

**USMANU DANFODIYO UNIVERSITY, SOKOTO  
(POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL)**

**A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF C'LELA GREETINGS**

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**BY**

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## **DEDICATION**

This research is dedicated to my Late Father Mr. Philemon Nasoma and my younger ones who are my source of encouragement.

## CERTIFICATION

This dissertation by Philemon Monday (Adm.No: 15210109001) has met the requirements for the award of the Degree of Master of Arts (Linguistics) of the Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge.

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## **Abstract**

Greetings are an integral part of interactional discourse and serve as a preface to the establishment of social relationships. This work is on a descriptive study of C'lela greetings. It examined Lelna in Zuru community and some neighboring villages. The study attempted to examine the different kinds of greetings among social groups which include: general greetings, child-birth greetings, condolence greetings etc. The research has also explore the nature of C'lela greetings among different social groups. Equally, the role of gesture in C'lela greetings was also pointed out. The data for this study were generated through interviews, observations and available related literature. In selecting the research population we employed random sampling technique. Some of the results of the research showed that some greetings in C'lela are going into extinction. It was also discovered that age plays a vital role in C'lela greetings. The study also found that with the advent of religion and modernization some gestures have crept into C'lela greetings which have become a threat to the real nature of C'lela greeting. The C'lela greetings that are observably present were identified and documented in this study.

# CHAPTER ONE

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

### **1.0 Introduction**

The study focuses on the descriptive nature of greetings in C'lela. Different types of greetings are described based on their usage in Lelna community and some neighboring villages. Lelna are the predominant ethnic groups found in Fakai, Danko-Wasagu, Sakaba and Zuru Local Government Area.

Greetings constitute a set of linguistic and non-linguistic expressions used by humans in social interactions and encounters. Cross-linguistically, there seems to be no general definition of greetings due to the variation in what constitutes a greeting expression. A greeting expression in one culture may not be regarded as one in another culture (Duranti 1997:67, Wei 2010:62, Ekanjume-Ilongo 2013:26). This is to say that “semantically, greetings gain their meaning from the culture they are derived from and their precise content is culture-specific” (Rababa, & Malkawis, 1999).

Greeting has a way of uniting people together, and it also has a way of showing the level of acquaintance between the interlocutors. Every community has its own unique ways of greeting. What may serve as greeting in community “A” may not serve as greeting in community “B”. Some communities take greetings as something casual while in some communities greeting plays a vital role and it is given prominence in day to day life. In some Lelna communities, a young man is duty bound to greet the elders of certain families every morning, this is usually due to noes affinity to such families, which is indicative of the importance of greetings in such communities.

Non-verbal greetings (gestures) such as; bowing down, shaking of hands, hugging, kissing, etc. play a vital role in greetings. It has a way of showing the level of acceptance and acquaintance between the two people who are exchanging greetings by using such gestures. It is also very important to note that, these gestures differ from one community to another, and also from one language to another, the gestures that may be accepted in one community may not be accepted in another.

The study of greetings has attracted the interest of a number of researchers. With regard to the content of greetings, one view is that greetings lack semantic content, while another is that they have propositional content. Searle (1969), cited in Duranti (1997:64) contends that greeting exchanges are devoid of propositional content. In other words, they are mere verbal exchanges which are used to maintain ties of union or human relationship. On the contrary, Duranti (1997:89) argues against the claim that greetings are devoid of meaning. He asserts that among other things, greetings “can be used to gather information about a person’s identity or whereabouts”. In Thailand for instance, the greeting “how are you?” is understood as genuine interest in one’s welfare and requires polite reciprocal discussion in detail of one’s current condition, in the United States “how are you?” is a ritual greeting and nothing more (Lenkeit 2001:84).

According to Akindele (2007), greetings involve the exchange of expression, pleasantries or good wishes between two people or a group of people interacting for the purpose of establishing interpersonal relationship. Grimshaw & Bird (1976:12) consider greeting as a universal feature of human interaction which could be defined as “the set of linguistic and/or non-linguistic devices used for the initial management of encounters”. The linguistic devices pertain to verbal exchanges between or among the interlocutors. The nonlinguistic form refers to such instances of waving of

hands, eye movements and embrace used as greetings (Harvey 1982, cited in Ekanjume-Ilongo 2013:26).

A claim made by Goffman (1995) about greetings, that, it is important for people to know how they stand in relation to others before they start to talk. Simplified greetings are introduced early in most second language courses and are often included in texts on cross-cultural communication (Chan, 1991; Jupp – Hodlin, 1983; Morgan, 1990). Research shows that greetings are complex, involving a wide range of behaviors and sensitivity to many situational and psychological variables. Greetings are made up of linguistic and non-verbal choices which may include a simple wave or smile, a single utterance or a lengthy speech act set which can involve complex interactional rules and take place over a series of conversational turns. Nevertheless the greeting rituals are critically important and have to be performed in the finest detail if we are to avoid embarrassment.

### **1.1 Historical Background of Lelna People and Their Language**

Zuru was under Niger province since 1900 when the provinces were created by the colonial masters. It was under the province with Kontagora and Wushishi as headquarters of the division until 1976, when Sokoto and Niger states were created. Zuru was then later placed under Sokoto by the military government on the recommendation of Justice Ayo Irikefe panel on states creation with the plight of the needed manpower supply to Sokoto State. (Dettweiler 1993).

There is a narrow range of stony hills along the western boundary and the well watered plain lands to the east vegetation of the guinea savannah type. Rainfall is about 900 mm (36 inches) per year, falling mainly between June and September. Harmattan winds blow in cycles from November to March, and the harmattan season shades into a hot season from March to May. The population of

Lelna as contained in 2006 population census as published in the Federal Republic of Nigeria official Gazette, (2009) was six hundred and forty two thousand, one hundred and six people (642, 106). (Dettweiler 1993).

Zuru Emirate as a kingdom, is presently one of the four Emirates that make up Kebbi state. It is located in the South Eastern part of Kebbi State, approximately 4.45-600E and 10.84-11.84n. It is about 2 hours' drive from the State Capital and it has 4 Local Government Areas, namely; Zuru, Fakai, Danko/Wasagu and Sakaba. The paramount ruler in the Emirate is the Emir of Zuru. The Emirate has 5 Gongomno (Chiefs), namely Dabai, Fakai, Wasagu, Danko and Sakaba. The Emirate has 20 districts and over 300 villages. Zuru Emirate is topographically an undulating upland region of about 350-1000m above sea level. There are a range of highlands, traversing the western side for a substantial distance. On the east are dotted isolated granite and inselberge hills in Bena and Karishin. It is a well-drained area with sedimentary rocks providing cultivable lands in the lower central and eastern regions. The 5 months of rainfall and 7 months of dry season support the development of a savannah kind of vegetation with pockets of woodland vegetation along river basins. Grains, tubers, legumes and fruits are grown in the Emirate. The people are quite hospitable and friendly. The predominant ethnic groups are Lelna, found in all the four (4) Local governments in the Emirate, Fakai, Danko/Wasagu, Sakaba and Zuru. Fakawa and Gelawas are found mostly in Fakai Local Government; Achifawa, Dukkawa and some Kambaris in Sakaba Local Government; Kastinawa (Hausawa) are found in Bena; and Wasagu while Dankawa and Kelawa are found in Danko Chiefdom. Some of the population centers of the Lelna today are U'daba, U'yumu, U'dogo, D'kooto, A'zugru, pani, Senche, U'sara, D'oo, U'hyan, Ureba, Conkom U'manga, U'kyobo, S'gogo, etc. (Dettweiler 1993: 7; Ango and Dudu, 1994; Nasoma, 2013).

Generally, each population center has associated with it an old settlement on a hill strategic in past ages from invasion on horseback as well as a particular dialect of C'lela. The non-speakers call the language Dakarci (the name as designated by Hausa speakers), or more informally the Zuru language.

The people themselves call their language C'lela. An individual member of the language group (whether male or female) is called K'lela. The cultural system including tradition religious beliefs and practices is called D'lela and the name of the language homeland is A'lela (Doro 2002: 137).

Written sources suggest three possible origins for the name Dakarkari (Dettweiler 1993b:1- 2). And of these three, the notion that the name is derived from the Hausa word daakaaree, 'foot soldiers', is likely the most cogent explanation given. This is linked with the story that Dakarkari were a subject people (with others) in the Hausa kingdom of Kebbi. As the story goes, their men were employed by the king as foot soldiers until the 1700s when the Lelna migrated southward with a desire "to farm undisturbed by the continual internecine warfare of the Hausas" (Harris, (1938), as cited in (Dettweiler (1993:2)).

Concerning the origin of the name C'lela,' it was claimed that the original founder of the Lelna tribe, a man named DakaYanusa, came from the town of Ilela in Sokoto State (Dettweiler, 1993: 7).

Research in historical linguistics and archaeology, as presented by Blench (2006), does not flatly contradict these assertions concerning the origin of the Lelna as distinct from other Kainji peoples. However, it was suggested that their earlier origins were from further south (not North), and their motivation for leaving their original homeland was farming. Based on the historical comparative method of linguistics, the ancestors of the kainji peoples (hence of the Lelna) belonged to the

Benue – Congo who lived together, speaking one language (designated proto – Benue – Congo). The homeland of Benue – Congo is thought to likely have been near the confluence of Niger and Benue Rivers. Blench (2006: 134) further claims that “the initial reason for the expansion from the confluence is unknown”. It was reported that speakers of Benue – Congo languages today are “typically farmers”, reconstructed to proto – Benue – Congo” (Blench 2006: 134). However, this discounts the theory that the expansion was due to innovations in agriculture (Blench 2006: 127).

Also the possibility that bow and arrow hunting introduced a major technological renovation when it began in West Africa. Blench (2006: 129 – 131) documents the common vocabulary associated with “bow” and “arrow” across Niger – Congo languages. He then suggests that the expansion of the Niger – Congo phylum (preliminary to the expansion of Niger – Congo’s sub – phyla such as Benue – Congo and West Atlantic) was sparked by acquisition of this radical new hunting technology in conjunction with improving climate.

Concerning C’lela dialects, a survey of C’lela conducted in 2001 by the Committee for the C’lela Language Development project suggests four dialect groups for the language, i.e. the Central dialect (Zuru) which is considered as the standard variety; the Southern dialect (Senchi); the Northern dialect (Riba); and the Eastern dialect (Roma) respectively (Aliero 2013). Zuru dialect area includes; Dabai, Peni, Manga, Rikoto, Dambo and Tadurga. Senchi dialect is spoken from Senchi to Manga, down to Uganda (in Rijau L.G.A. in the southern area of Zuru). Riba dialect area covers Riba, Dirindaji, Conoko, Rembu, Rade, Kainya and Wasagu. The Roma dialect extends from Roma to Danko in the east.

## 1.2 Background to the Study

Greetings are one of the most frequent linguistic interaction routines among the Lelna people. It is difficult to find two Lelna people with any degree of acquaintance passing each other without exchanging some form of greetings. They also exchange greetings with strangers in order to show courtesy and hospitality (Dettweiler 1993).

