shouting distance and is not trying to show deference, he will not make any detour out of his way to approach B and greet him fully, but will probably give only the Passing Greeting. B's strategy throughout is to remain as passive and taciturn as he can, giving only the brief standard responses to A's questions. When A reaches the stage of Praising God and repeats P several times, B refuses to recycle the questioning or do anything except keep repeating *H'mdillay* or *Tubarkalla*.

It is my impression that a contest of Self-Elevation (that is, a greeting situation in which both parties compete for the higher-status role) does not happen so often as does its inverse, mutual deference. A strategy of Self-Elevation is an ambitious claim; and such a contest can lead, through the challenge, to an open confrontation of motives which is potentially disruptive. A good example of such a confrontation, and one which only narrowly escapes turning into a full-fledged battle, occurs in the following text, a segment of an epic narrative, in which a relationship of political rivalry is enacted in the greeting. In this text, the local chief, Songo Aminata (surname *Ndiaye*) is challenging the power of the king, Lat Dior (surname *Diop*). Lat Dior wishes to confront him, but both are trying to avoid being the lower-status party who must physically approach the other and initiate a greeting. Finally Lat Dior is forced to come all the way to the center of Songo's town to speak with him. Although Songo is then obliged to walk across the central plaza, extend his hand, and name the king, he uses a naming form which is specifically responsive rather than initiating. His 'Yes, Diop?' is a form which would only be used after someone had saluted him first (Turn^R_{S3}). Thus he treats Lat Dior's arrival and summons through the messenger as an initial salutation, and assumes the greeting role of Respondent. Lat Dior, however, counters with the same strategy, and the greeting breaks down into challenges:

Lat Dior left Kayor, he went to Saloum. There Maabo Dyoho, his marabout, was to be found. Songo Aminata was here, doing nothing but destroying the towns. All Kayor was angry. From time to time they went over to Saloum to go tell it to Lat Dior. Lat Dior spent three years there. Songo Aminata seized the country, just destroying. When Lat Dior returned, Lat Dior was in Kayor, he sent to Songo Aminata, saying, 'Let him come reply to me.' Songo Aminata said to the envoy, Songo Aminata said to him, 'I am not coming.' Lat Dior saddled up, and went along with his entourage. They came to Baiti Mbaye [neighboring town to Songo's]. He sent to Songo Aminata: 'Tell him, I am here. Let him come to reply.' Songo Aminata said to him [the envoy], 'When you go, tell him, I am not coming; it is

the stranger who must go find the town' [i.e., a visiting stranger must come to him, not he to the stranger]. There Songo Aminata did what was like what Matar Mamur [his father] had done here.

Lat Dior saddled up, accompanied by the infants, all of whom he used to go around with, and the guns [i.e., his entire court]. It was at this very hour that they came suddenly to Kir Matar [Songo's town]. The royal drums arrived in the town square. They formed a barricade with the horses. They sent a messenger; they said, 'When you go, tell Songo Aminata it is Lat Dior who calls him to the town square. It is he who greets him.'

Songo Aminata came out. He wrapped around himself two cloths; he loaded his shoulders with two guns. He went out of the house of the Ndiayes; he came to the town square. He just forded [crossed through] the people [who were like a river]; everyone who was there was laughing, swearing 'Today Lat Dior will kill.' They swore, 'These things which he [Songo Aminata] does in the country will only be complete when Lat Dior kills him. This man, he did not follow after Lat Dior and those whom he causes to accompany him.' And Songo Aminata was not startled. He arrived just crossing through the battlefield. They made way for him that he might pass through the middle of the assembly, just to arrive.

He [Songo Aminata] said, 'My hand, Lat Dior – yes, Diop?' He [Lat Dior] said to him, 'Yes, Ndiaye?' Everyone there was very quiet. Kayor and Baol, the region of the town was chock full. Everyone thus stared at them. Their two foreheads touched; they were speechless – until it was a very long time. Songo Aminata said to him, 'Lat Dior, why did you come here?' He said to him, 'I have spent two months here, between when I came and now.' They were silent. He said to him, 'Songo Aminata, why is it that I had sent to you an envoy who came from Kayor to here, and you did not come to answer me?' He said to him, 'When you came to Baiti Mbaye, heading toward me, Kir Matar and Baiti Mbaye are one. It is I that you came to. The stranger, it is he who comes to greet the town.' He was silent.¹⁰

The strategy applied by Songo Aminata can also be stated formally: see T-rule 6 in the grammar.

