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ABSTRACT

The nature of gazing at someone or something, as a form of communication among the Bahemba people in eastern Zaire, is analyzed across a range of situations. Variations of steady gazing, a common eye contact routine, are outlined, including: (1) negative non-gazing or glance routines, especially in situations in which gazing would ordinarily occur; (2) gazing for visual acquisition of knowledge, characterized in various lexical items indicating positive results of the gazing or knowledge acquisition by more than one sense; (3) long and unhurried scrutiny, with different terms to describe cautious looking, speculative looking, or participation in a process one is watching; (4) glancing and then blinking hard and looking away, serving as a warning to the speaker; (5) rapid blinking as an insult; (6) eye-rolling associated with witchcraft; (7) gazing with eyes half-closed and head tilted back as an immature gesture; (8) eye-contact avoidance as embarrassment or humility; (9) darting sideways glances as an indication of fear; and (10) intense gazing, sometimes with narrowed eyes or wide open eyes to show anger. Childhood error in understanding gazing routines, finer distinctions in gaze type, limits to gaze duration, less readily-elicited Hembra terms for non-negative short gazes and scans, and the interaction of other situational factors in distinguishing gazes are also discussed. (MSE)

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VISUAL COMMUNICATION IN EASTERN ZAIRE

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VISUAL COMMUNICATION IN EASTERN ZAIRE*

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INTRODUCTION

Gazing, at something or someone, is one way to obtain or to exchange information--to communicate using the eyes. Expectably, this eye-contact option is not handled the same the world over. For example, Arabs greatly enjoy conversations where both interactants are steadily gazing into each others' eyes, using the most acute, foveal focus (Watson 1970). If the eyes shift from side-to-side or if one glances away during crucial parts of the discussion, as may frequently happen with Northern-European Americans, the Arab may interpret this as a sign that the other person is embarrassed or has something to hide (Hall 1966, personal communication). In contrast, among Navaho Indians in the U.S.A. Southwest, peripheral vision is what is most proper to use in conversations. Navahos stand facing partly away from each other or with eyes cast down or to the side, not looking directly at others. Gazing straight at someone at least indicates great disrespect, if not outright hostility, so that even occasional direct looks by the Northern-European American are decidedly unwelcome (Hall 1963, 1966, personal communication; Worth and Adair 1972; Worth, personal communication). The range of possibilities is apparently great: the Japanese are instructed to look at each other's neck, so that eye-contact at most distances is peripheral (Argyle and Cook 1976 citing Morsbach 1973). In fact, in broad

*This paper is based on part of the analytical results of a total of three years of ethnographic field research conducted 1974-79 among Bahemba people living in northern Shaba Region in eastern Zaire. The form *hemba* with *n*-class concordial agreement, is used herein for adjectival reference, except for the following important forms, used both adjectivally and as substantives, which will be rendered as they are in the local Bantu languages: the people call themselves, in certain contexts *bahemba*, one person is a *muhemba*, the language can be called *khemba*, and the whole area can be referred to as *buhemba*. Tones are marked over vowels: high-*e*, lowered high-*e*, low-*e* (no diacritic), short vowel high-low-*e*, short vowel low-high-*e*.

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brushstroke terms, conversational gazing among the Bahemba seems not exactly like gazing reported elsewhere to date, to be most unlike the extremes of either Navaho or Arab conversation, and to differ---at times strikingly---from Northern-European American preferences and practices, even more so from those of the Japanese.

To use a wider frame, in Greece the frequency and intensity of gazing at others in public is so high that Greeks say they feel unwelcome, visually ignored, when traveling in Western Europe (Argyle and Cook), and undoubtedly are even more so in a first encounter with New York City, where Frenchmen report that people do not look at each other long enough (L. Wylie, personal communication). There is here a certain similarity between Greek and Hemba gazing. What is considered "in-public," however, seems to differ greatly between the two places.

Comparative issues, as evocative and fascinating as they are, still cannot be at the forefront of the following discussion, the central task being to shed light on the nature of Hemba gazing across a range of situations, and to thus strive for a more solid basis from which cross-cultural comparisons can be made. Furthermore, though this is indeed a case study from Sub-Saharan Africa, it cannot yet, strictly speaking, claim to elucidate gazing outside of Buhemba or where Bahemba are not involved. Most comparisons and contrasts with gazing as it occurs elsewhere in Zaire, Africa, and beyond will be more suitably discussed at another time, though an occasional example here serves to introduce and specify the phenomena under consideration.