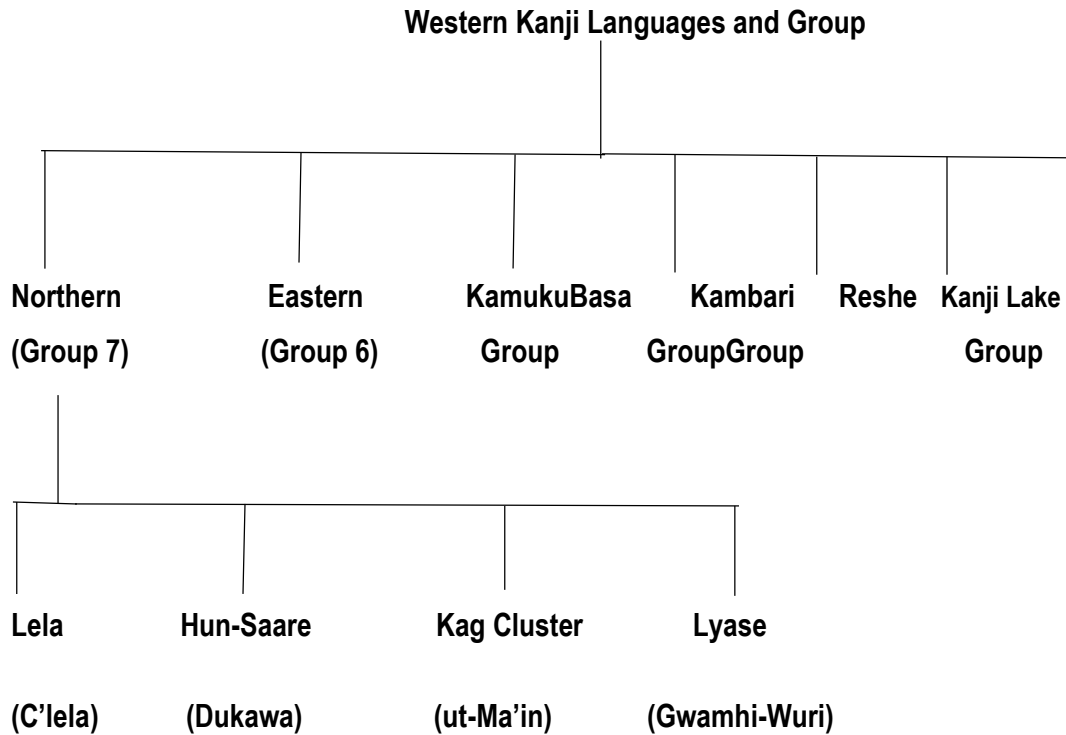
Shaking of hands, hugging, kissing etc. are not acts of greeting that are accorded much respect in C'lela. In fact, some are not even accepted as ways of greeting in Lelna community. In an event where two people meet and decide not to shake hands none of them will feel offended, and women do not generally shake hands except now with the advent of modernization and religion. A K'lela man is not allowed to shake the hand of an elder or younger woman.

In Zuru (Senchi community), children are not mandated to greet their parents especially in the morning, but it becomes a serious offense for a child not to greet outsiders, especially elderly ones. If a young man or woman passes an elder for example in the morning without greeting him/her, such elders are fond of asking questions such as “*cinc 'lavini?*” meaning “Do we sleep in the same house?” Except they slept in the same house, the elderly people expect the younger ones to greet them, most especially if they are meeting for the very first time of the day.

## 1.3 Language Classification

In Crozier and Blench (1992, 76), C'lela is classified as Niger – Congo, Benue – Congo, Kainji, western Kainji, northern group. This shows the sub classification of western Kainji languages in tree diagram which includes the four members of the northern group as presented in tree diagram in 1.4 below (Gerhardt 1989).

#### 1.4 Sub-classification of Western Kainji Languages



(Gerhardt 1989, 362-3)

#### 1.5 Statement of the Problem

Some greetings in C'lela are gradually going into extinction as such the younger generation of Lelna are likely not to know the real nature of C'lela greetings. We also observe that greetings and gestures differ among men and women and likewise among young and the old in C'lela. Therefore, this study investigates C'lela greetings with a view to documenting this cultural identity of Lelna people.

## **1.6 Aim and Objectives of the Study**

The main aim of this work is to describe C'lela greetings. Specifically, the work is set to achieve the following objectives:

- i. To identify those C'lela greetings that are gradually going into extinction.
- ii. To examine the nature of C'lela greetings among different social groups.
- iii. To explore the role of gestures in C'lela greetings and identify the gestures which are accepted and the ones which are not.
- iv. To find out the role of C'lela greetings in social co-existence among Lelna people and how they extend greetings to strangers.

## **1.7 Research Questions**

In an attempt to study different types of greetings in C'lela, this work intends to answer the following questions.

- i. How do we know those greetings in C'lela that are gradually going out of use?
- ii. What makes the greetings of the younger people different from those of the elderly people and what also makes the greetings used by men to be different from that of the women?
- iii. What is the nature and role of gestures in C'lela greetings?
- iv. What is the role of C'lela greetings in social co-existence among Lelna and how do Lelna greet the members of their community and strangers, and why?

## **1.8 Scope and Limitation of the Study**

The study is limited to A'zugru dialect which is the central dialect of C'lela. The data on C'lela greetings was collected from Zuru metropolis and neighboring villages where the central dialect

is spoken. It is also limited to a descriptive analysis of C'lela greetings. The study is constrained in time, space and resources; however, the findings were assumed to be a representation of C'lela language.

### **1.9 Significance of the Study**

The research explores the C'lela greetings. It serves as a way of preserving the nature of C'lela greetings which has not been studied to a great extent. The study also adds to the existing linguistic literature of the language.

## CHAPTER TWO

### REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

#### 2.0 Introduction

This chapter looks into other people's work in relation to greetings, and such works are used as a guide to this work which is a descriptive study of the greetings of C'lela. The languages whose greetings were reviewed include; C'lela, English, Hausa, Yoruba and Epira. The descriptive nature of greetings in the selected languages serves as a guide to this research.

#### 2.1 Greetings

Greeting is a form of interaction with one another and it has a way of strengthening a relationship or weakening it, as put by many scholars. Greeting have been described as a significant aspect of human interactions. For instance, Sihottman (1995) states that "Greetings are the essential 'oil' of encounters of all types and a reassuring confirmation of human sociability and social order". Holmes (1992), explains that "greeting formulas universally serve an all affective function of establishing none threatening contact and rapport but their precise content is clearly culture specific". Greetings are considered an important aspect in the life of each society or nation.

There are many different ways of greeting. Greeting as a speech act is an important discourse function that learners are likely to encounter in a variety of situations. Ebsworth (1996) stated that greeting is among the first speech acts that are learned by children in their native languages. Dogancay (1990) identifies greetings among the routines explicitly taught to children. Ebsworth (1996) mentioned that greetings commonly appear in the speech of American English-speaking children between the ages of nine months to eighteen months. Greeting rituals have been found in

nearly all cultures (Levinson, 1983) and they are important in developing and maintaining social bonds in all age groups.

According to Hudson (1996), every language has a range of forms for use as greetings and farewells, based on social importance of entries and exits. Erving Goffman, the originator of face-work suggests that a greeting is needed to show that the relationship which existed at the end of the last encounter is still unchanged, in spite of the separation, and that a farewell is needed in order to sum up the effect of the encounter upon the relationship and show what the participants may expect of one another when they next meet (Goffman, 1955).

## **2.2 The Importance of Greetings**

Greeting plays a vital role in a society or among the interlocutors. There are researches conducted on greetings based on pragmatic perspectives, which focus on traditional forms. For example, Salmani-Nodoushan (2007) studies greeting forms in English and Persian; Akindele (1990) investigates Yoruba greetings; similarly Akindele (2007) investigates Sesotho greetings. He argues that greetings are extremely important strategies for the negotiation and control of social identity and social relationships.

When someone greets you and says, “Hello”, you will probably respond with your own greeting. Even in your worst mood, when someone greets you with a genuine smile and sincerity, most probably you will acknowledge the greeting and respond appropriately. Such greeting can be so powerful that it can even turn your frown into a smile and drastically put you in a good mood.

Greeting is one of the basic functions of communication and triggers positive conversations. It helps us connect two people at a more personal level. Especially for strangers, greeting someone before initiating a conversation is a must if you don't want to get a nasty stare or a negative

response. A warm, genuine, and sincere greeting can cause even a stranger to open up, break down defensive walls, and be comfortable.

When you are introduced to a new acquaintance, your greeting will form part of that person's first impression of you. How that person greets you will influence your first impression of that person. If you are tasked to conduct a talk, your first 60 seconds will determine how you can attract your audience's attention and interest. Within this first 60 seconds, your introduction includes your greeting and how you do this will set the mood and mindset of your audience throughout the entire duration.

It's amazing how a simple and effortless gesture can have a huge impact and pay off immediately. It is also amazing how difficult it seems for businesses to consistently and appropriately implement this as part of their customer service practices. Whatever the reasons are, the fact remains that greeting customers is a MUST. For example, some banks have this to say "welcome to our bank" if you about going in, and "thank you for banking with us" after your transactions.

It is a common expectation and practice of courtesy that when a family member or a friend knocks on your door, you try to drop whatever you are doing as quickly as possible to get to the door as soon as possible and warmly greet him/her.

Research activities over the last decade suggest that, at least in some societies, there seem to be rather general interaction styles which tend to be associated with one sex or another. Some languages provide distinct forms for use by male and female speakers of which C'lela is one and the general pleasantries or good wishes between two people interacting for the purpose of fulfilling social obligations or for the establishment of interpersonal relationships. Goffman (1955), characterises greeting exchanges as access rituals consisting of two types; passing greetings and engaging greetings which function as a switch that opens or closes relations. Goody (1972), states

that “greeting is a means of defining and affirming both identity and rank”. Firth (1972), mentions that greetings are rituals which consist of verbal and non-verbal forms. Verbal forms may be one of three linguistic units; question (How do you do?), interjection (Hello), or affirmation (Good morning). Chamo (2015), also describes greetings associated with time as “Time-bound greetings” and those that are time free as “Time-free greetings”.

Malkawi (2012), observes that there is a bulk of researches which investigated the importance of speech act of greeting and its rituals in different cultures. Goffman (1967: 79), characterized greeting exchanges as access rituals consisting of two types, passing greetings and engaging greetings which function as a switch that opens or closes relations. Goffman says that greeting exchanges serve to reestablish social relations, acknowledge status, and guarantee for safe passage when performed between strangers. Firth (1972), stated that greetings are rituals which consist of verbal and nonverbal forms. Verbal forms may be one of three linguistic units: question (How do you do?), interjection (Hello) or affirmation (Good morning). Firth proposed that greeting exchanges have three components: formulaic phrases, address forms, and phatic communion. Firth views that greeting exchanges as a whole are routine rituals which serve to preserve face.

There are studies into greetings as a sociolinguistic element or as a speech act which concentrated on traditional forms. As Akindele (2007) investigated Yoruba greetings, Dzameshie (2002), studied Ewe greetings, and Akindele (2007), studied Sesotho greetings pointing out that greetings are extremely important strategies for the negotiation and control of social identity and social relationships. Emery (2000: 201) investigated the phenomenon of greeting, congratulating and commiserating in Omani Arabic. He views that greetings are used to establish identity and affirm solidarity. Greetings comprise of an indispensable phase on the direction to interpersonal access

where information can be sought and shared. For Akindele (2007), greetings are "...extremely important strategies for the negotiation and control of social identity and social relationships between participants in a conversation". There are three kinds of greetings: temporal greetings which Dzameshie (2002) calls 'Time-of-day' greetings; Inquiries about health which he calls 'How-are-you greetings'; and the valedictory greetings which Akindele (2007), refers to as 'Ways of Parting/ Leave-taking'. Other researchers as Searle (1969), Wilkins (1976) see greetings as semantically or propositionally empty, and frozen or formulaic routine items.