Joking relationship (kall) and the joking greeting

There are certain special cases of greeting which show an alteration both in the form of the greeting and in the social innuendo which the greeting conveys. These cases depend on the particular surnames which are stated by both parties in the naming section of the greeting. Certain pairs of surnames, and the kin groups which bear them, stand in a special relationship to each other, called *kall* 'joking relationship.' The families Diop and Ndiaye, for example, are in joking relationship because, supposedly, 'the Diops are the mothers of the Ndiayes.' In fact the founding ancestor of the village, a man whose surname was Ndiaye, was born of a mother whose surname was Diop. The relationship between the two families echoes the relationship between a mother and her grown son, a relationship which is

ambiguous as to precedence and authority. Not all *kall* pairs have a kinship justification – some pairs are ‘just friends.’ But Wolof informants said that what is ‘really’ going on in the exchange of insults in a joking relationship is that each person is claiming, *Maa ko moom*, ‘It is I who own him’; or ‘I am the master and the other is my slave.’ This claim must be implicit in the insults, because it is not often actually uttered in the course of the joking repartee.

The greeting forms of the joking relationship are usually initiated by A, the person who initiates the entire greeting, after names have been exchanged (occasionally, if the two parties know each other very well and are on intimate terms, they may skip the naming stage and the regular greeting entirely). The following example illustrates a *kall* greeting:

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| A. <i>Diop!</i> (B’s name) | Diop! |
| B. <i>Ndiaye!</i> (A’s name) | Ndiaye! |
| A. <i>Sant ba neehul!</i> | That surname is not pleasing! |
| B. <i>Neeh na kaay.</i> | It is so pleasing. |
| A. <i>Lekk tyeb!</i> | (The Diops) eat rice! [luxury food; this means they are greedy] |
| B. <i>Ndiaye rek, nyoo ko lekk!</i> | Only the Ndiayes, it is they who eat it! |

This interchange eventually leads into a Statement (of a new topic of post-greeting conversation; see flow chart); or it may be followed by the start of a normal greeting. That is, a joking greeting usually substitutes for the QP of a normal greeting, and in any case takes precedence over it in both sequencing and interest. We have, then, a third basic type of greeting, contextually defined (this rule reformulates rule (1a)):

- (1b) (i) $G_{A,B} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} G_{\text{passing}} / \text{A in accountable hurry;} \\ \text{B is of lower rank than} \\ \text{some other person C} \\ \\ G_{\text{normal}} / \text{Otherwise} \\ \\ G_{\text{joking}} / \text{A, B have certain surnames} \end{array} \right.$
- (ii) $G_{\text{joking}} \rightarrow \# \text{Sal} + \text{I} + (\text{QP}) \#$

where $\text{I} \rightarrow \text{Insult}_1 + \text{Insult}_2 + \dots + \text{Insult}_n$

Unlike the joking relationship among the Manding as described by Labouret (1934:102), this mutual insult in the Wolof *kall* relationship is not obligatory, although once it is initiated by one party the other must

respond in kind. The general effect of the joking greeting, in contrast to the normal greeting, is one of *equality* between the two speakers, an equality which arises from rivalry (or mock rivalry) rather than from concord. This joking rivalry is not a true contest of insults, because one does not try to win, only to match one's partner equally. Even if one speaker were able (or even tried) to out-insult the other he would not achieve any real victory, because the *kall* is a permanent relationship between groups and transcends the relations of individuals in particular encounters. But because of the equality implied in the joking relationship, a joking greeting will be avoided if the *a priori* status difference between the speakers is too great. It is rare to see a joking greeting between a griot and the Imam of the mosque, for instance, although such a greeting might well occur between a griot and a young or low-ranking noble. Similarly, the non-seriousness of the insults prevents them from being used in serious or somber occasions, in which equality, if appropriate to the occasion at all, must be expressed in some other way. For instance, two chiefs each visiting the village of a third chief for a funeral, may, if they wish to express equality, engage in mutual deference, in which each tries to take the lower-status greeting role in a normal greeting, even though their surnames might happen to be in joking relationship.