STEADY AND UNABASHED HEMBA GAZING: EXPECTED, NOT "IMPOLITE"

Steady and unabashed gazing is a common Hemba eye-contact routine and, though documentably varying with respect to concurrent activities, who does the gazing, and who and what are gazed upon in what settings, does not have the "impolite" implications found in Northern-European American culture. Gazing is expected in many Hemba situations; omitting the gaze or cutting it short can easily have negative connotations, whereas calm and unhurried gazing is interpreted as friendly and courteous attentiveness. Gazing thus becomes "too long" much less quickly, and much more rarely, for Bahemba than for Northern-European Americans. Even then, most Hemba stares are not taken as offensive nor as discomforting; at most, a Muhemba will ask a bemused

question about the stare and then ignore it. In fact, the pejorative word "stare" apparently has no single morpheme equivalent in Kihemba, though the occasional use of certain phrases is evidence that there are some limits to the length and appropriateness of gazing.

Intense gazing is one of the first social phenomena encountered by the visitor to Buhemba, but the visitor soon learns that neither is he unique in receiving this silent eyeball accolade nor is gazing limited to situations where new visitors arrive. Unflinching yet polite gazing pervades Hemba society; in the more "public" sphere, for example, performers, active large groups, and the beginnings of new events are only the more obvious things that Bahemba find worthy of rapt, gazing attention. Gazing can be important in greetings, conversations, and leavings. Salutations, temporarily overriding other activities, characteristically involve gazing as well as verbal greetings; and visual recognition is an indispensable precondition in verbal greetings. As a limiting case, it is striking how Bahemba will not greet at night prior to seeing who is there, how the greeting distances are greatly foreshortened, and the frequency of greeting plummets. In daylight, there is much gazing around when new arrivals are imminently expected and gazing can play an important part in a friendly welcome. Bahemba gaze mutually at each other in some kinds of conversations, especially at longer distances. Concentrated gazing at the speaker in a men's group, accompanied by certain body motions, may precede an attempt to take the next speaking turn, while other gazing signifies more detachment and less involvement in the conversation or palaver. Those who are leaving are gazed at frequently by those staying, even when mutual eye-contact is not maintained. Moreover, Bahemba visitors do not, as a rule, leave suddenly. The leaving sequence is almost invariably a slow, deliberate, continuing conversation at several successive distances, each new transition-leaving position being the occasion for facing and eye-contact again.

NEGATIVE NON-GAZING AND GLANCE ROUTINES

There are many situations where a pointed non-gaze basically has a negative significance, especially where the relationship of participants, the setting, and ongoing activities are such that gazing would ordinarily occur. Not gazing at the speaker can be read as anything from an uninterested "not listening," to a "don't like what's being said," to an open

affront and insult, and can be manifest in one of several forms: uyenzha ūngi 'gazing elsewhere', michwe hasi yembayamba 'hanging head looking downwards', and uyenzha/ūlōla ūmbiibī 'to watch/to look to the side'. Several kinds of short glances contrast markedly in appearance, and in interpretation, to the calm friendliness of the basic Hema gaze. Ūkwala ngeni, a fierce quick look, a variety of "cut-eye" (Rickford and Rickford 1976), is meant to wither an opponent---to let the other clearly know that one is angry or disgusted with them. Ūbuzhā or ibengo---glancing, but not looking long at an approaching visitor, returning instead to focus on where one's eyes previously were, as work and conversation continue---is a silent yet unmistakably strong affront to the visitor. In the face of an ubuzhā, subsequent welcoming words or actions will be considered greatly reduced in value, hypocritical, or a total charade, when the standard welcome is an open-faced gaze. Glancing many places with the eyes never resting on one spot (ūkusāga ūlōla, lit.: 'to chop up looking at you') is associated with fear, uneasiness, and unwillingness to comfortably be with and experience people. When asked if perhaps glancing around is not just a way of quickly sizing up a situation, Bahema deny this, underline the several negative interpretations of glances, ask rhetorically how one can really find out about anything by only glancing at it, and note that ndamūmōna ūndu ūzīma bīlegēlē 'he/she will not see any one thing well': preference is clearly stated for the calm, cool, attentive gaze.