### **2.3 Types and Forms of Greetings in English**

Halliday (1973), asserts that in English, you use formal greetings for formal events and when greeting dignitaries and persons in authority. For example, whenever addressing persons at a business meeting, an occasion during which you are meeting people with titles, positions of authority or who are in a position requiring the utmost of respect from you. Greetings that can be used on such occasions include:

*Good morning, good afternoon, and good evening.* These are always polite ways of addressing people when greeting them.

i. *How do you do? I am very pleased to meet you.*

You can include the person's title where you know it. For example:

ii. *"Good evening Lady Haversham. I am honored to meet you."*

iii. *"Good afternoon King William. It is a pleasure to make your acquaintance."*

iv. *"Good morning Your Royal Highness. (Halliday 1973)*

Halliday (1973), also states that; If you are unsure of the person's status, it is usually appropriate to say Sir or Madam to him or her.

To greet people in a less formal manner when you know them already, when the occasion is informal or casual and when others make it clear from the context that less formal greetings are just fine. Some examples include:

Try "*hi*", "*hey*", or "*hello*". "*Hey*" is most often heard most among "Gen Y", so it's best to use it with the younger crowd (but you may find Gen X using it too). "*Hi*" is usually fine for many people but "*hello*" is a standard and polite way to greet informally when you're unsure, or the person is much older than you, or unfamiliar to you.

When among their familiar group, the young use forms of greetings which are very informal. For example, they might say: "hey," "whassup?" and "what's crack-a-lackin'?"

The description of greetings in Germany demonstrates how every human group has its peculiar norms of behavior and politeness. Apart from the common official formulae of greetings such as Good morning; Good afternoon; Good evening; Good night; and Good bye, German has some restricted meaning of greeting forms. As explained by the extract, in contrast to Anglo-Saxon Countries, "How are you" could either be addressed to friends and acquaintances or used in formal situations. If the addressee wishes to answer, he will give the addresser a detailed run-down on his precise state of health. If however, the question is considered a formality, as is usually the case in the Nigerian context, the addresser will receive a terse, "fine, thank you". This is also the case in Bini language.

### **2.3.1 Common English Greetings**

The simple words 'hello' and 'hi' are the most common greetings used in informal situations in countries like Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States. Men in the United States will usually shake hands when greeting each other, but it's not usual for them to kiss when greeting.

However, for English people in the United Kingdom a handshake is the normal form of greeting when meeting someone new, a quick kiss on the cheek is used in informal situations between both men and women, and for women who know each other well (Halliday 1973).

America is one of the countries that have the highest population density in the world. People from different backgrounds and regions live in the United States. America contains all categories of people with dissimilar attitudes, opinions and perspectives in all aspects of life. It is difficult to make generalizations about American manners and customs. As observed by (Salmani-Nodoushan 2007), “One should remember that when he reads that Americans do this or that or think this or that not all Americans do so. This is also true with regard to greetings and their exchanges in the U.S community”. For that purpose we are going to look at few greetings which are common for making generalizations. English greetings could be divided into two; time free and time bound. This categorization corresponds with Hang who says that “in English there are some main formularic expressions frequently used in informal contexts such as “Hi” (first name) and “Hello” (first name). People tend to greet each other according to the time of a day”. Halliday (1973), proposed his own variant of classifying greeting forms according to their relation with time (period of the day when speaker greeted the hearer). He called them time-free greeting forms and time-bound greeting forms.

### **2.3.2 Time Free Greetings**

These are set of greetings which do not make reference to the time of the day.

- v. How do you do?
- vi. Hello
- vii. Hi
- viii. Nice to meet you/delighted to meet you!

### 2.3.3 Time-Bound Greetings

These are set of greetings which make reference to the time of the day.

- ix. Morning: Good morning
- x. Afternoon: Good afternoon
- xi. Evening: Good evening
- xii. Day: Good day
- xiii. Night: Good night

To the American society, social status is not a thing of much concern in conversations except on official occasions. They have a certain amount of informality. The informality is seen in the customs of greeting people of high social class or status. In spite of the informality however, there are rules of good manners and social patterns that should be followed.

There are rules for introducing people to each other. A younger person is generally introduced to a woman, a guest to the host or hostess and a person to the group. For instance, one would say. (a) *“Mrs. Paul, this is my younger sister, Jennifer”*, or (b) *“Mr. Johnson, this is my friend, Janet Newman from Indiana.* In any case, one must make sure that each person knows the surname of the other in formal situations, but in an informal ones, it would be likely to introduce people with only their first names.

The usual reply to an introduction is “How do you do? Or “How are you? I am pleased to meet you/nice to meet you” adding the name of the person just introduced is also common; “How do you do, Mr. Johnson?” (Chamo 2015).

The handshake is the most common form of greetings among Washington people and is customary when you are introduced to somebody new. It is frequently used in formal occasions. When men

are introduced, they generally shake hands. Women shake hands less frequently. Two women meeting each other for the first time do not shake hands unless one is an especially honoured guest. If a man and woman are being introduced, they may or may not shake hands. Usually the woman extends her hand first. If an American does not shake hands when he meets an old acquaintance, he is not judged to be impolite. He may be paying him the compliment of considering him a member of his own group.

When a person meets an acquaintance on the street, the most common greeting form in Washington is “Hello”, which is uttered on most formal ones. More formal greetings are “Good morning”, “Good afternoon” and “Good evening” (Salmani-Nodoushan 2007).

Most of the American greetings except “How do you do?” are followed by the question “How are you?” Only occasionally the addresser wants to know about someone’s health. Unlike Europeans, Americans do not frequently practice the custom of kissing the cheek, it is not so popular among them. Eye contact is another aspect of American greetings. They normally look at the eyes of their interlocutors as a sign of respect. Then, last but not the least, is smiling. Americans normally smile to show courtesy to their interlocutors in greeting.

#### **2.3.4 Seasonal Informal greetings**

These are set of greetings associated with seasons.

- xiv. Happy New Year!
- xv. Happy Anniversary
- xvi. Happy Birthday (to you!)
- xvii. Merry Christmas (to you!)

Not every country has physical contact when they greet; you will rarely find greetings that involve physical contact in Asia. For example, in Japan the common greeting for both sexes is to bow to

each other: it's very rare in Asian cultures to see a handshake or hugging. China is definitely not a touchy society; it's probably the most conservative country in Asia. When first meeting someone they might nod their head and smile, maybe wave politely, or if in a formal situation they might shake hands (Salmani-Nodoushan 2007).

In Vietnam women don't shake hands with anyone, either men or women. It's not common to see physical contact between adult friends or relatives, of either sex: they may greet each other by bowing slightly, or they might join hands. Generally higher ranking people, like the head of a family, are greeted first (Salmani-Nodoushan 2007).

## **2.4 The Nature of Hausa Greeting**

Chamo (2015), in his research on Hausa greetings, states that greetings vary in Hausa society; urban vs. rural, youth vs. old people. In rural Hausa society greetings tend to be long. This is due to the concept of *zumunci* (feeling of family) which makes a person, when greeting to enquire not only after all the humans related to his interlocutor but the goats, sheep, chickens at the interlocutor's homestead. The younger generation has introduced other types of greeting, which are very short *yaya kake?* how are you? (first person singular male) or *yaya kike?* How are you? (first person singular female). In fact, this greeting is a translation of English question form which is changed to greeting among Hausa youths.

The socio-cultural factors accounting for the type and structuring of Hausa greetings include age, sex and occupation. There are cultural assumptions of inequality and about the character and motivations of unequal persons. The younger person usually initiates greeting whenever the occasion arises. This is considered as a mark of deference to the older person. However, older persons sometimes initiate greetings. For example, when the younger has not caught sight of the older, or when the older does so out of respect for the benefit of the younger, as in the

subordinate/boss relationship in offices. Unlike in Yoruba culture, in Hausa a younger person may ask certain questions to older persons in the greeting sequence without the latter stimulating him to do so. Another factor is the sex of the participants. In Hausa and Yoruba cultures a woman is expected to greet a man before he greets her if the man is older, but if she is older, he is expected to greet her first out of respect for her age.

#### **2.4.1 Hausa Greeting Types**

Greetings in Hausa could be divided into two major groups; Time-free and Time-bound. The following list is an attempt at presenting the major classes of greetings in Hausa (Chamo 2015).

#### **2.4.2 Time-free Greetings:**

Greetings in this category have nothing to do with time, as it makes no reference to any. They include:

- |        |                   |           |
|--------|-------------------|-----------|
| xviii. | Barka.            | Hi, Hello |
| xix.   | Sannu.            | Hi, Hell  |
| xx.    | As-Salamualaikum. | Hi, Hello |

#### **2.4.3 Time-bound Hausa Greetings:**

This set of greetings makes reference to the time of the day as at the time that greeting is made.

In most cases, it is the duty of the initiator of the greeting to first make mention of time. For instance:

- |       |            |              |
|-------|------------|--------------|
| xxi.  | Ina kwana? | Good morning |
| xxii. | Ina yini?  | Good evening |

#### **2.4.4 Seasonal (in) formal greetings**

There are greetings in Hausa communities that go along with the seasons, and people do exchange greetings making reference to such seasons. For example;

- xxiii. Yaya damina? How is the rainy season?
- xxiv. Yaya sanyi? How is the cold season?
- xxv. Yaya zafi? How is the hot season?

#### **2.4.5 Festivity Informal Greetings**

The Hausa communities have festive times, and greetings done in this period depict the festive period. For instance;

Barka da Sallah - Happy Sallah

He also ascertains that, sometimes men use *Barka da asuba!* ‘nice morning’ instead of *ina kwana?* ‘good morning, *barka da yamma!* ‘good evening’ instead of *ina yini* good evening’ which are prestigious versions of ‘*ina kwana?*’ and *inayini?*. But women always use *ina kwana* and *ina yini?*. Also, Hausa people do not have specific formal festivities and seasonal greetings. They always ask about a festival or season in the course of the greetings. The most common festivals in Hausa society at present are religious festivals, which dominate the traditional ones as a result of the Islamic religions impact on the society.

#### **2.5 Greetings in Yoruba**

Greeting among the Yoruba is an interesting and intriguing socio-linguistic phenomenon. Greetings are conventional expressions used for welcoming people, or for expressing pleasure when meeting people. Greetings refer to salutations, kind well wishes, congratulatory remarks and compliments in general. It involves exchange of pleasantries between two or more people. The phrase phatic communion is used to refer to this social human desire to signal friendship, or at

least to show lack of enmity. Greetings are social lubricants used for maintaining a comfortable relationship between and among people. In greetings, paralanguage is involved. Anthony (2013) states that, greetings among the Yorubas are accompanied by gestures such as kneeling, genuflecting, prostrating, bowing down and sometimes handshakes. A breach of this language and cultural behaviour is regarded as an act of rudeness, insolence or indiscipline, and it is often followed with a heavy sanction. Greetings follow Grice's (1975) co-operative principles, as the Yoruba culture of greetings entails a lot of co-operative interactions. Greetings also follow Leech's (1983) politeness principle which states the necessity for tact, generosity, approbation and modesty. The Yoruba people hold greetings in high esteem. This is evident from the proverbs associated with greetings, two of which are: "Ki a rinilokeere, ki a se ariya, o yoni juonje lo", which mean "warm greetings satisfy more than food". The second is "Eniyanni a koti a koki, eniti a bakikotarajeni", which means greeting someone is a privilege, let him that is greeted respond promptly, after all there are people one meets without greeting them. (Anthony 2013).