Structurally the joking greeting contrasts with the normal greeting in the joking form's symmetry of speaking roles, a symmetry which reflects the overall effect of equality between the two speakers. Although the joking is usually initiated by A after both names have been exchanged, it does not really matter much which party initiates. B can sometimes initiate the joking instead of naming A:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| A. <i>Diop!</i> (B's name) | <i>Diop!</i> (B's name) |
| B. <i>Sa sant Ndiaye neehul!</i> | Your surname Ndiaye is not pleasing! |

After the initiation of the joking greeting, there is no particular division of utterances into insults and responses: each speaker may insult the other without responding specifically to the other's insult of himself. It should also be noted that in the *kall* only stylized insults on conventional topics are permissible. Since the relationship depends on not being specific to individuals, personal insults or 'rudeness' of demeanor (to be described below) would change the interaction into something else that was no longer the *kall* or any other kind of greeting.

The joking relationship provides, however, only a very limited opportunity to express equality. The *kall* involves only certain pairs of surnames, and any one person has only one or two surname groups in which to find joking partners. Some persons may find that their partner surnames are not even represented in the village. An effect of equality is more

frequently attained through mutual deference, whereby the normal greeting is recycled many times, the two speakers taking turns at the low-status role. Such an interchange – like the familiar ‘after you, Alphonse’ – may go on almost indefinitely.

Both the joking greeting and mutual deference thus express equality, but an equality which is effected only through rivalry or competition. Mutual deference is a kind of rivalry for the lower-status role in the greeting, while persons engaging in joking insults vie for the higher-status role (as noted above, such a rivalry for high status is the Wolof’s own view of the *kall* insult exchange). Apparently, among the Wolof the expression of equality is only to be attained through some kind of exchange that balances or neutralizes the inequality which is the basic premise of interaction.

Demeanor and speech styles: strategies of style-switching

The strategies discussed so far have all been strategies of role choice: efforts to take particular speaking roles in the greeting and thereby to take the social statuses implied by those roles. Another kind of strategy involves the speaker’s persona and demeanor, the way in which he communicates his own self-image and his attitude toward the greeting role he has taken.¹¹ In particular, he signals whether the status he assumed in the greeting accurately reflects his own estimation of his place in society at large. His demeanor may emphasize the claim to higher or lower status indicated by his greeting role; or he may indicate that, for some reason, he does not really belong in the status in which he finds himself in this particular encounter. Perhaps the role whose lines he is speaking is not the role he intended to take. Or perhaps this encounter is to be understood as a special case, his role in it not being pertinent to his roles elsewhere.

The strategies for communicating one’s self-image affect quite different linguistic aspects of the greeting from those involved in choosing a greeting role. Whereas role choice has to do with the selection and ordering of formula sentences, demeanor is particularly manifest in paralinguistic (or non-segmental) phenomena applicable to any of these formula utterances.¹² Three aspects of voice quality are relevant here: *pitch*, *loudness* and *tempo* of speaking. Another aspect of speaking style, *quantity* of speech (verbosity/terseness), is also important. These phenomena combine to give the general cultural stereotypes of speech styles associated with high and low status, as follows:

	STRESS	TEMPO-QUANTITY
Noble	<i>s</i> (– high, – loud)	<i>t</i> (– rapid, – verbose)
Griot	<i>S</i> (+ high, + loud)	<i>T</i> (+ rapid, + verbose)

The high, strident, rapid speech of the griot (as the epitome of the low-caste speaker) contrasts with the low-pitched, quiet, terse speaking style of the high-ranking noble. Since these speech stereotypes will be described more fully in another paper, it will suffice to mention here that a great deal of the actual speech of persons of different castes does in fact correspond to the stereotypes of style, especially when a person is interacting with someone of different caste whose speech style therefore contrasts directly with his own. But although in principle these styles are to be associated with nobles and *nyenyo* (low-caste persons), respectively, in practice they can be drawn upon as indicators of *relatively* high or low status, within a single caste. The availability of these styles to all is what makes them important for personal use in the greeting.