VISUAL ACQUISITION OF KNOWLEDGE: ŪBATĪZHA

Several lexical items interestingly underscore the Hema use of long and unhurried scrutiny as the dominant visual approach to meeting or learning about almost anything new, unfamiliar, or interesting. Most strikingly, the term ūbatīzha refers exclusively to the visual acquisition of knowledge. The phrase lauding the end result of the ūbatīzha process---ūchwēzha mu mūtīmā (lit. gloss: 'to cause to put into the soul, awareness, self')---refers to learning so much about something that it will not be forgotten, and Bahema emphatically deny that auditory, olfactory, tactile, or any other sense or other means of knowing are involved with ūbatīzha except the visual. Ūwandīla, a broader term, designates knowledge acquisition and comprehension by any means; its cognate ībandī glosses as "sign" in the most general sense. In contrast, ūbatīzha means acquainting oneself with and learning all about some thing, person, or action by looking at or

watching it, as in an example given by Kindenga Malazi: ngīndu ūzīma ndenācho mwiganza gukimona belabela na ukīyūā leelyo tufū kīīndu yīmūchā bībī 'he/she has a whole thing in the hand, he/she continues to see it closely and to know (for the first time) that day that this thing exists in this manner'. He notes that this also applies to things farther away. Fala Mwa'a concisely sums up ūbatīzha as ūlōla mpaka goyūā bīlegēlē 'to look until he/she knows (it) well'. Rapidity and haste are not associated with ūbatīzha, whereas dignified contemplation is. It is no wonder, then, that the quick glance at something or someone is thought of as the negatively-valued antithesis of steady gazing.

LONG AND UNHURRIED SCRUTINY: OTHER LEXICAL ITEMS

Also apparently designating a studied comprehension by visual means is ūzhangāfīla, a term used as synonymous with ūbatīzha by some Kihema speakers: nīfuyēnzha, nīfuzhangāfīla 'I just now came from watching and learning all about it'. Ūsengūla, which can be translated as kuchungūlia in Kiswahili, means 'to look carefully', with the direct implication of going somewhere for cautious, deliberate observation of something until it is well scrutinized, and is, consequently, much more useable for some purpose than it was previously. For example tūmwēna ūsengūla sōnī 'we will go to look into the thatching grass'---searching for, closely examining, and carefully selecting an area of savannah grass suitable for durable house roofing, or tūmwēna ūsengūla mābo getu 'we just now went to closely inspect our palm trees'---to check out the ancestral heritage, in defense against encroachment from unscrupulous others, and to see where the ripe palm fruits are. Ūsengūla is primarily visual, though apparently other sensory information is used too: one feels the dryness and strength of the grass, or walks around an area, to supplement the visual appraisal.

When Bahema go ūtangīla bāngāngā 'to have a look at magical warriors/costumed semi-secret society members', or ūtangīla balengū bamūta māzha 'to watch the dancing children', or say twēngū tūtangīlē mbwīzha 'we should go have a look at the clothes for sale', the experience may indeed involve listening to what is being sung, played or said, but the basic ingredient is the unabashed gaze at the item or action of central interest. One gloss of ūtangīla might be 'to speculate', which would properly emphasize the visual aspect, and has the additional implication of "audience" which the more

spectacular events do draw. Utangfia, however, goes beyond a watching without taking an active part: some in the "audience" invariably jump in to dance, clothes buyers handle the merchandise, and onlookers who -tangfia everyday activities such as mat weaving often offer advice and sometimes help with the work.

GAZING AS USUAL AND DESIRABLE

There are other Bemba practices and phrases which provide support and approval of gazing as usual and desirable in human relations. In palavers, discussions, and conversations of many kinds, the participants sit in a circle facing each other equally. No one is allowed to sit behind anyone else since the observable operationalized rule is uwimónéna/ uwíyénzhéna/uwíóléna u ngébo 'to see/to watch/to look at each other in the face'---when one person is speaking all others should have the opportunity to look at his face and he at theirs. Gazing as active, attentive listening and positive feedback for the speaker is referred to as mésó gábili 'two eyes' and mésó húlúlu 'eyes wide open'. It contrasts with looking elsewhere, or with having mésó gábwile 'closed eyes' which at least implies less concentration, and can mean that the auditor has fallen asleep---sleeping not in itself prohibited or even embarrassing in Bemba men's groups, but it does affect others' assessments of one's attentiveness. Bemba speech is regularly and frequently laced with formulaic requests for listener response, which demand an active verbal synchronizing with the speaker; there are numerous possible responses, but choosing to say "mésó gábili," "mácho (Kisw. 'eyes') gábili," or "mésó húlúlu" asserts that one is especially closely following the narration. When explaining later to those who had not been present that a person, or people in general, had been listening to what was said, these or other idioms such as mésó mene súú, wéli, are used which likewise evoke the image of gazing at the speaker. Bemba note that they actually met with, and probably talked to, someone on a trip or at any event by saying nálmónagánáge mésó 'I engaged in mutual eye-contact with him'. On the other hand, the denial would be made by saying nímwené chui yá, luébo lwáge njilúmwéne 'I only saw his ear, didn't see his face' or, more emphatically, nálmóna ya ngómo yá, ndáligazhúluá ká 'I only saw the back of his neck, he never turned around'---I didn't even get close to meeting with him. The positive aspects of mutual gazing