Greetings are conventional expressions used for welcoming people or for expressing pleasure when meeting somebody. Greetings are so important to the Yoruba people that they refer to themselves as "Omo O Kaaro Ojiiirebi" which means descendants of those who greet by saying "good morning, and how are you?" Daramola and Jeje (1967) assert that it is obligatory for parents to teach their children how to greet politely, as "Omoti a baji lowuro lodo agbalagba ti kosi mo ohunti o to lati se yoo gba eebu, yoo si gba abuku". This means that a child who wakes up early in the morning without first of all greeting the elders would be rebuked. On the other hand, a child that wakes up and first of all observes the norms associated with greetings would be highly

favoured. Greetings however depend on three basic factors, viz; the time of the day, the context of greeting and the people involved, especially their age and relationship.

The grammatical structure of greetings among the Yoruba, (Igbomina, Ijebu, Ijesa dialects), is determined by some sociolinguistic variables such as the time of the day, the season, status of the people being greeted and the social and psychological setting. There are two prominent structures; the first is considered to be old use, while the second structure is more contemporary. In the standard Yoruba, the structure is:

xxvi. Pronoun + ku + time of the day, as in:

E kuawuro or e k aaro = Good morning (Anthony 2013).

“E” is either plural “you” or singular “you” but called honorific plural – used for elders, kings, etc.

xxvii. Ku awuroorkaaro = good morning, used among mates, or an elder greeting a younger person. In Igbomina dialect the structure is: Pronoun + kun+ the time of the day.

Anthony (2013), ascertains that, “English language and western civilization have made influence on the language and culture of the Yoruba. Many of the Yoruba greeting forms are fast disappearing from their ethnography of communication”.

Unlike the Yorubas, in the Lelna community it is not mandatory for child to greet his parents most especially in the morning. But it becomes a serious offence not to greet an outsider who comes into the house or if they meet on the way.

In any linguistic environment, people are brought up naturally to be sensitive to, and to appreciate certain cultural values that govern interpersonal verbal interactions. Greetings constitute a most important aspect of such interpersonal verbal interactions. According to Adegbija (1989:61-62), greetings could be seen as mandatory politeness strategies used for attracting a hearer’s attention

as well as for facilitating harmonious social interaction. Greeting forms vary from culture to culture. We expect therefore that while a given form could be used variously in a speech community, some other communities may have as many forms as there are situations.

Adebija (1989), also observed that; since we categorize the object of our experience with the aid of language, it may be the case that learning about the world and learning about language are activities that cannot be separated and therefore our world is partly determined by our language. Forms and functions of greetings differ from one speech community to another. First impressions are really important aspects of the Nigerian culture. The way in which you greet people when you meet them matters amongst the Binis. Adeyanju (2003:29-31), establishes the fact that the Yoruba and English people have different attitudes to greetings generally. The same applies to Bini people too.

From his findings, Adebija (1989) claims that, though the native speakers of English are unanimous in their agreement that greeting is an obligatory sociolinguistic ritual, at least at the interpersonal level, greeting is more obligatory in the Yoruba community than it is in the English community. The same applies to the Binis. An average Bini man will ordinarily feel slighted when a familiar person does not greet him, the English man will most probably feel indifferent. Adebija (1989), assume that the other person had probably not noticed his presence, or that he was absorbed in some thoughts. Similarly, while the Binis equate a child's willingness to greet to his being well bred, the English people do not see greetings as an index of well breeding.

Bayo (2011), also considered the view of Adeyanju (2003), who submits that greetings are universal sociolinguistic rituals; that they are obligatory strategies of politeness; that greetings are expressed via linguistic and paralinguistic mediums; that differences in peoples' attitudes to greetings are culturally determined. Elaborating on the roles of greetings. Bayo (2011), identified

some functions not peculiar to any language but rather cutting across different linguistic backgrounds. Bayo (2011), from his analysis, greetings help to do the following: enhance friendly interpersonal relations, serve as a politeness strategy and a way of filling communication gap, and help to inspire favour from people and bring encouragement to the downcast, stand as an index of security and initiate a form of socialization between two strangers. Bayo (2011), states that; Amongst the Binis, age, gender and status are determinant variables for choice of form in a speech event. Paralinguistic signs such as kneeling and prostrating sometimes accompany these greeting forms to show respect. In Bini, greeting is a major way of forging relationship amongst individuals. It helps to unite people together.

## **2.6 Ebira Greetings**

Yakubu (2017) states that; welcoming in Ebira language takes different forms depending on circumstances. The person coming in from outside is expected to greet first. A father may address his child by name when exchanging greetings with him as in *oricha yiase* (oricha welcome) and the children can also address their parents as father or mother as the case may be e.g *avoom adam* (thank you my farther). She also observed that like many other African societies, the expression of culture hence the need to offer greetings to the bereaved. Thus, this type of greeting serves two main purpose namely, to share the grief of the bereaved and express solidarity and to give encouragement. For example “*adayi waao, ayiario*” (old one good day, I sympathize with you over your loss) likewise in C’lela among Ielna community, people identify with the bereaved family to express solidarity and encourage such families. Women even go to the extent of wailing to show how sad they are over what happened.

The sequence of Ebira greetings as stated by Yakubu (2017), can also be understood in terms of informatory exchange which are contend-oriented. For example; “*a sukvo*” (do not return late) is

just a useful routine advice given to people going out which does not sometimes requires an answer, especially if that person saying it is not a relative. It is used to show concern about the hearer.

There are also off-record greetings which are used between intimate friends to enhance solidarity or to create a humorous language environment. They are realized through teasing, iron or in seemingly impolite ways. For example “*where is my salah gift*” and the response may be “*I should be asking you*”. The tresses of that is also found among the Lelna young men. They greet themselves by hailing themselves with the names of their girlfriends such as; “*sai vo wgar Kande*” (the great one, husband of Kande to be). The Ebirá language falls within the Nupoid group also called Niger Kaduna, of languages including Nupe, Gwari and Gade. The Nupoid, according to historical jurists took off from a protolanguage described as the Benue-Congo from which other language groups such as the Platoid group evolved (Stark 1992, Williamson 1984).

Cultural differences in everyday conversation refer to the differences in habits and rules in communication between different cultures (Liang 2005). Customs are influenced and shaped by the beliefs and values of people in a certain community people are brought up in community and they are so accustomed to their ways of doing things that they cannot accept different activities for achieving the same goal.

Therefore, in this part, differences in politeness in greeting between English and C’lela are our main concern. As important as greetings are in daily life, they are not conducted in the same way in different cultures. For example, to kiss an individual in Lelna community will really look disgusting while in some parts of English community it is a welcome activity.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.0 Introduction**

The research is a descriptive study of C'lela greetings. To generate data, informants were selected from different domains in a specified numbers, sex, age, social class. Other considerations are formal and non-formal education. The data analysis. All the data generated were analysed helps us to clearly see the nature of greetings in C'lela language.

#### **3.1 Area of Study**

The areas covered are Zuru town and its selected surrounding villages. This is to enable us to generate unadulterated C'lela greetings due to the fact that a good number of Zuru town Lelna dwellers code-mix the C'lela greetings with either English or Hausa greetings.

#### **3.2 Population**

A population in research is the target group, which a researcher is interested in studying and about which he intends to obtain information and draw conclusion. The members of this group or population must have some specified characteristics in common.

Hence, the population used in this research is as follows; 20 youths in Zuru town (between the ages of 18-35), 20 youths in some surrounding villages of Zuru town of the same age grade with the above were equally used, 30 elderly men and women in Zuru town (between the ages of 36-70), and likewise 30 elderly men and women in some surrounding villages around Zuru town. We also took the record of those Lelnas who have formal education and those with none. All the people interviewed and observed are lelna (C'lela speakers).

### **3.3 Research Technique**

Selection of the right research technique(s) is one of the key factors deciding the methodological rationale of the research and subsequent analysis. Each of the individual techniques used to obtain data is linked to specific analysis and interpretation processes.

Hence, this research has used a random sampling technique in data collection because it will not be possible to meet with all the Lelna speakers of the selected areas of this research. For the educated ones, we met some of them in their places of work, others in their homes. As for those without formal education, we met some of them in their small market places, homes and farms.

### **3.4 Method of Data Collection**

Data collection is a process of collecting information from all the relevant sources to find answers to the research questions, test the hypothesis and evaluate the outcomes. The data for this research work was sourced from these two categories: secondary methods of data collection and primary methods of data collection.

In the light of the above, this research sourced its data through the primary and secondary means such as interviews, observations and the available related literatures. Thus, native speakers of C'lela who were randomly selected were consulted.

### **3.5 Instrument for Data Collection**

The data used for this study were drawn through interview and non-participant observation. We also use a digital tape recorder to record the speech of individuals or groups engage in greetings.

### **3.5.1 Interviews**

The interviews were conducted through the use of structured interview where we used some guiding questions with uniformity in their wordings and sequence in which respondents were made to respond to those limited numbers of questions provided. We also used unstructured interviews in which respondent are given free hand to respond in their own way.

### **3.5.2 Observation Method**

It is, perhaps, the technique most closely related to everyday life. It involves watching and recording the behaviour of individuals or groups, or the events that occur in a particular place. We also employed observation method where we observed some C'lela speakers without interfering in the discussion.

### **3.6 Method of Data presentation**

All the data generated are presented in a tabular form of two Columns, C'lela greetings are on the first column while the second column is for the responses to such greetings, C'lela greeting is on the first line of the column "A" with an interlinear glossary under it, the last line is of the direct translation of the greeting in English and column "B" is the responses to the greetings presented.

### **3.7 Method of Data Analysis**

The data collected were put together and analysed by looking at the greetings, interlinear glossary and direct translation of such greetings and there by identifying what constitutes greetings and their appropriate responses. The analysis also discussed some of the gestures used as greetings in Lelna community.

### **3.8 Theoretical Frame Work**

This study is hanged on ‘The Speech Act Theory’ but two theories are presented for better understanding.

### **3.9 Introduction**

For the purpose of clarity two theories were presented; ‘The speech Act Theory’ and ‘Politeness Principle’. After the presentation of the two theories, this work is hanged on, the speech act theory is adopted.