Since the speaking styles do not apply to the same kind of linguistic phenomena as does the assignment of greeting roles, the relevance of these styles for personal use in the greeting lies in the fact that the status implied stylistically by a speaker's intonation need not coincide fully with the status assigned structurally by his greeting role. That is to say, we have here the intersection of an expressive system, based on a patterned usage of intonation and other paralinguistic phenomena, with a referential system, based on a syntactic ordering of utterances in the greeting dialogue. Both systems are concerned with the same social dimension – status ranking – and they complement each other in the total greeting performance and the social meaning which the greeting conveys. Just as a speaker may choose (or be obliged to take) a lower or higher greeting role, Initiator or Respondent, no matter what his or her caste or other *a priori* social status, so he or she may choose a 'griot-like' or 'noble-like' intonation, independently of either *a priori* social status or syntactically defined greeting role. Whether the status implied expressively is the same as that implied referentially, or as that known in advance, will affect others' interpretations of a greeting performance.

In what we might call a normal situation, in which person A is *a priori* of obviously lower status and takes the lower-status role of Initiator–Questioner, and no one is trying to manipulate the situation to imply anything else, the speech styles of A and B will correspond to the 'griot' and 'noble' styles respectively, even if A and B are not members of these castes. But because these speech styles refer to *relatively* higher or lower status and not to membership in specific castes, an individual may switch styles as he interacts with different people. A young man who is a noble but who has not yet amassed wealth or supporters may use the 'low-caste' style (*ST*) when he is greeting a powerful older noble or the village chief, yet use the 'high-caste' style (*st*) when talking to a griot. In these two situations he will also normally use different greeting roles, taking the Initiator

role when greeting the older noble and taking the Respondent role when greeting the griot. In both instances the speech style he uses and the greeting role he takes fit his true relationship to these persons as he himself and most others would probably define it.

We can say, then, that a person switches *all* features of his speech style in the greeting, and also switches his greeting role, when he feels that in some objective sense he does belong in the new status relative to the new person with whom he is interacting. This is the status to which he has an obvious right, to which others would assign him. By extension, if a person switches all style features when his right to the status he has claimed is *not* obvious, then he is staking a new but permanent claim to that position. For instance, suppose person B claims the higher role though his right to it is doubtful. By using stylistic features *st* he claims that he truly belongs in a higher rank than person A, that this encounter is a true model of their relationship and not just a special case. In fact, his use of the greeting in this way may be part of his overall effort to climb above A.

Partial switching – that is, switching only some of these aspects of speech style – can also occur, because stress (pitch, volume) and tempo–quantity (rapidity, verbosity) are distinctive features which can vary independently. Partial switching emphasizes a discrepancy between a speaker's true status (in his own estimation) and his greeting role. In these cases the feature of stress (pitch and loudness) indicates the speaker's self-image, his estimation of his proper station with respect to the other. The other feature, tempo–quantity, goes with the greeting role, the 'griot-like' *T* being associated with the role of Initiator, the 'noble-like' *t* with the Respondent. Thus a speech style *sT* (partial switching) will sometimes be used by a noble who has taken the role of Initiator–Questioner in greeting someone whose status is not obviously higher than his own; his performance, or strategy, will be interpreted as 'polite,' because he is showing deference (Initiator role, *T*) even though he does not have to (*s*). For example, when my assistant, a noble of high birth but low achievement, greeted nobles other than those of obviously superior status (such as the chief, the Imam, the wealthy shopowners, or his employers), he usually used the Initiator role, with great verbosity but a quiet, low-pitched voice. He explained to me that to be 'polite' one must greet at length, but that he did not speak loudly because he was not a griot and would be ashamed to do so. He was apparently not ashamed, however, to greet me (his employer), or the chief, etc., in a ringing 'griot-like' tone, presumably because he considered himself to have a basically lower rank in relation to these persons, a status which concurred with his lower-status greeting role.

Conversely, the speech style *St* will occasionally be used by a griot taking the Respondent role when greeting someone of higher rank than

himself; his performance will be interpreted as 'rude' or even threatening. The griot is reminding you of his caste (*S*) but at the same time hinting at his power over you (*t*); if you do not give him presents and become his patron, he will insult you and spread gossip about you all over town. On some occasions when a griot greeted me in this manner, he made the threat of insult and gossip quite explicit in a later (post-greeting) part of the conversation.