are also underscored, and on a visibly permanent basis, when two people choose to build their houses so that they face one another, úyénzhéna byénde. *

FOR BAHEMBA, A LACK OF GAZE CAN BE SIGNIFICANT

Given the basic expectation of gazing, the very lack of even a short gaze can be quite significant. For Bemba, no-gaze can indicate honor for an in-law, reticent politeness while another is eating or drinking, or, in some situations, respectful and interested listening. A traveler may, without being impolite, continue a conversation without looking at the other person. He may talk over-the-shoulder while---just as importantly---slowly continuing in his direction of travel, looking at the ground in front of him (definitely not scanning from side to side), thus signaling an intent and need to keep going and to avoid stopping, yet maintaining a courteous and considerate demeanor. News and friendly comments are exchanged without adumbrating the interaction in a way that would interfere with the voyage. Similarly in terms of adumbration, the lack of a gaze can level-off or deescalate an argument, whereas uninterrupted gazing by antagonists adds more fuel to an already hot fire. And, co-wives who tend toward habitual fighting can reduce their daily hassles by building their doorways facing away from, and drastically reducing visual contact with, each other. This arrangement---a sign of grave discord and a last-ditch attempt to deal with it---is very noticeable to all others, regardless of their knowledge of the specifics of the case.

Ulimúna---to glance directly at someone, blink both eyes strongly, and then look quickly away---is an eye-contact routine which gains meaning from its marked contrast to the expected conversational gazing. It is also called, by way of explanation, ukuushá na mésó 'to stop or warn someone with the eyes'. With this silent sign, a listener can discretely warn a speaker that his argument has gone too far, or that someone who should not hear it is approaching the group. A speaker can use úlimúna to negate whatever he is saying: only those looking at his eyes will pick up the ruse,

*úyénzhéna (another gloss: 'to gaze at each other') demonstrates the usefulness of the Bantu reciprocal verb form in succinctly referring to the minimal human-communication unit, the dyad, rather than to only one side of it, the individual.

which is performed when the one to be fooled is looking elsewhere.

Rapidly blinking both eyes, ukoofyága méso, is a kind of formal opposite to the steady gaze, and reverses its significance: it is a way of cursing at, rather than politely listening to, a speaker. As another example of signification reversal, blind people are often considered to represent the opposite of open-eyed friendly good will. Their blindness is, tragically, associated with búti 'witchcraft', their inability to see in the light as evidence of sinister abilities to see perfectly in the dark, for witches' work. Somewhat related, some children say that rolling the eyes upward so that only the whites show, úgélúlá méso héguú, is a sign of búti.

OTHER EYE-CONTACT ROUTINES WHICH CONTRAST WITH THE HEMBA GAZE

Other eye-contact routines gain significance from their contrast to the basic Hemba gaze, and can serve to further bracket its formal and semantic limits. For example, úfenyéna méso or úbwíla mílemba---half closing the eyelids as the head is tilted slightly back---is seen by adults as a mark of bútuúndu 'immature youth'. An old man doing the same is seen as, in his senility, having fun reenacting a mannerism of his childhood. Búmvu 'embarrassment' is partly characterized by eye-contact avoidance, includes looking downward, or down and slightly to the side, and is described as one important ingredient in ínémo, 'honor', for an in-law of the next higher generation. Móyo 'fear' is associated with not being able to hold the basic steady gaze, but to be looking this way and that 'as if something were about to grab him'. There are a number of conventional gestures directly indicative of ínzi 'anger', Hemba-style, and these are sometimes accompanied by méso ga bwánzi 'fierce eyes; or méso ga búhuzi 'strongly sharp eyes'. The latter is much more intense than the basic Hemba gaze, sometimes with a narrowing of the eyelids, usually not silently holding the look for long without some drastic action or angry verbal outburst developing from it. The former can include abnormally wide-open eyes, and more of a wild looking here and there rather than a steady gaze in one spot; it is sometimes associated with spirit possession, uncontrolled anger or upset, and some kinds of insanity. It is these anger-related kinds of eye-contact that young children occasionally fail to distinguish properly from the normal gazing of people who are strangers to them---