### **3.10 The Speech Act Theory**

The foundations of the speech act theory were laid by philosophers such as Wittgenstein, Austin, and Searle. Although Wittgenstein (1953, cited in Schauer, 2009), made an important contribution to pragmatics by stating that language was a social activity and that “the meaning of a word is its use in the language” (p. 463), it is Austin who is generally regarded as the father of pragmatics and the speech act theory (Mey, 2001), Austin’s (1962) theory was based on his belief that speakers do not merely use language to say things, but to do things and those utterances could be regarded as speech acts. Based on this notion he developed a system which distinguished three components of speech acts: 1. the locutionary act i.e., the actual words that the speaker uses 2. The illocutionary act i.e., the intention of force behind the words 3. The perlocutionary act i.e., the effect the utterance has on the hearer. For example, in the sentence ‘it’s cold in here!’ the locutionary act is simply the statement that the temperature in the room is rather low. The illocutionary act refers to what the speaker intended to achieve by making the utterance. In this case that the hearer closes the window or turns up the radiator. The perlocutionary effect of the utterance could then be observed if the hearer interprets the sentence as a request and remedies the situation the speaker commented on. Of the three speech act constituents, it is the illocutionary act which has received the most attention in pragmatics research. Closely associated with the notion of illocutionary acts

is the concept of illocutionary force, “which is the communicative plan or design behind speakers’ remark”.

### **3.11 Politeness Principle**

Like the speech act theory, cooperative principle, and the concept of conversational implicature, politeness theory is generally regarded as one of the corner stones of pragmatics. The question of what constitutes a polite utterance has been a vocal point of pragmatic investigation since the late 1970s (Kasper, 1990). One of the first scholars who concentrated on linguistic politeness in a pragmatic sense was Lakoff (1987), who “could well be called the mother of modern politeness”. Lakoff (1987) argued that “the pillars of our linguistic as well as nonlinguistic interactions with each other are to make one clear and be polite”.

With regard to the first pillar, ‘make yourself clear’, Lakoff’s (1987) argument is influenced by Grice’s (1975) work and his maxims of the co-operative principle. Concerning the second pillar, ‘be polite’, she proposes three rules of politeness: formality, which holds that ‘don’t impose/remain aloof’, hesitancy, which allows the addressee his opinions and equality, or camaraderie which suggests that one acts as though one is equal with the addressee in order to make him feel good (Lakoff, 1987).

Other than Grice’s (1975) maxims of the cooperative principle, Lakoff’s (1987) rules of politeness are to some degree mutually exclusive. Thus, while the rule of formality involves addressing hearers by their last name and the t-form of you (in languages that make this V/t form distinction), the rule of equality/camaraderie postulates using the interlocutors’ first name and the t-form of you. Lakoff (1987) stresses that the appropriate rules of politeness which have to be selected by the speaker depending on the contextual conditions was also a major factor in Grice’s (1975)

cooperative principle and conversational implicature. However, while he concentrated more on contextual components such as shared background knowledge, Lakoff (1987) focuses on issues such as status, differences between interlocutors, degree of familiarity between speaker and hearer, and the culture in which the utterance is made. She argued that these three factors are crucial in what constitutes a polite utterance or not. For example, in many western societies it could be regarded as impolite, if a lower status speaker calls a higher hearer by his first name when they have not been previously invited to do so by the higher hearer. The importance of factors such as differences between the interlocutor and relative power of the speaker and the hearer has been stressed by Mey (2001) in his investigation of linguistic politeness. In addition to the two aforementioned factors, Mey (2001) included a further element in his study which then formed the third factor of his investigation of linguistic politeness, namely the degree of imposition involved in their utterance directed at the hearer. The interlocutors' status and the degree of the imposition involved in the individual request will provide the basis for the contextual conditions.

Mey (2001) also introduced the distinction of interlocutors' positive and negative face in politeness research. The term face was based on Goffman's (1967) notion of face as the "positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact". Thus, "face is something that resides not within an individual, but rather within the flow of event in an encounter" (Holtgrave, 2001, p.30) and "something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction" (Mey, 2001, p. 34). According to Mey (2001, p. 34) a person's negative face is then referred to as a person's "freedom of action and freedom from imposition" and their positive face is referred to as a person's desire being appreciated and approved by at least some other people.

Mey (2001) suggests that it was to the mutual interest of interlocutors to maintain their respective faces and not to use language that would lead to the loss of face of either of the parties. They also considered some speech acts, such as requests, to be intrinsically impolite and therefore face-threatening, which lead them to label them face-threatening-acts (FTAs). Acts that fall into this category, such as complaint and refusal, have been one of the key research areas in interlanguage pragmatics. Brown and Levinson's (1987) concept of face is not regarded as uncontroversial in pragmatic research. Nevertheless, their ideas have inspired much research on politeness and pragmatics and helped to establish terminologies, such as face, face-threat and face-loss, which have been useful for pragmatics as a discipline.

Another important contributor to politeness theory was Leech (1983, p. 132) who developed his politeness principle as a component of this interpersonal rhetoric framework, containing six maxims: 1. Tact i.e., minimize cost to others; maximize benefit to others 2. Generosity i.e., minimize benefit to self and maximize benefit to self. 3. Appropriation i.e., minimize dispraise of others; maximize praise of others 4. Modesty i.e., minimize praise of self and maximize dispraise of self. 5. Argument i.e., minimize the disagreement between self and others; maximize the agreement between self and others 6. Sympathy i.e., minimize antipathy between self and others; maximize sympathy between self and others. Although Leech's (1983) politeness principle has been also been criticized (see, for example, Mey, 2001), his tact, appropriation, and sympathy maxims are helpful in explaining while speakers employ certainties and modifiers to formulate their request utterance. Also, of particular relevance to the present investigation of learner's productive pragmatic development in requests is Leech's (1983) observation that indirect requests are regarded as more polite than direct requests in English, because they appear more tentative. He explains that the reason for this was that their illocutionary force diminishes and they provide

higher degree of optionality. Fraser's (1990) views of politeness approach the issues from a somewhat different angle. His conversational contract (CC) view of politeness is based on the belief that interlocutors are conscious of their right and obligation with effects on their communication with each other. With regard to present investigation, this would mean that students are aware that professors have a higher status than they do in the institutional context, which in turn would normally result in students using a higher amount of strategies toward their professors than vice versa.

Although not specifically related to the academic context in Fraser's (1990) article, he illustrates deferential behavior as follows: The sentence, 'would you mind helping me today?' used to indirectly convey a request, is certainly more deferential than 'help me today'. The former conveys to hearers, if only symbolically, that they have a choice in deciding whether or not to comply, hence that they are more highly "appreciated in the estimation of the speaker" (Fraser, 1990, p. 233). Importantly, he also argues that polite behavior is the expected norm in conversation and that rational participants in a conversation are expected to adhere to the norm of the conversational contract (i.e., should behave according to their rights and obligations as interlocutors based on the contextual conditions). This notion is significant for this study, as it points towards the potential problems students in the study above contexts may encounter.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

This chapter considers the linguistic and nonlinguistic features of greetings in C'lela, the data collected on the greetings in C'lela are analysed.

The features accounting for the type of C'lela greetings include season, festival, cultural activities, age, sex and occupation. There are cultural assumptions of inequality and about the character and motivations of unequal persons in C'lela. The younger person usually initiates greeting whenever the occasion demands. This is considered as a mark of respect to the older person. However, older persons sometimes initiate greetings, for example, when the younger has not caught sight of the elder, or when the elder does so out of respect for the benefit of the younger, as in the subordinate/boss relationship in offices. In C'lela a younger person may ask certain questions to the elderly persons in the greeting sequence without the elder stimulating him to do so. Another factor is the sex of the participants. In C'lela a woman is expected to initiate the greeting process if the man is older than her, but if she is older, he is expected to greet her out of respect for her age.

#### **4.1 Gestures Going into Extinction in C'lela Language**

Gradually some gestures in C'lela greetings are going into extinction some of which include: the tapping of someone's shoulder, is a way of saying well done to someone who has done something great or who has made a great achievement. Likewise the act of putting someone on the back and running around with the person is also a way of saying well done to the person.

## **4.2 Age and Gender in Greetings**

In C'lela language a person going into someone's house greets first irrespective of his age e.g '*pos no c'kala*' meaning "greetings to you" and then those around respond '*pos bade*' meaning "greetings to you also". While on the streets, anybody who sees a person first greets '*pos vo*' meaning '*I greet you*' and the person greeted responds '*pos bade*', meaning '*greetings to you also*'. Generally, a less powerful person in position greets people who are in power first regardless of age. The power could be religious, political etc. Gender difference is another issue. Anyone who sees a person first greets him/her. However, women are expected to greet men first, though this is not strictly adhered to.

## **4.3 Body Language in Greeting**

Different types of non-verbal cues, mainly body languages is used for greeting purposes in C'lela culture. Bowing and removal of caps in C'lela is common to young men when greeting the people in power, religious leaders, elderly fathers, a mother in law, and a father-in-law. The bowing involves making a head down towards the chest. The extent of bowing a head down shows the degree of respect and politeness offered to the person greeted. The removal of shoes is done only to the father and mother in-laws and when going into the king's palace. When a young man or young woman did an act of bravery the elderly ones use to tap the person's shoulder in a way of saying well-done to that act of bravery. The shaking of hands, hugging and kissing of one's cheek is not part of C'lela culture, but now with civilization some of these are happening even with the opposite sex in C'lela greetings.

#### 4.4 The Lelna Seasonal (Farming) Greetings

The Lelna people who are traditionally farmers, have mostly every greeting for any agricultural activity, be it in the rainy season or dry season. For example

I'leele c'zaga?      How is farm clearing?

I'leele adgo?      How is planting?

I'leele av'woma?      How is first weeding?

I'leele av'muta?      How is second weeding?

I'leele c'kemgo?      How is third weeding?

I'leele keme?      How is harvest/reaping?

This goes with all other agricultural activities. As a way of respect, if a young man says to an elder *kabc'kala* (receive+tiredness=well done) then the elderly one will use anyone of the above as it applies to the activity which is prominent in that time. Mostly, these greetings are used when people meet within the farm area. For more clarity these types of greetings are presented on a table in page (53).

#### 4.5 Time-free Greetings

There are greetings in C'lela which are not associated with time, such as;

<b>C'lela</b>	<b>English</b>
I'leele vo?	How are you?
hoc'kala/kabc'kala	Well done

I'leele c'rihi?

How are things?

Am marsk kavu

you are welcome

#### 4.6 Festivity and Season Informal Greetings

All the season and festive greetings are attached to that season or festival.

**C'lela**

**English**

I'leele u'kwese

how is rainy season?

I'leele uholu

how is festive period?

#### 4.7 Time Bound Greetings

Some greetings in C'lela are associated with time, such greetings refer to the time of the day

(Time bound greetings). There are represented in the following table.

**Table 1: Greetings associated with time.**

A	B
C'lela	Response
1. M'zan no Morning you "Good morning to you(plural)"	M'zan baade Morning also "Good morning to you also"
2. M'zan vo Morning you "Good morning to you (singular)"	M'zan baade Morning also "Good morning to you also"
3. An unuku m'hookne? Do wake-up well "How was your night?"	M'hookann kau Well very "Very well"
4. Anhotk m'hookne? Do spend well "How did you spend your day?"	M'hookan kau Well very "Very well"
5. A'rima evening "Good evening"	A'rim baade evening also "Good evening to you also"

In the light of the data presented above in C'lela language, some greetings go in accordance to the time of the day. The time of day in the C'lela language is categorised into two namely: '*Am zana*' (Morning) and '*Arima*' (Evening) unlike English language where we have: morning, afternoon, evening and night.