The second feature of speech demeanor, tempo–quantity, appears to correspond with the speaker's particular greeting role, as mentioned above. Rarely does the feature depart from this close association. When I have observed it to differ from what might be expected, given the speaker's greeting role (e.g., when a person takes the lower-status Initiator role but delivers his lines very slowly in a 'noble-like' drawl), the discrepancy has often been corrected by a change of roles (to Respondent) later in the greeting. I conclude that the slow delivery is a matter of reluctance to take the Initiator role and that the Respondent role, to which the speaker switched, was the one he really wanted in the first place. Insofar as this feature varies independently of the greeting role, then, it signals whether the greeting role that the speaker has taken is the role that he really intended to take.

The above discussion applies mainly to the 'normal' greeting; in the joking relationship, vocal features of speech style are not so important because differential ranking is not at issue. Moreover, the blatant statement of a claim to higher rank overshadows any innuendo conveyed by voice tone alone. It may be worth noting, however, that the speech style of both parties in the joking relationship tends to be the griot-like *ST*. The low-status style, when joined to the stated claim to high rank, results in no claim at all – which is of course the point of the joking greeting.

Summary and formal statement of strategies

We are now in a position to summarize and state formally the kinds of strategies with which a Wolof speaker may approach a greeting and the ways in which he or she may interpret the behavior of others, in reference to these strategies. Both the role in the greeting that a speaker takes and certain paralinguistic aspects of his speaking will have distinctive meaning for his auditors, in terms of the speaker's social rank and his attitude toward the encounter in which he finds himself.

Linguistically, both Self-Lowering and Self-Elevating strategies involve the manipulation of the *sequence* of utterances, each utterance itself being an irreducible unit within the genre/routine. It is possible to construct a generative grammar for the greeting, stating the basic greeting exchange

(here defined as the exchange in which the assignment of functional roles inherent in the initiation of the sequence remains the same throughout the greeting) as the phrase structure, and the greeting strategies as transformations (deletions, permutations, etc.). Each strategy, here a transformation, is an operation which reverses the functional roles of the two speakers in the greeting from what they are at the outset of the exchange. These transformations do not affect the meaning of an utterance or sequence of utterances as signals of social rank, but shift the assignment of individual speakers to these ranks. As an appendix to this paper I have drawn up a grammar of the normal greeting (as opposed to the passing greeting or joking greeting): this grammar is a relatively exhaustive set of rules, including those for transforming the greeting sequence in order to apply socially functional strategies. The paralinguistic strategies of demeanor may then be applied to the surface structure of the grammar, its realization in actual utterances.

I have differentiated the paralinguistic aspects of greeting into two distinctive features, stress (*S* or *s*) and tempo–quantity (*T* or *t*), because these represent the two aspects into which speech styles ('griot-like,' 'noble-like') divide under the conditions of partial switching as outlined above.¹³ There are eight possible combinations of the paralinguistic features of performance with the greeting roles to which they may be applied by an individual speaker. The most important of these are the ones which result from combining two kinds of strategies, Self-Lowering/Self-Elevating and Politeness/Rudeness. A third strategy is activated when the speaker relates the feature tempo–quantity to his greeting role: if the speaker varies this feature, he signals that the role he is in is not the one he intended to choose.

These eight combinations correspond to eight possible 'glosses,' distinct greeting 'meanings' or ways of interpreting greetings. Fig. 11 shows, in flow-chart form, the relationship of paralinguistic features of performance to the social features of demeanor which a speaker may intend to convey. The figure also gives, as glosses to the features of performance, the possible ways a hearer may interpret the speaker's greeting demeanor.