misreading friendliness for threat---though, as a rule, even babies are encouraged to, and do, reciprocate a great deal of calm gazing from a wide range of people. Learning such distinctions is part of maturation. There are recognizable outer limits even for the characteristic calmness: the basic gaze---the epitome of active attentiveness, though visibly more relaxed than the defensive or aggressive eye-contact or móyo or ínzi---is qualitatively distinct from the steadily gazing but soporifically dull eyes of someone in the advanced stages of sleeping sickness, which Bahemba note as an extreme limiting case when asked to describe their gaze.

SOME LIMITS ON GAZE DURATION

There are, of course, also some indications of sanctions placed on the length of the Hemba gaze, though these are applied with much less vigor and much less frequency than in some places in the world. It is fairly rare for an adult to tell children "don't gaze (stare)" at something or someone, one main exception being when women correct small children at mealtime, where gazing at others is improper. Adults may chase children away, playfully or not, which does remove them as a gazing audience, but this is a secondary result of not wanting children around at all for some reason. Typically, moreover, when something is involved which a particular child should not see, a great effort is made to do it elsewhere or hide it, instead of shaming the child or otherwise discouraging gazing. It seems incredible, actually, how much of the range of life's events children are allowed to see, how immediately involved they are in everything. Adults explicitly cite gazing as a major way children learn. It takes quite a lot, then, for a child to be considered visually intrusive, but a phrase for it does exist---mwána gwa bílólózi---which finds occasional use, most especially by mothers to small children, or by older children to their smaller siblings, as a mild verbal warning that a limit has been reached.

Very infrequently one also hears, in response to exceptionally long gazes by adults, gumuyénzha mène bága nj'áyi? 'what are you looking at so long?'. It is not as strong an objection, however, as the English 'what are you staring at?', but rather is meant to establish verbal contact, to break gently through the silence and momentary anonymity of spectating, whereupon the gazing stops. Usually no one, however, is very concerned if it does not stop. When asked questions about specific examples of very long gazing, Bahemba characteristically deny it to be anything noteworthy.

and claim to see nothing "wrong" with it at all. If pressed for reasons, they surmise that the very long gazing stems from not knowing someone, or from trying to remember who it is. If verbal greetings do not, as is usual, end the gazing, then it is supposed that the gazer is thinking of something said about the other, is expressing amazement since the gazed-at appears unusual in some way, or the gazer does not yet know the other person well; in the latter instance, an úbatfzha process is involved. If the gazed-at is doing some task, the úyenzha mene bága is said to facilitate learning how to do it, or is instrumental for appraising or critiquing the work, though clearly the more active range of these thought processes is not always involved, the steady gazing forming an important part of just relaxing, chatting, and passing the time. Other phrases considered nearly synonymous to úyenzha mene bága include úyenzha mene sólólo (or soó) and úyenzha mene swé. If one uses úlóla mene soó, the significance shifts slightly toward unwavering 'looking' from unwavering 'watching'. These expressions all refer to what Bahemba classify as the longer-gaze range of úyenzha/úlóla; the mentioning of them in direct address serves as one way to negotiate an upper limit on a particular instance of gazing.