'*M'zan no*' and '*m'zan vo*' are all greetings referring to good morning. The first is good to you (plural) while the second '*m'zan vo*' is also good morning to you, but to a singular person and the response to both the singular and plural is the same *m'zan baade* (good morning to you also). These greetings have no gender affiliation, both the male and female say the same thing. '*An unuku m'hokne?*' (How did you wake up? Or how was your night?). Is a greeting that is done in an effort to find out how a person woke up and the response is '*m'hokan kau*' (very well). This is actually a general response regardless of what happened the previous night. It is after the response that the person greeted can decide to say the actual incident that happened if there are challenges the previous night and that largely depends on their level of acquaintance. '*An hotk m'hokne?*' (How was your day? Or good evening) is also a regular daily greeting that is done in the evening time usually after a day's work and the response is '*m'hokau kau*' (very well), '*A'rima*' (good evening) is a greeting that is also done in the evening at the early hours of the night and the response is '*A'rim baade*' (good evening to you also).

#### **4.8 Casual Greetings**

Some C'lela greetings are not associated with time, that is to say, time is not referred to in such greetings, and hence they are (Time Free). The data in the following table clarifies more.

**Table 2: Casual Greetings**

A	B
C'lela	Response
6. H <sub>o</sub> c'kal dam gyan well done for coming  "Welcome home"	H <sub>o</sub> s baade well also  "Thank you"
7. I'leele av lagtan na? How are left hem  "How are they over their?"	M'hooqan kau Fine very  "Very well"
8. H <sub>o</sub> c'kal da na yomko well done for the work  "Well done"	H <sub>o</sub> s la Well too  "Well done too"
9. I'leele u'wede How body "How is your body?"	Ikasi Is fine "Fine"
10. Pos no anu'bu Greet you owners of the house  "Greetings to the people of this house"	Pos baade Greet also  "Greetings to you also"
11. I'leele d'sooco? How seating "How is resting?"	Am bomk A'sila I thank God "I thank God"
12. I'leele d'windka? How loneliness  "How is loneliness?"	Am bomk A'sila I thank God  "I thank God"

In the light of the data presented in the above table not all greetings are associated with time in C'lela. We have greetings that are time free. Table 2 example 1 of the above table shows that; '*H<sub>o</sub> c'kal dam'gyan*' which means "welcome home", has nothing to do with time, it could be used in the morning, afternoon or evening and the response is '*H<sub>o</sub>s baade*' meaning 'thank you'. Responses to some greetings in C'lela are derived from some situations or circumstances of life. For instance, example 7 of the above table; '*I'leele av lagtain na?*' Which means "how are they over there"? The response is '*m'hooqan kau*' which means "very well", but the sentence '*m'hooqan kau*' literally means "very dry". Likewise some greetings in C'lela were sent back to

the initiator of those greetings even if he/she is not actually doing what you are doing. Example 8, table 2 explains that. ‘*H<sub>o</sub> c’kal da na’yomko*’ meaning “well done for the work in progress”, has a response ‘*Hos la*’ meaning ‘well done too. This is said to the initiator of the greeting even if he/she is not working. We also have some greetings that are related to some challenges that one may have come across, example 9 of the above table presents that; ‘*I’leele u’wede*’ meaning ‘How is your body’ is mostly used when someone has health challenges and the response is ‘*I kasi*’ meaning ‘fine’ that is the normal response regardless of the person’s condition, even at point of death. Some greetings are so specific, for example ‘*P<sub>o</sub>s no anu’bu*’ as presented in example 10 of the table above which means ‘greetings to the owners of this house’ is a greeting that is so specific and only a member of that family whose is present will respond ‘*pos baade*’ meaning ‘greetings to you also.’ In an event whereby only a stranger or an outsider who comes into that house is close, he/she will only notify the person that the owners of the house are not around, or they will join him/her shortly.

Virtually everything you do in c’lela, if it is good you can receive a greetings to that effect. Examples 11 and 12 of table 2 show that; ‘*I leele d’socco?*’ means ‘how is resting or sitting’, ‘*I leele d’windka*’ means ‘How is loneliness?’ All have the same response ‘*Am bomk A’sila*’ or ‘*C’bomk A’sila*’ meaning ‘I thank God’ or ‘we thank God’.

#### 4.9 Seasonal Greetings

Lelna people (C’lela speakers) being them predominantly agriculturalist, have greetings associated with every season of the year. The following are some of the examples of seasonal greetings that are associated with seasonal time as presented in table 3 below:

**Table 3: Seasonal Greetings**

A	B
C’lela	Response
13. I’leele u’gwese? How rainy season “How is the rainy season?”	Na bomk A’sila We thank God “We thank God”

14. I'leele c'zaga? How farm cleaning "How is farm cleaning?"	Na bomk A'sila We thank God "We thank God"
15. I'leele ad'go? How planting "How is planting"	C'bomk A'sila We thank God "We thank God"
16. I'leele av'woma? How first weeding "How is first weeding"	C'bomk A'sila We thank God "We thank God"
17. I'leele av'muta? How second weeding "How is second weeding"	Na bomk A'sila We thank God "We thank God"
18. I'leele c'kengo? How last weeding "How is third weeding (for guinea corn)"	Na bomk A'sila We thank God "We thank God"
19. I'leele d'bi? How threshing "How is threshing (guinea corn)?"	I kasi Is Fine "Fine"
20. I'leele c'karsa? How cutting "How is the gathering (of corn)?"	Na bomk A'sila We thank God "We thank God"

Based on the data presented above, Lelna people are mostly agriculturist, so to them every stage of agricultural activity in the rainy season as well as the dry season from planting to harvest should have its special greetings. In C'lela for example; 'I leelee u'gwese?' meaning 'how is the rainy season?' Is a greeting that covers the entire rainy season, and such greetings are equally used in Hausa "yaya damina?" the response in C'lela is 'na bomk A'sila/ c'bomk A'sila' meaning 'we thank God'. It is mostly pluralized with 'we' because it is believed that everybody is up and doing with farming activities.

In lelna land, some activities go along with season, so everyone is found doing almost the same thing, thus, the greeting becomes general to all. In examples 14 in table 3 above 'I leelee c'zaga?' 'how is farm clearing?' the response is 'na bomk A'sila or c'bomk Asila' 'we thank God'. It goes on from the first farming activity which is 'c'zaga' meaning 'clearing of the farm' to the last

activity which is ‘*d’bi*’ ‘threshing of the corn’ and the response is always the same which is ‘*na bomk A’sila* or *c’bomk Asila*’ meaning ‘we thank God’.

#### 4.10 Greetings Associated with Cultural Activities

Greetings regularize patterns of reciprocal behaviour among group members. They are an integral part of interactional discourse and serve as a prelude to the establishment of social relationships. They facilitate predictability and stability in interpersonal relationships and, at the same time, minimize negative feelings or general misunderstanding (Akindele 1990:1). The culture of a people binds them together and make them to do things in common which are generally accepted by all, therefore greetings are not also left out in showing cultural cohesion.

There are greetings in C’lela that are attached to cultural festivals or cultural activities, as represented in the following table:

**Table 4: Cultural Greetings**

A	B
C’lela	Response
21. I’leele d’biti? How d’biti (festival)?  How is d’biti festival?	I kasi Is fine  “ <i>d’biti</i> is good”
22. I’leele u’hola? How u’hola (festival)?  “How is <i>u’hola</i> ?”	m’hookan kau well very  “Very well”
23. ten hodan ad’hetē? What about ceremony?  “How is ceremony?”	C’bomk Asila We thank God  “We thank God”
24. I’leele c’gongo? How drumming?	m’hookan kau well very

“How was the turbaning ceremony?”	“Very well”
25. I’leele gab s’gwe? How follow grass?	M’hoḡkan kau Well very
“How is ceremony of <i>gab s’gwe</i> ”	“ Very well”
26. I’leele woo? How lost (death)?	C’bomk Asila We thank God
“How was the burial ceremony?”	“We thank God”
27. I’leele c’geta? How harvest?	M’hoḡkan kau Well very
How is <i>c’geta</i> ceremony?	Very well
28. I’leele yaji suga? How hot suga?	M’hoḡkan kau Well very
“How is <i>yaji suga</i> ceremony?”	“Very well”

Like other African languages, C’lela language also has festive period. In the light of the data presented above, some of the festive periods also go along with some special greetings and a good number of such festival ceremonies come during the dry reason, except those that are associated with farming activities. Examples in 21, 22 and 24 table 4 show that; *I’leele d’biti* (how was the festival of *d’biti*?), *I’leele u’hola* (how is *u’hola* festival?), *I’leele c’gongo* (how was the turban ceremony?) are purely traditional greetings associated with some festival periods in C’lela even though some of them are now modernized like; ‘*u’hola*’ which is now the main traditional festival ceremony that brings both the educated and uneducated lelna’s together: There are other festive periods that are special to the young or the old, male or female. For example; the young boys or young girls of those who are still traditional worshipers. Some of those greetings associated with the young boys include, ‘*I’leele c’geta*?’ (How is *c’geta* ceremony), ‘*I’leele yaji suga*?’ (How is *yaji suga* ceremony?) ‘*c’geta* and *yaji suga*’ ceremony are ceremonies being done by the young boys during harvest. And that of the young girls are like; ‘*gab s’gwe*?’ (How was the ceremony

of *gab s'gwe*). This is a ceremony whereby a young woman shows interest in someone she likes. These ceremonies bring both the two sexes together and as a result of their coming together, greetings are coined for that purpose. Some of such greetings are; *Ten hodan ad'hete?* (How is the ceremony?) the word '*ad'hete*' could stand for marriage ceremony, naming or any other ceremony that brings people together to eat and play. '*I'leele woo*' (How was the burial ceremony?). For those who are still traditional worshipers, it is in the tradition of Lelna to organize burial ceremony for a deceased person, and such ceremonies come with their special greetings as mentioned above. Some of such greetings mentioned in table 4 above are peculiar to C'lela language as those are purely traditional worshipers.

#### 4.11 Greetings as a Result of Good/Bad Circumstances

Greetings minimize negative feelings or general misunderstanding' as stated in; Akindele (1990). There are greetings in C'lela that transpire as a result of circumstances surrounding an individual, whether negative or positive. This is represented in table 5 below:

**Table 5: Greetings Associated with circumstances.**

A	B
C'lela	Response
29. Hqs c'kal dan arziki Well done for fortune  "Well done for the good fortune"	Hqs la Well also  "Well done too"
30. I'leele a'ma? How building?  "How is building work?"	am elge an paama I am still on trying  "I am still on it"
31. I'leele menke? How rain?	Menk emk d'mango Rain did repair

“How was the rain?”	“The rain has done well”
32. I'leele kumam nu'pu? how getting white?	I kasi Is fine
“How was the blessing received?”	“Fine”
33. I'leele s'yopo? How market?	I kasi Is fine
“How was the market?”	“Fine”
34. I'leele d'soolo? How sitting?	Am bomk A'sila I thank God
“How is resting?”	“I thank God”
35. I'leele kanu macho? How the person birth?	M'hookan kau Well very
“How is the woman who gave birth?”	“Very well”

Akindele (1990:2) describes greetings as the exchange of expressions, pleasantries or good wishes between two people interacting for the purpose of fulfilling social obligations, or for the establishment of interpersonal relationships. Circumstances surrounding people generate greetings, as we can see from the above data presented in C'lela. Circumstances either good or bad can lead to greetings. These are examples of greetings that cover everything good that happened to someone '*Hos c'lela dan arziki*' meaning 'well done for the good fortune' and the response is *Hos la* meaning 'same to you'.