By making a formal statement of greeting performances and their glosses in this way, we can see that the social meanings of greeting behavior can be analyzed into features which refer to concrete linguistic phenomena, rule-governed in their turn. We can also see that apart from the joking greeting, which depends on rather special circumstances, these eight performances and their 'meanings' are the *only* ones open to the Wolof speaker at the onset of an encounter. It is structurally impossible, for instance, for a griot talking to a noble to be really polite (as opposed to just not being rude) and still claim dependency. For if he takes option (2) he signals that his self-

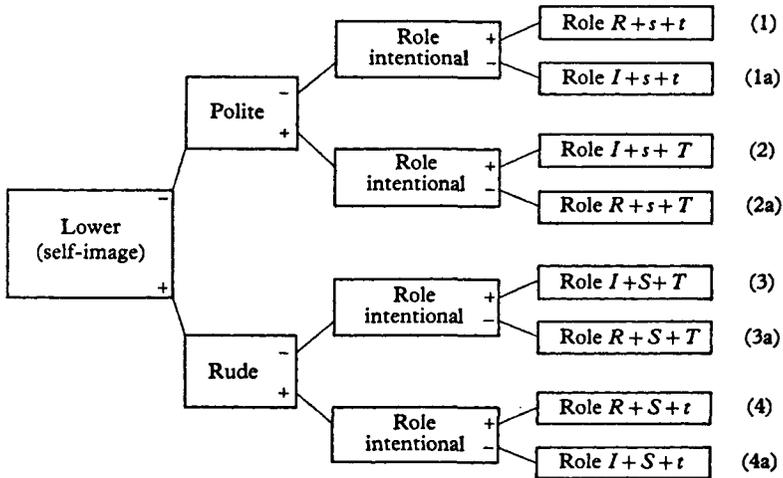


Fig. 11

Glosses

- (1) Speaker believes his rank to be fundamentally higher and claims dominance
 (1a) Same as (1), but speaker has failed to take the greeting role he wanted
 (2) Speaker believes himself higher (or at least, equally high) but wants to be polite; he disclaims any special patronage bond
 (2a) Same as (2), but speaker has failed to take the greeting role he wanted
 (3) Speaker believes his rank to be fundamentally lower and claims dependency
 (3a) Same as (3), but speaker has failed to take the greeting role he wanted
 (4) Speaker believes himself lower and wants to be rude, threatening others with the consequences of neglecting him
 (4a) Same as (4), but speaker has failed to take the greeting role he wanted

image is not consistent with the expected image of his caste, that he does not consider himself to be in a true griot–noble relationship, and that therefore the noble is not obliged to give him anything. Likewise if a noble talking to a griot chooses options (3) or (4) he will have violated the expectations of demeanor proper to his rank, shown a self-image which is unfitting, and will therefore jeopardize his following (who may suspect that he ‘lacks self-control’). The motivations appropriate to a participant in a particular greeting – and therefore to a participant in any Wolof encounter – are limited.

In conclusion, it must be repeated that the Wolof greeting is particularly important because it is obligatory, the considerations and constraints which it presupposes being forced into the structure of every social relationship. The most important such considerations are cultural assumptions of

inequality and of the character and motivations of the unequal persons. In addition, analysis of the greeting as a linguistic routine brings out some methodological considerations. It permits a precise statement of social functions of the routine and their linguistic bases, in a generative framework which could perhaps be applied to other such routines and to broader aspects of interaction in this culture. The greeting was chosen among Wolof linguistic routines for its accessibility to the ethnographer. But the precision which is possible in analysis of the greeting encourages extending such analysis of rule-governed behavior beyond the confines of the genre.¹⁴

APPENDIX: GRAMMAR OF RULES FOR GREETING
(‘G NORMAL’)

Conventions of notation

- # Boundary of greeting routine
- Rewrite as (in phrase rules)
- ⇒ Rewrite as (in transformational rules)
- ≠ Is not
- , Or
- () Optional (however, if all items in a string are enclosed in parentheses, at least one must be chosen)
- { } Choose any one
- / In the context of
- ()ⁿ Optional to repeat n times
- ∅ Null symbol