'TO GAZE': ÚYENZHA/ÚLÓLA

úmona does not occur in combination with mene bága/soó/swé, though úmona does alternate with úlóla or úyenzha in other expressions. Bahemba informants, when giving definitions, sometimes describe úmona as being very distinct from úyenzha/úlólo; and, in general, the core significance of úyenzha and úlóla. Yet, all three are also described by Bahemba as "synonymous": they are all general terms for visual experience and are sometimes used almost interchangeably. (See Figure 1) There is some tendency for informants to define úmona as used for nearer, more specific, and less numerous objects or persons, with úyenzha for those farther away, more broad, and more numerous, and úlóla in between, but this appears to be of minor importance, if not just misguided. Other methods of elicitation, as well as the observation of many occasions of actual usage, indicate that úmona, úlóla, and úyenzha can be, in one sense, simply glossed as 'to see', 'to look at', 'to watch'; though the fit is not perfect, it still appears remarkably close (Figure 1). When thinking of the complexities of making bilingual dictionaries, it is instructive to see the referential

'to gaze'	úyenzha	'to watch'
	úlóla	'to look at'
	úmona	'to see'
		"vis. exper., generally; esp. using open-faced, deliberate, steady-focus eye-contact"

Figure 1. To watch, to look at, to see: úyenzha, úlóla, úmona

correspondence with English here, when the way Bahemba use their eyes, and how they refer to this with other parts of the lexicon, are anything but a straight match to the Northern-European American case.

TERMS FOR NON-NEGATIVE SHORT GAZES AND SCANS:
LESS READILY ELICITED

Near the other end of the scale from úyenzha mene bága, a short gaze can be referred to as úyenzha labogani or úyenzha (or úlóla) bwifibwif 'to watch/to look quickly'. This named category still is said to designate a look which, by comparison, is much longer than the American 'glance'; whether identified during interaction or demonstrated in elicitation, the eye-contact is held for a greater duration than the negatively-valued úkusága úlóla, úkwaia ngéni, and úbuzhá discussed above. Bahemba informants invariably first label the shortest glances negatively or as special signals such as úlimúna: these glances are normatively distinguished from the open-faced, deliberate, unhurried attentiveness of the basic úyenzha/úlóla/úmona. Yet when the largest range for the semantic space of úyenzha/úlóla (as well as úmona) is made explicit, any length of eye-contact whatsoever is included, even the most fleeting of glances, and this encompasses the brief looks which observably occur during Hemba interaction but which are not as highly valued as the basic gaze.

In fact, terms referring in a positive vein to the shorter eye-contacts are the most difficult to elicit, especially from men. While these kinds of terms are never the most readily mentioned by anyone, some women informants are much more articulate about this sub-domain even when remaining as clear as men in regard to the basic gaze and its longer manifestations, as well as the other eye-contact routines. Perhaps adult men use the steady gaze slightly more in their everyday lives since they are interactionally on the "dominant" side of the dyad, or at least are seen as not subordinate to their interlocutor, more often. Perhaps women have more familiarity with the shorter eye-contact routines: though Bahemba men do help a lot with child care, women spend more time with the children who are below the age of seven and who are still learning the Hemba gazing etiquette. Women also typically move to a new village upon marriage, where their status as new wife is long a subordinate one to many of those around them, and where new acquaintances are made cautiously, whereas men stay with their patrilineal relations and age-mates with whom they have grown up. Whatever the reasons, it was also a woman informant who was the first to call attention to the term úkwebúa, which would most accurately be glossed as 'to scan': searching with a quick look in a general way, to see who may have appeared since the last look was taken. Úkwebúa leads directly to the basic úyénzha/úlóla gaze if a visitor is sighted; by contrast, with the equally short úbuzhá, one briefly looks at and notices the newcomer but refuses to give the open-faced, polite welcome.

SEMIOSIS OF THE HEMBA GAZE

Given this basic Hemba penchant for the longish úyénzha/úlóla gaze, and using it as a reference point, a number of other things can be said about visual communication in Hemba villages. Certain facts which have already been touched upon can be amplified from several points of view crucial to explicating the semiosis of the Hemba gaze. For, this gaze and other eye-contact routines are related to, constrained by, and in turn influence other complex factors present in some form in any situation. Setting, ongoing activities, relationship of participants, and visual focus are of first importance in examining visual motion: what there is to look at and what is in fact looked at, by whom, in the presence of whom, doing

what, and where, are all intricately involved with the significance of the way in which some person, action, or thing is scanned, looked at, watched, or avoided altogether. These issues, while complicatedly intertwined, can nevertheless be examined systematically. To this end, delineation of what is important in the "where" aspect (Hemba settings) provides a natural first step toward a more precise understanding of what visual communication in Hemba villages is about, and this is what I have done in a work entitled Úyénzha Mwíbaló: Toward a Grammatical Sketch of Components of Visual Communication Events in Eastern Zaire: Proxemic Aspects of the Semiosis of Hemba Gazing.

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