In C'lela virtually everything that is important to an individual or to the community has a special greeting coined for that purpose. Example 31 of the table above shows that; '*I'leele a'ma?*' meaning 'how is building work?' and the response is '*am elge am paama*', meaning 'I am still on it: That is, in the event whereby someone is not yet through with the work. In C'lela greetings like these go along with mentioning of the activity.

The response to some greetings is by repeating part of that same greeting, like in example 3 of the above table; *I'lele menke* meaning 'how was the rain?' and the response is *menk emk d'mamgo* meaning "the rain has done well". The word *menke* meaning "rain" is also repeated in the response and such response is made regardless of the circumstance or damage caused by the rain.

Some greetings are not specific, they are said to cover a large number of circumstances example 32 of table 5 above shows that *I'lele kuman nu'pusu?* Meaning congratulations for the blessing. Where you are coming from can also be asked in form of a greetings. Example 33 in table 5 also shows that *I'lele s'yopo?* meaning 'how was the market?' comes in form an inquiry but in actual sense it is a greeting. Example 34 on table 5 above also shows more; *I'lele kanu mancho?* meaning 'how was the woman that gave birth?' It is also said to ask for the well-being of the woman that gave birth.

#### 4.12 Greetings Associated With Negative Circumstances

Not only do Lelnas greet when something good happens, they also greet when something bad happens to someone. These types of greetings are represented in the table below.

**Table 6: Greetings Associated With Negative Circumstances**

A	B
C'lela	Response
36. I'lele nobonam c'debe? How you throwing mind "How is the sadness?"	M'hookno or I kasi Well is fine "Very well"
37. I'lele M'po? How tiredness "How is tiredness?"	pom gabk u'wede tiredness follow body "Tiredness is gone"
38. Am hongk ai banna emk vo? I heard that loss happened you "I heard that you lost"	Ha yes "Yes"

39. K <sub>o</sub> nlo b <sub>o</sub> Sorry oh “Sorry”	K <sub>o</sub> nlo baade Sorry also “Sorry”
40. I’leele m’kwibi? How orphanhood “How is orphanhood?”	Am elge an walkam A’sila we here and looking-up God “Am looking unto God”
41. I’leele c’boma? How widowhood?  “How is widowhood?”	Am elge an walkan Na’sila we here and looking-up God  “I am looking unto God”
42. I’leele som d’koba? How drinking suffering?  “How are the challenges around you?”	C’bom bad A’sila Praise be God  “Thanks unto God”
43. I’leele d’gwaancco? How encounter?  “How was the (snake) bite?”	C’bom bad A’sila Praise be God  “Thanks unto God”

As we can see from the data presented above, you say “sorry or hard luck” to someone when something bad happens to such person in English. Likewise in C’lela there are greetings that accompany every negative situation that happens to someone. This can be observed in example 36 of table 6 above; ‘I’leele no bonam c’debe’ “how + is + throwing + away + your + heart?”, meaning (How is sadness?) This greeting is not specific to what has actually happened, but a general greeting to any misfortune that occurs. Unlike some greetings that are so particular to some circumstances such as; ‘I’leele m’kwibi?’ (How is orphanhood?) ‘I’leele c’boma?’ (How is widowhood?), ‘I’leele d’gwaancco?’ (How was the snake bite?). Another set of greetings that stand for general circumstances are as follows; in example 37, 39 and 42 from table 6 above ‘I’leele m’po?’ (How is tiredness?) is a general greeting for every kind of work that one has done, and you say ‘konlo bo’ (sorry) to anyone passes through difficult times as a result of being injured or something bad happened to him/her and likewise ‘I’leele som d’koba?’ (How are the problems

or difficulties of life?). Can stand as a greeting for the challenges one faces, whether natural or otherwise. Lelna people attach greetings to every particular circumstance. They believe that every human endeavor has its own challenges.

### 4.13 General Greetings

Greetings are essential in all forms of encounter and a reassuring confirmation of human sociability and social order, Schottman, (1995). Greeting has dominated every aspect of human life. This is represented in the following table 7 of the following;

**Table 7: General Greetings**

A	B
C'lela	Response
44. I'leele merkahna? How hunger season? "How is this hunger"	merk el boge hunger around still "The hunger is still there"
45. Av giika m'hookne? You come back well? "Did you come backwell?"	M'hookan kau Well very "very well"
46. I'leele av cek m'hookne? How you arrive well? "Did you arrive well?"	M'hookan kau Well very "Very well"
47. I'leele hobo? How hunting? "How is hunting?"	Hob I kasi Hunting is fine "Hunting is fine"
48. An giika nu'kaare? You come back horn-sound? (plural)	Na bomk A'sila We thank God

“Did you come back victorious?”	“We thank God”
49. I'leele k'kade How bush? ”How is bush?”	K'kad na bomk A'sila Bush we thank God “We thank God for the bush”
50. I'leele zwege? How packing? “How is carrying loads or gathering Corn?”	Na bomk A'sila We thank God “We thank God”

In the light of data presented above not all greetings are associated with circumstance or events and in most cases you greet both the known and the unknown. There are general greetings that covers the daily life of the Lelna people, their activities and their environment. Greetings such as; greetings for victory ‘*An giika nu'kaare?*’ meaning ‘hope you came back victorious?’ such greetings are used when someone is back from hunting or war. Gradually, such greetings are going into extinction for the fact that hunting is becoming an old fashion. The response to greetings in most cases may not be the true situation of the interlocutors. This is because almost every greeting has an answer and it is always in the positive. Example 44 in table 7 ‘*I'leele merkalinga?*’ (How is this hunger?) the response in most cases hides the true nature of what a person is passing through, thus it is always ‘*C'bomk A'sila*’ (we thank God). In C'lela a good number words used in greetings were coined from their cultural activities. Example 45 table 7 as well as 46, 47, 48, and 49 of table 7 above ‘*I'leele hobo?*’ (How hunting?). ‘*An giika nu'kaare?*’ (Did you come back with a sound of victory?), and ‘*I'leele k'kade*’ (How is the bush?). All the greetings stated above come in form of a questions and their true response largely depends on the relationship between the interlocutors.

#### 4.14 Marriage Greetings

Marriage in d'lela (Lelna land) is a ceremony that used to bring the lelna clan, extended families, friends and well-wishers together and mostly this is done in the dry seasons. This is as a result of farming activities in the rainy season, and when people meet for such purposes they exchange greetings.

When an individual goes into a house where preparations for wedding are going on or he meets someone who is preparing for a wedding he is expected to greet him such as;

**Table 8: Greeting for Preparation for Marriage**

<b>C'lela</b>
<b>A</b> I'lele c'walgo? How preparation "How is preparation?"
<b>B</b> na elge c'walgo We are preparing "We are in the preparation"
<b>A</b> A'sila del natas am'hokono God make we finish well "May God help us to finish well"
<b>B</b> Amin Amen "Amen"
<b>A</b> A'Sila ne sotad kasi God give seating fine "May God grant the new familypeace"
<b>A</b> A'Sila gegena c'gye God bind them marriage "May God bind them husband and wife"

<b>A</b>	A'Sila delu pusu God put white "May God bring peace into that family"
<b>B</b>	Amin Amen "Amen"

The exchange of the above greetings shows some level of acquaintance. The relationship that exist between **A** and **B** above determines the way or the words to be used in such greetings. Someone who is a member of the family may not have to follow the long protocol of greetings.

#### 4.15 Child Birth Greetings

Is a thing of joy for a woman to put to bed a baby boy or girl everywhere and so it is even in the Lelna community, and when people come around to identify with the family for that purpose there are special greetings made for such purposes such as; "*I'lele kal chunu macho?*", meaning "hope you deliver well?". These are the first words of greeting to the woman who gives birth, and she may respond as "*ikasi*", meaning "very well" and the greeting may continue as follows;

**Table: 9 Child Birth Greetings**

<b>C'lela</b>
<b>V</b> Hockal d'napoto. Well-done for safe. "Thank God you are save".
<b>W</b> m'pot bo.

<p>Save oh. “I am saved”.</p>
<p><b>W</b> A’Sila set keme. God help me. “God has helped me”.</p>
<p><b>V</b> I’leele_ uwede_? How body. “How is your body?”</p>
<p><b>W</b> uwedu kasi. Body fine. “My body is good”.</p>
<p><b>VI</b> I’leele_ wa?  How baby.  “How is the baby?”</p>
<p><b>W</b> wa Ikasi. Baby fine. “The baby is fine”</p>
<p><b>V</b> A’Sila gubasa. God grow. “God help him to grow”</p>
<p><b>W</b> Amin. “Amen”</p>

From the above greetings the woman who gives birth (**W**) and the visitor (**V**) are the main people engage in the dialogue, in a situation where the woman is not in the room, the only greeting will be “*I’lele kanu macho?*”, meaning “how is she that gave birth”, and whoever is in the room will respond; “*Ikasi*”, meaning “very ok”, but with some level of acquaintance there may be a chain of greetings.

In the ancient days, after such greetings if the person who comes in to greet is going he will say; “*wa au gabalam boda*”, meaning “the child should not follow me”, the mother will respond with a laugh. It is a final wish from the visitor, wishing the child long life.

#### **4.16 Greetings to the King/Village Head.**

The Lelna people have a great respect for their town or village heads, as such they have special greetings and gestures for them. Regardless of one’s age, if he appears before the king, he must bow to greet, remove his sandals and his cap and also raise his right hands and greet such; “*damra gomo, kab c’kala*” meaning “the great king, greetings to you”. He may also wish to say “*kanubu gosa*”, meaning “live long our king” and the king will now respond by saying “*gafara*”, meaning “I accept your greetings, you may now rise”. The word “*gafara*” is a borrowed word from Hausa language which is also used in Hausa palaces for the purpose of greeting. The act of bowing down, removal of cap or sandals to greet may not exist in other languages while greeting their rulers.

#### **4.17 Condolence Greetings**

When someone goes into a family that lost a member, words used for such greetings are special and even the countenance of that person must be identifying with the family over what happened to them. Women are known with the habit of wailing the moment they come for such greetings

even if they were laughing outside before coming in. There are special places prepared for burials in the traditional Lelna lands, it is usually on top of mountains, and each clan has its own mountain. If you meet people coming back from such places you say; “*I’lele kalchunu sago*”? Meaning ‘how was the burial’ and they will respond “*m’hokon kau*”, “it was ok” and when you move into such houses, you greet in this manner; “*I’lele no ad’windika?*” and they will respond “*c’bomk Asila*” meaning “how is loneliness” and they will respond “we thank God”. Both the old and the young can use the above words to greet in such houses, but there are words which are only used by elderly ones. An elder who goes into such houses may wish to start his greetings in this manner; “*irinin kumin bono?*”, meaning “is that what happened to you people?”, and he will also add with “*kollo bo*”, meaning “sorry for that”. He also may wish to conclude with; “*Silla nena debcin hankuri*”, meaning “may God grant us the heart to bear the loss”. To some who may wish not to make use of many words, he/she may just say; “*I lele no s’hankuri?*”, meaning “how are you bearing with the loss?” and the family members will respond “*hankuri zamaka dole*”, meaning “we have no option than to bear with what happened”.

**4.18 Greetings Associated Official Activities**

The educational sector has very limited number of vocabularies in relation to greetings in C’lela. This could be due to the fact that educational sector is a new field in the language. People still greet in their offices and schools in C’lela with borrowed or coined words. This is represented in table 10 below.