Phrase structure rules

- (1) $G_{A,B} \rightarrow \# \text{Sal} + \text{QP} \#$
- (2) $\text{Sal} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Sal}_{\text{Strangers}/A,B \text{ unacquainted}} \\ \text{Sal}_{\text{Normal}} / \text{Otherwise} \end{array} \right\}$
- (3) $\text{QP} \rightarrow \text{Q}_1 + (\text{Q}_2) + (\text{P}) + \left((\text{Q}_1) + (\text{Q}_2) + (\text{P}) + (\emptyset) \right)^n$
- (4) $\text{Q}_2 \rightarrow (\text{Q}_{2a}) + (\text{Q}_{2b})$
- (5) $\text{Sal}_{\text{Strangers}} \rightarrow (\text{Exch}_{S1}) + \text{Exch}_{S2} + \text{Exch}_{S3} + (\text{Exch}_{S3})^n$
- (6) $\text{Sal}_{\text{Normal}} \rightarrow (\text{Exch}_{S1}) + \text{Exch}_{S3} + (\text{Exch}_{S3})^n$
- (7) $\text{Q}_1 \rightarrow \left((\text{Exch}_{\text{Q1.1}})^n + (\text{Exch}_{\text{Q1.2}})^n \right)^n$
- (8) $\text{Q}_{2a} \rightarrow (\text{Exch}_{\text{Q2a}})^n$
- (9) $\text{Q}_{2b} \rightarrow (\text{Exch}_{\text{Q2b}})^n$
- (10) $\text{P} \rightarrow (\text{Exch}_{\text{P1}})^n + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Exch}_{\text{P2}} \\ \emptyset \end{array} \right\}$

Any Exchange is composed of Turns, one for each speaker:

$$\text{Exch} \rightarrow \text{Turn}^I + \text{Turn}^R$$

Thus:

- (11) $\text{Exch}_{S_1} \rightarrow \text{Turn}_{S_1}^I + \text{Turn}_{S_1}^R$
 (12) $\text{Exch}_{S_2} \rightarrow \text{Turn}_{S_2}^I + \text{Turn}_{S_2}^R$
 (13) $\text{Exch}_{S_3} \rightarrow \text{Turn}_{S_3}^I + \text{Turn}_{S_3}^R$
 (14) $\text{Exch}_{Q_{1.1}} \rightarrow \text{Turn}_{Q_{1.1}}^I + \text{Turn}_{Q_{1.1}}^R$
 (15) $\text{Exch}_{Q_{1.2}} \rightarrow \text{Turn}_{Q_{1.2}}^I + \text{Turn}_{Q_{1.2}}^R$
 (16) $\text{Exch}_{Q_{2a}} \rightarrow \text{Turn}_{Q_{2a}}^I + \text{Turn}_{Q_{2a}}^R$
 (17) $\text{Exch}_{Q_{2b}} \rightarrow \text{Turn}_{Q_{2b}}^I + \text{Turn}_{Q_{2b}}^R$
 (18) $\text{Exch}_{P_1} \rightarrow \text{Turn}_{P_1}^I + \text{Turn}_{P_1}^R$
 (19) $\text{Exch}_{P_2} \rightarrow \text{Turn}_{P_2}^I + \text{Turn}_{P_2}^R$

The Turns may be rewritten as the actual sentences of the greeting, or as rules for sentences:

- (20) $\text{Turn}_{S_1}^I \rightarrow \text{Salaam alikum}$ 'Peace be with you'
 (21) $\text{Turn}_{S_1}^R \rightarrow \text{Malikum salaam}$ 'With you be peace'
 (22) $\text{Turn}_{S_2}^I \rightarrow \text{Name I}$
 (23) $\text{Turn}_{S_2}^R \rightarrow \text{Name R}$
 (24) $\text{Turn}_{S_3}^I \rightarrow \text{Name R}$
 (25) $\text{Turn}_{S_3}^R \rightarrow (\text{Naam}) \text{Name I. ' (Yes) Name I'}$
 (26) $\text{Turn}_{Q_{1.1}}^I \rightarrow \text{Na ngga def?}$ 'How are you?'
 (27) $\text{Turn}_{Q_{1.1}}^R \rightarrow \text{Maanggi fi rek.}$ 'I am here only.'
 (28) $\text{Turn}_{Q_{1.2}}^I \rightarrow \text{Mbaa dyamm ngg' am?}$ 'Don't you have peace?'
 (29) $\text{Turn}_{Q_{1.2}}^R \rightarrow \text{Dyamm rek, naam.}$ 'Peace only, yes.'
 (30) $\text{Turn}_{Q_{2a}}^I \rightarrow \text{Ana NP?}$ 'Where/how is . . . ?'
 (31) $\text{Turn}_{Q_{2a}}^R \rightarrow \text{Pron}_1 \text{ ngga fa.}$ '. . . is there.'
 (32) $\text{Turn}_{Q_{2b}}^I \rightarrow \text{Mbaa VP?}$ 'Isn't it that . . . ?'
 (33) $\text{Turn}_{Q_{2b}}^R \rightarrow \text{Pron}_2 \text{ nggi sant (Yalla).}$ '. . . is praising (God).'
 (34) $\text{Turn}_{P_1}^I \rightarrow \text{H'mdillay.}$ 'Thanks be to God.'
 (35) $\text{Turn}_{P_1}^R \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{H'mdillay. 'Thanks be to God.'} \\ \text{Tubarkalla. 'Blessed be God.'} \end{array} \right\}$
 (36) $\text{Turn}_{P_2}^I \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{H'mdillay.} \\ \text{Tubarkalla.} \end{array} \right\}$
 (37) $\text{Turn}_{P_2}^R \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{H'mdillay.} \\ \text{Tubarkalla.} \end{array} \right\}$
 (38) NP $\rightarrow \text{waa kir gi, sa} + \text{Kin Term, Name.}$ 'people of the household, your Kin Term, Name, . . .'
 (39) $\text{Pron}_1 \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Nyu 'they' / waa kir gi} + \text{---} \\ \text{plural NP} \\ \text{Mu 'he, she' / other NP} + \text{---} \end{array} \right\}$

- (40) VP $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \rightarrow \textit{tawaatu loo, feebaru loo}, \quad \text{'you aren't sick, you aren't} \\ \textit{feebarul, tawaatul, kenn tawaa-} \text{ sick, he isn't sick, he isn't} \\ \textit{tul, kenn feebarul} \quad \text{sick, no one is sick, no one} \\ \quad \text{is sick'} \end{array} \right\}$
- (41) Pron₂ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{Maa 'I' / tawaatu loo, feebaru loo} + \text{---} \\ \rightarrow \textit{Mu 'he, she' / feebarul, tawatul} + \text{---} \\ \textit{Nyu 'they' / kenn feebarul, kenn tawaatul} + \text{---} \end{array} \right\}$

Transformational rules (strings in which functional roles of speakers are reversed are in italics):

1. T[A,B change roles]:

$$X + \textit{Turn}_{P_2}^R + Q \Rightarrow X + Q$$

X, Q are strings. $Q \neq \text{Sal, P}$

2. T[A,B change roles; B intercepts P₁]:

$$X + \textit{Turn}_{P_1}^I + \textit{Turn}_{P_1}^R + (\textit{Exch}_{P_2})(Q) \Rightarrow X + \textit{Turn}_{P_1}^I + Q$$

X, Q are strings. $Q \neq \text{Sal, P}$

3. T[A,B change roles; B substitutes P₁ for his twin (Permutation)]:

$$X + \textit{Turn}_{Q_1}^I + \textit{Turn}_{Q_1}^R + Y + \textit{Exch}_{P_1} + Z \Rightarrow X + \textit{Turn}_{Q_1}^I + \textit{Exch}_{P_1} + Y + (Z)$$

X, Y, Z are strings. $Q \neq Q_{2a}$

4. T[A,B change roles; B ignores A's 'salaam alikum,' intercepts with naming]:

$$X + \textit{Turn}_{S_1}^R + \textit{Exch}_{S_3} + Y \Rightarrow X + \textit{Exch}_{S_3} + Y$$

X, Y are strings.

5. T[A,B change roles; B substitutes a question for his response]:

$$X + \textit{Turn}_{Q_1}^R + Y \Rightarrow X + \textit{Turn}_{Q_1}^I + Y$$

X, Y are strings.

6. T[B Self-Elevating]:

$$X + \textit{Exch}_{S_3} + Y \Rightarrow X + \textit{Turn}_{S_3}^R + Y$$

X is \emptyset or Pause.

Y is a string.

Note: These T-rules are mutually exclusive at whatever stage of the greeting they apply.