**Table 10: Greetings Associated with Education.**

A	B
C’lela	Response

51. I'leele gottam s'geno? How looking writing? “How is studies or How is reading?”	Na bomk A'sila We thank God “We thank God”
52. I'leele lasi? How studies? “How is teaching or how is studies?”	I kasi Is fine “Is fine “
53. I'leele ayomko How work? “How is work or office?”	Na bomk A'sila We thank God “We thank God”

In the light of the data presented above, a good number of C'lela greetings related to education are either borrowed from other languages or coined from other words. This could be attributed to the fact that educational sector is just paving its way into C'lela vocabulary. Example 51 in table 8 above shows that; *'I'leele gottam s'geno?'* (How is studies or how is reading?) The greeting generated from word *'u'goto'* meaning *'looking'* there is not yet a particular word for reading in C'lela. The word was coined due to the fact that the reader is seen to be looking at the writing. The vocabulary in this aspect is so scanty that one greeting can stand to refer to so many greetings depending on where or when the greeting is made and who is greeted. Example 52 in table 8 above shows that *'I'leele lasi?'* can stand to mean 'how is studies?' to a student or 'how is teaching' to a teacher, where student he/she answers: *'C'el nu kese'*, meaning 'we are understanding' while a teacher he/she says as *'c'elge nu emo'*, meaning 'we are on it'. Likewise *'I'leele ayomko?'* which

stands for ‘how is work?’ is also used in greeting people coming from offices and any other official work.

#### 4.19 Greetings Associated With Buying and Selling

Business is an old activity of man that cuts across all human societies. For the purpose of buying, selling and exchanging of services, people come together and greetings serve as prelude for such transactions. Such greetings are represented in table 11 below;

**Table 11: Greetings Associated With Business**

A	B
<b>C’lela</b>	<b>English</b>
54. I’leele s’yopo How market? “How is the market?”	Na bomk A’sila We thank God “We thank God”
55. s’yopo el buru nu yau? Market is any way selling “Are you selling? “	Na el nu dovo They is way touch “We are selling gradually”
56. na elnu omke? We are way taking “Are they buying?”	Na el nu dovo We are way touching “Yes, gradually”
57. U’el buru nu yau? She any way eating “Are you selling at all?”	Na el nu wau We are way selling “We are selling”

In the light of the data presented above, buying, selling and exchange of services are of great importance to every group of people, and for that purpose people regularly come together and this coming together is not void of greetings. Greetings in C’lela in relation to business come in form

of an enquiry about the situation of the market or business. Example 54 of table 9 above show that; *'I'leele s'yopo?'* meaning 'how is market?' comes as an enquiry, but in the actual sense the initiator is extending or showing concern through greeting. The language also has some instances of borrowing from Hausa in relation to business greetings. Example 55 table 9 above also show that; *'kasuwa el buru nu yau?'* meaning 'are you selling?' The greeting is actually borrowed from Hausa language 'cin kasuwa' (selling) to mean 'are you selling' and the response is *'na el nu dovo'*, meaning 'we are selling gradually'. The response to the greeting is a coined word from *'udovo'*, meaning, 'to touch'. Likewise, example 56; *'na el nu omke?'* meaning 'are they buying?' is also a coined word from the word *'omo'*, meaning 'to take'. In English language 'how is market' is the prevalent greeting in business and other financial transactions.

#### **4.20 Greetings Associated with Age and sex**

Some greetings are said in C'lela which clearly show the gender and age group of the initiator. The young say their greetings along with addressing the vigor and activeness of both interlocutors. Young men and ladies have own their type of greetings that show they are young. The elderly also have theirs. In either case the greetings are not interchangeable.

When an elderly man says; *"I'leele c'wede?"*, meaning "how are you or how is your old body?" such greeting is only said to his fellow elderly person, and the usual responses may be any of the following; *"na elge nu nokso, c'bomk nabo itente?*, and such a person may wish to end his/her response with *"wes lokkko"*, meaning "we are moving gradually, we truly appreciate" and such a person may wish to end his/her response with "is it today? We have lived for many years". There are specific greetings for elderly women too. They mostly use greetings such as; *"I'leele ad'birgu?"*, meaning "how is your body?" and the body being referred to in this case is the body of an old woman. They also use greetings such as; *"I'leele c'nochu rimu?"*, meaning "how is life?".

The life here is that of old woman also, even though elderly men also rarely make use of such greetings.

The young men and women in C'lela also have special greetings when they meet, for example; "*kwεsmε pen hɔc rihi?*", meaning "my friend how are things?". Even though the words used do not depict age, but they are actually used for greetings by young men only.

The younger women or ladies also have their special greetings that show that the person being greeted is a young lady. For example; "*janye kab c'kala or I'lele av retine?*", meaning 'my friend how are you?', the two words "*janye*" and "*janta*" are only used in addressing or greeting a young woman.

#### **4.21 The Influence of other Languages on C'lela Greetings**

When a language is in constant contact with other languages, the one with less vocabulary will find a way of using the other language's vocabulary to make it up. Languages in contact also affect people's cultures in contact both positively and negatively. The English culture was imported to Nigeria. This affected the host cultures of the people with which English language had contact including C'lela the language has influenced even some aspects of C'lela greetings, so also Hausa language on C'lela. The Hausa language has also greatly affected the language in some ways, for example "*I'lele kasuwa?*" meaning "how is market", "*k'mota*" meaning "car". The words "Kasuwa and mota" are Hausa words but also used by Lelna. English language culture has a pervasive influence on Nigerian cultures in the area of communication, food, dress, occupation, health, customs and traditions, values and belief system including education and technology. And in some respects the contact has devastating effects. One of these areas is the C'lela ethnography of greetings. New words are not formed, but they picked from English words with the notion of showing civilization, for example; "*computer, office, ad'handset*". Languages in contact also bring

about cultural endangerment. Olaoye (2008) observed that the much-cherished, rich, age-long Yoruba culture of greetings is also fast being eroded by cultural and linguistic globalization.

Writing on languages in contact, Comrie (2009) asserts that while much change takes place in a given language without outside interference, many changes can result from contact with other languages. When two or more languages come in contact, some socio- linguistic phenomena take place, among which are bilingualism, multilingualism, code- switching, code- mixing, calquing, borrowing, language interference and, perhaps, creolisation and pidginisation (Olaoye, 2007).

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND FINDINGS

#### 5.0 Introduction

This chapter is about summary of the work and its findings after the data collected were analyzed.

#### 5.1 Summary

This work is concerned with descriptive study of greetings in C'lela. It identified C'lela greetings and their nature among different social group.

Age grade between the interlocutors goes a long way in determining how greeting starts and how it ends in C'lela and likewise the relationship between the interlocutors, the younger will always bow to greet the elderly one and he cannot extend his hands first to greet, that is always done first by the elderly and then the younger will stretch his hand. It is also not seen as an offence if a child does not greet his parents or refuse to appreciate them when given a gift as that is always seen as the right of the child in his family but it becomes an offence if he does that to outsiders.

In the event where a young man or woman meets his/her in-laws on the way or he/she went to his in-laws' house, he/she is to remove his/her shoes and kneel to greet and he/she remains in that state until they finish the exchange of the greetings. Then the in-laws allow him/her to stand up by saying *gafara*, meaning *you can now stand up*. It is also a sign of respect to remove your cap before greeting an elderly person, but with the advent of religion and civilization some of these gestures are gradually giving way.

#### 5.2 Conclusion

The nature of greetings differs from one social group to the other in C'lela, the young have their nature and gestures of greetings different from that of elderly likewise between men and women.

C'lela speakers consider eye contact in greeting the elderly as a sign of disrespect. Therefore, C'lela greetings involve high respect. It is always in the right manner for a younger person to initiate the greetings and not the other way round, except in an event where the younger person has not caught the sight of the elderly person or the elderly person may choose to greet first based on the respect he is having for the younger person, may be because of position the he occupies in the society.

The Lelna people being predominantly agriculturalist have a wide range of greetings associated with agricultural activities that may not be obtainable in other languages greetings. In English, a single greeting relating to farm work may cover so many farming activities, for example; “how is work? Or well done” but in C'lela you can greet for the activity of clearing of farm “*I lele c'zaga?*” and also greet for the first weeding down to harvest “*I lele keme?*”, For English you can say “how is weeding?” to cover all these types of weeding but in C'lela you have a chance of specifying the type of weeding whether first, second or third.

It was also observed that some greetings in C'lela come in form of a statement, and once such statement is said to a person you know that someone is greeting you, for example; *I pen hodin bonam c'debe?*, meaning “how is sadness?”. In the real sense the statement means “how is throwing away of your mind?”, and also not every greeting has a direct response. For example; “*am honk ai banna emk vo?*”, meaning “I heard that you lost something?” the response is always “*ha*” meaning “yes”. It is in the nature of Lelnas to ask of the well-being of one another and such questions are always received as greetings.

In the event of negative circumstances, the greetings in C'lela goes along with mentioning of the circumstance for example; *I'lele m'kwibi?*, meaning “how is orphanhood?” While in other

languages the circumstance may not necessary be mentioned. The general greeting for someone who lost someone may just be “sorry for your loss or accept my condolence” in English.

Not in all cases do interlocutors make use of first names in exchange of greetings in C’lela. It is the responsibility of the younger ones to initiate the greeting not the other way round, the older takes it from there by asking the younger about his work. The younger only greets the older but it is the elder that starts making inquiry about work and other activities for example;

**C’lela**

**English**

**Younger:** m’zana

Good morning

**Older:** m’zanbade

Good morning to you also

**Older:** I’leele ayomko?

How is work?

**Younger:** C’bomk Asila/ na bomk Asila

I thank God/ We thank God

**Older:** I’leele anubu?

How is everybody at home?

**Younger:** am hokan kau      very well

It is also the responsibility of the older to initiate the ending of the greeting; the younger cannot do so, so as to allow the elderly person to ask or enquire whatever is in his mind.

**Older:** chav posso anubu

Greet people at home.

**Younger:** ta hongga

They will hear

It is also clear that C’lela vocabulary for greetings are mostly coined or borrowed words from Hausa language. The words for greetings in offices and academic environment in C’lela are so limited. In the office or coming from the office you use “I’leele ayomko?”, meaning “how is

work?”, and to a student you say “T’leele gotam s’geno?”, meaning “how is reading or studies? While English has enough vocabularies to use in respect to that.

### **5.3 Summary of Findings**

This chapter summarises the work and presents the findings on C’lela greetings.

The following is the result of the finding;

- 1) Those greetings in C’lela that are gradually going into extinction were identified and documented.
- 2) It was established that age plays a vital role in how people greet in C’lela and likewise social group.
- 3) It was established that with the advent of religion and modernization some gestures have now crept into C’lela greetings.
- 4) It was discovered that the level of acquaintance between two persons meeting determines the extent to which they can greet and the gestures to be used.
- 5) Generally, greetings are meant for establishment of peace, so, C’lela greetings are said in a polite not rude manner. It was discovered that any rudeness in greeting will depend on the interlocutors’ mutuality.
- 6) It has shown that, it is the duty of the younger person to initiate the greetings in C’lela language, except where the older had the first sight of the younger.
- 7) The C’lela greetings were found to be long and repetitive in nature.

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